



Centre for
Human Rights and
Restorative Justice

HISTORY REFERENCES

Indonesia Truth Commission

Abstract

Notes on discussions of history, as well as a list of coding themes and references to history in the Indonesia Truth Commission.

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Researcher Notes

Report details:

- published in 2008
- pdf has 191 pages
- according to NVivo's text search, the word history (using stems) is referenced 25 times, representing 0.08% coverage
- after deleting references from the bibliography, notes or headers, there are **20 broad references** to history in the content of the report
- has a chapter on historical, social and political context
 - largely context and details of events 1974-1999
 - chapter is 26 pages

History is referenced in the report in the following ways:

- idea of the truth helping the nations – Indonesia and Timor-Leste – come together
- looking at the past can cause resentment because no one can be fully right or wrong
- need to learn from the past
- need to work towards reconciliation and healing
- Commission decided that events prior to 1999 outside their mandate
- idea that they need discussion of events that both countries could agree upon
- want to understand the events of 1999 and what that means for institutional responsibility
- stories of village residents – due to the size of the archive it was not possible to review all files
- discussion of historical human rights violations
- cultural and political history prior to 1999 relevant to conflict and quickly discussed but accounts not analyzed or reviewed for this commission
- absence of de colonization process resulted in deep rifts among the two nations populations
- idea some statements are just opinions not backed by evidence or analysis
- debates about security control of Indonesia and its relationship with the UN
- support by civilian government of a militia that has a history of violence
- need to educate people about this past

History and truth are discussed in the following ways:

- need to reveal the truth of the past so that the Indonesia and Timor-Leste can come together
- need to come to a truth that everyone can agree upon
- need the truth to determine the degree of responsibility of involved parties
- idea some statements are just opinions not backed by evidence or analysis

*References of history and truth appear under the highlighted coding theme/section **True or Accurate** starting on page

Links to Data Visualization

This section contains links to all data visualization for the Indonesia report.

Word Frequency

- word frequency cloud
- excel sheet of word frequency cloud findings

Word Trees

- history
- women
- children
- youth
- forgive
- victim
- truth
- reconciliation
- land

*NVivo software can only edit word trees by changing the central search term and branch sizes. Word trees includes references from bibliography, headers, and notes that cannot be edited out using NVivo software. Researchers will need to manually remove unsightly branches using editing software (e.g., paint, photoshop, etc.)

History Hierarchy Coding Chart

- history hierarchy coding chart
- excel sheet of history hierarchy coding chart results

History Coding for the Indonesia Report

The following chart breakdowns the child nodes used for coding history references based on themes and discussions surrounding history in the Indonesia report.

History	All references or discussions to history in the Indonesia
Colonialism	References or discussions of colonialism
Human rights	References or discussions of human rights
Institutions	References or discussions of institutions (e.g., police, military etc.)
Learn or Educate	References or discussions of education or learning from the past
Nations	References or discussions to nation, nations, or nationalism and history
Politics	References or discussions of politics and history
Reconciliation	References or discussions of reconciliation, coming together or forgiveness
Responsibility	References or discussions of who bears responsibility for historic events or crimes
True or Accurate	References or discussions of true, accurate, or genuine history
Village stories	References or discussions of local or village stories
Violence	References or discussions of violence

History References

This section contains all references to history from the Indonesia report.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Asia\\Indonesia-TimorLeste.CTF_.Report-FULL> - § 20
references coded [0.60% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

The Commission believes that events of the past should never shackle the two nations in a space devoid of hope. The past must be accepted and agreed as a common footstep to open a new page of history. Revealing events of the past based on factual and conclusive truth serves as the foundation for the two nations to pave a new road towards cooperation that can empower each other in the spirit of eternal friendship.

