

Amnesty International

**EAST TIMOR
VIOLATIONS OF
HUMAN RIGHTS**

EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTIONS,
'DISAPPEARANCES', TORTURE
AND POLITICAL IMPRISONMENT

East Timor Violations of Human Rights

*Extrajudicial Executions,
'Disappearances', Torture
and Political Imprisonment,
1975-1984*

East Timor

Errata

p.2 Bugi should be Bugis

p.52 line 24 KADIM should be KODIM

Photos:

p.45 left should be right

p.50 bottom left and bottom right are reversed



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GLOSSARY

ABRI	— Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, Indonesian armed forces
APODETI	— Associação Popular Democrática Timorese, pro-Indonesian party formed in May 1974
Bapak	— Indonesian word for "father"; used in Indonesia as term of respectful address to an older person; used by East Timorese to refer generally to Indonesian military personnel
Bupati	— Indonesian district officer
Camat	— Indonesian sub-district officer
DPRD	— Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, (Indonesia) Regional People's Representative Assembly
DRET	— Democratic Republic of East Timor, proclaimed by Fretilin
Falintil	— Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor, Fretilin armed forces
Fretilin	— Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste, party formed in May 1974 which declared independence of East Timor on 27 November 1975
GPK	— Gerombolan Pengacau Keamanan, Bands of Security Disruptors, official Indonesian term for Fretilin
HANSIP	— Pertahanan Sipil, Indonesian civilian militia
KODAM	— Regional military command, Komando Daerah Militer
KODIM	— District military command, Komando Distrik Militer
Kopassandha	— Komando Pasukan Sandi Yudha, formerly known as RPKAD (q.v.)
KORAMIL	— Sub-district military command, Komando Rayon Militer
KOREM	— Sub-regional military command, Komando Resor Militer

KOTIS	— Komando Taktis, branch of KOREM responsible for intelligence and screening activities
Liurai	— East Timorese traditional ruler
Lulik	— Objects held sacred by East Timorese
OPMT	— Organização Popular do Mulher Timorese, Fretilin women's organization
RPKAD	— Resimen Para Kommando Angkatan Darat, Indonesian Army commandos
RTP	— Resimen Tim Pertempuran, Indonesian composite attack regiments
TBO	— Tenaga Bantuan Operasi, East Timorese recruited as auxiliaries to assist Indonesian troops. The Tetum homonym, Tebeo, means "kick you".
UDT	— Uniao Democratica Timorese, party formed in May 1979
UNETIM	— Uniao Nacional do Estudante de Timor, Fretilin students' organization

NB: The Portuguese words in this report have been printed without accents.

Preface

The island of Timor lies at the eastern end of the Lesser Sunda island chain in the Indonesian archipelago. The western half of the island has been part of Indonesia since 1949. The territory of East Timor covers 14,952 square kilometres, less than a quarter of the area of Sri Lanka, and comprises the eastern part of the island, some islets, including Atauro, and the enclave of Oecusse in the west. The nearest landmass is Australia; Darwin is 400 miles southwest.

East Timor was under continuous Portuguese administration for over 250 years, from 1702 until August 1975, when, during a period of turmoil, the Portuguese authorities evacuated the island. The territory was invaded by Indonesian forces in December 1975 and was subsequently claimed by Indonesia after having been incorporated as its 27th province by an "act of integration". This claim has not been recognized by a majority in the United Nations.

An Indonesian census of 1980 registered the population of East Timor as 550,000. The last Portuguese census, in 1970, had recorded a population of 610,000, which was estimated to have risen to over 650,000 by mid-1974. These figures cannot be regarded as precise, but indicate a decline from 1974 to 1980, particularly after the 1975 Indonesian invasion.

The people of East Timor are predominantly of Malay and Melanesian stock. They are divided into more than 30 distinct ethnolinguistic groups, with one language, Tetum, serving as a *lingua franca*. Traditionally, most Timorese have lived in isolated small villages often comprising only three to five houses, a settlement pattern regarded as having been a response to the terrain and climate. The island of Timor is dominated by a mountain range running east-west. The climate makes the northern and southern coastal plains less hospitable than the highlands, although East Timor's capital, Dili, is on the north coast in one of the few available natural harbours. In the early 1970s, some 80 per cent of the people lived in small villages on the upland slopes. After the invasion of December 1975, this pattern was severely disrupted

with the forcible removal of large numbers of people into strategically-located "resettlement areas".

Traditionally, the people of Timor were organized into petty kingdoms ruled by *liurai*. In the early 1970s most of the population were animists worshipping sacred objects known as *lulik*; most of the rest, about a third, were baptized Roman Catholics—at the end of 1984 about half the population was reported to be Roman Catholic.

The Portuguese, whose presence in the area dated from the early sixteenth century, had a limited impact on traditional structures. A thin stratum of East Timorese became assimilated to some degree into Portugal's "metropolitan" culture, largely through education, in which the Roman Catholic Church played an important part. They included East Timorese serving in the Portuguese army and others employed as public servants, teachers and nurses. The number of East Timorese receiving at least primary education increased markedly between the 1950s and 1974, when almost 60,000 pupils were enrolled. However, in 1974, an estimated 70 per cent of the adult population were illiterate. Of all Portuguese colonies, East Timor (like the others, strictly an "overseas province" integrated into Portugal) was perhaps the most neglected, a backwater remote from the concerns of the metropolis.

Timor originally attracted commercial interest because of its sandalwood, for which Chinese, Arab and Bugi (from Makassar in the Celebes) traders visited the island. When this resource was virtually exhausted, the Portuguese developed fine quality coffee, which became East Timor's only major export. The East Timorese have for the most part worked as farmers making a subsistence living by "slash-and-burn" methods. Commerce was dominated by members of the Chinese community (which numbered about 6,000 in 1970).

The April 1974 overthrow of Portugal's Caetano Government by the Armed Forces Movement in Lisbon was crucial for East Timor. The new Portuguese Government was committed to allowing the colonies to exercise their right to self-determination. Two main political parties emerged in East Timor: the *Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste* (Fretilin) and the *Uniao Democratica Timorese* (UDT).

Both parties were committed to East Timor's eventual independence. Fretilin wanted this promptly, while the UDT proposed a gradual process involving an extended period of association with Portugal.

Of several smaller parties formed after April 1974, the

Associação Popular Democratica Timorese (APODETI), favoured integration with Indonesia, and on that basis took on an enhanced significance in the affairs of the territory before and after the invasion.

Indonesia and East Timor

Indonesia, with a land area of almost two million square kilometres, has a population of over 150 million, making it the fifth most populous nation in the world. Before the annexation of East Timor, Indonesia's national boundaries were those of the Netherlands East Indies. Government representatives had previously often stressed that Indonesia laid no claim to the Portuguese colony. The Government of President Suharto had come to power after suppressing an alleged communist coup in 1965 and had subsequently eliminated the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) and its affiliates through proscription and the large-scale imprisonment and killings of suspected members. After April 1974, Indonesian officials made it clear that Indonesia regarded independence for East Timor as undesirable and a potential security risk, particularly if it entailed the establishment of a left-wing government.

The unacceptability to the Indonesian Government of an independent East Timor under Fretilin control was made clear to UDT leaders who made repeated visits to Jakarta during 1975. On 11 August 1975 the UDT launched a "coup" apparently with the intention of eliminating Fretilin. On 29 August Portuguese civil and military authorities evacuated mainland Timor for the island of Atauro. By early September Fretilin forces had prevailed in the "civil war", and took over the administration of the territory. Between 1,500 and 3,000 East Timorese are estimated to have died in this conflict.

In late September 1975 members of the UDT and other parties driven over the border into Indonesia announced that they now favoured integration with Jakarta. There is considerable evidence that in the months leading up to the invasion in December, Indonesian troops, supported by East Timorese "partisans" drawn primarily from the defeated UDT, made repeated incursions into East Timor. In October 1975 three Australian and two British journalists working for Australian television companies were reported to have been arbitrarily executed by Indonesian troops in the village of Balibo in East Timor.

Faced with mounting attacks, the Fretilin administration proclaimed an independent Democratic Republic of East Timor on

28 November 1975 and appealed for international recognition and support. The pro-Indonesian parties responded with a declaration of integration with Indonesia.

On 7 December, Indonesian forces launched a full-scale invasion of the territory, landing troops by sea and air in the principal towns of Dili and Baucau and despatching a large force across the border.

Official Indonesian accounts claimed that the invasion was simply an extension of the earlier "civil war" and that Dili and Baucau had been "liberated" by forces of the UDT and APODETI assisted by Indonesian "volunteers". On 18 December 1975 the formation of a Provisional Government of East Timor was announced, with the Presidents of APODETI and the UDT as respectively chief and deputy chief executives. On 31 May 1976 it was announced that a 37-member People's Representative Assembly had met in Dili and had approved a petition calling for integration with Indonesia. On 17 July 1976 President Suharto signed the Bill of Integration, passed by the Indonesian parliament, into law.

In resolutions passed in the General Assembly and the Security Council in December 1975, the United Nations (UN) deplored the Indonesian invasion and called on all states to respect the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination. Since "integration" in July 1976, the Indonesian Government has rejected the UN's right to discuss the question of East Timor. However, the UN General Assembly continued to pass resolutions each year from 1976 until 1982. Its 1976 resolution rejected the act of integration. From 1979, the resolutions stressed particularly the need for international humanitarian aid in response to the evidence of severe food and medical problems. In 1983 and 1984 discussions on East Timor were deferred at the request of the Secretary General, who had been asked by the General Assembly in its 1982 resolution to "initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned with a view to achieving a comprehensive settlement."

The size of majority in favour of the General Assembly resolutions declined from that in 1975, when the vote was 72 for, 10 against with 43 abstentions, to that in 1982, when the vote was 50 for, 46 against, with 50 abstentions. Those voting consistently in favour of the resolution have been Portugal and its former colonies, a majority of African countries, and most socialist countries, including the USSR and the People's Republic of China. The initially small group of countries voting against the resolutions included three of Indonesia's four partners in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)—Thailand, Malaysia and the

Philippines—and Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Iran, India and Japan. The number of countries voting with Indonesia against the resolution later included the United States of America, Australia, New Zealand and a number of Latin American and other Middle Eastern states. The countries of Western Europe have since 1976 generally abstained, only Ireland and Portugal voting for the resolutions.

Offensives against Fretilin

After the Indonesian attack on Dili on 7 December 1975, Fretilin forces withdrew south to Aileu and, when that town fell, to Ainaro in the mountains. Official Indonesian sources reported in January 1976 that Indonesian forces controlled a third of the territory, although in April 1976 Fretilin claimed that its forces still controlled 80 per cent of East Timor. The available information suggests that Indonesian forces were slow to consolidate their position outside the main towns. A series of localized campaigns from September 1977 until early 1979, involving massive aerial bombardment of areas thought to be under Fretilin control, led to the capture and surrender of many thousands of East Timorese, who were often driven out of the bush by hunger. A delegation of diplomats and journalists which visited East Timor in September 1978 at the invitation of the Indonesian Government reported that captured and surrendered East Timorese whom they had seen in "resettlement camps" were evidently suffering from serious malnutrition.

By November 1979 the Indonesian Foreign Minister acknowledged that the food situation might be worse than that "in Biafra or Cambodia".

In March 1979 Indonesian authorities proclaimed the end of *Operasi Seroya* (Operation Lotus), launched at the time of the invasion, and announced that thenceforth East Timor would be fully under civilian administration. However, resistance to the Indonesian occupation persisted, with continuing reports of attacks by Fretilin on Indonesian outposts. In an effort to eliminate this resistance, Indonesian forces launched dry-season offensives, involving the conscription of large numbers of the population.

The offensives included the April to September 1981 *Operasi Keamanan* (Operation Security), in which many thousands of civilians aged between 15 and 55 (according to the Indonesian authorities) are reported to have been deployed in human "fences" to converge on remaining Fretilin positions. Hundreds of East Timorese reportedly died as a result of sickness or were killed during this operation.

A ceasefire between the two sides was agreed in March 1983 but later broke down and in August 1983 large numbers of additional Indonesian troops were brought to East Timor in yet another operation *Operasi Sapu Bersih* (Operation Clean-Sweep) aimed at eliminating Fretilin. An Australian parliamentary delegation which visited East Timor in July 1983 was informed by the Indonesian military commander of East Timor that Fretilin had about 300 members under arms and a total strength of between 1,000 and 2,000, including members' relatives.

In late 1984 and early 1985 Fretilin was still reported to be launching attacks on administrative posts. The Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian armed forces, General Benyamin Moerdani, stated in December 1984 that 7,000 Indonesian troops were in the territory and that Fretilin had an estimated 700 members under arms, 1,000 "active members" and 3,000 to 5,000 "sympathizers".

Estimates from a wide range of sources of the number of people who have died in East Timor since the invasion directly as a result of the armed conflict are as high as 200,000, about a third of the pre-invasion population. In April 1977 the then Indonesian Foreign Minister, Adam Malik, said between 50,000 and 80,000 people had died—this was before the worst of the bombardment and famine had begun. Those who had died included people killed during Indonesian bombardments, in armed encounters, as a result of famine and disease—both in the bush and after surrender or capture—as well as many hundreds reportedly executed after surrender or capture.

Extrajudicial executions

Extrajudicial executions are unlawful and deliberate killings carried out by governments or with their complicity. Amnesty International uses the term to distinguish these political killings by governments from the "judicial" death penalty, the execution of a death sentence imposed by a court. It also distinguishes them from deaths resulting from the use of reasonable force in law enforcement, as permitted under national and international legal standards, and from killings not forbidden under international humanitarian law in armed conflict.

'Disappearances'

Many political killings by governments have been concealed because the victims have "disappeared": Amnesty International considers that a "disappearance" has occurred whenever there are reasonable grounds to believe that a person has been taken into

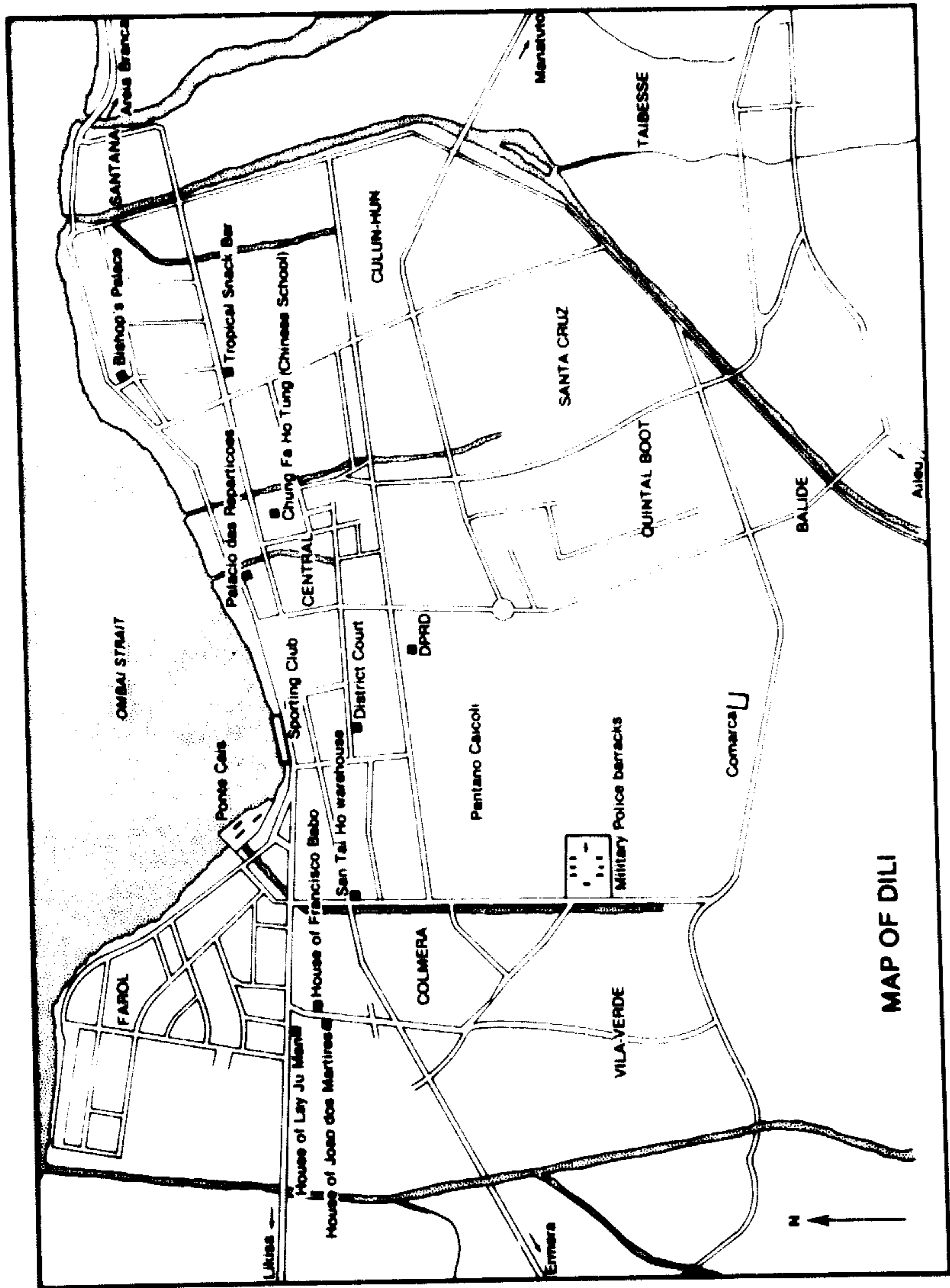
custody by the authorities or with their connivance and the authorities deny that the victim is in custody.

"Disappearances" and political killings by governments are frequently connected. Often victims of extrajudicial execution are secretly abducted before being killed; the "disappearance" disguises the killing.

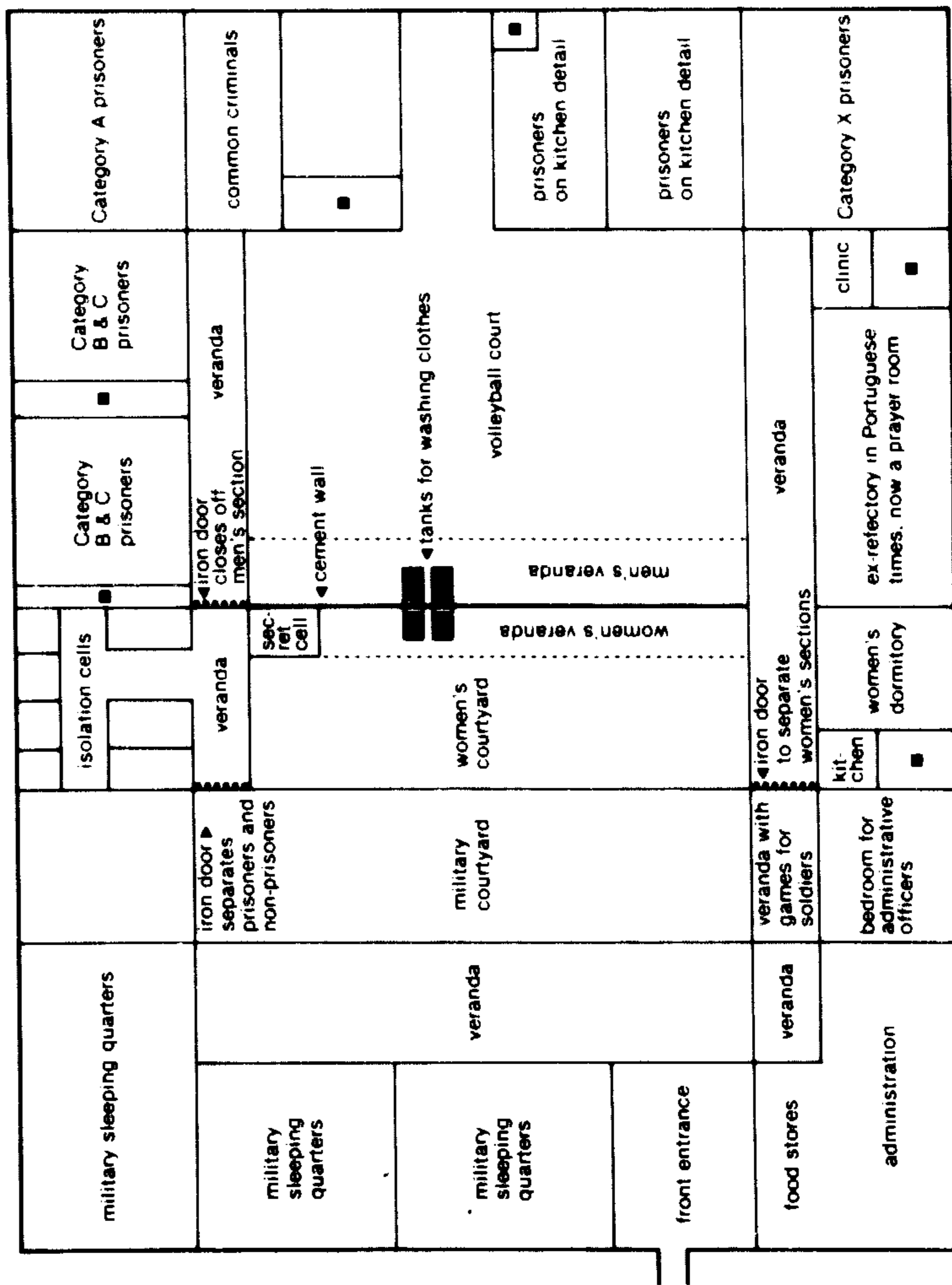
A "disappearance" may be resolved by the authorities' acknowledging the victim's detention or by the detainee's release or reappearance in prison or in court.

The opening section of this report "Repression in East Timor, 1975-1984", provides an overall view of Amnesty International's concerns in the territory, the organization's sources of information and the recommendations it has made to the authorities since the 1975 invasion. It also outlines the periods of increased military activity which have occurred between 1975 and 1984 and the increased level of human rights violations which have accompanied them.

The following section, "Extrajudicial executions and 'disappearances'" includes accounts of five of these periods: "The invasion", " 'Operation Clean-up', 1979", "The attack of 10 June 1980", " 'Operation Security', 1981", and " 'Operation Clean-Sweep', 1983-1984". This is followed by sections on "Torture and ill-treatment", "Imprisonment" and " 'Normality' ", ending with a postscript on political trials.



COMARCA PRISON (drawn by ex-prisoner)



Repression in East Timor 1975-1984

Since the invasion of December 1975 Indonesian troops have systematically and persistently violated human rights in East Timor. Amnesty International has received reports from a variety of sources of the "disappearance" and arbitrary killing of non-combatants; of the torture and ill-treatment of people taken into the custody of Indonesian forces, including their detention in cruel and inhuman conditions; and of the imprisonment without charge or trial of people most often held on suspicion of opposing the Indonesian occupation. Since December 1983, when a number of East Timorese charged with political offences began to be brought to trial, Amnesty International has been concerned about the lack of fairness of these trials.

- The reports received by the organization have included accounts of hundreds of killings of non-combatant civilians during and shortly after the invasion itself; the systematic execution of hundreds of people who had surrendered to or been captured by Indonesian forces in 1978 and 1979; the "disappearance" or killing of more than 80 men and women in 1980; the reprisal killing of some 200 villagers in 1983; and the killing of about 100 men in one incident in 1984.

- Prisoners are reported to have "disappeared" after arrest on suspicion of links with Fretilin forces; after interrogation in centres in Dili; after being taken out of temporary detention centres or official prisons. The fate of many of these "disappeared" remains unknown.

- Prisoners are reported to have been tortured in "resettlement villages" all over the territory and in interrogation centres in the capital. Tortures reported have included the use of electric shocks, beatings and the near-drowning of prisoners. A number of the alleged victims are feared to have died as a result of their ill-treatment.

- Arbitrary arrests and detentions are reported to have been carried out on a scale massive by any standard but particularly in relation to the territory's relatively small population: in one operation in 1981 up to 3,000 people are said to have been rounded up and deported to the island of Atauro, to live in conditions of squalor, disease and malnutrition.

- The reported victims of all these abuses have come from virtually the whole spectrum of East Timorese society, although most have been villagers living in small highland settlements.

