to make judicial inquiries into custodial deaths mandatory, to provide statutory ^{Compensation} to victims of custodial violence, to make reports of inquiries and post-mortem reports publicly and readily available and to strengthen legal safeguards on arrest. It put forward standards for the effective functioning of human rights commissions, in response to the government's

own proposals to establish such a body. It stressed the need for human rights commissions to be independent from government and to have effective powers to investigate alleged human rights violations whether committed by the army, paramilitary forces or the police.

Amnesty International renewed its longstanding request to visit various Indian states, including Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and the northeast states. However, by the end of the year, official authorization for such access had not been granted, although the Home Minister promised that Amnesty International's requests would be actively considered.

INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR

More than 180 suspected government opponents were prisoners of conscience or possible prisoners of conscience, including some 30 sentenced during the year. At least 300 other political prisoners continued to serve lengthy sentences imposed after unfair trials. Hundreds of others were arrested and held without trial for up to two years as suspected opponents of the government and scores were feared to have "disappeared". 157

Torture and ill-treatment of political detainees, peaceful demonstrators and criminal suspects were common and resulted in some deaths. Government forces extrajudicially executed scores of alleged supporters of independence in Aceh and East Timor. At least two people were sentenced to death and one person was executed for murder; at least 33 prisoners remained on death row.

The government won a substantial majority in general elections tainted by fraud and the intimidation and arrest of government opponents. Following the elections President Suharto was nominated to stand for his sixth consecutive term as president; as in previous years no other candidates were put forward. The government continued to face both armed and peaceful opposition from groups seeking independence for Aceh, East Timor and Irian Java. The leader of the resistance movement in East Timor was arrested in November. He and scores of suspected supporters and relatives arrested in a subsequent crackdown were held incommunicado for more than two weeks, and some were tortured.

A personal envoy of the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General visited East Timor in February to obtain information about the November 1991 massacre in which more than 100 people were killed (see Amnesty International Report 1992). A consensus statement of the UN Commission on Human Rights in March, and a resolution of the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in August, expressed concern about continuing human rights violations in East Timor and urged the government to facilitate access to the territory by humanitarian and human rights organizations. A report by the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture said that Indonesian government forces practised torture routinely.

The government said it would seek to implement the human rights recommendations of various UN bodies, and took some initiatives aimed at improving its human rights image, but there was no fundamental change in its repressive posture toward political dissent. In August the national legislative body established a human rights committee and in December the government announced plans to establish an independent human rights commission. However, the government continued to

INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR

158 restrict access to East Timor and parts of Indonesia, making effective human rights monitoring almost impossible. Some government officials expressed support for the principle of political "openness" while others, including the President and the Armed Forces Commander, warned that "foreign ideologies", such as communism and liberalism, threatened national security. Human rights organizations which expressed concern about the November 1991 massacre in East Timor were accused of serving the interests of foreign powers and some were threatened with legal penalties. At least 33,000 people remained on an official government blacklist restricting entry and exit to the country, and a new immigration law included provisions preventing the return to Indonesia of citizens deemed to have tarnished the government's image while abroad. Hundreds of thousands of former members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), banned since 1965, remained subject to restrictions affecting their freedom of movement and civil rights.

> Prosecutions for human rights violations continued to be the exception rather than the rule. Following official inquiries into the November 1991 massacre, 10 military officials were tried before a military tribunal for breach of discipline, and received prison sentences of between eight and 18 months. Despite at least 100 killings during and after the massacre, none of the 10 was charged with murder. One other military official was tried in connection with the March 1990 torture and killing of Candido Amaral in East Timor (see Amnesty International Reports 1991 and 1992); he was sentenced to two months in jail. A small number of police officers were convicted of killing or torturing criminal suspects but most received short prison sentences.

> At least 180 suspected government opponents were prisoners of conscience or possible prisoners of conscience, of whom some 30 were sentenced during the year. They included advocates of independence for East Timor, Aceh and Irian Jaya, as well as Islamic activists, former members of the PKI, university students and human rights workers.