Reference 2 - 0.03% Coverage

On this journey we learned that no reconciliation can be reached without sacrifice from all relevant parties. Sacrifice is needed in the dynamics to accept the fact of truth that determines the degree of responsibility of all relevant parties. The Commission also reached a conviction that in looking at events of the past that caused resentment, no one could claim oneself as being fully/absolutely right, and other parties as absolutely wrong. This is because in the reconstruction of history to reveal the fact of truth, challenges faced pertain to how all parties can reach a fact of truth that can be agreed upon.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

c. Reconciliation needs to incorporate the lessons learned from the past, based on the principle of honoring the independence, sovereignty, and history of the respective nations and the common history of the two nations. This principle is also a part of the process of healing wounds of the past.

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

Point 10 of the Terms of Reference states that “... Indonesia and Timor-Leste have opted to seek truth and promote friendship as a new and unique approach rather than the prosecutorial process...” Furthermore in point 11 of the Terms of Reference it is affirmed that through this new and unique Commission, the two countries, who share a common history, have agreed with “courage and vision to look at the past as a lesson and embrace the future with optimism”.

Reference 5 - 0.03% Coverage

Chapter 4 addresses that context by briefly describing basic points of history and institutional structures most relevant to understanding the events of 1999. The Commission does not intend that this presentation of the context represent a complete history of the conflict. Indeed, the events that occurred before 1999 are outside of the Commission’s mandate and not the subject of

its research or fact-finding. Rather, the historical, social and political factors discussed below were the most essential points of agreement in the Commission's construction of a framework for consideration of the issues to be the subject of its findings.

Reference 6 - 0.04% Coverage

Throughout the New Order, the Indonesian State Police (Polri) were part of the military structure of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI). The long history of Polri's subordination to the ABRI strongly impacted on the independence and capacity of this institution to uphold law and order. Polri followed a similar doctrine to ABRI, a doctrine that views security as the responsibility of all citizens. Based on the Neighborhood Security System (Siskamling) members of communities play a role in securing their own areas.²⁹ The Police, like the military, had a regional structure, that extended down to the village level (Bintara Polisi Desa, Binpolda). In addition to its normal policing tasks, the Police also has a paramilitary unit, the Mobile Brigade (Brimob). The role of Brimob was to reinforce the civilian police and the military in responding to internal security threats that were considered beyond the capacity of the civilian police. Until April 1999 the police were under the authority of ABRI.

Reference 7 - 0.04% Coverage

In the discussion above various historical, social and political factors were highlighted that were most relevant to the development and dynamics of the events that occurred in East Timor in 1999, and could be agreed on by both countries. The reader is once again reminded that this chapter is not meant to convey final conclusions about the period of history prior to 1999. The focus of the Commission's mandate is understanding the events of 1999 and their implications for institutional responsibility, and to devise appropriate ways and recommendations for healing the wounds of the past, and to secure human dignity through promoting reconciliation and friendship. The historical and contextual points that the Commission found most applicable to fulfilling their mandate can be summarized as follows:

Reference 8 - 0.07% Coverage

The Commission was able to review a very large body of documents. It received cooperation from Komnas HAM, the Office of the Attorney General of Indonesia, the Prosecutor General of Timor Leste, and the CAVR. The Commission, with the assistance of its Expert Advisor and his research teams in Dili and Jakarta, conducted an in-depth analysis of these documents. This analysis of the documents obtained from these four sources and contained in the two Reports of the Expert Advisor,⁴ constitutes the basis for the analysis in this section of the Commission's Final Report (Chapter 5). The analysis of such a large body of documents, however, was inevitably limited by considerations of time, resources, and access. All of the documents from the twelve Jakarta trials were examined. While the CAVR report was fully analyzed (in regard to the events of 1999), access was not granted to the actual witness statements on which the report is largely based, due to the nature of CAVR's confidentiality and access policies. However, the Commission was allowed to access a collection of Community Profiles at the CAVR archives. These Community Profiles consist of brief village histories as narrated by residents of each village, which recount major human rights violations from 1974-1999. This collection includes

histories from over 300 villages from every district and sub-district of Timor Leste. In regard to the Serious Crimes Process, because of the size of the archive it was not possible to examine all of the files and documents in the custody of the Prosecutor General of Timor Leste.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

The Strengths of Robinson's report include: • A careful and fairly balanced tone and methodological approach. • Discussion of the history and formation of 1999 militias. • Brief discussion of structural violence in Indonesia that gives 1999 a broader historical and political context.