Access to information

Amnesty International's information on East Timor cannot be regarded as complete and it is not possible to assess the full scale of violations. The strict controls imposed by the Indonesian forces have limited access to the territory and the flow of information out of it. The violations described in this report have occurred in a situation in which the fundamental freedoms of expression, assembly, association and movement have not existed and in the absence of the constraints of legality. People have been detained and ill treated for asserting their right to these freedoms. Movement and communication within and beyond East Timor have been tightly controlled. East Timorese permitted to leave the territory to be reunited with their families abroad have been routinely warned by Indonesian intelligence officers before leaving not to reveal information which might discredit the Indonesian occupation and have been threatened with reprisals against themselves and their relatives still in East Timor if they do so. Amnesty International has not been able to visit East Timor. In March 1984 it wrote to the Indonesian Minister of Justice asking to attend trials of political detainees then in progress in Dili. This request was refused on the grounds that the trials were a matter of domestic jurisdiction and were being conducted in accordance with international norms.

Despite these circumstances, Amnesty International has accumulated a large body of information on its concerns in East Timor. Some of this information has been documentary, comprising published reports, accounts written and passed on to Amnesty International in confidence and other confidential material, including copies of interrogation reports by the Indonesian authorities. Among these documents are official interrogation reports on prisoners taken into the custody of Indonesian forces.

Military manuals

In July 1983 Amnesty International received a set of military manuals issued to Indonesian troops serving in East Timor. These manuals, among other things, contain guidelines which appear to permit the use of torture and the issuing of threats on the lives of prisoners being interrogated. Although Indonesian officials have repeatedly tried to cast doubt on the authenticity of these documents, neither they nor anyone else has produced any evidence that might indicate that they

are false. Indonesian officials have correctly stated that the Ministry of Defence and Security (HANKAM) never published the manuals, but Amnesty International is not aware of any claims that the Ministry did so. The manuals appear to have been written by officers of the Command for East Timor for local use and to have no application beyond East Timor.

Experts on Indonesia asked by Amnesty International to examine the documents were satisfied that they were genuine on the basis of the military terminology used, the nature of the charts and diagrams included, the format and style, the official stamps and their detailed comprehension of military organizational structure and tactics.

Indonesian officials have argued against the authenticity of the manuals largely on the grounds that it would, in the words of the country's Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, be "fantastic" that a manual prescribing the use of torture should have been issued. But the documents do not deal exclusively with torture. They are not "torture manuals" and Amnesty International has never referred to them as such.

There are nine manuals in all covering a wide range of strategic problems, such as how to break up Fretilin support networks, the system of security in towns and resettlement villages, how to provide comprehensive guidance for villages, and procedures for interrogating captives. The reference to—and clear acceptance of the use of—torture is contained in a subsection of the manual on interrogation methods. Guidelines in the manuals on breaking up the Fretilin support networks and on the system of security in towns and "resettlement villages" appear to permit interrogators to threaten the lives of prisoners.

First-hand evidence from other sources that military personnel have persistently resorted to torture and that people taken into custody by Indonesian troops have been arbitrarily executed tends to confirm Amnesty International's belief that the manuals are authentic. In any event, these manuals are only one part of the extensive evidence available on torture and other human rights violations in East Timor.

Other information has come from people interviewed by Amnesty International — they were generally unwilling to be identified by name. They included people who, because of work, position or family relationship, claimed to have knowledge of particular violations. Amnesty International also interviewed people who said they themselves had been the victims of human rights violations; they included former prisoners, people who said they had been tortured and others who gave accounts of how they had survived mass executions. Some of these informants have been affiliated with one or another East Timorese political grouping. However, Amnesty International has not

relied exclusively on sources identified with any one political party or social or religious grouping in East Timor.

Alleged abuses by Fretilin

On several occasions Amnesty International has received reports of human rights abuses through Fretilin channels. In some instances, it has been able to check such reports through other sources.

Amnesty International has been accused of showing partiality by ignoring reports of human rights violations allegedly perpetrated by supporters of Fretilin. The organization is aware of a number of such reports, including some which appear to be well-founded. They include:

- Reports of the killing and serious ill-treatment of prisoners held by Fretilin in Dili and Aileu in the period from August 1975 to January 1976.
- A statement issued by Fretilin itself reporting the execution in December 1983 of a number of East Timorese alleged to have collaborated with Indonesian forces.
- Complaints about "Fretilin brutalities" made by Msgr Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the Roman Catholic Apostolic Administrator for the Diocese of East Timor, in press interviews given between July and September 1984.

Amnesty International takes no position on armed conflicts. In the particular case of East Timor, the organization does not take a position on the status of that territory. Amnesty International's sole concern relates strictly to the protection of human rights falling within its mandate. The organization believes that the torture and killing of detainees by anyone, including all parties to any armed conflict, can never be accepted.

Indonesia's guarantees

Torture and arbitrary killing of people in custody by Indonesian troops are clearly at variance with publicly-stated Indonesian policy. In August 1977 President Suharto personally announced an amnesty for East Timorese surrendering to Indonesian forces which unconditionally guaranteed their safety. The initial amnesty offer was subsequently renewed and was still in force at the end of 1984. In addition people interviewed by Amnesty International have reported that Indonesian forces constantly dropped leaflets in areas where there was believed to be a Fretilin presence assuring people who surrendered that they would be safe. They have reported also that individual East Timorese were given guarantees for their safety when they surrendered and that people

who had surrendered or been captured were induced to make radio broadcasts and other forms of propaganda attesting that they had not been harmed. In his September 1984 statement to the Special Committee on Decolonization, Indonesia's representative stated:

"The use of torture and other forms of ill-treatment in interrogating suspects is contrary to the State philosophy, *Pancasila*, to the basic values of the Indonesian people and to the laws and regulations, particularly Law No. 14 (1970) on the Basic Provisions concerning Judicial Power and Law No. 8 (1980) on Criminal Law of Procedure. The use of torture and other forms of ill-treatment in the interrogation of suspects is subject to disciplinary action and prosecution. The Indonesian Government has also intensified efforts to prevent such torture and ill-treatment from occurring."

Amnesty International and the Indonesian Government

Amnesty International has repeatedly presented its concerns directly to the Indonesian Government in meetings with its representatives and in appeals and letters to President Suharto and to government officials. It has also made its concerns known through the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization.

Indonesian officials have responded publicly by questioning Amnesty International's methods and motives and denying the validity of its findings. They have accused the organization of relying on unnamed sources and documentary material of dubious authenticity such as the military manuals; and of making no effort to verify reports and of not attempting to consult the Indonesian authorities about its concerns. They have also stated that there is no basis to the reports of serious human rights violations, and have maintained that human rights are respected in East Timor. To support these arguments they have stated that international humanitarian bodies are granted regular access to the territory. They have also announced the releases of detainees held on Atauro Island, the most widely publicized of East Timor's places of detention, and on several occasions have set a date by which the island will have ceased to be used to detain prisoners. They have presented the fact that since December 1983 people charged with political offences have begun to be brought to trial as further evidence of the respect that Indonesian forces have shown for human rights in East Timor.

The question of access is important, particularly in view of the frequent resolutions passed by bodies of the United Nations which have requested unrestricted access to East Timor by humanitarian organiza-

tions. Amnesty International has noted with regret that visits by humanitarian organizations, particularly the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), have been irregular and have not involved full access to all parts of the territory.

ICRC visits

ICRC teams operated in East Timor from 30 August 1975 until the eve of the Indonesian invasion, 6 December 1975. After the exposure to visiting diplomats and journalists of famine conditions in the "resettlement villages" in September 1978, an agreement in principle was reached between the ICRC and the Indonesian authorities for a preliminary ICRC visit in 1979. This visit took place in April 1979 and was followed in July 1979 by a survey resulting in agreement on a program covering eight villages with about 60,000 inhabitants.

The relief operation began in October 1979, more than a year after famine conditions in East Timor had been first exposed, and continued until April 1981, reaching some 80,000 people in 15 villages. After April 1981 a limited food relief program run by the Indonesian Red Cross continued without the continuous presence of ICRC personnel.

After the military "Operation Security", which lasted from April to September 1981, the ICRC and the Indonesian authorities agreed on a program of prison visits by an ICRC delegation. These began in February 1982 with visits to Atauro island and the Comarca prison in Dili. In October and November 1982 the ICRC visited the Comarca, Atauro island and KODIM, the district command military barracks in Lospalos.

Despite initial Indonesian agreement in January 1983 to an ICRC proposal to visit all detention centres in East Timor from June 1983 and subsequent requests for permission to proceed with this, the ICRC was able to undertake protection activities only on Atauro during 1983. Its food relief program was suspended in July 1983 because of restrictions imposed by the Indonesian authorities on the movement of delegates.

In December 1983 an agreement was reached on a phased program of prison visits from March to October 1984: ICRC delegates visited East Timorese detainees held on Atauro and in prisons in Dili, Jakarta, Kupang (West Timor), Lospalos and Viqueque. (All the preceding information on ICRC activities relating to East Timor is taken from the ICRC's public Annual Reports.)

In other words:

- The ICRC was not permitted to undertake activities of any description in East Timor from December 1975 to October 1979.
- The first prison visits did not take place until February 1982, more than six years after the invasion.

- Prison visits since then have been irregular and by the end of 1984 they had still covered only a limited number of prisons.

Other visits

Irregular visits by humanitarian organizations which are denied total access cannot in themselves provide reassurance that violations of human rights are not occurring or have abated. The objective of these organizations is primarily the provision of humanitarian assistance, which in the circumstances of East Timor has been incompatible with their engaging in public reporting of the situation, even where their mandate would allow them to do so.

Amnesty International has received extensive information on the difficulties facing visitors who wish to assess the situation in East Timor. These difficulties have included: limitations of their freedom of movement (usually explained by the Indonesian authorities as being due to the security situation or the unavailability of transportation); constant surveillance; and reliance on interpreters selected by the Indonesian authorities.

- Journalists applying to visit East Timor or once there seeking to travel have often been refused permission on the grounds that helicopters were not available. For instance, in November 1982 the *New York Times* daily newspaper reported: "One reporter's requests were turned down on the grounds that there were too few helicopters to transport a visitor . . . and that the province's newly appointed Governor, Mario Carrascalao, needed 'time to breathe'."

- Amnesty International has interviewed people who acted as interpreters during such visits. These people said they were instructed by the Indonesian authorities not to pass on complaints or information that would discredit the authorities. Amnesty International has a copy of a tape recorded by an Australian Broadcasting Corporation correspondent during an unscheduled meeting between a group of Fretilin fighters and members of the Australian parliamentary delegation which visited East Timor in July 1983. The tape clearly showed that the Indonesian-appointed interpreter misinterpreted crucial points of the meeting.

At the same time, East Timorese have testified to the elaborate preparations made for such visits such as the mobilization of people to greet the visitors and to demonstrate during their visits in favour of integration with Indonesia; the removal of military equipment from public places; and steps taken to ensure that people who might communicate information would not discredit the Indonesian occupation did not do so, including their detention for the period of the visit.

Amnesty International therefore considers it of utmost importance that the Government of Indonesia grant to outside and independent

observers every possible cooperation in assessing the human rights situation in East Timor. This is particularly important in the light of reports from December 1975 onwards of human rights violations and the denial by the Indonesian Government that such violations have been occurring.

It was partly with these considerations in mind that Amnesty International made its request in March 1984 to be allowed to send a delegation to observe the trials then taking place. Permission was refused. No international observers attended the trials. The organization considers that trials of this kind must be open to international observers so that their conformity with international legal standards for fair trials can be ascertained.

Recommendations

Amnesty International has on several occasions since the 1975 invasion presented its concerns in East Timor directly to the Indonesian Government. It has also made a series of recommendations to the Indonesian Government.

- In December 1977 it appealed to the government to permit international observers increased access to East Timor.
- In April 1980 it expressed concern about reports that people who had surrendered to or been captured by Indonesian forces had subsequently "disappeared" and might have been executed. It urged President Suharto to undertake full inquiries into these reports and into conditions of detainees. It requested that Indonesian forces be instructed to ensure the safety of former Fretilin supporters in accordance with the terms of the amnesty initially offered by the President in August 1977 and subsequently renewed.
- In July 1983, on receipt of the military manuals, it expressed concern to President Suharto that these documents appeared to indicate that torture and threats to the lives of prisoners were official Indonesian policy, in violation of the guarantees previously offered under the amnesty. Amnesty International urged President Suharto to issue immediate instructions to all forces under his command prohibiting the torture of prisoners under all circumstances.
- In August 1984, after its request to observe trials in East Timor had been refused, Amnesty International informed the Indonesian Government of its reasons for believing that the trials might not conform to international standards. It requested further specific information on the conduct of the trials and on the fate or whereabouts of a number of people who were reported to have "disappeared".

The organization believes that the urgency of its recommendations has not diminished. It considers it imperative for the protection of

human rights in East Timor that full investigations be started immediately into all reported cases of "disappearance", torture and extrajudicial execution; that instructions be issued to Indonesian troops to ensure the safety of people taken into custody; and that judicial action be taken against people found to have engaged in torture, extrajudicial execution and arbitrary detention. Amnesty International has not received any information to suggest these recommendations have been followed.

In this report, Amnesty International presents its findings on human rights in East Timor between December 1975 and the end of 1984. It believes that the evidence shows a persistent pattern of human rights violations in the territory extending over a period of nine years. Although Amnesty International believes that the violations have continued over the whole nine year period, including during those periods described by the Indonesian authorities as periods of "normality", the most widespread of violations have occurred in recurrent waves and have generally been associated with times of increased military activity.

Waves of repression

The most serious of these waves of repression occurred in 1978 and 1979. Several hundred people at least are believed to have been executed or to have "disappeared" after the completion of the major Indonesian offensive begun in November 1978, which drove thousands of East Timorese out of the bush and down from the mountains. Since 1979 Indonesian Government spokespersons have repeatedly represented the situation in East Timor as having returned to a state of normality with opposition to Indonesian rule allegedly confined to small bands of Fretilin "remnants". The main focus of Indonesian activity is claimed as having been the economic development of the territory.

The available evidence indicates in fact that human rights in East Timor continued to be persistently violated after 1979. At times of heightened military activity, this repression is reported to have been particularly intense and to have involved the arrest, execution and "disappearance" of large numbers of people. Such repressive waves occurred: (1) after a Fretilin attack on Dili in June 1980; (2) during the period from April to September 1981 when Indonesian forces launched Operation Security; and (3) after the Indonesian offensive initiated in August 1983 with the stated aim of eliminating Fretilin.

However, even during periods of supposed normality Amnesty International has received information of continuing violations of human rights.

During his address to the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization in November 1982, the Indonesian representative stated:

"We are made to believe that there are over 1,000 armed

Fretilin guerrillas in East Timor, that they are organized in underground groups in every city and resettlement camp and that they carry out large-scale attacks. The fact is that there is no more Fretilin in East Timor."

The assessment of the situation given in the Indonesian military manuals which were issued at about the same time tends to confirm the picture that the Indonesian representative wished to deny. These manuals refer to the existence of networks of Fretilin support as a "concrete fact that must be faced"; to Fretilin as having adopted an offensive strategy; and to it drawing support from influential members of the community, including people who had been placed by the Indonesian authorities in positions of trust.

Of specific concern to Amnesty International, information received indicates that at this time of supposed normality, arrests and extrajudicial executions were still being carried out.

In August 1982 in the district of Ainaro, more than 600 people were reported to have been arrested and deported to the island of Atauro. Several people were reported to have been executed in the district during the same period.

The information available indicates that the fundamental rights to freedom of expression, association, assembly and movement have been systematically denied in East Timor since the invasion of December 1975. These rights have been denied in many ways including: by prohibiting groups of more than four people to gather in public places; by requiring people wishing to travel beyond their immediate neighbourhood to obtain permits (*surat jalan*); by the periodic imposition of curfews; by regular house-to-house searches; by checking mail sent to and from East Timor. Moreover, Indonesian troops have generally acted outside the framework of the law, conducting themselves in an arbitrary fashion not simply towards people suspected of opposition to their presence but towards the general population.* Amnesty International believes that the evidence of this report indicates, that in the absence of clear efforts by the Indonesian Government to bring its forces within the framework of law, gross and persistent human rights violations have occurred in East Timor since 1975.

*In the course of its investigations into human rights violations which fall within its mandate, Amnesty International has received wider allegations of serious misconduct by Indonesian troops. Thus, for example, it has received reports of random acts of public brutality, of the conscription of the population to perform forced labour and to participate in military operations, of sexual molestation and rape and of the abduction of orphaned children from East Timor, all attributed to members of the Indonesian armed forces.

Extrajudicial executions and 'Disappearances'

There is considerable evidence indicating that Indonesian forces in East Timor resorted to large-scale extrajudicial executions from the very first days of the invasion. Many hundreds of non-combatant civilians in Dili are reported to have been the victims of massacres on 7 December 1975 and succeeding days and Amnesty International has testimonies from people who say they witnessed such arbitrary killings.

Afterwards, beginning in 1978, extrajudicial killings and "disappearances" continued, reaching peaks during a series of "waves". Amnesty International's investigations have revealed a pattern of recurring anti-Fretilin campaigns by Indonesian forces which have included extensive and apparently systematic killings and "disappearances" both of combatants who had surrendered or been captured and of non-combatants (often relatives) who were suspected of contact with Fretilin guerrillas. The victims of these human rights violations have included groups of as many as 400 men, women and children said to have been killed on a mountainside in September 1981 (see below); the most recently reported mass killing—of about 100 men—was said to have occurred in March 1984 (see below). Random killings of individuals and small groups of people and "disappearances" have also been regularly reported, most recently in June 1984.

Because of the difficulties of verification referred to in the previous chapter it has been impossible to arrive at a precise estimate of the total number of victims of arbitrary killings and "disappearances". Amnesty International has the names of over 550 people reported to have been killed outside combat or to have "disappeared" between 1975 and the end of 1984, but it considers that this figure falls far short of the true total.

Most reports of extrajudicial executions received by Amnesty International have come secondhand—however, the people to whom the incidents had been reported are in the organization's view reliable and capable of reporting accurately; they vouched for the trustworthiness of those who said they had been eye-witnesses to or survivors of massacres. Furthermore, in many instances the information was corroborated by independent sources.

Amnesty International has on several occasions asked the Indonesian Government to conduct investigations into reports of such incidents. Sometimes, in particularly widely-publicized incidents such as the alleged execution of 400 people in Lacluta in September 1981, Indonesian officials have given their own version of events (see 'Operation Security'). However, Amnesty International knows no case of extrajudicial execution where the Indonesian Government has conducted a satisfactory investigation.

'Disappearances'

The evidence of large-scale "disappearances" in East Timor is more extensive than that of extrajudicial executions. Families and friends have been able to report to organizations like Amnesty International that relatives and others have been taken into custody and have gone missing; they cannot be certain what has happened to them but they are able to report (a) the person concerned was last seen in the custody of members of the security forces and (b) that the authorities have refused to acknowledge the detention—in other words, the person has "disappeared".

Amnesty International has interviewed a number of relatives and friends of people who have "disappeared" in East Timor in the recurring military campaign "waves" between 1978 and 1984. Again, it is impossible to put an exact figure to the total number of "disappearances" or to ascertain what has happened to most of the victims. Amnesty International knows of some having resurfaced in prison; they include a number of people reported to have "disappeared" in June and July 1980 and between August and December 1983. But the organization has received persistent reports that many of the "disappeared" were extrajudicially executed after being seized. These include reports that a number of people were taken from detention in the Comarca prison in Dili in February and April 1979 and executed at Areia Branca beach east of the capital and Lake Tacitolu to its west; and that others were taken from the KODIM barracks in Lospalos in April and May 1979 and executed in the villages of Kili and Tutuala.

Whatever the fate of people who have "disappeared", the fact of the "disappearances" and the refusal of the authorities to acknowledge them are well substantiated. Repeated requests by Amnesty International to the Indonesian Government for investigations into the fate or whereabouts of people reported to have "disappeared" have failed to elicit a satisfactory response.

Amnesty International has received general descriptions of the atmosphere prevailing at times when systematic campaigns of execution and "disappearance" were under way. Father Leoneto Rego, a Portuguese priest who had been allowed to leave East Timor in June 1979, described

the situation at the time of his departure thus: "No one who had links with Fretilin is safe; at any time people can be taken without their family knowing and put somewhere else; put in prison camp; or sometimes they just 'disappear'."

A description of the atmosphere in Baucau, also in 1979, reads: "the common topic of conversation centred on crimes: two more have been murdered; so-and-so has been called by the KOTIS [*Komando Taktis*] or by the RTP, [*Resimen Tim Pertempuran*] for interrogation, so-and-so was tortured in the Flamboyan [formerly the inn in Baucau]."

People inquiring into the whereabouts of someone who had "disappeared" were reportedly commonly told by Indonesian troops that the person had gone to a specific place—Baucau, Lospalos, Kelikai, Jakarta, the island of Bali or some other Indonesian island—or that the person had "gone for a bath" (*mandi* or *mandi laut*). Another report from 1979 sent to Amnesty International reads:

"When they want to liquidate someone, they say that they have gone to continue their studies or that they have left for Jakarta or Lisbon, or that they were called urgently to Kelikai. Kelikai is an administrative post at the foot of Mount Matebian where they have carried out many murders. To speak of Kelikai makes our heart thump and our hair stand on end, for Kelikai means certain death for those called there."

According to reports received by Amnesty International, similar explanations were still being given in 1984. One such report said:

"In May 1984, 23 people were arrested in Loi Boro Uai, Baucau. Eight of them later 'disappeared'. Relatives who brought them food were told that they had 'gone to study in Jakarta'. The unfortunate ones were illiterate."

The threat of execution is reported to have been resorted to frequently during interrogations by members of the Indonesian security forces. Such a practice appears to have been accepted in the manuals issued to Indonesian troops serving in East Timor.

A guideline in section 3.c of the Technical Manual of Methods for Village Authorities (Babinsa/Team Pembina Desa) To Break Up the Network of GPK (Fretilin) Support, states:

"Point out that their friends are still alive because they have given honest confessions and have been prepared to help the armed forces in the prompt restoration of security."

Again in the Technical Manual on the System of Security in Towns and Resettlement Areas, section V.15.c.3, a technique recommended to interrogators is:

"Giving a guarantee of life to the person being interrogated on

condition that he gives an honest confession and is prepared to assist the progress of the Operation."

Many people interviewed by Amnesty International have stated that Indonesian soldiers frequently issued threats that relatives of Fretilin members would be wiped out to the "third or fourth generation". The reported fate of a number of families with members prominent in Fretilin would appear to have given credence to such threats (see case histories of the Lobato and Alves families, "Normality").

Several sources have reported that they believed that Indonesian forces had selected as targets for execution not only people suspected of Fretilin connections, but the whole stratum of educated Timorese, particularly during 1978 and 1979. Since Amnesty International has received background details on only a relatively small number of all those reportedly executed or "disappeared", it is not possible to confirm this. However a number of people named as having been executed or as "disappeared" were identified as former seminarians, teachers, nurses and public officials, including people incorporated into the Indonesian administrative structure in East Timor. Church sources have estimated that as many as 40 former seminarians of the Seminary of Our Lady of Fatima were killed in late 1978 alone.

In addition to reports of people killed in what appear to have been systematic campaigns of executions, Amnesty International has also received frequent reports of Indonesian troops perpetrating random killing of individuals and small groups of people. Large-scale random massacres have also been reported, for instance:

- the reported killing of up to 50 Chinese males in the town of Maubara in December 1975 shortly after the Indonesian invasion;
- the reported killing already referred to above of up to 400 men, women and children on Mount Aitana near Lacluta in September 1981 during Operation Security;
- the reported killing of as many as 200 people in the village of Kraras, Viqueque, in reprisal for and shortly after the killing of 16 Indonesian soldiers in the village on 8 August 1983;
- the reported killing of about 100 males living in the vicinity of the village of Hauba near Bobonaro in March 1984.

Several of the random killings of individuals are reported to have been committed in public. Amnesty International has received reports that:

- Two people named as Mano Loi and Francisco were publicly beaten and stoned to death by Indonesian soldiers on 29 November 1978.
- Members of the RPKAD captured four Fretilin suspects—including a woman named Esperanca—near Vemasse, beheaded them and

displayed their heads in the Laga Bazaar in Baucau on 20 December 1980.