> At least 13 of the scores of East Timorese arrested at the end of 1991 were believed to be prisoners of conscience. Four were sentenced to prison terms ranging from nine years to life imprisonment

for subversion and nine others received lesser sentences for "publicly expressing hostility" towards the government. Francisco Maria Branco and Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha were sentenced to 15 years' and life imprisonment respectively for organizing a peaceful pro-independence demonstration in Dili in November 1991. Two East Timorese political prisoners sentenced in unfair trials in 1984 were released in September but three others sentenced at the same time remained in prison in Jakarta.

In Aceh and North Sumatra, more than 20 alleged supporters of *Aceh Merdeka*, an armed opposition group seeking independence for Aceh and parts of Sumatra, were sentenced to prison terms of up to 20 years for subversion. Some appeared to be prisoners of conscience, including police sergeants M. Yacob and Idris Ahmad, who were each sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment for copying and distributing "illegal pamphlets on religious issues". Thirty-two other alleged *Aceh Merdeka* supporters, sentenced after unfair trials in 1991, continued to serve prison sentences of between four years and life.

More than 100 political prisoners from Irian Jaya, at least 70 of them prisoners of conscience, remained in jail for advocating Irian Jaya's independence. Most were held in East Java, more than 2,500 kilometres away, making it difficult for their relatives to visit them. Twenty-three had been released by the end of the year, including 12 who were believed to be prisoners of conscience.

At least 50 of an estimated 300 Islamic activists imprisoned for subversion, and serving sentences up to life imprisonment, were also believed to be prisoners of conscience. They included Abdul Fatah Wiranagapati, who was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in June for "undermining the state ideology", *Pancasila*, and attempting to establish an Islamic state. Seven Islamic activists were released during the year, including four who were believed to be prisoners of conscience.

At least 30 prisoners sentenced in the 1960s after unfair trials for alleged involvement in a 1965 coup attempt or for PKI membership remained in prison. Seven of them were on death row. Most were believed to be prisoners of conscience. One such prisoner, Sanusi bin Haji Muhammad Ibrahim, was released from prison in August after serving a life sentence; another, Johannes Sucipto, died in custody during the year after 26 years in prison.

Two university students, Bambang Wahya Nirbita and Ambar Widí Atmoko, were jailed in June for two and a half years for blasphemy; they were prisoners of conscience. The two were arrested following complaints that a comedy routine they had performed in late April had offended Islam. Two other students were charged with political crimes in May but had not been tried by the end of the year. Six students sentenced in February 1990 for insulting the Minister of Home Affairs at a demonstration in Bandung were released in February (see Amnesty International Reports 1990 to 1992).

A human rights lawyer, Dadang Trisasongko, was arrested in October and accused of subversion, incitement and "expressing hostility toward the government". The precise allegations against him were not known but colleagues believed they were linked to his lawful activities on behalf of villagers in Singosari, East Java. Following protests from human rights organizations, the subversion charge was dropped and he was released from custody. However, other charges remained and he was due to stand trial in early 1993.

Political trials, particularly those held under the vaguely worded Anti-Subversion Law, did not meet international standards of fairness or conform with Indonesia's Code of Criminal Procedure. Defendants in Political cases in Aceh and East Timor were frequently held incommunicado for several months, tortured, and denied access to legal counsel of their choice. Some defendants were convicted on the basis of uncorroborated confessions or testimony allegedly extracted under duress.

Hundreds of alleged government opponents were detained without charge or trial and denied access to relatives and lawyers; some had been held for more than two years before being formally charged. At least 45 of the scores of East Timorese arrested after the November 1991 massacre were held in Dili and Jakarta without charge or trial for more than three months. Hundreds of others were detained and held incommunicado in the weeks before the anniversary of the massacre and following the 20 November arrest of Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the East Timorese resistance movement. In Aceh and North Sumatra,

military authorities released hundreds of alleged supporters of Aceh Merdeka who had been held in unacknowledged detention without charge for up to two years. Hundreds of others were believed to remain in unacknowledged police or military custody in Aceh at the end of the year. It was reported in June that three men, Hasan Tito, Slamet Suryadi and Jayus bin Karmo had been held incommunicado without charge or trial by military authorities in Lampung province for more than two years; all three had reportedly been tortured. In September, following protests from human rights organizations, two of the men were released without charge. The third, Jayus bin Karmo, was charged with subversion and brought to trial, but had not been convicted by the end of the year.