Reference 10 - 0.04% Coverage

Various participants in the hearings presented their interpretations of the causes and nature of the violence in 1999. A common thread among these speakers was that East Timor's cultural and political history was highly relevant to the formation of the conflict in 1999. Some of these speakers, including the former President of Indonesia, B.J. Habibie, and Kiki Sjahnakri, felt that the absence of a solid and responsible decolonization process between the people of East Timor and Portugal resulted in deep political rifts among the populace.⁴ They claim that political alignments that originally formed over different views regarding independence from Portugal and which animated the ideologies of the political parties involved in the Civil War in East Timor in 1975, continued to be the sources of political power and conflict in

Reference 11 - 0.02% Coverage

All of such statements are, of course, opinions and not factual statements, as is the case with the majority of contextual information provided in this forum. They offer interpretations of Timorese history without substantiating those interpretations with carefully documented and nuanced analyses of specific events. These individuals are also not acknowledged experts in the history of Timor nor are their opinions based upon their own independent research.

Reference 12 - 0.05% Coverage

Other speakers believed that the terms of the 5 May Agreement may have exacerbated these conflicting pressures put on Indonesian institutions, including the security forces and the Regional government. For example, under the 5 May Agreement brokered by the UN between Indonesia and Portugal, the Indonesian Police Force was given the primary role in providing security for the elections. Former Foreign Affairs Minister, Ali Alatas, explained his view of the history of these negotiations to the Commission. According to Alatas, from the beginning the UN Secretary-General refused to hand over security control to Indonesia. The UN initially wanted the deployment of international troops to support UNAMET and the security function of the Popular Consultation. However, Indonesia wanted to maintain control of security for reasons of national sovereignty. In the end a compromise was reached that gave control of security to Indonesia, but there were qualifications. Because the UN believed it was a matter of order and law enforcement, the responsibility was given to the Police and the military was asked to take a backseat position and only intervene if its help was needed.

Reference 13 - 0.02% Coverage

When considering this testimony, the Commission noted that the 5 May Agreement was already in effect, and only the Police had been given the authority to provide security. The civilian government's official monetary support for Pamswakarsa at this stage is in conflict with the Agreement. The specific inclusion of Tim Alfa in these funding proposals demonstrates deliberate support by the civilian government of a militia group that has a history of violence.

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

In the community profiles from the CAVR the Commission found a report of Falintil conducting roadblocks to apprehend those who were suspected of being militia. The area of Belecassac, Maucatar, Covalima recorded in their village history:

Reference 15 - 0.03% Coverage

- Funding was systematic in form and it manifested itself in explicit linkage to armed groups like Team Alfa and to the shared political goal of supporting the autonomy cause. Because such funding was provided when the 5 May Agreement was already in effect, and only the Police had been given the authority to provide security, the civilian government's official monetary support for Pamswakarsa at this stage is in conflict with the Agreement. The specific inclusion of Tim Alfa in these funding proposals demonstrates deliberate support by the civilian government of a militia group that had a history of violence against civilians.

Reference 16 - 0.05% Coverage

An understanding of the past and the ability to educate and inform the two peoples about the common history they share requires preservation and analysis of the historical record of the violence of 1999. The various bodies that have conducted investigations or trials involving the violence in 1999 have assembled a vast amount of documentary and other evidence. These organizations include the Commission's collection of documents and testimony as well as CAVR, SCU, KPP HAM Indonesia and the Human Rights Ad Hoc tribunal in Jakarta. Other relevant evidence and documentation is held by other organizations or governments. These documents constitute an important historical, legal and political legacy and a resource that must be protected, preserved and where appropriate made accessible to researchers and the peoples of the two countries. When properly preserved and utilized this resource and legacy can make an important contribution to promoting friendship and nonrecurrence of violence between the two countries.