- A former Fretilin member, named as Florindo, was publicly burned to death in Ainaro in about October 1982. He is said to have surrendered the previous month and to have been recruited to work with the Indonesians and sent back to the bush to induce Fretilin followers to surrender. Soon after his return from the bush, the town of Ainaro was attacked. The Indonesians reportedly accused him of betraying them and burned him to death publicly as an example.

Amnesty International has received other reports of people being killed by being injected with water, by mutilation and by being thrown from helicopters.

The invasion

Indonesian paratroops and marines began landing in Dili early on 7 December 1975. On that and succeeding days, many hundreds of the people of Dili are believed to have been the victims of arbitrary killing by Indonesian troops. Amnesty International has received reports of large-scale arbitrary killings in other places too, including Baucau, Venilale and Maubara.

It has received specific information about a number of reported massacres and of non-combatant civilians in the capital on 7 and 8 December in the harbour area in the Colmera district, and in the vicinity of the military police barracks in Vila Verde.

The accounts of these killings have come from several sources, including people who say they were eye-witnesses who survived them.

One of those reported killed on 7 December was Isabel Lobato, wife of the then Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, Nicolau Lobato. Isabel Lobato is reported to have left her brother-in-law's house at about 10 am on 7 December with about 15 other people, intending to make for the Bishop's palace. On the way they were stopped by soldiers and told to turn back and go to the public gardens behind the port area. Once there, Isabel Lobato was singled out by a man known to have been an informer for PIDE, the Portuguese security police, and dragged off by two soldiers. According to one testimony:

"The soldiers kept pushing her forward with their rifles. She was falling down along the way. She was asking them to forgive

her. They took her to the wharf. Two minutes later we heard rifle fire."

Other people closely associated with Fretilin reportedly executed on 7 December included Rosa Bonaparte Soares (Muki), Secretary of the *Organização Popular da Mulher de Timor* (People's Organization of Timorese Women), the Timorese poet Borja da Costa, and the Australian journalist Roger East, who had set up an East Timor news agency with Fretilin encouragement after his arrival in Dili in early November 1975.

The body of Isabel Lobato was still lying on the wharf the next day according to the account of Chong Kui Yan, a trader then living in Dili and now in Australia. In an interview in July 1984 he told Amnesty International that he had been a member of a work party ordered to throw bodies into the sea on 8 December. He said he witnessed the killings of about 40 Chinese-Timorese on the same day:

"I and many others had moved into the Toko Lay since August.* My family lived near the old airport in Bairro Pite, Comoro. There were more than one hundred people staying at the Toko Lay. The Indonesians first attacked at about 6.30 am. In the Toko Lay we heard a lot of shooting and the sound of machine-guns. At about 10 that morning they started bombarding and shooting at the house.

"People started screaming, saying they were civilians, and not political. One person, Tsam I Tin, who had come to Dili from Same, came out of the house next to the Toko Lay to surrender and was shot dead. His son came out also and was also shot but not fatally. He pretended to be dead and survived.

"The Indonesians then broke into the building and told everyone to come out. They took us down to the beach by the Sporting Clube. There were more than 10 of them. All of us were taken, including my wife who was pregnant, and my child. When we were in front of the Sporting Clube, we were made to sit in line. The Indonesians made as though they were going to shoot at us but did not fire.

*August 1975 was the month of the so-called "civil war" prompted by the UDT coup. From then on many people evacuated their homes for the larger buildings in the town such as the Toko Lay and the Assistencia building. They were joined by refugees from towns outside Dili, including Suai, Same and Likisa. After the invasion many families sent their daughters to the Bishop's palace out of fear that they might be molested or raped by Indonesian troops. The Toko Lay was a four-storey trading establishment in Dili's Colmera district. Its owner, Lay Tin Hsiang, had gone abroad several months before. Permission for members of the Chinese community to use the building was given by Lay Tin Hsiang's brother-in-law, Chico Lay.

"When people cried out, the Indonesians ordered us to walk on for about 50 metres down towards the harbour. We were told to stop again and to face the sea. The taller ones were told to stand in front, the shorter ones behind. Again they cocked their rifles and made as if to fire. Then they made us walk to the harbour gate. Again they cocked their rifles and the people were scared again.

"Then the Indonesians told the women and children to go to the Chinese school. They started gesturing because we couldn't understand their language. We thought from their gestures that they wanted us to go and clean up somewhere.

"They chose 16 of us—strong-looking ones—and took us into the public garden. When we entered the garden, we saw some Timorese digging there. They sent those ones away and we took over the digging. While we dug, the Indonesians brought the bodies of some dead Indonesians. By the time we had buried the Indonesians, it was about evening and they let us go home. As we were going home, we were stopped in front of the Bishop's palace by other Indonesians. We were told to go back to the harbour. That night we slept in the new customs house guarded by Indonesians.

"The next morning we asked to go home but were not allowed to. We were told to go back to the garden and to dig again. That day we worked about three hours and buried about 20 more Indonesians. At about midday, six of us, of whom I was one, were told to go down to the harbour. The other 10 in our group stayed in the garden.

"At the harbour were many dead bodies, Isabel Lobato's was the only one of them that I recognized. We were told to tie the bodies to iron poles, attach bricks and throw the bodies in the sea.

"After we had thrown all the bodies in the sea, about 20 people were brought in, made to face the sea and shot dead. They were Chinese people who lived in Colmera.

"There were about 100 Indonesians there. [Troops wearing] green berets brought them in; [others wearing] red berets—always two of them—killed them, shooting them in the head with M-16s [rifles].

"In the first group were about 20 people. More came later including the 10 of our group who had stayed outside in the garden.

"After the killing stopped, we spent another one or two hours tying the people as before and throwing them in the sea.

We were kept in the garden for a short while longer. Eventually we were allowed to go."

Amnesty International has compiled a list of the names of Chinese who were killed in the harbour area on 8 December. From all the information received it would appear that this list is not complete.

Chinese-Timorese reported killed in the harbour area

1. Yong Kong Yi, aged about 60, living in the Toko Lay
2. Lay Chung To, aged about 60, living in the Toko Lay
3. Wong Seu Fa, living in the Toko Lay
4. Lay Pin Leung, living in the Toko Lay
5. Li Chap Pin, a carpenter in his 40s living in the Toko Lay
6. Jong Qui Jung, wife of Li Chap Pin, also living in the Toko Lay
7. Leong Yung Fa
8. Yong Yung Nhang, aged about 60
9. The wife of Yong Yung Nhang, also aged about 60
10. Li Nhang Ki, aged about 40
11. Li Chap Kang, aged about 40
12. Lay Ping Leung, aged about 60, trader from Remexio
13. Lay Siu Seang, aged about 30, son of Lay Ping Leung
14. Wong Seu Fa, worked for Faki trading house
- 15*. Lay Kim Fa, aged about 25-30, cook/shopkeeper
- 16*. Chung Tseu Ching, aged about 35
- 17*. Lay Mi Fon, in his 40s, driver
- 18*. Lay Kian Pau, aged 17, student, son of Lay Mi Fon
- 19*. Tsam Meu Yang, aged 16, student
- 20*. Yong Tsoi Sin, son of Young A. Mug
- 21*. Lay Tso In, aged 17, student, son of Lay Seong Heang
- 22*. Lay Tin Chean, from Bobonaro
- 23*. Lay Su Po, aged 25, from Aileu, worked for SOTA, a trading company
- 24*. Lay Su Chean, aged 18, brother of Lay Su Po

Those marked with an asterisk were the 10 members of the work detail assigned to dispose of bodies referred to in Chong Kui Yan's account to Amnesty International.

The body of Lay Tin Chean was reportedly bound and thrown into the sea by his own father. The two women killed, the wives of Li Chap Pin and Yong Yung Nhang, had both insisted on accompanying their husbands from the gardens to the harbour area.

In the months following the invasion many people in Dili had no idea of the fate of their "disappeared" relatives. It was six weeks before the father of Lay Tso In discovered that his son had been killed.

Large numbers of people—according to some reports possibly

several hundred — were executed in the suburb of Vila Verde and in particular around the former Portuguese military police barracks. The population of Vila Verde was rounded up by troops in green berets and taken to a football field opposite the barracks.

Carlos Afonso, a student then living in Dili and interviewed by Amnesty International in July 1984, said he was one of those assembled on the football field. He stated the following:

“The green berets had found a dead Indonesian by the military police barracks. They thought that he must have been killed by civilians because he had been killed with a sword and not by a bullet.

“The Indonesians brought all of the people across to the military police barracks. They selected about 50 strongly-built men who were ordered to enter the barracks. I was one of them. There was nothing in the barracks. When we came out we were ordered to the north side of the barracks. We were told we were to wait for a helicopter which would come to take the body away. The helicopter didn't come.

“We were all told to stand, then to sit. The Indonesians prepared guns as if to fire. Everyone cried out, some tried to kiss the feet of the Indonesians. Some were carrying Indonesian flags; some were APODETI.

“A sergeant said ‘Kill them’. Another sergeant asked who was APODETI. Everybody stood.

“When he saw everybody stand, the sergeant shouted ‘Fire’. I fell and some others fell on me. I had been shot in my right hand. I put my bleeding hand to my face and pretended to be dead.

“A car came. I thought that they had come to collect the bodies but they left the bodies and took the Indonesian soldiers.

“After they had gone, a few people stood up. Some just ran a few steps and then collapsed.

“Four people survived.”

Amnesty International has also received reports that as many as 100 others who were living in the Assistencia building to the south of the military police barracks were killed by Indonesian troops on 8 December 1975.

One of the survivors was Joao Brito, who was reported to have been killed during the Indonesian parliamentary elections of March 1982, reportedly for shouting slogans against Golkar (the government political party) outside the KODIM barracks in Baucau in March 1982.

These specific incidents do not exhaust the accounts received by Amnesty International of random killings in Dili in the first days of the invasion. The organization also has many accounts from people who did not actually see arbitrary killings but whose experiences in the aftermath of the invasion indicate the scale of such killings. For instance, a woman now living in Australia told Amnesty International:

“When the Indonesians arrived we were all ordered to leave our houses [in Santa Cruz]. We were told it would be for three days but after three days we were still not allowed back. I had moved together with about 80 others to Xavier's house in Lecidere. After four days I went home to pick up some fruit and rice because I was hungry. There were bodies lying around everywhere. My sister-in-law told the Indonesians to bury the bodies or burn them, or else there would be a disaster.”

* * * *

‘Operation Clean-up’, 1979

According to Amnesty International's information several hundred East Timorese were arbitrarily executed throughout the territory between late 1978 and mid-1979 after their surrender to or capture by Indonesian troops and that this may have been part of a systematic campaign. Beginning in September 1977, Indonesian armed forces used aerial and naval bombardments as they intensified operations against Fretilin's forces and the population under its control. This campaign reached its culmination in November 1978 with the encirclement and massive bombardment of Mount Matebian in the east of the territory, to which a large number of people under Fretilin control had by that time been driven. During this assault many more thousands of people were captured by or surrendered to Indonesian forces. Most were moved into strategically sited “resettlement villages” (see “Torture and ill-treatment”), where they were immediately put through a process of screening designed to determine their subsequent treatment.

Executions and ‘disappearances’

The systematic execution and “disappearance” of people who had surrendered to or been captured by Indonesian forces appears to have reached its peak from March to May 1979. Amnesty International has received extensive reports of the execution in this period of hundreds of

people, most of whom had surrendered to the Indonesian authorities in the preceding months. The organization has the names of a total of 365 people reportedly executed in such circumstances between November 1978 and May 1979 (the names appear in the Appendix). Among the names are those of groups of people reportedly killed in the eastern part of the territory between March and May 1979. The reports include those alleging that:

- 14 people from the area of Fato Berliu were executed there after surrender in March and April 1979;
- 97 people were executed in Lospalos in April-May 1979;
- 44 people were executed in Kelikai in April-May 1979;
- 118 people were executed in Uatolari, Uatocarabau, Viqueque, Ossu, Baguia and hamlets on the southern slopes of Mount Matebian in one operation between 15 and 17 April 1979.

Amnesty International also has the names of others who were reportedly killed or "disappeared" in other parts of the territory including the districts of Aileu and Same and in the capital, Dili. One list sent to Amnesty International contained 51 names of people reportedly killed in the eastern part of the territory during these months. It identifies them as mostly people who had held positions of second and third rank in Fretilin and some as people in civilian occupations who had never participated in the fighting. Amnesty International has received more detailed information on a number of cases. They include those of:

- Inacio de Fonseca, also known as Mau Solan, a member of Fretilin's Central Committee, surrendered in late 1978 near Ossu with his wife. The following is said to have happened: he was personally assured by the commander of the regiment to whom he surrendered that he would be safe. He was killed a few months later in April 1979 in Kelikai.
- Antonio Sarmiento, a market gardener in Selo, Aileu, surrendered in January 1979. Indonesian troops are reported to have considered him a Fretilin suspect and to have taken him away one night in July 1979. He never returned.
- Norberto Correia, from the village of Seical, Baucau, was taken to Kelikai in May 1979 and interrogated about his sons who were thought to be in the bush with Fretilin. The father was not known to be a Fretilin supporter. He is reported to have been killed after interrogation.
- After surrendering to the Indonesians in Uatocarabau, Viqueque, in October or November 1978, Joao Andrade Sarmiento returned to his home in Lospalos and resumed his work as a nurse. In June 1979, he and a number of others were reportedly seized and killed in Lospalos.

Among the reported victims were: Tome Cristovao, who is said never to have been a Fretilin sympathizer— he had worked with Indonesians as an interpreter but was apparently suspected of disaffection because he had protested about the killings being carried out in the Los Palos district; and Benedito Savio, who was working as an assistant to the district administrator of Los Palos at the time of his death.

Other reported victims of arbitrary killings during 1979 were people who had been incorporated into the Indonesian administrative or military apparatus after the invasion.

During this same period there were also many in Dili who "disappeared" and are believed to have been executed. An Indonesian who visited East Timor for several months in the first half of 1979 reported that in late March "the people of Dili were in a state of nervousness because of the news that the remaining Fretilin leaders had been kidnapped at night and no one knew of their whereabouts".

Several Fretilin leaders who had surrendered or been captured "disappeared" in Dili and elsewhere at this time. Among them were several former members of Fretilin's Central Committee and people who had been appointed ministers when the Democratic Republic of East Timor had been proclaimed on 27 November 1975 including: Hamis Basarewan Bin Umar, Minister of Education and Culture; Antonio Duarte Cavarino, Minister of Justice; Juvenal Maria de Fatima Inacio, Minister of Finance; Hermenegildo Alves, Vice-Minister of National Defence; Eduardo dos Anjos, Minister of Communications and Transport; Domingos da Costa Ribeira, Vice-Minister for Communications and Transport; and Central Committee members, Maria do Ceu Pereira Cavarino, Dulce Maria da Cruz, Sebastiao Monatalvao, Afonso Redentor de Araujo and Leopold Joaquim.

Among those who "disappeared" during 1979 were several people who had surrendered or been captured many months previously. They included detainees and people who were at liberty at the time of their "disappearance".

Four who "disappeared" in Dili in March and April 1979 were Leopoldo Joaquim, Maria Gorete Joaquim, Anibal Araujo and Joao Baptista de Jesus Soares. All four were formerly associated with Fretilin and had been used by Indonesian forces after surrender or capture for propaganda purposes.

Joao Baptista de Jesus Soares had been a sergeant in the Portuguese army with which he had fought in Portuguese Guinea (now Guinea-Bissau). He had been a Fretilin commander in Zumalai, in the far southwest of the territory, until his capture in late 1977, reportedly after being wounded in the leg. He was brought to Dili and held in the San Tai Ho warehouse until about September 1978.

Anibal Araujo, aged 29, was captured in April or May 1978 in the

area of Same. He also was sent to the San Tai Ho warehouse immediately after capture and was held there until about September 1978. Before the invasion he had been an administrator in Uatolari.

Leopoldo Joaquim, a member of the Fretilin Central Committee with responsibility for Internal Administration and Security, surrendered in Same in early 1978. Afterwards the Indonesians produced leaflets publicizing his surrender, which were distributed in areas where Fretilin forces were believed to be present. He also was held in the San Tai Ho warehouse.

Maria Gorete Joaquim, aged 17, a niece of Leopoldo Joaquim, had been briefly detained in 1976 as a member of Fretilin's student organization, UNETIM. She is reported to have been interrogated several times after her release.

Periodically members of this foursome would be taken out of Dili to make propaganda for the Indonesians. In March or April 1979 they were taken from their homes for the last time, first Anibal Araujo and Joao Baptista de Jesus Soares, then Leopoldo and Maria Gorete Joaquim. None of them ever returned.*

A relative of Anibal Araujo told Amnesty International:

"When they came for Anibal early one morning, I thought it was for work in the bush again. When he didn't come back after a while, I thought he must still be working. Then they came to get Leopoldo and Gorete. I thought now he'll come home. Eventually Red Berets came to tell me he was dead, killed by Fretilin. They came because my daughter-in-law had kept going to headquarters bothering them asking about Anibal. I asked them 'Why didn't you bring the body so I could bury him?' They said: 'Who would pick up a body from the bush to bring it back?' Just after they told me he was dead I heard from a man who worked with the Red Berets as a TBO [auxiliary] that Anibal had been taken to Lospalos and was alive."

When Leopoldo and Maria Gorete Joaquim were taken from their homes, their relatives were told they were being taken to Baucau. Various unconfirmed reports of the execution of the two have reached Amnesty International.

Indonesian soldiers who arrested Joao Baptista de Jesus Soares reportedly told his wife that he was being taken to Baucau. An

*The "disappearance" of Maria Gorete Joaquim had a particularly strong impact on people in Dili -- it is perhaps the incident most frequently referred to by people who have given information to Amnesty International about the human rights situation in East Timor.

acquaintance who later asked about him in Baucau was told by people there that they thought he had been taken to Kelikai.

The safety of people who surrendered or were captured was not guaranteed by their willingness to pledge support to the Indonesian cause or to give practical effect to such pledges. A number of groups are known to have surrendered on the understanding that they would accept integration with Indonesia and would join with Indonesian forces. Two such groups were brought out of the bush by Joao Branco in the Lospalos district in November 1976 and by Alarico Fernandes in the Aileu district in September 1978.

Before the invasion Joao Branco had been a conscripted corporal in the Portuguese army. He joined Fretilin after the invasion and became a Falintil commander in the Far East Sector (*Sector Ponte L'Este*). He reportedly surrendered with the whole 40-member unit under his command in November 1976 and he and his men later took part in Indonesian military operations.

Almost all were reportedly executed in Gari Uai south of Baucau in April 1979 for not having shown full commitment to the Indonesian cause during the attack on Mount Matebian in November 1978.

The group that surrendered in September 1978 with Alarico Fernandes, formerly Minister of Information in the Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, included several leading Fretilin members. It was referred to as the "Skylight Group", after the name of an Indonesian operation launched in April 1978 to induce surrenders. Other members were: Sebastiao Montalvao, Afonso Redentor de Araujo, Antonio Policarpo, Joao Bosco Soares, Agostinho Tilman, Antonio Pinheiro, Amadeo Araujo Santos and Oracio Alves. All were later reported to have "disappeared".

A Timorese who regularly visited Aileu in 1978 and 1979 told Amnesty International that in September and October 1978 he had visited two friends of his in the prison attached to the military barracks in Aileu. They were Antonio ("Lisboa") Policarpo and Antonio Pinheiro, who were members of the "Skylight Group". On his return to Aileu a few weeks later, he said, he was told that the two had gone. He never saw them again.

Two other "Skylight Group" members, Sebastiao Montalvao and Afonso Redentor, were reportedly killed immediately after surrender. Amadeo Araujo Santos was reportedly taken to Lospalos and thence to Kili for execution in April 1979, together with a number of other Fretilin leaders, including Juvenal Inacio and Hermenegildo Alves.

Several of the group were reportedly transferred to Dili. Oracio "Lito" Alves, Antonio Pinheiro, Agostinho Tilman and Basilio "Smith" are understood to have been brought in February 1979 to the Comarca prison and held incommunicado. They were part of a group of prisoners,

comprising at least 12 people, who were reportedly taken from the Comarca during the night of 18 April 1979 and who never reappeared. They were said to have been taken to a beach east of Dili called Areia Branca by RPKAD/ Kopassandha troops and executed. The group included Filomeno Alves and Manecas Exposto, well-known in Dili before the invasion as members of a popular musical group, the *Cinco do Oriente*, both of whom had surrendered in Maubisse in January 1979; and the Fretilin armed forces commander Domingos da Costa Ribeiro.

Two other prisoners in the Comarca, Joao de Conceicao, formerly an official in the Public Works Department under the Portuguese, and Joao Bosco Sarmiento Quintao, formerly a military police officer in the Portuguese army, are reported to have been taken out by RPKAD troops one night in March 1979 and never reappeared. Amnesty International has received reports that these two prisoners were killed at Lake Tacitolu, west of Dili – it has received frequent reports of people being taken for execution to Areia Branca and Lake Tacitolu.

Two other cases of “disappeared” people whose fate remains unknown are those of Antonio Duarte Cavarino and his wife, Maria do Ceu Pereira Cavarino, both members of the Central Committee of Fretilin. They were reportedly captured near Baucau in April 1979. Antonio Cavarino is said to have been brought to Dili and his capture was later announced on the Indonesian state-owned radio, *Radio Republik Indonesia*. Maria do Ceu is reported to have been killed in Baucau after capture. Neither has been seen or located since.

East Timorese who were close to the Indonesian administration during 1978 and 1979 have alleged to Amnesty International that the killings then were part of a campaign designed to eliminate people sympathetic to Fretilin. The near simultaneous outbreak of killings and “disappearances” throughout the territory at this time strongly suggests that they may have occurred as part of a co-ordinated campaign. Certainly people living in Dili at the time regarded it as such.

* * * *

The attack of 10 June 1980

During the night of 10 June 1980 Fretilin guerrillas are reported to have attacked a broadcasting station in Dare, a suburb north of Dili, and a barracks in Becora which was the base of Battalion 745 of the Udayana Division, manned by locally-recruited Timorese serving under Indonesian officers. Indonesians and Timorese are reported to have died in the

attacks. Repressive action involving grave human rights violations followed. Amnesty International has received reports of the extrajudicial killing, sometimes in public, of people suspected of complicity in the attacks. It has the names of 73 people reported to have been executed or to have “disappeared” after the two attacks. About 600 people were arrested in Dili and several were later transported to the island of Atauro. (See Appendix.)

Among the reports received by Amnesty International are detailed accounts of the killing by Indonesian troops of inhabitants of the suburb of Dare, where the main attack took place, apparently in reprisal for the raid. The troops’ prime targets are said to have been people who had formerly been in the bush. On 12 July 1980, the then Apostolic Administrator of Dili, Msgr Martinho da Costa Lopes, wrote to the Archbishop of Jakarta, Msgr Leo Sukata, recounting “several incidents which occurred in Dili, East Timor, in the months of June and July 1980”, most of them near the Seminary of Our Lady of Fatima:

“Friday 13/6/1980: Norberto (Fernandes) surrendered to the Military Command (KOREM) escorted by the Bishop of Dili, Msgr Martinho da Costa Lopes, Father Ricardo, Vicar General of the Diocese of Dili, and Father J. Felgueiras SJ [Society of Jesus—the Jesuits], Rector of the Seminary at Nossa Senhora de Fatima. Msgr Martinho pressed one of the commanders to protect Norberto, [asking] that he should not be beaten or killed. The commander agreed to his request and promised not to ill-treat Norberto.

“A few days later, Norberto was taken to Dare. There, in the hall of the Seminary which has been destroyed, members of HANSIP [civilian militia] beat and tortured him until he was near death. Father Carolus was able to administer the Last Sacrament to him.

“Saturday 21/6/1980: Norberto was put to death and his body thrown into a ravine to the north of the Seminary of Our Lady of Fatima.

“Wednesday 2/7/1980: Anastacio was brutally treated in the yard of the Dare Seminary. He was tied to a volleyball post and beaten before a large crowd of people. After that he was taken to a spot in the Seminary garden to be killed. There a grave had been dug for him because, already before his public beating, HANSIPS had ordered local people to dig the hole.