Scores of alleged government opponents were reported to have "disappeared" in Aceh and East Timor, and the whereabouts of many detained in previous years remained unknown. One of the "disappeared". Mohamad Jafar Abdurrahman Ed. had been arrested in August 1990 in North Aceh on suspicion of assisting Aceh Merdeka. Military authorities later denied having him in their custody and refused to provide any information about his fate. The government also failed to account for as many as 100 people reported missing after the November 1991 massacre in East Timor. Eye-witnesses and relatives of the "disappeared" believed that many had been killed and their corpses secretly buried.

Torture and ill-treatment of political detainees continued to be routine. Ismail bin Gani, a civil servant, was arrested in March, held incommunicado for two months, and tortured by military officials to force him to confess to supporting *Aceh Merdeka*. When his wife was allowed to visit him in May, he had to be carried by soldiers because his arms and legs had been broken. He told her that he had been beaten repeatedly and had not received any medical treatment.

In East Timor, military authorities reportedly tortured some of the hundreds of suspected government opponents detained in November. One man, Enrique Belmiro Guterres, was hospitalized after his finger-nails were pulled out and his hands broken by his captors. Another, Jorge Manuel Aranjo Serrano, was reported to have died in custody following torture. 159

160

Criminal suspects, strikers, peaceful protesters and members of the urban poor were also tortured and ill-treated, and some died as a result. Sofyan Lubis, a shoeshine boy aged 16 accused of stealing clothes, died in the Tanjung Gusta Children's Prison in Medan in September. Prison officials claimed that he had suddenly become ill and had died on the way to hospital, but an autopsy concluded that his death had been "unnatural". According to relatives and lawyers, his corpse bore clear signs of torture; his stomach, chest and neck were severely bruised, two teeth were missing, and blood was coming from his mouth, nose, ears and genitals. An investigation by the Ministry of Justice concluded in November that Sofvan Lubis had not died of torture, but when challenged by doctors and relatives, the Ministry admitted that its report was "not accurate".

Scores of people were extrajudicially executed by government forces in counterinsurgency operations in East Timor, Aceh and Irian Jaya. The victims included elderly men such as Teungku Imam Hamzah, aged 80, who was reportedly shot dead without any apparent reason by security forces in April while walking down the road in Lhok Kruntjong, Aceh. At least 2,000 others, and possibly many more, were believed to have been extrajudicially executed in Aceh since 1989, but there had been no official investigations into any killings by the end of the year.

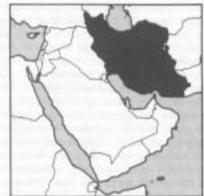
More than 30 criminal suspects were shot dead in Jakarta as part of a continuing "shoot-on-sight" policy instituted by the city's police chief in 1989. In September police authorities in Jakarta said they had been "forced" to shoot a robbery suspect, Heri Gunawan, when he tried to escape. They said he was shot first in the back and then twice in the head. Military authorities also threatened to shoot on sight anyone "causing trouble" during a summit meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement in Jakarta in September.

At least 33 people were on death row at the end of 1992, seven of them political prisoners. They included a former member of parliament, Sukatno, and six other elderly men sentenced for involvement in the 1965 coup attempt or PKI membership. At least two people were sentenced to death for murder during the year and one person, Sergeant Adi Saputro, was executed in December for murder.

Amnesty International appealed throughout the year for the release of prisoners of conscience, for the fair trial or release of other political prisoners, and for urgent government action to halt torture, extrajudicial executions and "disappearances". In meetings and correspondence with representatives of the Indonesian Government, the organization reiterated its request to visit Indonesia and East Timor. The government responded by asserting that it observed the rule of law and said Amnesty International should not interfere in Indonesia's domestic affairs.

In a report issued in February, Santa Cruz: The Government Response, Amnesty International criticized the government's response to the November 1991 massacre, and reiterated its appeal for an impartial international investigation into the incident and its aftermath. In July the organization published a report, Indonesia/East Timor: The Suppression of Dissent, summarizing its human rights concerns. In an oral statement to the UN Special Committee on Decolonization in August, Amnesty International outlined its concerns about the imprisonment, after unfair trials, of East Timorese political and human rights activists.

RAN



Mass arrests, unfair trials and summary executions took place following riots and demonstrations in several towns. Hundreds of political prisoners, including prisoners of conscience, were among those detained during the year. Torture of prisoners continued to be reported. At least 330 people, including dozens of