Reference 17 - 0.02% Coverage

training in regard to mediation and conflict resolution are vitally necessary to achieve these goals. The Documentation and Conflict Resolution Center (DCRC) will be tasked with developing and implementing educational and training programs in conflict resolution and mediation for government, military, police, civil society and communities. These dual tasks of

promoting understanding of the common history of the two nations, and providing a resource center for conflict resolution initiatives

Reference 18 - 0.05% Coverage

- Acting through the DCRC the two governments should encourage and promote cooperative historical research between scholars and experts from the two countries with the aim of promoting a common understanding of the shared history between the two nations. To achieve such mutual understanding cooperative research must encompass the historical roots of the events of 1999, extending back to the period of Portuguese colonization. This dimension is reflected in this Report in Chapter 4 which, following the Commission's mandate, explores the historical context of the 1999 violence. As part of the cooperative research process, documents that are contained in state files of Indonesia and Timor-Leste regarding this period of shared history should be provided to and preserved at the DCRC with appropriate consideration for issues of security and confidentiality. Priorities for this document recovery program should include all documents related to any persons detained, tried and convicted for their stated political opinions. The results of this cooperative historical research should be used to develop new course materials and curricula for use in education at all levels in the two countries to promote understanding of their common history.

Reference 19 - 0.03% Coverage

It is important, however, not to lose sight of the fact that the process of political reform in Indonesian began only at the end of 1998. In the history of countries and peoples, all and any change of an old political system requiring a radical transformation, entails as an almost inevitable consequence different challenges of multi-dimensions. The fact remains that in Indonesia, an archipelagic nation with a great diversity, the process of political transformation has been even more complex than in any other country. It imposes upon Indonesia tremendous efforts to preserve the unity of the country without hindering the goals of reform and democratization.

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

11. The CTF constitutes a new and unique experience whereby two countries, with a recent shared history, agree with courage and vision to look at the past as a lesson and embrace the future with optimism.

History Child Node References

The following section contains history references from the Indonesia report organized by the child nodes outlined in History Coding for the Indonesia Report. Some references appear under several subheadings since they contained discussions of multiple themes.

Colonialism

References or discussions of colonialism

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Asia\\Indonesia-TimorLeste.CTF_.Report-FULL> - § 2
references coded [0.09% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.04% Coverage

Various participants in the hearings presented their interpretations of the causes and nature of the violence in 1999. A common thread among these speakers was that East Timor's cultural and political history was highly relevant to the formation of the conflict in 1999. Some of these speakers, including the former President of Indonesia, B.J. Habibie, and Kiki Sjahnakri, felt that the absence of a solid and responsible decolonization process between the people of East Timor and Portugal resulted in deep political rifts among the populace.⁴ They claim that political alignments that originally formed over different views regarding independence from Portugal and which animated the ideologies of the political parties involved in the Civil War in East Timor in 1975, continued to be the sources of political power and conflict in

Reference 2 - 0.05% Coverage

- Acting through the DCRC the two governments should encourage and promote cooperative historical research between scholars and experts from the two countries with the aim of promoting a common understanding of the shared history between the two nations. To achieve such mutual understanding cooperative research must encompass the historical roots of the events of 1999, extending back to the period of Portuguese colonization. This dimension is reflected in this Report in Chapter 4 which, following the Commission's mandate, explores the historical context of the 1999 violence. As part of the cooperative research process, documents that are contained in state files of Indonesia and Timor-Leste regarding this period of shared history should be provided to and preserved at the DCRC with appropriate consideration for issues of security and confidentiality. Priorities for this document recovery program should include all documents related to any persons detained, tried and convicted for their stated political opinions. The results of this cooperative historical research should be used to develop new course materials and curricula for use in education at all levels in the two countries to promote understanding of their common history.