“Thursday 3/7/1980: Jose Manuel Martins (a relative of Anastacio), Maria Barreto (wife of Jose Manuel Martins) and Agustinho (a relative of hers) were murdered in Dare

Seminary, after undergoing heavy torture from local HANSIPS.

"Up till now, except for the body of Anastacio, these people's corpses remain unburied, cast into the ravine north of the Seminary of Our Lady of Fatima, Dare. Because the authorities have not given permission, no one has been brave enough to go down and take them away for burial.

"After 10 June 1980, many people in Dili were treated brutally and then stabbed to death. The bodies of these people were taken away in two trucks and thrown into a ravine not far from the town of Dili beside the Dili-Baucau road.

"In the prisons of Dili cruel torture is often performed. People are beaten and forced to confess and state things which they have not done."

Other sources have told Amnesty International of an incident in which 18 people arrested after the 10 June attack were taken by truck to a place called Fatu Ha'i, near Becora, where they were shot dead by members of the RPKAD and their bodies rolled down a slope and left unburied.

Four of the people mentioned in the above letter are known from other accounts to have been in the bush with Fretilin and to have surrendered or been captured. According to information received by Amnesty International from a person who was with Anastacio, Jose Martins and Maria Barreto in the bush, the three had been part of a group of about 20 who had all been living in Dare at the time of the Indonesian invasion in December 1975, who had then moved from Dare, eventually settling in the area of Laclubar.

They were led by a man called Duarte da Silva, who, with most of the male members of the group, was reportedly captured near Laclubar while out looking for food in May 1979. Duarte da Silva was reportedly taken to the barracks of Ai-kurus, a "resettlement village" near Remexio, where he worked for a short time as a TBO. He is reported to have been arbitrarily executed later by Indonesian troops.

In about June 1979 the rest of the group including Anastacio, Jose Martins and his wife, Maria Barreto, surrendered to Indonesian forces. They, too, were initially taken to Ai-kurus but after a short time were permitted to return to their homes in Dare, where they were living at the time of the June attack.

After the 10 June attack people were arrested in other places as well as Dili, including Aileu and Ermera. They were brought to the capital and held in the Comarca prison and the KOREM headquarters. Each was taken for questioning to one of the interrogation

centres. Among those arrested were: David Ximenes, a former professional soldier in the Portuguese army who had briefly joined the Indonesian army; Januario Ximenes, a member of the Indonesian-appointed provincial assembly; and Mariano Bonaparte Soares, a former member of the Fretilin Central Committee who had been detained from 1976 until 1978.

All three were among about 100 persons reportedly taken to a house in the Colmera district of Dili that had formerly belonged to the merchant Lay Ju Man. There they were reportedly subjected to continual beatings and submerged in a tank in the house's garden. These three people were subsequently transferred to the Comarca prison where they were held until being tried in late 1983 or early 1984. Others arrested after 10 June and held in the house of Lay Ju Man "disappeared", their subsequent fate being unknown. Among them were Joao Barreto, Afonso Moniz, Pedro Lemos, Danilo da Silva, Jose Soares and Venancio Gomes. Besides being beaten and submerged, detainees were also reportedly brought to one of the rooms in the house for interrogation. One person held in the house for two weeks after 10 June has told Amnesty International that he was tortured in this interrogation room. This torture included having an electrically-wired motorcycle helmet placed on his head which when connected to the mains would cause severe vibrations.

One of those who disappeared, Venancio Gomes (Man Seran), had been a member of the Fretilin Central Committee and was first arrested in Dili in the early days of the 1975 invasion. He was said to have been released from the Comarca prison in 1979, working thereafter as a taxi driver and teaching part-time at the primary school in Balide. After the 10 June attack he was reportedly rearrested, held in the Comarca prison for a week and then taken to the house of Lay Ju Man in Farol. He then "disappeared". He was 28 at the time. Within a month of his "disappearance" he is reported to have been killed by being dropped from a helicopter. According to an account received by Amnesty International, on 14 July 1980 he was taken to Dili airport and put on a helicopter which then flew southwest in the direction of Remexio; it returned 15 minutes later—without Venancio Gomes.

Hermengildo ("Basilio") da Costa, from Santa Cruz, Dili, who was alleged to have worked with Venancio Gomes in maintaining contact with Fretilin prior to the June attack, also "disappeared" at this time.

Other "disappearances" included those of two teenage brothers, Edmundo, 16, and Sismundo Ximenes, 18, who are said to have been seized at night in the market-place in Bemori where they slept.

They never reappeared. Originally from Ossu, the two had come to Dili to study at the Roman Catholic school in the suburb of Balide. They attended the school in the afternoons after mornings spent working in the market.

Other detainees were held for a couple of months before being released. In August 1980 a ceremony was held by officials in Dare to mark the release of 200 people arrested after 10 June. A number of those released were later rearrested (see cases of Octavio Araujo and Bonifacio Magno, "Normality").

Amnesty International has information on a number of people arrested at this time who were subsequently sent to Atauro, some with their families. For example, "M", a teenager, had left Dili for the bush at the time of the invasion when he was 13 years old. In February 1979 he had surrendered to Indonesian forces in Manatuto. In July 1980 he was arrested at work and taken to the KOREM headquarters for interrogation. He was detained in the Comarea prison and then sent to Atauro in September 1980. His family was never officially informed of his transportation to Atauro; he is reported to have been sent back to the mainland in 1984. Another detainee sent to Atauro was Joao Varuda, a truck driver in his late forties, a former UDT supporter reportedly suspected of having aided his niece escape to the bush. His wife and six children reportedly were taken with him to Atauro and they were all still there in late 1984.

Conditions on the island in 1980 were already bad and they deteriorated further after more than 3,000 people were transported there during 1981.

Other people arrested at this time are reported to have been sent to nearby Indonesian islands such as Sumba, Flores, Roti and Lombok. Barros, son of Bobonaro, the *liurai* (traditional ruler) of Hauba, was reportedly one of a group of between 30 and 40 people from the area who are all reported to have been sent from Dili to the Indonesian island of Sumba. Their subsequent fate or whereabouts are not known; they have "disappeared".

* * * *

'Operation Security', 1981

Soon after the invasion, reports began to emerge of villagers—usually males between the ages of 15 and 55—being forced to act as human "fences" by marching in front of Indonesian army troops during

operations against advancing Fretilin forces. Civilians are reported to have been deployed by Indonesian forces during the assault on Mount Matebian beginning in October 1978. According to an account given to Amnesty International:

"On 17 October 1978 the [Indonesians] . . . left Lospalos on three fronts . . . joining together again in Luro . . . The population were in the front, including elderly men, pregnant women and children, to serve as a shield, followed by Partisans and HANSIPS and after all this the Indonesian army."

The most publicized and also the largest of these operations was the so-called Operation Security which lasted from April to September 1981. During the operation thousands of East Timorese were deployed to form "fences" of people who were to converge on and flush out remaining Fretilin forces. The operations also became known as *Operasi Pagar Betis* (Operation Fence of Legs).

Latterly Indonesian spokespersons have denied the use of civilians in such operations (see Indonesia's Statement to the UN Special Committee on Decolonization, September 1984). However, foreign journalists who visited East Timor in May and June 1982 were given detailed briefings on the Operation Security of the previous year which confirmed the general description of its nature given above.

During the operation, more than 3,000 people were rounded up and subsequently deported to the island of Atauro. Amnesty International has also received reports of the arrest and torture of people who were unwilling to take part in the operation. There were also reports of people being killed outside combat, including the reported killing of a large number of people on Mount Aitana (the Rock of Saint Antony), near Lacluta, in September 1981. Estimates of the number of those killed at Aitana range from 80 to 900. According to a newspaper article, Indonesian officials have acknowledged that from 60 to 70 people were killed and have asserted that the dead were Fretilin combatants and their families who had refused repeated requests to surrender (see "Is There Enough to Eat in East Timor?", *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 21 June 1982). Amnesty International has not been able to interview anybody who was present at the incident, but a number of sources who claim to have done so have asserted that those killed had already surrendered to Indonesian forces. The organization is unable to draw any firm conclusions from such evidence. However, it has made repeated requests to the Indonesian Government to carry out an investigation of the killings at Aitana.

Amnesty International has also received reports of the killing of individuals outside combat during Operation Security. One reported victim was Antonio Brites, known as "Nixon", said to have been a

former bodyguard of Fretilin President Xavier do Amaral. The accounts given to Amnesty International are as follows: One night in September 1981, about three years after he had surrendered to Indonesian forces, he was taken by Indonesian troops from his home in the Grilos district of Dili. Then aged 33, he was one of a group of about 500 people forcibly conscripted in Dili during that September. Late in the month, the bodies of several in the group who had been killed during Operation Security were brought back to Dili. Antonio Brites' body was among them: he had been shot in the back of the head. Witnesses have alleged that he was one of several Timorese killed by Indonesian troops after a suspected Fretilin unit had managed to evade capture.

* * * *

'Operation Clean-Sweep', 1983-1984

In August 1983 a ceasefire established the previous March between Indonesian and Fretilin forces broke down. Many more troops were called into the territory as the Indonesian forces began an offensive—Operation Clean-Sweep—aimed at eliminating Fretilin as a fighting force. Announcing the new operation in August 1983, the commander of the Indonesian armed forces, General Leonardus Benjamin Moerdani, stated: "This time, no fooling around. We are going to hit them without mercy." (Jakarta daily *Sinar Harapan* of 16 August 1983, as quoted by the Melbourne daily *The Age* of 17 August 1983).

Although the circumstances of the resumption of military activity in August that year are still a matter of dispute, it is beyond doubt that the new offensive was accompanied, once again, by arrests, "disappearances" and extrajudicial executions. For the first time in East Timor a number of political detainees were put on trial.

Arrests and 'disappearances'

Amnesty International has received reports from a number of sources which indicate that several hundred people were arrested in Dili and elsewhere during this period.

In December 1983 the worldwide news agency *Agence France Presse* reported from Jakarta that since August 34 people had been arrested in Viqueque, 125 in Baucau and 600 in Dili. Msgr Belo

in a letter of February 1984 to his predecessor, Msgr Martinho da Costa Lopes, reported that "600 people have been arrested in Dili since last August".

Amnesty International has the names of 87 people reportedly arrested in Viqueque, Ossu, Baucau, Los Palos and Dili. In June 1984 about 150 of those arrested were reportedly still detained in Baucau, Viqueque and Los Palos and another 147 in Dili. (The source for the latter figure is the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, as quoted in the *Jakarta Post* daily newspaper of September 1984.) A number of others had reportedly "disappeared".

Among the people arrested in Viqueque about whom Amnesty International has received information are two brothers, Fernando Soares and Luis Gonzaga Soares, former UDT representatives in Viqueque, who were arrested there in August 1983. Both were reported to have been held previously for two weeks, in March 1978, in connection with the *Manu-kokorek* affair. Two others arrested in Viqueque were: Joao Bosco Jordao de Araujo, a driver, who had worked with the tourist office in Portuguese times — his daughter, Maria do Ceu, had reportedly been killed in 1979 after she had rejected the sexual advances of an Indonesian soldier; and Francisco Ximenes, a teacher at a Roman Catholic mission school.

Many of those arrested after August 1983 are reported to have "disappeared". The relatives of many were told no more than that the detainees had been "sent to Bali", a phrase reminiscent of being "sent to Jakarta" or "sent to Kelikai", which had been a euphemism for being executed or "disappeared" in earlier years. A number of these people resurfaced several months later. Between August and December 1983 at least three groups of prisoners are reported to have been flown from Dili and relatives were for the most part told only that they had been "sent to Bali".

Although a number of the "disappeared" later reappeared, several are reported to have died. Amnesty International has received a specific report that one, Antonio Piedade, died as a result of torture. Others are reported to have died from malnutrition and ill-health in detention. Duarte Carvalho, aged about 40, a truck-driver who had once worked for the ICRC, was reportedly "sent to Bali" after arrest in August 1983. He is believed to have died as a result of poor conditions in Kupang prison in West Timor. According to one account received by Amnesty International he was considered a suspect because his son, Albino, was thought to be in the bush with Fretilin, and also because as a truck-driver he was able to travel about the territory.

Many of those known to have been arrested at this time reportedly had only tenuous links with Fretilin. For instance, the following are three cases as reported to Amnesty International:

Joao Barreto, married with five children, worked with the customs department under the Portuguese. He was arrested soon after the invasion as a known Fretilin sympathizer but was released the following year on the intervention of the Indonesian-appointed Vice-Governor, Francisco Lopes da Cruz, who had been a leader of the UDT until its self-dissolution in October 1975. After his release, he worked in the Indonesian-run customs department. In August 1983 he was arrested and "sent to Bali". As of mid-1984 he was in Dili, detained without charge or trial in the Comarca.

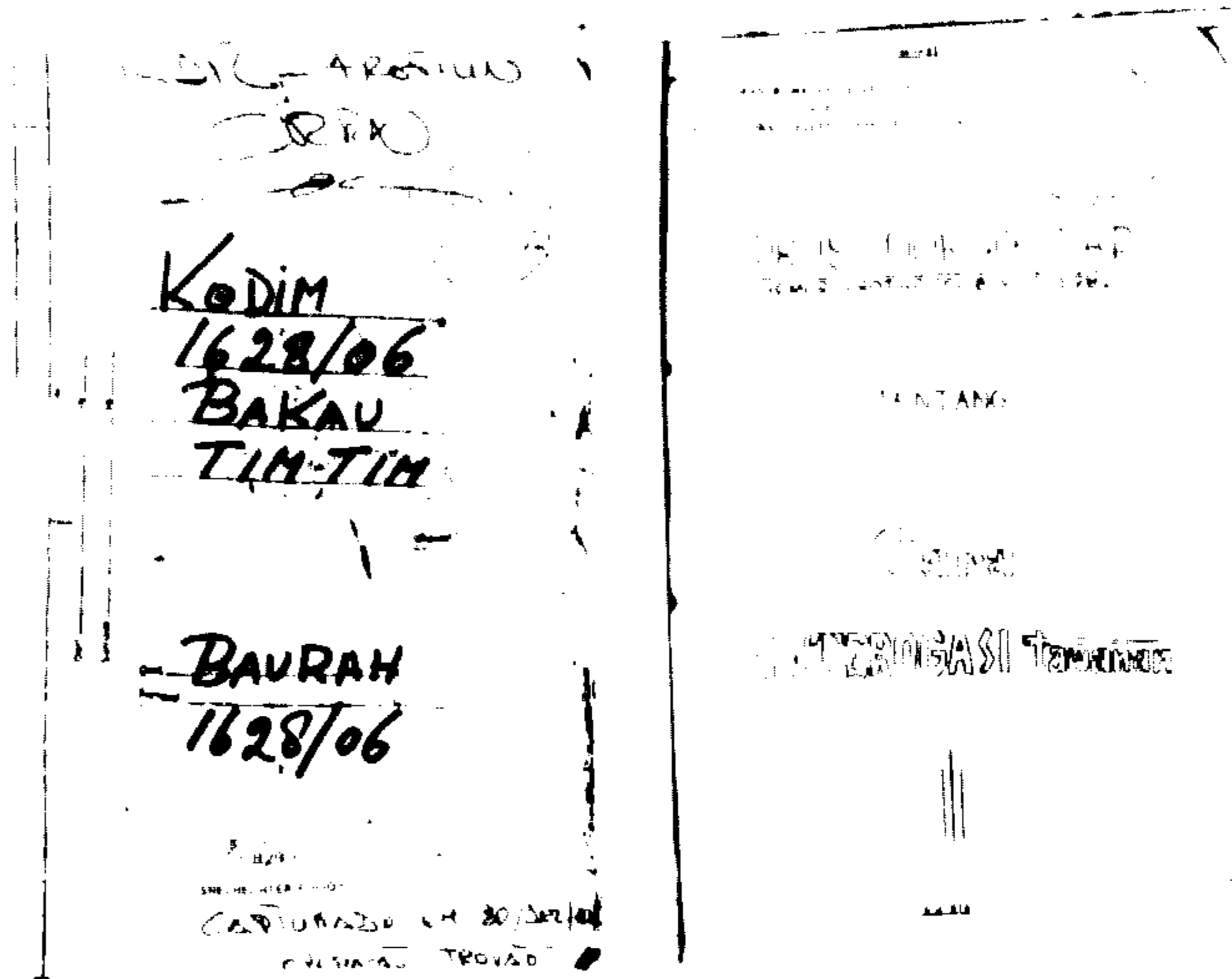
Bonifacio Magno, originally from Ainaro, was arrested in August or September 1983. Under the Portuguese he had trained as a teacher but had subsequently worked for East Timor's Telecommunications Department. He was regarded as a Fretilin sympathizer and was described by UDT opponents as "moderate Fretilin". After the Indonesian invasion he was held in the Comarca from early 1976 to mid-1977. He later worked in the office of Vice-Governor Lopes da Cruz. He and his wife Joanna were arrested and detained for a few days in July 1980 in connection with Tetum-language broadcasts on the local station of *Radio Republik Indonesia*. On that occasion he was beaten and held under water during interrogation. After his arrest in 1983, he was "sent to Bali". As of mid-1984, he was in the Comarca.

Eliseo Freitas now in his mid-40s worked as a post office morse code operator under both Portuguese and Indonesian administrations and stayed in Dili throughout the post-invasion years. He was arrested for the first time in February 1984, detained initially in the KOREM headquarters and then taken to Jakarta. By June 1984 he had been returned to Dili and was in the Comarca prison. He is married and has four children.

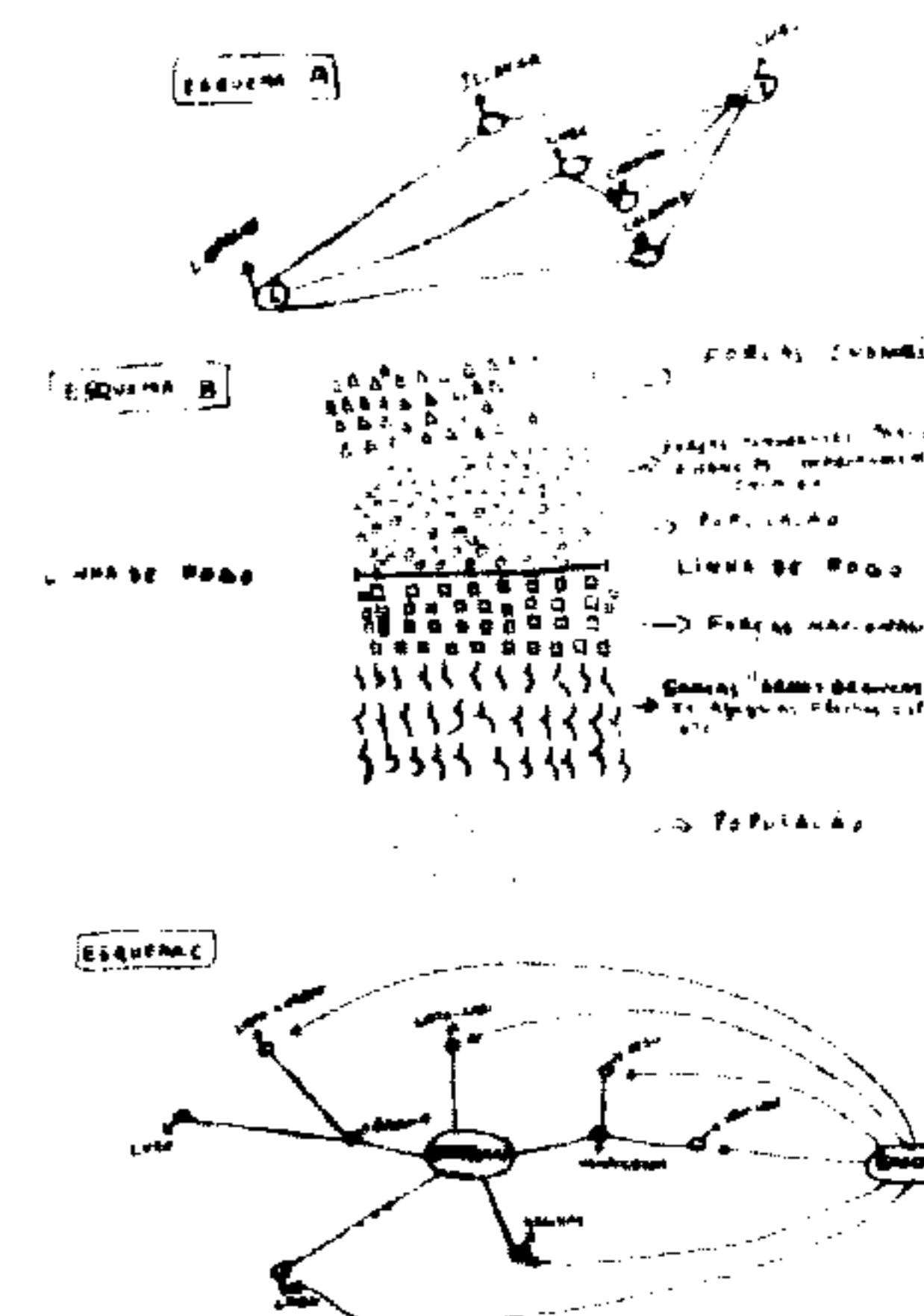
The fate or whereabouts of many others arrested since August 1983 is unknown. Evangelino, a teacher at a primary school in the Balide district of Dili, was reportedly "taken to Bali" after his arrest and was later reported to be imprisoned in Kupang, West Timor. However, Amnesty International has received no confirmation of this report.

Almost all the 49 people named as having been arrested in Viqueque, Ossu and Baucau are reported to have been severely beaten after arrest—16 of them were reported to have "disappeared" subsequently, including Augusto Gusmao, a nurse from Vemasse, arrested several times between August 1983 and 21 June 1984 when he "disappeared". Augusto Gusmao is known to have been arrested previously in November 1982 with three others, Augusto Belo (also a nurse), Cosme Freitas (a village head) and Jose Viegas (a teacher), of whom Jose Viegas "disappeared".

Others in this group of 49 were reportedly killed after arrest, including Tomas da Silva, Jacinto da Silva and Vicente Freitas.



In July 1983 Amnesty International received a set of military manuals issued to Indonesian troops serving East Timor. There are nine manuals in all, covering a range of strategic problems, such as how to break up Fretilin support networks, the system of security in towns and resettlement villages, and procedures for interrogating captives. A subsection of the manual on interrogation methods refers to the use of torture (see page 11). (above left) Cover of the folder containing the military manuals. (above right) Cover of manual on methods of interrogation of prisoners. (right) Diagram depicting (*Operasi Pagar Betis* (Operation Fence of Legs), in which civilians were forced to march in front of Indonesian troops during operations against Fretilin forces (see page 38).





"No one who had links with Fretilin is safe; at any time people can be taken without their family knowing and put somewhere else; put in prison camp; or sometimes they just 'disappear.'" Father Leoneto Rego, a Portuguese priest who left East Timor in June 1979, describing the situation at the time of his departure.

Nicolau Lobato, Borja da Costa, Xavier Amaral, Octavio Jordao Araujo (from left to right) (*left*). Nicolau Lobato, former Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, was killed in combat in Dili on 7 December 1975, the day of the Indonesian invasion. Borja da Costa, a Timorese poet, is reported to have been executed at the same time (see page 25). Xavier Amaral, former President of Fretilin, now works in Jakarta as a servant for a former Indonesian commander for East Timor. Octavio Araujo, a former member of the Fretilin Central Committee was arrested on several occasions after the invasion, most recently in October/November 1983 (see page 78).