Human Rights

References or discussions of human rights

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Asia\\Indonesia-TimorLeste.CTF_.Report-FULL> - § 2
references coded [0.11% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.07% Coverage

The Commission was able to review a very large body of documents. It received cooperation from Komnas HAM, the Office of the Attorney General of Indonesia, the Prosecutor General of Timor Leste, and the CAVR. The Commission, with the assistance of its Expert Advisor and his research teams in Dili and Jakarta, conducted an in-depth analysis of these documents. This analysis of the documents obtained from these four sources and contained in the two Reports of the Expert Advisor,⁴ constitutes the basis for the analysis in this section of the Commission's Final Report (Chapter 5). The analysis of such a large body of documents, however, was inevitably limited by considerations of time, resources, and access. All of the documents from the twelve Jakarta trials were examined. While the CAVR report was fully analyzed (in regard to the events of 1999), access was not granted to the actual witness statements on which the report is largely based, due to the nature of CAVR's confidentiality and access policies. However, the Commission was allowed to access a collection of Community Profiles at the CAVR archives. These Community Profiles consist of brief village histories as narrated by residents of each village, which recount major human rights violations from 1974-1999. This collection includes histories from over 300 villages from every district and sub-district of Timor Leste. In regard to the Serious Crimes Process, because of the size of the archive it was not possible to examine all of the files and documents in the custody of the Prosecutor General of Timor Leste.

Reference 2 - 0.05% Coverage

An understanding of the past and the ability to educate and inform the two peoples about the common history they share requires preservation and analysis of the historical record of the violence of 1999. The various bodies that have conducted investigations or trials involving the violence in 1999 have assembled a vast amount of documentary and other evidence. These organizations include the Commission's collection of documents and testimony as well as CAVR, SCU, KPP HAM Indonesia and the Human Rights Ad Hoc tribunal in Jakarta. Other relevant evidence and documentation is held by other organizations or governments. These documents constitute an important historical, legal and political legacy and a resource that must be protected, preserved and where appropriate made accessible to researchers and the peoples of the two countries. When properly preserved and utilized this resource and legacy can make an important contribution to promoting friendship and nonrecurrence of violence between the two countries.

Institutions

References or discussions of institutions (e.g., police, military etc.)

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Asia\\Indonesia-TimorLeste.CTF_.Report-FULL> - § 10
references coded [0.30% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.03% Coverage

Chapter 4 addresses that context by briefly describing basic points of history and institutional structures most relevant to understanding the events of 1999. The Commission does not intend that this presentation of the context represent a complete history of the conflict. Indeed, the events that occurred before 1999 are outside of the Commission's mandate and not the subject of its research or fact-finding. Rather, the historical, social and political factors discussed below were the most essential points of agreement in the Commission's construction of a framework for consideration of the issues to be the subject of its findings.

Reference 2 - 0.04% Coverage

Throughout the New Order, the Indonesian State Police (Polri) were part of the military structure of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI). The long history of Polri's subordination to the ABRI strongly impacted on the independence and capacity of this institution to uphold law and order. Polri followed a similar doctrine to ABRI, a doctrine that views security as the responsibility of all citizens. Based on the Neighborhood Security System (Siskamling) members of communities play a role in securing their own areas.²⁹ The Police, like the military, had a regional structure, that extended down to the village level (Bintara Polisi Desa, Binpolda). In addition to its normal policing tasks, the Police also has a paramilitary unit, the Mobile Brigade (Brimob). The role of Brimob was to reinforce the civilian police and the military in responding to internal security threats that were considered beyond the capacity of the civilian police. Until April 1999 the police were under the authority of ABRI.

Reference 3 - 0.04% Coverage

In the discussion above various historical, social and political factors were highlighted that were most relevant to the development and dynamics of the events that occurred in East Timor in 1999, and could be agreed on by both countries. The reader is once again reminded that this chapter is not meant to convey final conclusions about the period of history prior to 1999. The focus of the Commission's mandate is understanding the events of 1999 and their implications for institutional responsibility, and to devise appropriate ways and recommendations for healing the wounds of the past, and to secure human dignity through promoting reconciliation and friendship. The historical and contextual points that the Commission found most applicable to fulfilling their mandate can be summarized as follows:

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The Strengths of Robinson's report include: • A careful and fairly balanced tone and methodological approach. • Discussion of the history and formation of 1999 militias. • Brief

discussion of structural violence in Indonesia that gives 1999 a broader historical and political context.

Reference 5 - 0.05% Coverage

Other speakers believed that the terms of the 5 May Agreement may have exacerbated these conflicting pressures put on Indonesian institutions, including the security forces and the Regional government. For example, under the 5 May Agreement brokered by the UN between Indonesia and Portugal, the Indonesian Police Force was given the primary role in providing security for the elections. Former Foreign Affairs Minister, Ali Alatas, explained his view of the history of these negotiations to the Commission. According to Alatas, from the beginning the UN Secretary-General refused to hand over security control to Indonesia. The UN initially wanted the deployment of international troops to support UNAMET and the security function of the Popular Consultation. However, Indonesia wanted to maintain control of security for reasons of national sovereignty. In the end a compromise was reached that gave control of security to Indonesia, but there were qualifications. Because the UN believed it was a matter of order and law enforcement, the responsibility was given to the Police and the military was asked to take a backseat position and only intervene if its help was needed.

Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

When considering this testimony, the Commission noted that the 5 May Agreement was already in effect, and only the Police had been given the authority to provide security. The civilian government's official monetary support for Pamswakarsa at this stage is in conflict with the Agreement. The specific inclusion of Tim Alfa in these funding proposals demonstrates deliberate support by the civilian government of a militia group that has a history of violence.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

In the community profiles from the CAVR the Commission found a report of Falintil conducting roadblocks to apprehend those who were suspected of being militia. The area of Belecassac, Maucatar, Covalima recorded in their village history:

Reference 8 - 0.03% Coverage

- Funding was systematic in form and it manifested itself in explicit linkage to armed groups like Team Alfa and to the shared political goal of supporting the autonomy cause. Because such funding was provided when the 5 May Agreement was already in effect, and only the Police had been given the authority to provide security, the civilian government's official monetary support for Pamswakarsa at this stage is in conflict with the Agreement. The specific inclusion of Tim Alfa in these funding proposals demonstrates deliberate support by the civilian government of a militia group that had a history of violence against civilians.

Reference 9 - 0.05% Coverage

An understanding of the past and the ability to educate and inform the two peoples about the common history they share requires preservation and analysis of the historical record of the violence of 1999. The various bodies that have conducted investigations or trials involving the violence in 1999 have assembled a vast amount of documentary and other evidence. These organizations include the Commission's collection of documents and testimony as well as CAVR, SCU, KPP HAM Indonesia and the Human Rights Ad Hoc tribunal in Jakarta. Other relevant evidence and documentation is held by other organizations or governments. These documents constitute an important historical, legal and political legacy and a resource that must be protected, preserved and where appropriate made accessible to researchers and the peoples of the two countries. When properly preserved and utilized this resource and legacy can make an important contribution to promoting friendship and nonrecurrence of violence between the two countries.

Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

training in regard to mediation and conflict resolution are vitally necessary to achieve these goals. The Documentation and Conflict Resolution Center (DCRC) will be tasked with developing and implementing educational and training programs in conflict resolution and mediation for government, military, police, civil society and communities. These dual tasks of promoting understanding of the common history of the two nations, and providing a resource center for conflict resolution initiatives

Learn or Educate

References or discussions of education or learning from the past

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Asia\\Indonesia-TimorLeste.CTF_.Report-FULL> - § 6
references coded [0.16% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

c. Reconciliation needs to incorporate the lessons learned from the past, based on the principle of honoring the independence, sovereignty, and history of the respective nations and the common history of the two nations. This principle is also a part of the process of healing wounds of the past.

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

Point 10 of the Terms of Reference states that “... Indonesia and Timor-Leste have opted to seek truth and promote friendship as a new and unique approach rather than the prosecutorial process...” Furthermore in point 11 of the Terms of Reference it is affirmed that through this new and unique Commission, the two countries, who share a common history, have agreed with “courage and vision to look at the past as a lesson and embrace the future with optimism”.