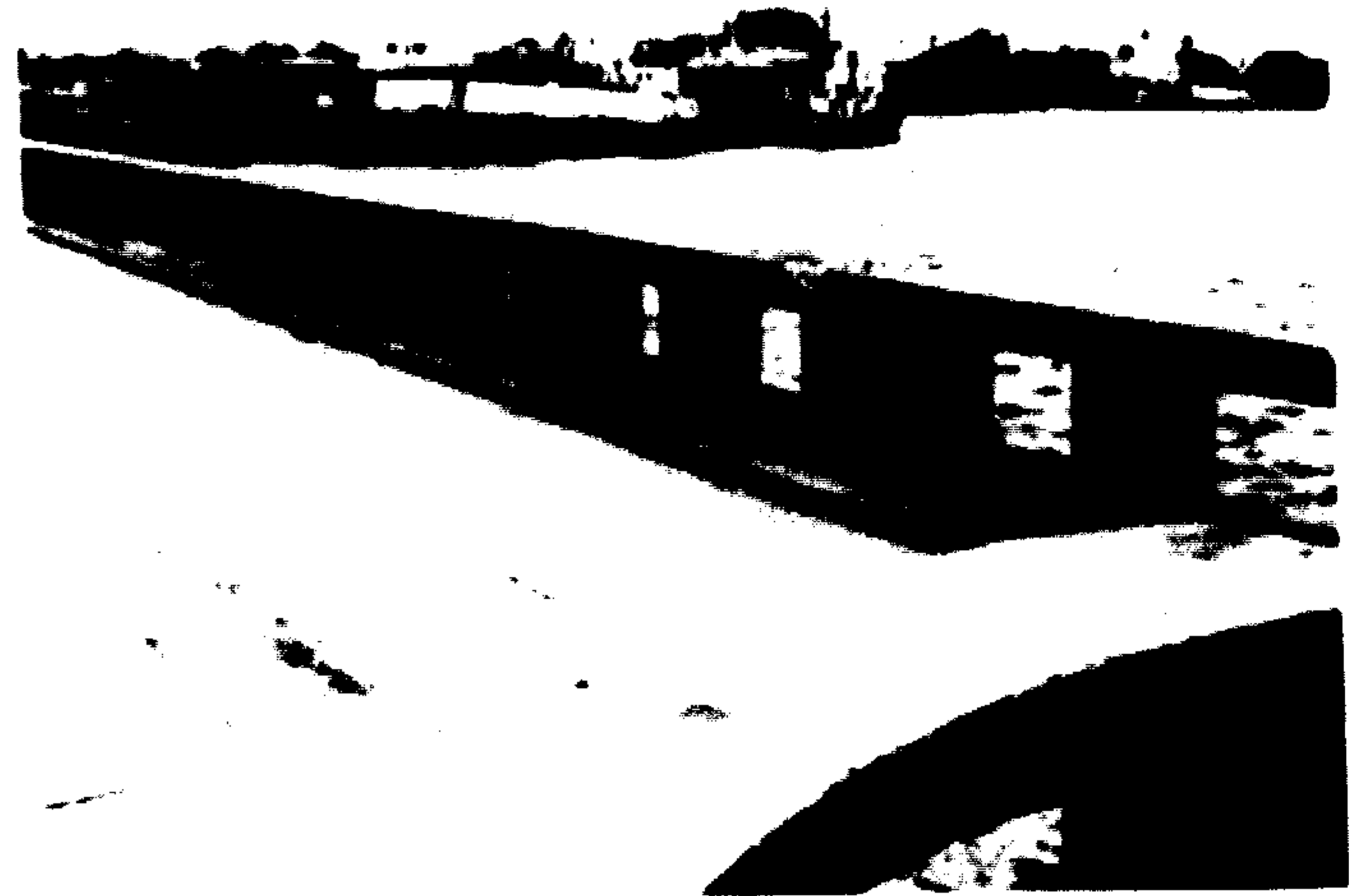


Hamis Basarewan Bin Umar (*left*) was appointed Minister of Education and Culture when the Democratic Republic of East Timor was proclaimed on 27 November 1975. He "disappeared" in 1979. Eduardo dos Anjos (*above left*), Minister of Transport and Communications, "disappeared" at the same time (see page 31). Leopoldo Joaquim (*opposite page, top left*), the Fretilin Central Committee member responsible for Internal Administration and Security, surrendered in Same in early 1978. He "disappeared" in early 1979, as did Maria Gorete Joaquim (*opposite page, top right*), his 17-year-old niece. She was a member of UNETIM, the Fretilin student organization (see page 32). Rosa Bonaparte Soares (*above right*), Secretary of the Organizacao Popular da Mulher de Timor, was reportedly executed on the day of the Indonesian invasion (see page 25).





Filomeno Alves and Manecas Exposto were members of the East Timorese pop group *Cinco de Oriente* (left). They were among a group of at least 12 prisoners, reported to have been executed in April 1979 on a beach east of Dili called Areia Branca (above) (see page 34).



The house of Joao dos Martires (opposite bottom) which was requisitioned by Indonesian troops and used as an interrogation centre. It is reported that prisoners were tortured during interrogation (see page 56). The Dili wharf (above) where executions are reported to have taken place (see page 25). Seminary of Our Lady Fatima (below). A number of prisoners were executed in the courtyard following the Fretilin attack of June 1980 (see page 35).



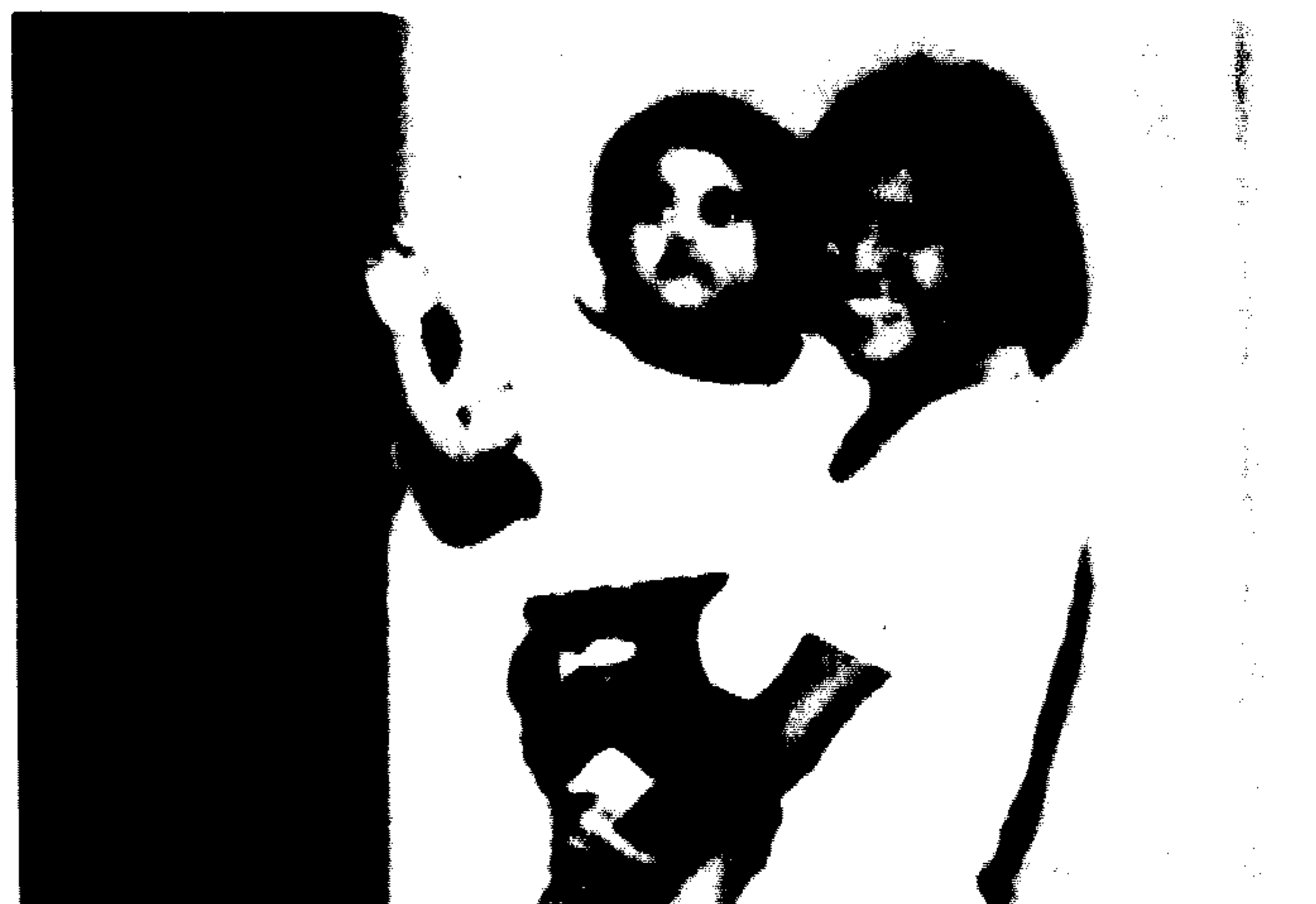
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A Fretilin rally in Turis-
kei in May 1975 led
by traditional chieftains.
Traditionally, the people of
Timor were organized into
petty kingdoms, ruled by
ilurai (see page 2). Turiskel
was one of the areas worst
affected by famine. A dele-
gation of journalists and
diplomats which visited
East Timor at the invitation
of the Indonesian Govern-
ment reported that captured
and surrendered East
Timorese whom they had
seen in "resettlement
camps" were evidently
suffering from serious
malnutrition (see page 5).



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Joao Bosco Quintao (*above left*), a former
sergeant in the Portuguese military police,
was captured in December 1977 after
being shot in the leg. He "disappeared"
in March 1979. It is reported that he was
executed at Lake Tacitolu (see page 77).
David Ximenes (*above right*), a former
professional soldier in the Portuguese army
who had briefly joined the Indonesian
Army, was among those arrested after

the Fretilin attack on Dili in June 1980.
He was detained in Cipinang prison,
Jakarta, serving a 15-year sentence as of
the end of 1984 (see page 37). Domingas
da Costa (*above*) was arrested at the same
time and sent to Tangerang women's
prison on the outskirts of Jakarta; her
three-year-old child was sent with her
but is reported to have later been sent
back to relatives in Dili (see page 80).

East Timorese guerillas surrendering to Indonesian troops. (below) A number of groups surrendered on the understanding that they would accept integration with Indonesia and join the Indonesian forces.

One such group was brought out of the bush by Joao Branco (bottom, left) in September 1976. Joao Branco joined Fretilin after the 1975 invasion of East Timor. In November 1976 he reportedly surrendered with the unit under his command (see page 33). He and his unit later took part in Indonesian military operations. Almost all were reported to have been executed in April 1979 for not having shown full commitment to the Indonesian cause during the

attack on Mount Matebian in November 1978.

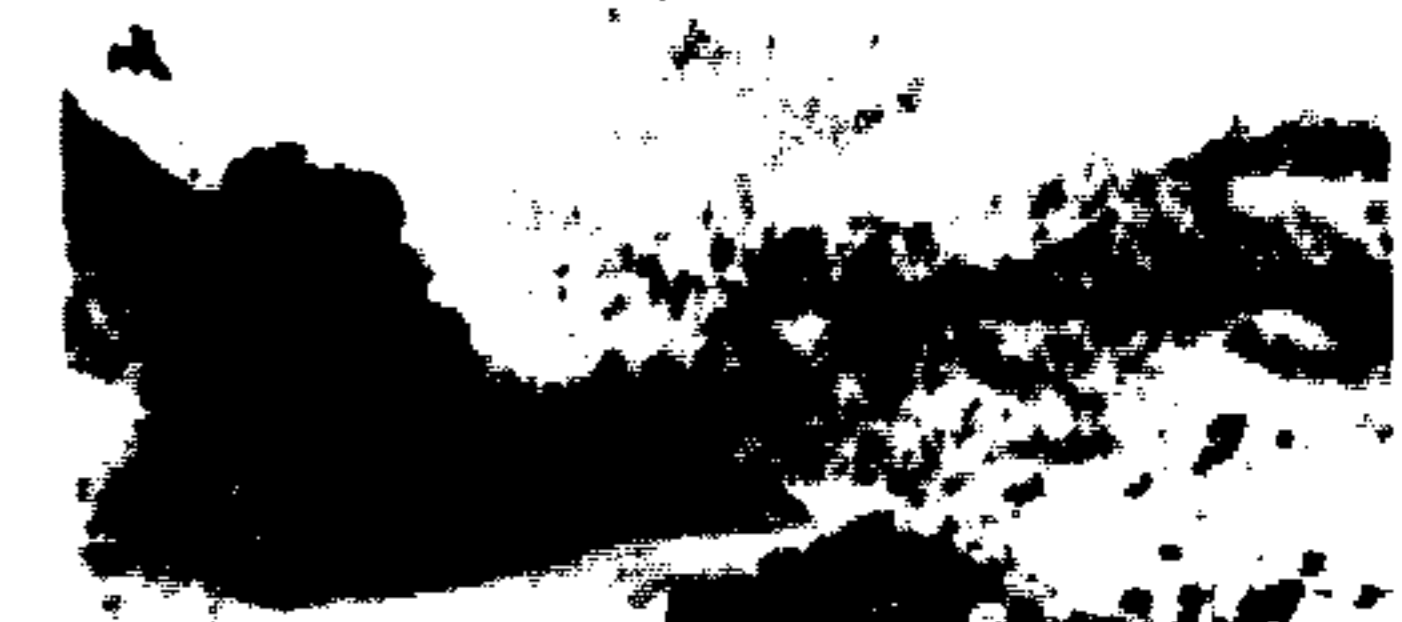
Afonso Redentor de Araujo (opposite left) and Joao Bosco Soares (bottom right), leading members of Fretilin whose group surrendered in September 1978. The group became known as the "Skylight Group" after the name of an Indonesian operation launched in April 1978 to induce surrenders. Afonso Redentor was reportedly killed immediately after surrendering (see page 33).

Joaquim Saldhana (opposite right), former Fretilin Central Committee member. He was among a group that surrendered in Manatuto in early 1979 (see page 78).

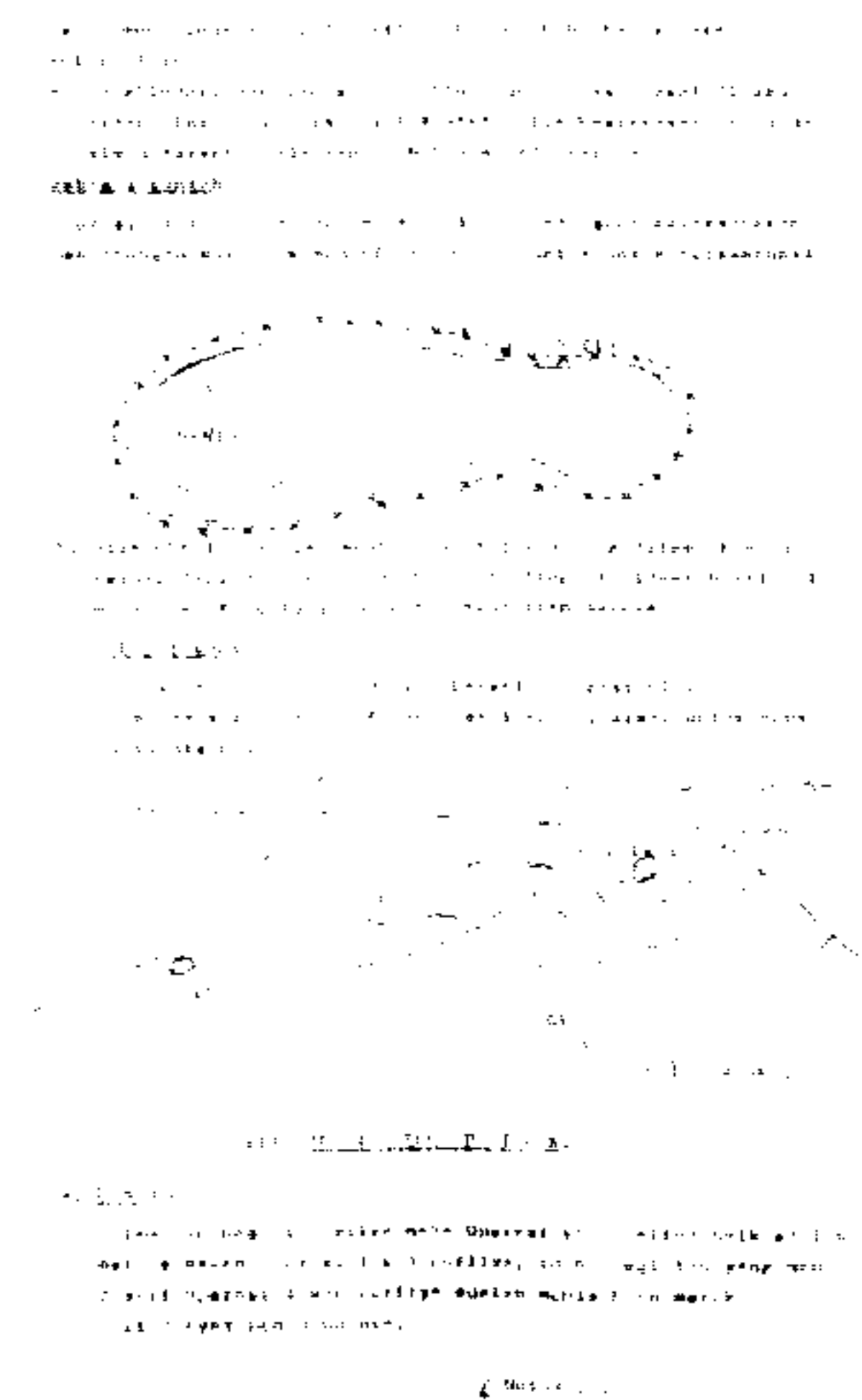
Melbourne Age



In September 1977 Indonesian armed forces intensified operations against Fretilin and the population under its control. This campaign reached its culmination in November 1978 with the encirclement and massive bombardment of Mount Matebian (right) to which a large number of people under Fretilin control had been driven. During this assault thousands of people were captured by or surrendered to Indonesian forces. Several hundred are reported to have been extrajudicially executed (see page 29).



This diagram (below right) showing the Indonesian Offensive on Mount Matebian was drawn by a Timorese who surrendered during the assault. In "Esquema B" Populacao is ordinary people, "Forcas Timorenses Partisans" — Timorese working in civil defense patrols in collaboration with the enemy, "Forcas Indonesias" — Indonesian forces, "Forcas Nacionalistas" — Nationalist forces, "Forcas Armaz Brancas" — small arms (swords, arrows, etc) forces.



Extrajudicial executions

Since August 1983 Amnesty International received many reports of arbitrary killings of non-combatants in connection with Operation Clean-Sweep. Several independent sources have reported the killing by Indonesian troops of up to 200 people in the village of Kraras, Viqueque, in August 1983. The killings were said to be in reprisal for a reported attack by Fretilin forces which, according to the Indonesian authorities, had been unprovoked and had resulted in the death of up to 16 army engineers in Kraras.

It is reported that after the killing of the 200, the surviving villagers fled into the mountains near Bibileu, pursued by Indonesian troops. Many of those captured are said to have been executed. The rest of the village surrendered and were "settled" in a place called Klaterek Mutin, where they were reportedly ordered to stay but not permitted to build shelter or grow food.

The Indonesian authorities say their forces' military activity which began in August 1983 was as "follow-up" to the Kraras incident. However, reports of human rights violations associated with military operations were not confined to the vicinity of Kraras and continued well beyond August 1983.

During 1984 reports received by Amnesty International included the following:

- February:— Jaime Castelo, who had worked as a mechanic at the KODIM headquarters in Lospalos, was executed by Indonesian troops after having been taken from the KADIM, where he had been detained for three months and is reported to have been tortured.
- March:— Approximately 100 men living in the vicinity of the village of Hauba, near Bobonaro in the west of the territory, were taken into custody and killed by Indonesian troops.
- March:— Several people near the village of Hato Uda, near Ainaro, were killed by Indonesian troops who suspected them of having links with Fretilin, including supplying the guerrillas with food. Two of the victims were a 42-year-old man named Manuel, killed on 19 March 1984, and another man named Nuno, killed on 29 March.
- May:— A group of four people—two brothers, Moises and Lourenco Araujo; Joao Xavier and a man named only as Oscar—were reportedly arbitrarily executed on 29 May 1984 for alleged contact with Fretilin.
- May:— Three men were killed by Indonesian troops during the night of 30 May after they had been taken from their village, Bucoli, to district headquarters in the town of Baucau, also on suspicion of having had contact with Fretilin. The victims were named as Tomas da Silva, Jacinto da Silva and Vicente Freitas.

Torture and ill-treatment

Since the invasion of East Timor, Amnesty International has received numerous and continuous reports of the torture of East Timorese suspected of having opposed the Indonesian occupation. These reports indicate that torture has been commonly used against people suspected of having had contacts with Fretilin forces. Large numbers of victims are reported to have been tortured in various parts of the territory by the security forces and Amnesty International's information is that torture was systematic in interrogation centres in the capital. The organization has particular information about torture in private houses in Dili requisitioned by the security forces and used for interrogation purposes. The kinds of torture alleged include beatings, electric shocks, burning with lighted cigarettes, and sexual abuse, including the rape of women prisoners. The victims are reported to have included people from a wide range of backgrounds, including men and women from tiny villages in the bush, students, teachers, manual workers and local government officials.

During 1983 Amnesty International received a copy of manuals issued between July and September 1982 by the then Indonesian commander for East Timor and his intelligence chief to military personnel serving in the eastern military district of the territory. These manuals contain guidelines which appear to permit the use in certain circumstances of physical and mental torture during interrogation and include advice on how to prevent its exposure. In a manual on Established Procedures on Methods of Interrogating Captives, a section entitled "Things to be Avoided" contains a sub-section (V.13) on the "Use of Force and Threats". Although an introductory paragraph states that the use of force and threats is generally to be avoided, sub-section V.13 makes it quite clear that force, threats and even, in certain circumstances, torture may be used during interrogation. It reads (in Amnesty International's translation from the Indonesian):

"V.13 The Use of Force and Threats

It is hoped that interrogation with the use of force will not be implemented except in those situations where the person

examined tells the truth with difficulty (is evasive). However, if the use of force is required a member of the local population (TBOs, members of the civil militia, ordinary people) should not be present to witness it, in order to avoid arousing the antipathy of the people. The use of force often has the consequence that the person being interrogated under duress confesses falsely because he is afraid and, as a consequence, agrees to everything the interrogator wishes.

Avoid taking photographs showing torture (*penyiksaan*) (of someone being given electric shocks, stripped naked and so on). Remember that such documentation/photographs should not be printed freely outside/in Denpasar [Bali, where regional command headquarters is located] and obtained by irresponsible members of society."

Many of the reports of torture and ill-treatment received by Amnesty International concern people in precisely those circumstances described in the passage above, namely prisoners being interrogated after capture or surrender.

A Timorese who had worked with Indonesian intelligence has described the procedure in these circumstances:

"The normal procedure was to interrogate the captives or those who surrendered. People who surrendered and were not soldiers who had engaged in battle with Fretilin would be permitted to go free after the interrogation but only after approval from intelligence headquarters in Dili.

"During the interrogation they were normally tortured, especially if the interrogators thought they were Fretilin soldiers or leaders. They would be tortured by hitting them with a blunt instrument, by jabbing lighted cigarettes into their faces around the mouth, or by giving them electric shocks, sometimes on the genitals.

"The senior authorities would decide who was to be killed after interrogation. Most of the leaders or more educated ones, those who were talented, were killed."

This description accords with information received by Amnesty International on individual cases of the ill-treatment of captured and surrendered East Timorese. Once they were captured or had surrendered, prisoners were taken to "resettlement villages" and put through a process of "screening" which often involved interrogation under torture. The following two cases are of former detainees who said they had been tortured.

X, now aged 32, who had led a Fretilin assault unit, surrendered in Ilimano near Laelo, Manatuto, in June 1978. He was one of about

3,000 people who surrendered in the area at the time. The group was moved into a "resettlement village" at Metinaro where they were sorted into groups on the basis of their education, background and assumed role in Fretilin's organization.

X told Amnesty International: "Some were taken immediately and killed; some were sent to Dili for interrogation; some were sent to Lospalos . . .". He said that over a two-week period in Metinaro he was continually interrogated and was threatened, beaten and subjected to other forms of ill-treatment.

" . . . they lifted the leg [of a table] and put it down on my feet and sat on it. They beat me when I said I did not know anything. They put lighted cigarettes on my upper arms. They made as if to jab at my eyes with cigarettes. . . .