Reference 3 - 0.05% Coverage

An understanding of the past and the ability to educate and inform the two peoples about the common history they share requires preservation and analysis of the historical record of the violence of 1999. The various bodies that have conducted investigations or trials involving the violence in 1999 have assembled a vast amount of documentary and other evidence. These organizations include the Commission’s collection of documents and testimony as well as CAVR, SCU, KPP HAM Indonesia and the Human Rights Ad Hoc tribunal in Jakarta. Other relevant evidence and documentation is held by other organizations or governments. These documents constitute an important historical, legal and political legacy and a resource that must be protected, preserved and where appropriate made accessible to researchers and the peoples of the two countries. When properly preserved and utilized this resource and legacy can make an important contribution to promoting friendship and nonrecurrence of violence between the two countries.

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

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Reference 5 - 0.05% Coverage

- Acting through the DCRC the two governments should encourage and promote cooperative historical research between scholars and experts from the two countries with the aim of promoting a common understanding of the shared history between the two nations. To achieve such mutual understanding cooperative research must encompass the historical roots of the events of 1999, extending back to the period of Portuguese colonization. This dimension is reflected in this Report in Chapter 4 which, following the Commission's mandate, explores the historical context of the 1999 violence. As part of the cooperative research process, documents that are contained in state files of Indonesia and Timor-Leste regarding this period of shared history should be provided to and preserved at the DCRC with appropriate consideration for issues of security and confidentiality. Priorities for this document recovery program should include all documents related to any persons detained, tried and convicted for their stated political opinions. The results of this cooperative historical research should be used to develop new course materials and curricula for use in education at all levels in the two countries to promote understanding of their common history.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

11. The CTF constitutes a new and unique experience whereby two countries, with a recent shared history, agree with courage and vision to look at the past as a lesson and embrace the future with optimism

Nations

References or discussions to nation, nations, or nationalism and history

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Asia\\Indonesia-TimorLeste.CTF_.Report-FULL> - § 8
references coded [0.23% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

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Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

c. Reconciliation needs to incorporate the lessons learned from the past, based on the principle of honoring the independence, sovereignty, and history of the respective nations and the common history of the two nations. This principle is also a part of the process of healing wounds of the past.

Reference 3 - 0.04% Coverage

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Reference 4 - 0.05% Coverage

Other speakers believed that the terms of the 5 May Agreement may have exacerbated these conflicting pressures put on Indonesian institutions, including the security forces and the Regional government. For example, under the 5 May Agreement brokered by the UN between Indonesia and Portugal, the Indonesian Police Force was given the primary role in providing security for the elections. Former Foreign Affairs Minister, Ali Alatas, explained his view of the history of these negotiations to the Commission. According to Alatas, from the beginning the UN Secretary-General refused to hand over security control to Indonesia. The UN initially wanted the deployment of international troops to support UNAMET and the security function of the Popular Consultation. However, Indonesia wanted to maintain control of security for reasons of national sovereignty. In the end a compromise was reached that gave control of security to Indonesia, but there were qualifications. Because the UN believed it was a matter of order and

law enforcement, the responsibility was given to the Police and the military was asked to take a backseat position and only intervene if its help was needed.

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

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- Acting through the DCRC the two governments should encourage and promote cooperative historical research between scholars and experts from the two countries with the aim of promoting a common understanding of the shared history between the two nations. To achieve such mutual understanding cooperative research must encompass the historical roots of the events of 1999, extending back to the period of Portuguese colonization. This dimension is reflected in this Report in Chapter 4 which, following the Commission's mandate, explores the historical context of the 1999 violence. As part of the cooperative research process, documents that are contained in state files of Indonesia and Timor-Leste regarding this period of shared history should be provided to and preserved at the DCRC with appropriate consideration for issues of security and confidentiality. Priorities for this document recovery program should include all documents related to any persons detained, tried and convicted for their stated political opinions. The results of this cooperative historical research should be used to develop new course materials and curricula for use in education at all levels in the two countries to promote understanding of their common history.