"I was questioned 10 times a day, every time the same questions: 'Have you seen any of the leaders - Nicolau? Alarico? How many guns did your unit have in the bush? Did you see something being dropped by the Australians?' Every time I gave the same answers. In the end they let me go to Dili. I think it was because one of the Timorese who was helping with the interrogation, who was an acquaintance, said he would take responsibility for me."

Other former detainees have testified that they were given electric shocks in the initial interrogation after surrender.

Y is a former UDT member who was held prisoner by Fretilin after the "civil war" — he stayed in the bush with Fretilin until his surrender to Indonesian forces in Bercoli in December 1978. He was held at the *pousada* (inn) at Baucau (then used as a detention centre) and has alleged that he was given electric shocks while being interrogated at night in the military barracks in Baucau.

Systematic torture, including the use of electric shocks, was employed at interrogation centres in Dili to which not only Fretilin leaders but all people thought to have important intelligence information were taken. Until the end of 1979, prisoners brought to intelligence branch of the army — A-1 (A-Satu), commonly known as Intel; this was a warehouse attached to the San Tai Ho store. In November 1979 the warehouse was handed to the military-controlled trading company P.T. Denok. Thereafter, according to persistent reports received by Amnesty International, people being interrogated were tortured and ill-treated in three particular interrogation centres in Dili:

- A storehouse (*almazen*) attached to the house formerly owned by Francisco Babo in the Rua Abilio Monteiro in the Colmera district.

In late 1984 the house was believed to be used by a unit of the RPKAD paratroop regiment, recently renamed Kopassandha; the unit is believed to have occupied the house since the invasion.

- A house formerly owned by Joao dos Martires also in the Rua Abilio Monteiro and also used by Kopassandha;
- A house on the Rua Alferes Duarte O Arbiru in the Farol district used since late 1979 as an interrogation centre by armed intelligence, A-1, commonly known as Intel.

Prisoners are also reported to have been interrogated under torture in the KOREM headquarters in Dili and in several other requisitioned private houses in the town. One of the latter was the house of Lay Ju Man which was used as an interrogation and detention centre in the weeks after the Fretilin attack of 10 June 1980.

Amnesty International has numerous reports of prisoners emerging from such places with visible signs of torture. One report from a Timorese now resident in Australia and referring to the Intel house reads:

"One of my Fretilin friends was tortured with electric shocks and burning in December 1980. After the shock treatment his lips were burned and broken, as they had attached the wire to them. His body had also been extensively burned with cigarettes. He was tortured because he was suspected of passing information to the Fretilin forces."

A description of the RPKAD house in the Rua Abilio Monteiro attests to its fearsome reputation:

"If you go there, things are 99.9 per cent hopeless. Those sent there had been caught in the mountains fighting against Indonesian troops, especially the bush commanders. They are tortured for information with cigarettes to the cheeks, breasts, ears, genitals and with electric shocks. Then they are killed."

An Amnesty International informant who had access in mid-1982 to the storehouse at the RPKAD house reported seeing about 100 people being held there whom the informant judged from their appearance and dress to be predominantly village people from outside Dili. Amnesty International does not know what happened to them. However, there are grounds for concern about their safety in view of the fact that Amnesty International has the names of a number of prisoners who were reportedly interrogated under torture in one of the three centres who subsequently "disappeared" and are feared to be dead.

Among those held for interrogation and allegedly tortured have been a number of women, some of whom had reportedly been detained on suspicion of having communicated with relatives in the bush. Amnesty

International has the names of several women held by intelligence who are reported to have been raped and had lighted cigarettes applied to their breasts.

Long-term prisoners in the Comarca prison in Dili were regularly interrogated. Inmates there were classified according to their assessed attachment to Fretilin and this classification is said to have been reviewed every six months. Until late 1979 they were taken to the San Tai Ho warehouse to be interrogated for these reviews and Amnesty International has been informed that during such interrogations prisoners were given electric shocks, had their feet crushed under the legs of chairs or tables, were kicked, whipped, made to crawl on all fours and to stand for long periods in the sun. One Intel interrogator was known as *Capocete* (Helmet) because he had a steel helmet placed on prisoners' heads and then banged very hard.

Among the reports received by Amnesty International of the torture of people suspected of communicating with relatives in the bush are those of three women who were detained in February 1977 and accused of planning to leave Dili to join their relatives. They were: Maria Alves, whose husband, Joao Belo, and son Hermengildo Alves, a prominent Falintil commander, were in the bush; Marita Montalvao, wife of the Fretilin leader Sebastiao Montalvo, then also in the bush; and Elda Saldanha, whose son Joaquim was a member of Fretilin Central Committee, also then in the bush. The three women were taken to the San Tai Ho warehouse and are reported to have been tortured. According to the reports they were burned with cigarettes on the face and body; given electric shocks to the faces, ears, breasts and sexual organs; one woman was raped and became pregnant as a result. The three were later transferred to the Comarca prison, where they were held in extremely poor conditions.

In his 1984 interview with Amnesty International, Carlos Atonso said he was interrogated in February 1977 on suspicion of helping people flee to the mountains:

"I came back from fishing early in the afternoon. There were two TBOs in front of the house who told me 'the *bapak* [refers to Indonesian military] wants to see you'. They took me to Joao dos Martires' house which was not far from mine. As I put my foot in the door, I got a slap on the face. The man who slapped me—he was a sergeant—said: 'You're very arrogant; you're our neighbour but you never say hello to us.' He started doing karate on me. I fell back onto a table. He said, 'Fight back'. I told him I couldn't.

"I was put in the [house] safe until about 8 pm. Then a TBO came and took me to another room for interrogation. They sat me down at a table, there were two of them—one an

Indonesian asking questions, the other the TBO, Domingos, beat me. They asked me: Did I have a gun? Was I working with Gorete? [Maria Gorete Joaquim].

"When I answered no to both these questions, they ordered me to strip down to my underclothes.

"They tied wires around my thumbs. They gave me electric shocks. They kept beating me with a large plank. They put a pistol to my head and threatened to kill me.

"On the two succeeding nights I was subjected to similar treatment. On the fourth day after my arrest, they released me after my father had given them some antique coins."

Amnesty International has received repeated reports of prisoners dying as a result of torture during interrogation and this may have been the fate of others who are reported to have "disappeared". Orlando Marques, whom the Indonesians had appointed *camat* (sub-district officer) of Iliomar, Lospalos, reportedly died in 1980 as a result of blows received during interrogation; he had been detained on suspicion of disaffection shortly after returning from an administrators course on Java. Afonso Freitas, who had surrendered in late 1978, reportedly died in his house in Vemasse the following year as a result of blows received while detained in the *pousada* in Baucau. Amnesty International has the names of 14 people who reportedly died as a result of torture and starvation in prisons in Dili and Aileu following an alleged Fretilin attack on 10 June 1980. The names are: Salvador da Rosa Fatima, Marcos Soares, Carlos de Araujo, Mau Leki, Mau Mali, Mali Mau, Romualdo, Jose, Danitor da Silva, Caetano, Malakias Alves, Eduardo Freitas, Domingos and Mau Malik Metan.

Other prisoners were reportedly beaten to death after the breakdown of the ceasefire in August 1983. One, Antonio Piedade, brother of Moises Piedade and brother-in-law of Nicolau Lobato, is reported to have been such a victim after arrest in September 1983.

Amnesty International has received detailed information about the interrogation of 103 people arrested in connection with attacks Fretilin is alleged to have planned to launch on the towns of Bazartete and Likisa in January 1981—100 of those arrested are reported to have been tortured. The 103 prisoners were taken for interrogation in March and April 1981 at the Likisa district military command (KODIM) headquarters. Those interrogated included farmers, students, teachers, members of HANSIP, local government officials and several members of the district Representative People's Assembly (DPRD Tingkat II) including its chairperson and vice-chairperson.

Amnesty International has copies of letters to a local administrator

written by two of those arrested who describe the circumstances in which they signed statements admitting their involvement in the alleged plan.

One writer says that, after initially insisting that he had not been involved in any planned attack, he had been taken by the Indonesian authorities to see a former public servant detained in the local KODIM prison. This prisoner told him: "I did not do anything wrong, but in the end I spoke because I could not bear the suffering and punishment I received. It is better to lie and obey." The writer of the letter later met two others who had been arrested in connection with the alleged attack who said they, too, had been ill-treated and they advised him to admit involvement.

The writer of the second letter also asserts that he had not participated in the planning of an attack. However, he adds: "I was forced to give way because I could not stand the beating, kicks and electric shocks. . . . What is more, they even said that if I would not confess, I would be killed like the Fretilin 'heroes'."

Amnesty International also received a copy of an interrogation report signed by this same person summarizing a series of meetings in which the plans for the attack on Likisa were allegedly made and which concludes with a statement that "no element of coercion" had been employed in the course of the interrogation.

The organization does not know the subsequent fate of the 103 arrested in Likisa in March-April 1981. Some were reportedly sent to the island of Atauro. However, there is also disturbing evidence that many of them were subsequently murdered. In a letter of 3 June 1981 to President Suharto, two provisional assembly (DPRD) members cited a recently received complaint that:

"In the district of Likisa, tens of people were murdered by KODIM after having been tortured with electricity and other forms of burning without adequate reason."

The two assembly members, and two others, were subsequently arrested

Imprisonment

Amnesty International has been concerned about the arbitrary detention, usually without charge or trial, of large number of East Timorese, in grossly inadequate conditions. The main basis for this concern has been information gathered about imprisonment in Dili since December 1975 and on the offshore island of Atauro since June-July 1980. The scale of imprisonment in East Timor as a whole is not known. It has been reported that officially designated prisons exist in all 13 administrative districts of the territory. Information on most of these is sparse. However, reports have been received of political prisoners being held in a number of such places.

Amnesty International has received reports of people being detained for political reasons in prisons, most of which were said to be attached to military barracks, in Lospalos, Baucau, Viqueque, Aileu, Ainaro and Saelari (Laga). Reports have also been received of the establishment of special "Resettlement villages" for people under special restriction.

Imprisonment has been arbitrary in several respects. People were generally arrested on suspicion of having had some kind of association with Fretilin, although this might be no more than having had contact with a relative still fighting in the bush. Amnesty International has also heard of people who had not been associated with Fretilin being arrested on suspicion of having shown signs of "disaffection"—these people included a number who had been put in positions of trust by the Indonesian authorities. Cases have also been reported of people with no political affiliation being arrested and accused of supporting Fretilin. In some cases the ground for these accusations appears to have been unwillingness to perform compulsory tasks—such as going on military operations with Indonesian forces, or taking part in urban night patrols. In other cases, people seem to have been arrested so that money could be extorted from them.

People might be detained in any of a number of places: military headquarters or barracks at any level of the military command structure: Amnesty International has received reports of prisoners being

held, for example, at KOREM (regional command for East Timor) headquarters in Dili, the KODIM (district command) headquarters in Los Palos, the East and West KORAMIL (precinct headquarters) in Dili and also by civil and military police, intelligence branches, and the special unit *Kopassandha* (RPKAD); requisitioned private houses or business premises; in officially designated prisons; on Atauro and other nearby islands; and also in prisons and other places in Indonesia.

Prisoners have been detained by officials who had no authority to do so. Moreover, large numbers of people in East Timor have at various times had severe restrictions placed on their freedom of movement. Since the Indonesian invasion, large numbers of Timorese have lived in "resettlement villages" in situations similar in many respects to those of people held on Atauro, which is generally regarded as a place of detention. Both groups have been officially referred to as "displaced persons", and their privacy and freedom of movement have been severely restricted; this has caused great hardship, particularly as regards the provision of food.

The Comarca prison

The Portuguese District Prison, Cadeia Comarca (commonly referred to in East Timor as the Comarca), is a 120-year-old building in the Dili district of Balide. Under the Indonesians — who eventually renamed it *Lembaga Pemasyarakatan Dili* (Dili Socialization Institute) — usual Indonesian term for prison—it came under the supervision of the military police and from January and February 1976 was used to hold prisoners suspected of involvement with the resistance forces although people charged with criminal offences were also held there.

From December 1975 until their transfer to the Comarca in January and February 1976, prisoners under arrest were held in a number of improvised places of detention. A former prisoner, now outside East Timor, told Amnesty International he was arrested on 8 December 1975 and held successively in the SOTA building, the Hotel Faki, the Palacio das Reparticoes (administrative building) and a warehouse on the Ponte Cais in the port area. He and about 30 others were transferred from the Ponte Cais to a larger warehouse attached to the Tropical Snack Bar about two weeks after the invasion. By the time prisoners were transferred from the Tropical to the Comarca in January and February 1976, some 200 prisoners were being held in the Tropical. (Amnesty International's informant later spent three years in the Comarca prison.)

Prisoners held for political reasons were generally detained without charge or trial, some of them for several years.

Substantial numbers of prisoners were also held in the Comarca for short periods while being interrogated either there or in interrogation

centres in other parts of Dili.

According to figures available to Amnesty International from a variety of sources, the number of prisoners held in the Comarca for political reasons has varied. About 200 were moved there from the Tropical Snack Bar in early 1976. About 500 prisoners were held there as of mid-1977. Most of these had reportedly been released by the end of April 1979. By late 1979, possibly as many as 700 political prisoners were held there. In February 1982, the number seen by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was 13. The Australian diplomat, D.J. Richardson, reported that there was only one "special" (that is, political) prisoner held there in September 1982. In April 1983, the number of political prisoners had reportedly risen to 147. In March 1984 the ICRC reported visiting 122 prisoners in the Comarca "imprisoned because of the events".

According to reports received by Amnesty International the prison routine in mid-1979 was as follows. Prisoners were woken at 5 am and given only a cup of hot water; no breakfast. They were also given a bottle of boiled water which was intended to be sufficient for the day. They would then put on their uniforms and go to be checked by the day guard who had just come on duty. After roll-call the prisoners would be assigned outside work until 11 am, when they would return to the prison. Lunch was at noon. After lunch they generally had no more duties. Between 4.30 pm and 5 pm there was a period of recreation, in which games such as volleyball might be played. At 5 pm prisoners washed and had their last meal of the day. At 6 pm the Roman Catholics said the rosary together. At 7 pm there was another check and the night guard came on duty. Dormitory doors were then locked for the night.

Conditions

Food and visits: In the first months after the invasion, prisoners were fed only small quantities of rice. Under the routine later established they received no breakfast. Lunch and dinner were invariably the same: a bowl of rice and a clear soup with dried fish and greens. Prisoners received no food for a period of 19 hours, from 5 pm until noon the following day.

Supplementary food was available from visitors and a prison shop, the *kios* (kiosk), which was opened in 1978 and run by prisoners. Visits were permitted for 20 minutes on Sundays. However, many prisoners had neither visitors nor money to buy food in the shop—and those who were visited were reportedly often deprived by guards of food, cigarettes, clothes and medicines brought by their visitors.

Work: Prisoners were required to work, but although funds were reportedly allocated to pay for this work, the inmates were not always

paid—only prisoners doing road work, asphaltting, are reported to have received any pay at all, about Rupiah 450 a day (about US 70 cents at November 1978 rates). Other work included planting rice in rice-fields taken over by the military command (KOREM), construction of a new prison at Ai Mutinhun in Becora (near the KORAMIL headquarters for East Dili), and cleaning the streets. From August to October 1977 prisoners were employed digging up bodies buried in the cemetery near the harbour and moving them to the cemetery in the suburb of Santa Cruz.

Health: Prisoners' health was reported to have suffered not only from the harsh regime but also from the prison's location, next to the Pantano Caicoli swamp. Health problems were aggravated by the fact that prisoners slept close to each other, particularly when the prison was overcrowded, thus increasing the danger of contagion. Tuberculosis was one of several diseases prevalent in the Comarca. Amnesty International has the names of 11 former prisoners who died between 1975 and 1979 of tuberculosis believed to have been contracted there. They are: Jorge Carapinha, Claudio Boavida, Jose Rodrigues, Jose Antonio Muniz, Claudio Dias, Antonio Salsinha, Antonio Vidiga, Mau Buta, Joao dos Santos, Albano da Costa, Crispin. (This list should not be regarded as complete.)

In August 1984 an Indonesian Government official told the Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva that the Comarca prison held 200 prisoners at full capacity. Amnesty International understands that the population of the prison was 500 in mid-1977 and may subsequently have risen to as high as 700 by late 1979.

Medical care: Medical care was inadequate, being for the most part in the hands of Indonesian military nurses who were said to be often neglectful and incompetent. It was reported that prisoners needing treatment often did not receive it and that those who did were treated inadequately.

For example, Albano da Costa who reportedly died of tuberculosis in the Comarca in late 1976 was reportedly prescribed one dosage of PAS (para-aminosalicylic acid) consisting of nine tablets. He was told to take the nine tablets over three days. Thereafter the treatment ceased. An Amnesty International doctor states that correct dosage for PAS would be 18 a day for 18 months, although treatment with PAS is now considered inadvisable because of its ill-effects on the liver. In any case, PAS is ineffective on its own and should be administered with other drugs such as Isoniazid and Streptomycin.

It should be recalled that, while conditions for prisoners in the Comarca were extremely poor, in many respects they were not

markedly different from those experienced by the general population. Also, as outside the prison, money could buy privileged treatment. Almost from the beginning prisoners could spend nights at home on payment of a bribe during times of relative military relaxation. Payments of money were reportedly also often required to secure the release of eligible prisoners. Some prisoners are said to have continued to be held in the Comarca because they could not afford such payments.

Long-term prisoners in the Comarca were regularly interrogated. Inmates there were put into Categories A, B or C according to their assessed attachment to Fretilin. (People awaiting classification were put into Category X.) This form of classification was similar to the system used in classifying categories of prisoners arrested in connection with the alleged communist coup attempt in Indonesia in September 1965.

Prisoners' classifications were said to have been reviewed every six months. A former detainee in the Comarca described the review process as follows:

"Such questions as these were raised in the review: had the person done his work properly? Were they blood donors? Had they learned Indonesian? Did they speak properly to the guards? Only senior members of Fretilin were asked political questions: how they thought the Timor question might be solved; how people could be persuaded to surrender; whether Indonesia could win; to compare Portuguese and Indonesian administrations, and to compare capitalism and communism."

ICRC visits: Amnesty International has received reports from former prisoners that prisoners have been moved from the Comarca in advance of visits by members of the ICRC. In April 1979 and again in February 1982 when ICRC visits were expected, prisoners were reportedly transferred from the Comarca to the nearby Indonesian military police barracks. It is also reported that on the night before the arrival of ICRC delegates in Dili in April 1979 several prisoners were taken from the Comarca and "disappeared".

Although the occasional visits by the ICRC resulted in improved conditions in the Comarca, their curtailment has been followed by a corresponding decline. Thus between November 1982 and June 1984, during which time the ICRC were not permitted to visit the Comarca, conditions reportedly deteriorated sharply, particularly as regards food.

Atauro

Atauro, an island some 10 miles north of Dili, was used as a place of exile by the Portuguese colonial authorities; it has an indigenous population of about 5,000. Reports that the Indonesian authorities were

transporting people to the island began in mid-1980, when an unknown number of people were sent there for alleged involvement in a guerrilla raid on a broadcasting station and a military barracks on 10 June 1980. Amnesty International received further reports of several hundred more Timorese being transported to Atauro between December 1980 and April 1981 from the districts of Los Palos, Baucau and Likisa. They were reportedly civilians suspected of sympathizing with Fretilin rather than of being active guerrillas. Between June and September 1981 more than 3,400 people were said to have been taken to Atauro from districts throughout the territory in connection with the military operation known as Operation Security.

The Indonesian military manuals already cited explicitly set out a policy for "breaking up the network of GPK (that is, Fretilin) support" of which "displacement" to the island of Atauro was an essential part. The manual on *The System of Security in Towns and other Settled Areas* describes the policy in general terms thus:

"Physically separate GPK support by . . . moving to another place people with relatives who are GPKs still active in the bush, particularly those classified as leaders." (Section 16c)

Those so "separated" are, according to Section D of the manual on "Ways of Breaking up the Network of GPK Support", to be sent to, among other places, Atauro:

"Evacuate to Atauro and other designated places the network of GPK support in the settlements as well as families of GPKs not yet evacuated."

An analysis in the same manual of one particular village, Bualale, near Kelikai, in Baucau district, states that the policy outlined above had been implemented there in the following fashion: 15 members of the village, which had a population of 413, were still in the bush and as a result the families of 13 of the 15 had been sent to Atauro.

An Australian diplomat who visited the island in September 1982 reported: "Atauro is an integral part of the strategy being followed by the Indonesian authorities in an attempt to rid the province of remaining Fretilin, that is, to remove Fretilin's possible base of support." (Report of D.J. Richardson submitted to Australian Senate Committee Hearings on East Timor, September 1982.)

People held on Atauro were for the most part taken from their villages on suspicion of being sympathetic to Fretilin either because of family ties to people still in the bush or for other reasons. A number, however, were transferred to Atauro from prisons elsewhere. Official statistics on people held on Atauro in March 1984 acknowledged this distinction by breaking down the then detainee population of 2,100 into three groups: "displaced persons" (about 1,600); "detainees" (139);

and "ex-detainees" (350). Previously, as far as Amnesty International is aware, people held on Atauro had all been officially designated as simply "displaced persons".

The hardship entailed in the process of transportation to Atauro is evident from eye-witness accounts received by Amnesty International, describing the gathering of people to be sent to Atauro from Laga in about July 1981. One report stated:

"Passing near Laga I saw a sea of people sheltering under trees and old houses, escorted by Hansips and Indonesians, waiting to be exiled. But as the boats did not come, the people had to wait there . . . Many caught diseases and went hungry . . . The corn they received was rotten and insect-riddled. Those who were ill also could not eat because cooking had to be done with dry leaves as the people were not permitted to collect wood for cooking. As a result, besides catching other diseases, most also caught diarrhoea."

Another report stated:

"In Laga, every day many people can be seen lined up like slaves awaiting deportation, going to an unknown destination . . . Laga is full of people left in compounds without food or water . . . Most of them are taken straight from the street or the market-place to the point of departure for deportation, taking only what they have on them at the time, not able to contact their families or return home to collect the barest necessities."

Many of those sent to the island were women, children and old people. The case of J, a mother of three, is illustrative. Her husband was a member of Fretilin. She was detained in Dili by Indonesian troops in early 1981 and under interrogation stated that her husband was still alive. As a result she, her three children, her mother and her sister were all sent to Atauro. Another case concerned an eight-year-old orphan boy—one of 16 listed in official statistics in May 1982 as orphans—who was sent to Atauro because the Indonesian authorities had learned that his brother was a member of Fretilin still in the bush.

The conditions facing people sent to Atauro in 1980 and 1981 were deplorable. At that time detainees were being provided with a weekly food ration of only one small can of maize, which they were supposed to supplement by what they could grow themselves. The infertility of the island and the kinds of people held there made food production extremely difficult and most detainees were forced to forage for leaves, roots and other edible matter. According to official statistics, 176 detainees died between June 1981 and May 1982—but reports received by Amnesty International indicate that in fact at least twice this

number died of malnutrition, gastroenteritis and malaria in the second half of 1981 alone.

A description by a visitor to the island on conditions during the latter period reads:

"A general impression of sadness, hunger, distrust. Dirty starving children: some go to school, others aged five to ten years go with their mothers and grandmothers to the fields, or they can be seen at the doors of KORAMIL waiting for some food. The majority of the exiles (about two-thirds) are women and children. Altogether there are 45 tents; of these 43 are inhabited; all are numbered; 45 to 70 people (10 to 15 families) live in each tent. Hunger is general. One small can of corn per week for each person. Everyone lacks clothes."

In December 1981 the detainees were moved into newly-built barracks, each measuring 20 feet by 60 feet and accommodating approximately 60 people. By September 1982 the number in each hut was 75 and conditions were described as hot and cramped. After the February 1982 visit to Atauro by an ICRC delegation, the Indonesian authorities agreed that the ICRC should undertake an emergency food and medical relief program on the island. Atauro was the only place of detention which was the object of continuous ICRC protection and relief thereafter.

Despite earlier Indonesian assurances that the numbers of people held on Atauro would be substantially reduced by June 1982, the number of detainees held there in fact increased during the course of 1982 from 3,280 in February to more than 4,000 by mid-September. Two groups totalling 629 were sent to Atauro from Ainaro district in August 1982, possibly as a result of a reported Fretilin attack on Ainaro. In September 1982 the nutrition and health situation was still reportedly grave even though the ICRC had access to the island.

D.J. Richardson noted in September 1982 that drought was prevalent throughout Timor as a result of an abnormally long dry season: "It appears that the worst affected area is Atauro island. Given that . . . it has almost doubled its normal population this is perhaps to be expected. There, government officials said, people could not wash themselves as regularly as they needed and . . . this was adding to health problems." Dependence for food on ICRC distributions was almost total, other means of subsistence (the sea, small plots of land, purchase) being inadequate. D.J. Richardson concluded: "If resettlement [from Atauro] does not take place and more people are put on the island conditions will deteriorate."

From the beginning of 1983, substantial numbers of people were returned to the mainland. By August that year the number of those still

held on Atauro had been reduced to about 2,100. In July 1983 a visiting Australian parliamentary delegation was told by Indonesian authorities that Atauro would be closed by the end of the year.

Amnesty International has received reports that those sent back to the mainland were not necessarily returned to their home villages. One group of people who had been held on Atauro were reportedly not sent to their former homes in the eastern part of the territory but to "resettlement villages" near Maliana in the far west, from which they were not allowed to move. One such settlement was in the village of Cailaco near Maliana in the far west of the territory where an estimated 150 families transferred from Atauro had been settled as of mid-1983.

By August 1983 the detainee population had been substantially reduced, to 2,100, after the breakdown of the ceasefire of the previous March had put an end to plans for closure of the detention centre. In July 1984 the Australian Ambassador Rawdon Dalrymple was informed on a visit to Atauro that barring unforeseen developments all detainees would be returned to the mainland in the next 12 months. The Indonesian Government announced in October 1984 that 600 detainees had been returned to their home villages from Atauro on 21 October 1984. The same statement also quoted a recent statement of the Indonesian-appointed Governor of East Timor that all detainees would be released from Atauro by mid-1985.

"Resettlement villages"

Substantial numbers of East Timorese have been concentrated into "resettlement villages" (*daerah pemukiman baru* in Indonesian, generally referred to as *campos de concentracao* in Portuguese) since the Indonesian invasion, but particularly since the large-scale surrenders of 1978 and 1979. Overall figures for the numbers of people "resettled" since 1975 vary from 150,000 to 300,000.

Both of these figures derive from reports which relied on Indonesian officials for their information: 300,000 was the figure given in the US Agency for International Development *Situation Report No. 1, 19 October 1979 "East Timor, Indonesia—displaced persons"* and was current as of that date; the report of D.J. Richardson already cited gave a figure of 150,000 as of three years later (September 1982) adding that some of these 150,000 had been resettled more than once.

The discrepancy between the figures for the number of people resettled may be due to the fact that the term "resettlement village" is used to refer both to the encampments in which Timorese had been settled immediately after surrender or capture and to the more permanent settlements akin to strategic hamlets.

The village of Remexio which was visited by a delegation of foreign

diplomats and correspondents in October 1978 was a "resettlement village" of the former type. Conditions in these settlements particularly with regard to food provision were extremely serious and continued to be so during 1979. The photographs of severely malnourished children taken by an Australian journalist in September 1979 which publicized the gravity of the situation were taken in the "resettlement village" of Laga. By November 1979 the Indonesian Foreign Minister acknowledged that the food situation might be worse than that "in Biafra or Cambodia". Amnesty International has received information from people taken to such resettlement villages in Ai-Kurus (near Remexio), Metinaro and Natarbora. One person who surrendered in Natarbora in January 1979 said that several thousand people were living there at that time and that about 10 died daily. This person alleged that only people with money or gold received rice.

Both types of "resettlement village" were sited for their accessibility and wider strategic usefulness to Indonesian forces, often in places in the lowlands that had previously been shunned by the population because of the infertility of the land and the prevalence of disease, malaria in particular.

The broader strategic considerations in the siting of such villages are evident from the following extract from the military manual on Planned Restructuring of Trained People's Forces headed "Development of Resettlement Areas":

"The Laga sub-district has proposed the relocation of Soba village, in Boleha, and of Takinomata village to Samagua. If settlement areas are established in these two places, it will be possible to gain control of the region north of the Matabean [sic] mountain and the region of Susugua. Besides establishing the settlements, it will be necessary to build a bridge from Laga to the two settlements

"Meanwhile, the Baguia sub-district administration has proposed that the village of [illegible] should be returned to its original site in the region of Bahatata whilst the village of Larisula should for the time being be resettled in the region of Caidaua The opening up of these new settlement areas will open up the way to Uatuocarabau."

These latter type of settlements are referred to constantly in the captured Indonesian military manuals.

Part III of the Manual on How to Protect the Community from the Influence of GPK propaganda has a section entitled "Intensified control of the population", which directs that "every single activity of the population should be known precisely" and specifies a number of ways of achieving this, including:

- ...
- b. Appoint an 'informant' for every 10-15 families . . . who is able to follow, in secrecy, the activities of these 10-15 families.
 - c. Every person going out of the village must carry a travel permit and every person coming from another village must report.
 - d. Set up check points to check on people entering or leaving the village.
 - e. Maintain an element of surprise by holding unscheduled roll-calls or inspections by the neighbourhood chief to check whether people have left the village without permission or whether people have arrived from another village without reporting."

Other measures advocated include house-to-house patrols to prevent illegal meetings taking place. A report received by Amnesty International on the situation in one district of the territory in mid-1984 reads:

"In the district and sub-district towns, the people from the surrounding villages have been gathered together. The military intelligence official goes around in the morning to do a spot check on houses and count the number of people present. The same is done in the evening. If people want to leave to go in search of food, they have to ask permission, pay the official something and when they return they have to report where they have been and that they have returned."

Restrictions on freedom of movement included limiting people's access to cultivable land: to prevent contact with Fretilin, the manual prescribes that gardens and fields should not be located far from the settlements or village, and that individual gardens and fields should not be isolated one from another. There is little doubt that these rules helped create the serious food shortages reported from 1981 to 1984. In its annual report covering 1982, the year that the manuals were issued, the ICRC noted that:

"With regard to food aid, the ICRC recommended to the Indonesian authorities that an extra 1,000 tons of maize be delivered to East Timor . . . in view of the anticipated poor harvest in 1982, due to drought during the planting season in 1981 and because the inhabitants of some villages, *being restricted in their movement*, had not been able to cultivate sufficient ground." (emphasis added) (*Annual Report 1982 of the ICRC*).

The continual relocation of the population is described in several

accounts received by Amnesty International. The Indonesian-appointed Governor was reported in November 1984 to have announced a plan to develop 400 "model villages" for permanently settling people who had come down from the mountains and out of the bush. It was reported that the villages were to be sited in areas that could be easily patrolled and supervised, thus solving the security problem. Ex-detainees released from Atauro were reportedly also subjected to continual relocation. For example, the 600 people whose release from the island was announced in October 1984 were reportedly sent to "resettlement villages" in Zumalai. Two months later they were sent back to their home areas.

Number of People Held on Atauro

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number of People Held</i>	<i>Comment</i>
June 1980	"several hundred"	Source: Confidential (exact figures not available)
June-December 1981	3,621	Cumulative total; source: <i>Camat</i> (sub-district officer) of Atauro's office
March 1982	3,737	Source: International Review of the Red Cross (IRRC)
April 1982	3,340	Source: IRRC
May 1982	3,352	Source: Indonesian officials to visiting foreign journalists
July 1982	3,380	Source: IRRC
September 1982	4,077	Source: Australian Foreign Office Service Report. (According to same source two groups comprising 629 people were sent to Atauro from the district of Ainaro during August 1982.)
late October 1982	3,794	Source: Confidential
August 1983	2,100	Source: Confidential
March 1984	2,100	Source: IRRC; [of whom 139 were "detainees", 350 "former detainees"] (Source: Confidential)
June 1984	"About 2,000"	Source: IRRC
July 1984	2,153	Source: Report on visit of Australian Ambassador Rawdon Dalrymple
September 1984	2,100	Source: Confidential
October 1984	1,500	Source: Statement of Indonesian Foreign Minister (that 600 detainees were returned to their homes on 4 October 1984)

'Normality'

On 1 September 1983, addressing the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization, the Indonesian representative described the situation in East Timor as follows:

"The province is at peace. The wounds of the Fretilin and Portuguese-inspired civil war [have] been healed. The whole population is actively engaged in the economic, social and cultural development of their province as part of the Indonesian Republic."

It later transpired that the actual situation in September 1983 was one involving the widespread violations of human rights described in the chapter on Operation Clean-Sweep.

While the serious violations of human rights described in the section on extrajudicial executions and "disappearances" were associated with times of heightened military activity and directed at eliminating Fretilin, Amnesty International has received persistent reports of violations occurring continuously since 1975. Often the targets of the violations have been people understood not to be associated with Fretilin.

Some cases illustrating the scope of repression in East Timor follow.

The DPRD letter

In November 1981, Indonesian forces arrested three members of the Regional People's Representative Assembly (DPRD), Leandro Isaac, Onto Tas N.F. Sousa Soares and Francisco Dias Ximenes, and a fourth person, Lucio Goncalves, brother of the then Governor, Guilherme Maria Goncalves. Their arrest was connected with the publication abroad of a letter written in June 1981 to President Suharto. The letter contained allegations of serious misconduct by Indonesian officials and military personnel, including the torture and killing of non-combatant East Timorese. It had been signed by Leandro Isaac and Onto Tas N.F. Sousa Soares, who identified themselves as respectively the youngest and the oldest member of the assembly. The four were reportedly detained in Bali. They were released in late December 1981.

The signatories were subsequently reported to have stated that they had signed the letter without understanding its purport.*

The letter cited four cases of alleged killings by Indonesian troops and East Timorese troops under Indonesian command, three of which involved the killing of people who were said to have practiced "black magic".** Amnesty International has received other information on the persecution of people engaging in traditional Timorese animistic (*lulik*) practices. In 1979-80, Indonesian forces reportedly conducted a campaign against so-called witches. Reported victims of this campaign were:

- Lunoko and Duheu, husband and wife with five children, beheaded and burned in Beloi in September 1979.
- Sebastiana Gomes, aged about 40, the mother of two children, stabbed to death in Olobai, Viqueque, in January 1980.
- Hare Saba, about 55 years old, beaten to death in Viqueque in February 1980.
- Filomeno Soares Pinto, aged about 50, killed by stabbing and hatchet blows in Viqueque in May 1980.

Others who had been incorporated into the military or administrative structure by the Indonesians were also suspect. A section of one of the Indonesian military manuals containing instructions for Territorial Intelligence Activities describes Fretilin strategy for attracting recruits: "the door is open to anyone who does not agree with the government or the armed forces (ABRI) to join the GPK or to take part in its activities In this connection, the targets [for Fretilin recruitment] are the *liurai* [traditional chiefs], the *camat* [Indonesian sub-district chief], members of HANSIP, the *bupati* [Indonesian district chief], members of the provincial assembly [DPRD], the army and others." Amnesty International knows of members of each of these "target" groups who have been reported as having been arrested and in some cases killed.

The following *liurai* were reportedly executed in early 1979: Fernando Sanches, *liurai* of Fuiloro, Lospalos; Tome da Costa, *liurai* of Wessoru, Baucau; and Adelino de Carvalho, *liurai* of Uatolari, Baucau. Relatives of two leading *liurai*, Guilherme Goncalves, *liurai*

*"Classic Whodunnit Grips Indonesia", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 March 1982.

**"In the district of Lospalos some people were murdered by Battalion 745 because they practiced black magic In the district of Viqueque, tens of inhabitants were murdered after being tortured by having their sex organs slashed because they did not obey orders serving the interests of certain individuals or groups and also because of black magic practices In the district of Kovalima, tens of inhabitants were murdered by Battalion 745 after being accused of practising black magic."

of Atsabe, and Gaspar Nunes, *liurai* of Maubara, who became prominent in the Indonesian "provincial" administration, were also reported to have been arrested at various times since 1975.

The *camat*, Orlando Marques, was reportedly beaten to death while in detention in 1980. In late April or May 1984, when about 100 people from the sub-district of Alas were reportedly taken by Indonesian troops for interrogation in Same, the *camat* of Alas, one Octavio, was said to have been among them.

Following Fretilin attacks or the discovery of plans for attacks, members of HANSIP were reportedly arrested, tortured and killed in Likisa in March-April 1981; in Ainaro, in September or October 1981; and in Kraras, Viqueque, in August 1983. (In Ainaro in September or October 1981, local members of HANSIP were reportedly murdered in reprisal for the killing of an Indonesian soldier in Dare, Ainaro. The HANSIP members were reportedly taken to a place called Builiko and killed by being pushed over the cliffs there.)

An assistant in the office of the *bupati* of Lautem, Benedito Savio, was reportedly executed in June 1979.

The arrest of two provincial assembly members in 1981 has already been described. Januario Ximenes, also a member of the provincial assembly, was arrested after the 10 June 1980 incident and was detained in Cipinang prison in Jakarta at the end of 1984 serving a 10-year sentence. Several members of the sub-district assembly in Likisa including its chairman and vice-chairman were arrested in March or April 1981.

The group of Joao Branco which was incorporated into the Indonesian army following their surrender in 1976 were reportedly executed in Gari Uai, Baucau, in around July 1979. David Ximenes, a professional soldier who had briefly joined the Indonesian army, was arrested following the incident of 10 June 1980 and was detained in Cipinang prison, Jakarta, serving a 15-year sentence as of the end of 1984.

Other categories of people reported to have been working with the Indonesian authorities who were subjected to similar treatment by Indonesian troops included interpreters and so-called TBOs.

After the invasion, members of the population were regularly required to perform compulsory tasks. Amnesty International has received reports of people failing to carry out such tasks properly being detained and ill-treated. Reports of such treatment have been received concerning people who were not regarded as displaying sufficient deference, who fell asleep during the *ronda* (night patrol), who showed reluctance to be recruited for military operations, who failed to attend demonstrations for visiting delegations or dignitaries, and people suspected of having communicated information to visiting delegations

which might discredit the occupation.

A number of formerly prominent members of the UDT (which had declared for integration with Indonesia in September 1975) were reportedly regularly held for the duration of visits by foreign delegations and Indonesian government officials. One of these former UDT members told Amnesty International:

"At the time of President Suharto's visit for the second anniversary of integration [17 July 1978], I heard that one of the captains was looking for me. I thought they wanted me to act as an interpreter. When they found me at my house, they said I must come with them. They took me to the house of [Lt. Col.] Gunardi [then Chief of Intelligence] in Farol and told me that from now I was not to go out. They interrogated me: Where was I born? What did I study? What job did I do before the invasion? After two nights they let me go."

Amnesty International has the names of several former UDT members arrested by Indonesian forces including:

Joao Baptista, about 30, a teacher from Laleia, who was reportedly interrogated and tortured at the house of Joao dos Martires in 1977 after he had refused to go on operations with Indonesian troops. His toe-nails are said to have been pulled off.

Francisco Barreto, formerly a UDT member, was part of the group who "disappeared" after being taken from the Comarca in April 1979.

Jacob Ximenes, an 18-year-old student at the Escola de Balide who had been arrested by Fretilin during the civil war and subsequently accompanied Fretilin to the bush, "disappeared" one afternoon in April 1979. He had been a member of the UDT students' league, LESVALT (*Liga dos Estudantes Para Valorização de Timor*).

Joao Varuda, a driver in his late 40s, was arrested after the 10 June 1980 raid. Formerly a member of UDT, he had been taken prisoner in August 1975 by Fretilin and went with them to the bush. He had surrendered to the Indonesian army in 1977. At the time of his arrest he was reportedly working as a driver for the (US) Catholic Relief Service (CRS). After his arrest he was reportedly badly beaten in the Comarca. He was subsequently sent to Atauro.

Several former UDT members were arrested and detained in Viqueque for two weeks in March 1978, including the brothers Luis Gonzaga and Fernando Soares. They had allegedly been conspiring against the Indonesian authorities—allegedly believing that a Tetum language program of *Radio Republik Indonesia, Manu-kokorek* (Cock-a-doodle-doo) contained hidden messages encouraging them to rise up. The two brothers were rearrested following the breakdown of the ceasefire in August 1983. Several others arrested after August 1983

also reportedly had had UDT connections.

Three others who worked with the Tetum language service of RRI in Dili, Eugenio Salvador Pires, Bonifacio Magno and his wife Joanna Magno were briefly detained in July 1980 reportedly on suspicion of using the radio to pass messages prior to the 10 June attack. All three were reportedly ill-treated while in detention. Bonifacio Magno was rearrested following the breakdown of the ceasefire in August 1983.

A case of torture

Ly. H.S., a Chinese-Timorese merchant now residing in Australia told Amnesty International in July 1984 that he had been taken to the house of Joao dos Martires in the Rua Abilio Monteiro in May 1976. He said that often the real reason for taking certain people, particularly Chinese, into custody was simply to extort money. He said he was questioned about the Fretilin organization in Suai:

"They asked me: 'Is it true that when Xavier do Amaral [the Fretilin President] visited Suai [before the invasion], he dined at your house?' I denied it.

"'A', who had been a teacher in Suai, had also been a Fretilin leader there. They brought him to the room where I was being interrogated. They asked him whether he knew me. 'Yes, he is a businessman,' he said. He also denied that I had any connection with Fretilin or that Xavier had dined at my place.

"Then they asked me: 'Are these people [Fretilin] communists?' I said I could not say without proof.

"They then beat me and forced me to say things by using electric shocks. There were five of them: an interrogator, an interpreter, the man who had arrested me who was also the one who beat and tortured me, and two others, whom I took to be more senior officers. This treatment continued for four or five hours.

"Then they took me to a small room, so small that I could not straighten my legs. This room had an iron door and only a small window. I was kept in that room for two weeks."

Information from others who knew the Joao dos Martires house indicates that this former prisoner was probably held in the house safe for these two weeks.

"After the first day, I was interrogated each day for about an hour. I was interrogated by other people. They still beat me but they didn't give me electric shocks. This went on for one

week. When it stopped, I was held for a further week in the small room. Then I was moved to a larger room, where I was held alone for two more weeks.

"After a month in the house of Joao dos Martires I was sent home, but I still had to come to the house every morning from 7 am to 9 am to be given 'lessons' [indoctrination/propaganda sessions]. This went on for four months. There were 10 to 15 people who had to come for these 'lessons'. In September, they changed personnel and we did not have to come any more."

Ly. H.S. was arrested again in March 1978. He said he was taken to the San Tai Ho warehouse again and interrogated on two consecutive days: he was allowed to return home each night. During this time, he said, he was beaten and kicked repeatedly on the back and stomach. He was told that he had been accused, although of what was never made clear. He said he secured his release after relatives had paid Rp. 300,000 (about US \$500 at 1978 rates) to Indonesian military personnel.

Two families

Whole families have been the targets of repression, apparently because they had individual members who were Fretilin leaders. Nicolau Lobato, the Fretilin President, was killed by Indonesian troops in combat in December 1978. His mother Felismina Alves Lobato was reportedly executed with her four youngest children—aged six to 12—on Mau Bere mountain near Laclubar in March 1979. Another of Felismina's children, Maria, was reportedly killed with her husband, Moises Piedade, in Uai Bobo, Baucau, also in March 1979. A nephew of Felismina Lobato, Joao Bosco Sarmiento Quintao, a former sergeant in the Portuguese military police, was captured in December 1977 in Fatu Ai Balun near Soibada after being shot in the leg. Also wounded and captured with him was Nicolau Lobato's uncle, Januario Lobato, who later died of his wounds. Joao Bosco Quintao was taken to Dili where he was held first in the San Tai Ho warehouse and later in the Comarca. By March 1979 he had been granted "conditional liberty", being allowed to leave the prison during the day and over weekends. Around that time he was taken from the Comarca and "disappeared". It is reported that he was executed at Lake Tacitolu in March 1979.

Nicolau's wife, Isabel, had reportedly been killed in Dili harbour on 7 December 1975.

In July 1979 Felisberto Gouveia Leite, his wife Alexandrina, four of their children and a foster-child—aged between 12 and 17—were reportedly executed at Fahi-Nehan, Same. One of their children, Maria, was married to Rogerio Lobato, brother of Nicolau and Minister

of Defence in the DRET cabinet, who was abroad at the time of the invasion.

Paolo Lobato, an uncle of Nicolau, was reported to have "disappeared" in late 1980 in Dili but subsequently resurfaced. Reports say he was rearrested after the breakdown of the ceasefire in August 1983, subsequently released but in April 1984 arrested again by Indonesian troops while driving a truck near Bazartete; he was then tortured and killed. Antonio Piedade, brother of Moises Piedade, was reported to have died under torture also following arrest in September 1983.

Members of the Alves family of Santa Cruz, Dili, several of whom had been associated with Fretilin, also suffered greatly.

In early 1979 several members of the family including Bertha, the wife of Hermengildo Alves, together with five of her children, and two others surrendered near Natarbora where they were resettled. After the surrender, Bertha Alves was ordered to go back into the bush to locate her husband and tell him that, if he did not also surrender, their children would be killed. Hermengildo Alves surrendered in March 1979 and was brought to Casohan near Banque where he was able to see his family for one day. The family were then told by Indonesian troops that he was to be taken to Baucau. According to reports received by Amnesty International, he was in fact taken to Lospalos where he was killed together with a number of other Fretilin leaders and commanders.

In late 1982, Bertha Alves, her children and a relative returned from Natarbora "resettlement village" to Dili to the house of Maria Alves. Maria Alves, a midwife very well-known in Dili, was imprisoned for two months in the Tropical Snack Bar immediately after the invasion. She was arrested in February 1977 with two other women. All three were reportedly tortured during interrogation—given electric shocks and burned with cigarettes on the breasts. When she left prison, Maria Alves was paralysed on her right side. She died in July 1983, aged 57. Her son, Filomeno, and his cousin Oracio (Lito) Alves whom she had brought up "disappeared" from the Comarca in April 1979. A niece, Zelia Alves, "disappeared" reportedly after surrendering in Manatuto in early 1979 with a group that included Fretilin Central Committee member, Joaquim Saldanha. A daughter, Marita, was married to Octavio Araujo, formerly a member of the Central Committee of Fretilin; he was arrested on several occasions after the invasion most recently in October/November 1983. His brother, Helder, who had never been regarded as being involved with Fretilin, was arrested at the same time.

Postscript on trials

The Indonesian news agency *Antara* reported in February 1984 that 12 political prisoners had been tried and sentenced since December 1983

and that a further 12 were awaiting trial. *Agence France Presse* reported on 13 March that "some 40" people were to face trial on charges of rebellion in a second round of trials, following the sentencing of 12 defendants the previous month. Around the same time the Indonesian-appointed Governor for East Timor, Mario Viegas Carrascalao, was quoted as saying that the 12 already sentenced and the 40 others awaiting trial had been arrested after the breakdown of the ceasefire in August 1983. He added that all detainees would be brought to trial, including those already held when he became Governor in September 1982 (*West Australian*, 20 March 1984). Amnesty International was informed by Indonesian officials that 79 people had been tried as of November 1984.

In March 1984 Amnesty International wrote to the Indonesian Government asking to attend the trials. In a letter dated 30 April 1984, the government refused this request and informed Amnesty International that:

- 23 people had been brought to trial as of the end of March 1984;
- they had been charged under Articles 110 and 106 of the Indonesian Criminal Code with conspiring to commit rebellion with a view to bringing about the secession of a part of the territory of the state;
- they had received prison sentences of between six and 17 years on these charges, with the exception of one person who received a sentence of two months;
- 200 other cases were scheduled for prosecution in the Dili district court;
- trials had been held in conformity with Articles 10 and 11 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; they were open to the public and full rights of defence and appeal were afforded the accused.

Not all of those tried between December 1983 and March 1984 were in fact people who had been arrested in connection with the alleged Fretilin attack of 8 August 1983. Several were already in detention on that date and one had been held continuously without charge or trial since shortly after the Indonesian invasion. This person was Wenceslau de Carvalho, who received a sentence of seven years' imprisonment. He had been doing national service with a detachment of the Portuguese army in the Oecusse enclave when Indonesian troops invaded. Twenty-four members of the detachment were taken to Dili in May 1976 and held in the former Portuguese logistics quarters. Seventeen were released from there in late 1978; two had escaped in the intervening period. The five remaining were sent to the Comarca prison. Four of them were still apparently in detention as of late 1984; all except Wenceslau de Carvalho were being held without charge or trial.

Several of those tried between December 1983 and March 1984 had been arrested after the 10 June 1980 raid on Dili and detained continuously since then. They included Mariano Bonaparte Soares, David Ximenes and Januario Ximenes, who received sentences of 16, 15 and 10 years' imprisonment respectively.

After their convictions in the Dili district court, several defendants were sent to prisons outside East Timor. Relatives of a number of them were reported not to have been informed where they were being sent. It is understood that they were in fact sent to prisons in Jakarta and Kupang, West Timor. As of the end of 1984, 42 tried prisoners had been sent to Jakarta and were in Cipinang prison, where conditions were known to be very poor. One prisoner, Domingas da Costa, was sent to Tangerang women's prison on the outskirts of Jakarta; her three-year-old child was sent with her but is reported to have been sent back later to relatives in Dili.

People in Dili appear to know very little about the trials. There was no local announcement or reporting of the hearings, which are said to have been poorly attended. The broader question of jurisdiction was reportedly raised when one of the defendants attempted to bring an appeal on the grounds that the court, being Indonesian, was not entitled to try him. When he persisted in his attempt to appeal he was reportedly threatened with death, and desisted. It is understood that none of the other defendants tried to appeal.

As of the end of 1984 repeated requests by Amnesty International to the Indonesian authorities had not succeeded in eliciting further information on the charges, the trial or appellate proceedings. Thus, although Indonesian officials during 1984 repeatedly cited the trials as evidence of their government's respect for legal norms, the limited information available provides no grounds for reassurance on this matter.

APPENDIX

Amnesty International has the names of over 550 people reported to have "disappeared" between December 1979 and the end of 1984. Most of them are listed: some below, some in the text.

Persons reportedly executed in districts of Maloa, Ai Loc Laran and Matadouro, Dili in first days of Indonesian invasion

Alsino de Araujo	Alexandre de Araujo	Antonio de Araujo
Antero de Conceicao	Marchal de Araujo	Adelino de Araujo
Pedro de Araujo	Afonso de Araujo	Vidal de Araujo
Francisco Xavier	Abilio Israel Xavier	Celistiano de Araujo
Albino de Araujo	Jose Mendes	Rudolfo Mendes de Aquino dos Santos
Antonio dos Reis	Zito Freitas	Abel Araujo
Gonsalo Hanjarra		

Persons reportedly executed 15-17 April 1979 in Ulso, Uatolari, Lia Sidi, Saqueto and Be-aco

Jacinto Amaral	Mateus Sarmiento	Armindo de Menezes
Alberto Mariano	Jose Fernandes	Alipio Mascarenhas
Manuel Amaral	Gabriel Amaral	Raul Freitas
Fernando Amaral	Lino Fernandes	Jose Soares
Mateus Fernando	Celestino Pinto	Armando da Cruz
Gaspar Mascarenhas	Carlos Lequi Loi	Raul Pereira
Domingos Cunha	Mateus Amaral	Jacob Mascarenhas
Clementino Fernandes	Afonso Camboa	Cristovao da Costa
Antonio Pinto	Hermenegildo	Gaspar
Augusto Mascarenhas	Antonio Soares	Mateus
Germano Fernandes	Alfredo Pires	Joaquim Trindade
Joaquim Fernandes	Joao Mascarenhas	Aleixo Cai Mau Goe
Afonso Mascarenhas	Rodolfo Mascarenhas	Adolfo Mascarenhas
Joao de Menezes	Julio Soares	Jorge Soares
Jacob	Napoleao	Januario
Cosme	Gregorio Amaral	Feliciano
Feliciano Pinto	Januario	Rubi Lai
Clementino	Hermenegildo	Agostinho Ribeiro
Tome da Costa	Joao Baptista	Joao Soares
Joao	David	Hong Sung
Cai Mau	Mau Kili	Ildefonso, of Uatocarabau
Gregorio, of Baguia	Jacinto Amaral	Lourenco
Augusto	Martinho Fernandes	Antonio Lopes
Lourenco	Jose Gutteres	Teofilo Duarte
Celestino Gae Sala	Isabel	Gaspar
Cai Mau	Lino, of Ossu	Miguel, of Ossu
Gregorio, of Ossu	Antonio da Costa, of Ossu	Tana Mota, of Dili

Joao Berchmans	Gaspar	Chiquito
Miguel	Leao	Manuel
Jeremias	Afonso	Nogueira
Luis, of Uatocarabau	Julio Pires de Afaloicai	Armindo de Afaloicai
Armando	Acacio	Mario
Antonio de Rosario	Manuel	Helena
Sebastiao Alves	Paulo Freitas	Hermenegildo
Domingos Torres	Salvador da Silva	Domingos
Sebastiao	Jorge Barros	Celestino
Amaro	Manuel Braga	Mau Rubi
Luis	Juliao Sarmento	Inacio
Martins, of Viqueque	Miguel	

Persons reportedly executed or "disappeared" in Lospalos, April-June 1979

Alegria Fernandes	Falu-Maloi	Humberto Fernandes
Venancio Vigilancia	Telu-Koro	Patricio da Costa
Felicidade Lopes	Dinis Kendola	Ermengildo
Pedro Nogueiro	Jose Fernandes	Justo Bernatolino
Soru-Koro	Sape-Tchai	Gamasse Notehoro
Kou Tehoi	Ze Teharuno	Joao Ipi-Teha
Filipe da Costa	Augusto Henriques	Julio Rodrigues
Kopo Lada	Mau Lara	Fernando Dias Sanches
Pedro Dias Sanches	Afonso Savio	Lamberto
Fai-Ulo	Faustino	Pedro Valente do Coelho
Teho Telu-Koto	Sino-Koro	Kustu-Malai
Moura Natehoi	Fernando Toni Malai	Jacinto Timi Renu
Felipe Falu-Malai	Augusto Sanches	Patricio Falu-Malai
Paolo Nunes	Antero Teixeira	Jacinta Pereira
Antonio do Carmo	Afonso de Albuquerque	Alberto Nunes
Jose Viegas	Fernando Lopes	Joaquim
Francisco Falu-Malao	Nicolau Dias Quintas	Edmundo Ze Kolo
Feliciano	Aleixo da Costa	Tome Cristovao
Alfredo Xavier	Alfredo	Paulo Fernandes
Male-Hiro	Koi Larano	Afonso Albuquerque
Antonio Ribeiro	Jose Ribeiro	Justino
Nomo Luis	Olga	Humberto Loiola
Roturehao	Romo-Chipibo	Oscar Fernandes
Jose Zeca Martino	Claudio da Costa Malai	Mau-Kinta
Puli Lumoloi	Maulora	Antonio da Conceicao
Miguel Monteiro	Orlando Marques	Alarico da Costa
Marcal dos Reis Noronha	Antonio Reis	Cancio da Silva
Benedito Savio	Manuel Monteiro Leite	Soru Coro
Poio Lana	Joao Muita	Calisto Rego Fernandes
Mere Mere Mau	Joao Andrade Sarmento	Moises Fernandes
Felix Gonzaga	Tomas Ximenes	Pedro Alvares Cabral
Victor Gandara	Raul dos Santos	Jose Ferreira da Conceicao
Alfonso Santos	Felisberto da Cruz	

Persons reportedly executed in Kelikai, May-June 1979

Agapito	Jose Alcino (father)	Jose Alcino (son)
Marcal Alcino	Tonilio Along	Jeremias Baiwari
Marcal Borges	Januario Braga	Sina Caca
Gaspar Correia	Norberto Correia	Lino da Costa
Pedro da Costa	Afonso da Costa	Afonso Cristovao
Jose De Almeida ("Bacano")	Virgilio Dias	Zalmiro Exposto
Jose Ferreira	Inacio da Fonseca (Mau Solan)	Joaquim Fraga
Aquilino Freitas	Francisco Freitas	Januario Gaio
Jose Gaio	Paula Gaio	Paolo Agapito Gama
Albino Gusmao	Paulo Gusmao	Tandeu Laikana
Miguel Maha Dasi	Francisco Marques	Lino Monteiro
Gregorio Pereira	Sidonio Sarmento	Seferino Selok
Candido Soares	Jeremias Soares	Paulo Soares
Tadeu Soares	Domingos Tavares	Domingos Torres
Jose Viegas (Mau Laku)	Lourenco Gaio Ximenes	

Persons reported to have "disappeared" in 1978-79 whose subsequent fate or whereabouts are not known

Juvenal Inacio	Hermengildo Alves	Lito Gusmao
Amadeo Araujo dos Santos	Joao de Conceicao	Joao Bosco Sarmento Quintao
Leonildo Joaquim	Maria Gorete Joaquim	Honorio Pereira
Antonio Policarpo a Soares	Basilio Smith	Jacob Ximenes
Sebastiao Montalvao	Sebastiao Douzel Sarmento	Dulce Maria de Cruz
Hamis Basarewan	Anibal Araujo	Joao Baptista De Jesus Soares
Filomeno Alves	Manecas Exposto	Domingos Ribeiro
Agostinho Tilman	Oscar Araujo	Lino Baptista
Lino da Costa	Eduardo Dos Anjos	Antonio Cavarino (Mau Lear)
Antonio Gusmao	Afonso Redentor	Maria do Ceu Pereira Cavarino (Be Lear)
Antonio Carvalho	Joaquim Saldhana	

Persons reportedly executed at Fahi-Nehan, Same, July 1979

Alexandrina Amelia Augusta Pires Leite)	wife
Felisberto Gouveia Leite)	husband
Maria Auxiliadora Filomena Pires Leite)	
Dulce Maria Pires Leite)	children
Rui Manuel Baptista Pires Leite)	
Maria de Fatima Baptista Pires Leite)	
Aurea Fontes Gusmao)	foster-child

Persons reportedly executed in Laclubar, May 1979

Felismina Lobato)	wife
Moises Sarmiento Piedade)	husband
Mariazinha)	
Madalena)	
Helga)	children
Silvestre)	
Jose)	

Others reportedly executed in the vicinity of Uatolari, April-June 1979

Adelino de Carvalho	Julio Seloc	Gaspar Baiwari
Xiquito Baiwari	Makikit	Acacio Carvalho
David Loisiba	Gregorio Cai-Culi-Ho'o	

Members of Joao Branco's group, reportedly executed in Gari Uai, Baucau around July 1979

Aleixo Amaral	Artur Amaral	Joao Branco
Alarico Nunes Caetano	Eduardo Nunes Caetano	Adao Cristovao
Aleixo Cristovao	Gil Cristovao	Jose Cristovao
Faustino Guimaraes	Inacio, from Titilari	Paulino Pereira
Nicolau Quintas	Levorgildo dos Santos	Vitor dos Santos
Domingos Savio	Felipe Vitor	Duarte Romao Vieira

Persons reportedly executed elsewhere in 1978-79

	<i>Reported date of execution</i>	<i>Reported place of execution</i>
Manu Loi Franciso	November 1978	Baucau
Joaquim Do Nascimento Pedro Goncalves Lemos	1979	Ainaro
Jose Do Nascimento Manuel Fereira Pires Rosalino Leite	1979	Alas
Martinho Cortereal Mateus Cortereal Pedro Cortereal Jose Henriques Antonio Lisboa Luis Marchal Jaime Sarmiento Antonio Sepeda	March 1979	Same
Francisco Barros Antonio Adakay	September 1978	Caschan, Barique

Persons reportedly executed in Faturbeliu, April 1979

Caetano de Araujo	Luis de Andrade	Moises Tilman de Araujo
Tobias da Costa	Antonio Fernandes	Francisco Fernandes
Joao Abilio Fernandes	Marcos Fernandes	Zaulino Fernandes
Jorge de Jesus	Francisco Lopes	Joaquim Magalhaes
Joao Raul		

Persons reportedly executed in Aileu, February-July 1979

Antonio Sarmiento	Luis Castro	Carlos ("Metan")
Inocencio	Joaquim Manuel Do Nascimento	

Persons reported to have "disappeared" or been executed after 10 June 1980.

Mau Mali	Mali Mau	Romaldo
Jose	Malakias Alves	Eduardo Freitas
Domingos	Carlos de Araujo	Mau Leki
Mau Malik Metan	Norberto Fernandes	Marcos Soares
Mateus	Salvador da Rosa Fatima	Anastacio
Jose Manuel	Maria Barreto	Mau Ranek
Dau Malik Inan	Romao Nunes	Jordao Fernandes
Paulo Xavier	Joao Exposto	Augusto Sousa
Alberto Monteiro	Martinho Saldanha	Da Holo
Francisco	Antonio Leki Mali	Leao Macedo
Lino	Mateus Saldanha	Joao Mau Duan
Tomas Tilman	Joao de Costa	Mau Buti
Manuel	Adriano Mesquita	Raimundo Fatima
Tomas Soares	Joao Barreto	Afonso Moniz
Abilio Loko Rai	Jose de Sousa	Pedro Lemos
Adao Mendonca	Domingos Caldeira	Venancio Gomes (Mau Seran)
Domingos Caldeira	Caetano	Danilo da Silva
Tiago "Loi Sara"	Guilherme	Pedro Manek
Adriano dos Santos	Luan Berek	Silverio dos Santos
Domingos Borromeu	Hermengildo da Costa	Rosalino Bonaparte Soares
Antonio	Sismundo Ximenes	Edmundo Ximenes
Sancho	Joao Cristo Rei	Gaspar
Luciano Soares	Celestino Mau Bere	Tomas
Mau Bere	Francisco Araujo	Domingos Fatima (Mau Nugo Aman)
Domingos Mau Nuca	Jose Soares	

Persons reported to have "disappeared" or been executed since August 1983

	Reported date of <i>Reported date of execution/"disappearance"</i>	Reported place of <i>Reported place of residence</i>
Jeronimo Conceicao	August 1983	Dili
Jose de Sousa	August 1983	Dili
Evangelino	August 1983	Dili
Belmiro Henrique	August 1983	Dili
Jose Henriques	August 1983	Dili
Antonio Piedade	August/September 1983	Dili
Simao Goncalves	December 1983	Dili
Domingos Salsinha	August 1983	Una Kik, Viqueque
Mario Pinto	September 1983	Balara Uain, Viqueque
Guilhermino	September 1983	Karau Balu, Viqueque
Jacinto	September 1983	Balara Uain, Viqueque
Duarte	September 1983	Balara Uain, Viqueque
Hermenegildo	September 1983	Karau Balu, Viqueque
Leonardo	September 1983	Karau Balu, Viqueque
Paulino da Silva	October 1983	Ossu, Viqueque
Filomeno da Costa	October 1983	Ossu, Viqueque
Agostinho Sarmiento	October 1983	Ossu, Viqueque
Renugio da Silva	October 1983	Ossu, Viqueque
Acacio Gutteres	October 1983	Ossu, Viqueque
Armando Pinto	October 1983	Viqueque, Viqueque
Salvador Belo	October 1983	Viqueque, Viqueque
Raimundo Pereira	October 1983	Viqueque, Viqueque
Tomas da Silva	May 1984	Bucoli, Baucau
Jacinto da Silva	May 1984	Bucoli, Baucau
Vicente Freitas	May 1984	Bucoli, Baucau
Augusto Gusmao	June 1984	Vemasse, Bacau
Manuel	March 1984	Hato Udo, Ainaro
Nuno	March 1984	Hato Udo, Ainaro
Moises Araujo	May 1984	Hato Udo, Ainaro
Lourenco Araujo	May 1984	Hato Udo, Ainaro
Joao Xavier	May 1984	Hato Udo, Ainaro
Oscar	May 1984	Hato Udo, Ainaro
Paulo Marques	August 1983	Home, Lautem
Nicolau Flores	September 1983	Moro, Lautem
Francisco Lopes	October 1983	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Cristovao Lopes	October 1983	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Alvaro dos Santos	October 1983	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Jaime Castelo	November 1983	Lospalos, Lautem
Manuel de Jesus	November 1983	Poros Tutuala, Lautem
Gilberto	November 1983	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Francisco Cristovao	November 1983	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Karasu Malay	November 1983	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem

Federico	November 1983	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Gaspar Nunes	November 1983	Porlamano, Tutuala, Lautem
Luis Silveira	November 1983	Raca, Lautem
Armando Castanheira	November 1983	Lore, Lautem
Mateus Gonzaga	November 1983	Mehara, Lautem
Jorge Nascimento	November 1983	Mehara, Lautem
Jose Manuel	November 1983	Mehara, Lautem
Alvaro Freitas	December 1983	Muapitine, Lautem
Lionel Oliveira	December 1983	Muapitine, Lautem
Angelo da Costa	December 1983	Muapitine, Lautem
Alberto	December 1983	Muapitine, Lautem
Lino	December 1983	Muapitine, Lautem
Oscar Lopes	January 1984	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Francisco Lopes	January 1984	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Alvaro Gomes	January 1984	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Mateus Pedro	January 1984	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Raul dos Santos	January 1984	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Arnancio	January 1984	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Joaquim	January 1984	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Olinda	January 1984	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Ermelinde	January 1984	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Alfredo Coutinho	January 1984	Poros, Tutuala, Lautem
Antonio Hornay	March 1984	Moro, Lautem
Jorge Pinto	March 1984	Luro, Lautem
Afonso dos Santos	March 1984	Luro, Lautem
Rui Manuel	March 1984	Luro, Lautem
Americo Branco	March 1984	Luro, Lautem
Kote Lai	March 1984	Luro, Lautem
Victor	March 1984	Luro, Lautem

Amnesty International — a worldwide campaign

In recent years, people throughout the world have become more and more aware of the urgent need to protect human rights effectively in every part of the world.

- Countless men and women are in prison for their beliefs. They are being held as prisoners of conscience in scores of countries—in crowded jails, in labour camps and in remote prisons.
- Thousands of political prisoners are being held under administrative detention orders and denied any possibility of a trial or an appeal.
- Others are forcibly confined in psychiatric hospitals or secret detention camps.
- Many are forced to endure relentless, systematic torture.
- More than a hundred countries retain the death penalty.
- Political leaders and ordinary citizens are becoming the victims of abductions, “disappearances” and killings, carried out both by government forces and opposition groups.

An international effort

To end secret arrests, torture and killing requires organized and worldwide effort. Amnesty International is part of that effort.

Launched as an independent organization over 20 years ago, Amnesty International is open to anyone prepared to work universally for the release of prisoners of conscience, for fair trials for political prisoners and for an end to torture and executions.

The movement now has members and supporters in more than 160 countries. It is independent of any government, political group, ideology, economic interest or religious creed.

It began with a newspaper article, “The Forgotten Prisoners”, published on 28 May 1961 in *The Observer* (London) and reported in *Le Monde* (Paris).

Announcing an impartial campaign to help victims of political persecution, the British lawyer Peter Benenson wrote:

Open your newspaper any day of the week and you will find a report from somewhere in the world of someone being imprisoned, tortured or executed because his opinions or religion are unacceptable to his government. . . . The newspaper reader feels a sickening sense of impotence. Yet if these feelings of disgust all over the world could be united into common action, something effective could be done.

Within a week he had received more than a thousand offers of support—to collect information, publicize it and approach governments. The groundwork was laid for a permanent human rights organization that eventually became known as Amnesty International. The first chairperson of its International Executive Committee (from 1963 to 1974) was Sean MacBride, who received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1974 and the Lenin Prize in 1975.

The mandate

Amnesty International is playing a specific role in the international protection of human rights.

It seeks the *release* of men and women detained anywhere because of their beliefs, colour, sex, ethnic origin, language or religious creed, provided they have not used or advocated violence. These are termed *prisoners of conscience*.

It works for *fair and prompt trials* for *all political prisoners* and works on behalf of such people detained without charge or trial.

It opposes the *death penalty* and *torture* or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of *all prisoners* without reservation.

Amnesty International acts on the basis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international covenants. Amnesty International is convinced of the indivisibility and mutual dependence of all human rights. Through the practical work for prisoners within its mandate, Amnesty International participates in the wider promotion and protection of human rights in the civil, political, economic, social and cultural spheres.

Amnesty International does not oppose or support any government or political system. Its members around the world include supporters of differing systems who agree on the defence of all people in all countries against imprisonment for their beliefs, and against torture and execution.

Amnesty International at work

The working methods of Amnesty International are based on the principle of international responsibility for the protection of human rights. The movement tries to take action wherever and whenever there are violations of those human rights falling within its mandate. Since it was founded, Amnesty International groups have intervened on behalf of more than 25,000 prisoners in over a hundred countries with widely differing ideologies.

A unique aspect of the work of Amnesty International groups—placing the emphasis on the need for *international* human rights work—is the fact that each group works on behalf of prisoners held in countries other than its own. At least two prisoner cases are assigned to each group; the cases are balanced geographically and politically to ensure impartiality.

There are now 3,341 local Amnesty International groups throughout the world. There are sections in 43 countries (in Africa, Asia, the Americas, Europe and the Middle East) and individual members, subscribers and supporters in more than 120 other countries. Members do not work on cases in their own countries. No section, group or member is expected to provide information on their own country and no section, group or member has any responsibility for action taken or statements issued by the international organization concerning their own country.

Continuous research

The movement attaches the highest importance to balanced and accurate reporting of facts. All its activities depend on meticulous research into allegations of human rights violations. The International Secretariat in London (with a staff of 175, comprising 30 nationalities) has a Research Department which collects and analyses information from a wide variety of sources. These include hundreds of newspapers and journals, government bulletins, transcriptions of radio broadcasts, reports from lawyers and humanitarian organizations, as well as letters from prisoners and their families. Amnesty International also sends fact-finding missions for on-the-spot investigations and to observe trials, meet prisoners and interview government officials. Amnesty International takes full responsibility for its published reports and if proved wrong on any point is prepared to issue a correction.

Once the relevant facts are established, information is sent to sections and groups for action. The members then start the work of trying to protect the individuals whose human rights are reported to have been violated. They send letters to government ministers and

embassies. They organize public meetings, arrange special publicity events, such as vigils at appropriate government offices or embassies, and try to interest newspapers in the cases they have taken up. They ask their friends and colleagues to help in the effort. They collect signatures for international petitions and raise money to send relief, such as medicine, food and clothing, to the prisoners and their families.

A permanent campaign

In addition to case work on behalf of individual prisoners, Amnesty International members campaign for the abolition of torture and the death penalty. This includes trying to prevent torture and executions when people have been taken to known torture centres or sentenced to death. Volunteers in dozens of countries can be alerted in such cases, and within hours hundreds of telegrams and other appeals can be on their way to the government, prison or detention centre.



Symbol of
Amnesty International

Amnesty International condemns as a matter of principle the torture and execution of prisoners by *anyone*, including opposition groups. Governments have the responsibility of dealing with such abuses, acting in conformity with international standards for the protection of human rights.

In its efforts to mobilize world public opinion, Amnesty International neither supports nor opposes economic or cultural boycotts. It *does* take a stand against the international transfer of military, police or security equipment and expertise likely to be used by recipient governments to detain prisoners of conscience and to inflict torture and carry out executions.

Amnesty International does not grade governments or countries according to their record on human rights. Not only does repression in various countries prevent the free flow of information about human rights abuses, but the techniques of repression and their impact vary widely. Instead of attempting comparisons, Amnesty International concentrates on trying to end the specific violations of human rights in each case.

Policy and funds

Amnesty International is a democratically run movement. Every two years major policy decisions are taken by an International Council comprising representatives from all the sections. They elect an International Executive Committee to carry out their decisions and super-

wise the day-to-day running of the International Secretariat.

The organization is financed by its members throughout the world, by individual subscriptions and donations. Members pay fees and conduct fund-raising campaigns—they organize concerts and art auctions and are often to be seen on fund-raising drives at street corners in their neighbourhoods.

Its rules about accepting donations are strict and ensure that any funds received by any part of the organization do not compromise it in any way, affect its integrity, make it dependent on any donor, or limit its freedom of activity.

The organization's accounts are audited annually and are published with its annual report.

Amnesty International has formal relations with the United Nations (ECOSOC), UNESCO, the Council of Europe, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of American States.

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In this report ...
... of human rights in East Timor since November 1975
and calls for action to be taken to protect the rights of
the citizens of East Timor.