Reference 7 - 0.03% Coverage

It is important, however, not to lose sight of the fact that the process of political reform in Indonesian began only at the end of 1998. In the history of countries and peoples, all and any change of an old political system requiring a radical transformation, entails as an almost inevitable consequence different challenges of multi-dimensions. The fact remains that in Indonesia, an archipelagic nation with a great diversity, the process of political transformation has been even more complex than in any other country. It imposes upon Indonesia tremendous efforts to preserve the unity of the country without hindering the goals of reform and democratization.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

11. The CTF constitutes a new and unique experience whereby two countries, with a recent shared history, agree with courage and vision to look at the past as a lesson and embrace the future with optimism

Politics

References or discussions of politics and history

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Asia\\Indonesia-TimorLeste.CTF_.Report-FULL> - § 2
references coded [0.07% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.04% Coverage

Various participants in the hearings presented their interpretations of the causes and nature of the violence in 1999. A common thread among these speakers was that East Timor's cultural and political history was highly relevant to the formation of the conflict in 1999. Some of these speakers, including the former President of Indonesia, B.J. Habibie, and Kiki Sjahnakri, felt that the absence of a solid and responsible decolonization process between the people of East Timor and Portugal resulted in deep political rifts among the populace.⁴ They claim that political alignments that originally formed over different views regarding independence from Portugal and which animated the ideologies of the political parties involved in the Civil War in East Timor in 1975, continued to be the sources of political power and conflict in

Reference 2 - 0.03% Coverage

It is important, however, not to lose sight of the fact that the process of political reform in Indonesian began only at the end of 1998. In the history of countries and peoples, all and any change of an old political system requiring a radical transformation, entails as an almost inevitable consequence different challenges of multi-dimensions. The fact remains that in Indonesia, an archipelagic nation with a great diversity, the process of political transformation has been even more complex than in any other country. It imposes upon Indonesia tremendous efforts to preserve the unity of the country without hindering the goals of reform and democratization.

Reconciliation

References or discussions of reconciliation, coming together or forgiveness

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Asia\\Indonesia-TimorLeste.CTF_.Report-FULL> - § 6
references coded [0.12% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

The Commission believes that events of the past should never shackle the two nations in a space devoid of hope. The past must be accepted and agreed as a common footstep to open a new page of history. Revealing events of the past based on factual and conclusive truth serves as the foundation for the two nations to pave a new road towards cooperation that can empower each other in the spirit of eternal friendship.

Reference 2 - 0.03% Coverage

On this journey we learned that no reconciliation can be reached without sacrifice from all relevant parties. Sacrifice is needed in the dynamics to accept the fact of truth that determines the degree of responsibility of all relevant parties. The Commission also reached a conviction that in looking at events of the past that caused resentment, no one could claim oneself as being fully/absolutely right, and other parties as absolutely wrong. This is because in the reconstruction of history to reveal the fact of truth, challenges faced pertain to how all parties can reach a fact of truth that can be agreed upon.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

c. Reconciliation needs to incorporate the lessons learned from the past, based on the principle of honoring the independence, sovereignty, and history of the respective nations and the common history of the two nations. This principle is also a part of the process of healing wounds of the past.

Reference 4 - 0.04% Coverage

In the discussion above various historical, social and political factors were highlighted that were most relevant to the development and dynamics of the events that occurred in East Timor in 1999, and could be agreed on by both countries. The reader is once again reminded that this chapter is not meant to convey final conclusions about the period of history prior to 1999. The focus of the Commission's mandate is understanding the events of 1999 and their implications for institutional responsibility, and to devise appropriate ways and recommendations for healing the wounds of the past, and to secure human dignity through promoting reconciliation and friendship. The historical and contextual points that the Commission found most applicable to fulfilling their mandate can be summarized as follows:

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

training in regard to mediation and conflict resolution are vitally necessary to achieve these goals. The Documentation and Conflict Resolution Center (DCRC) will be tasked with developing and implementing educational and training programs in conflict resolution and mediation for government, military, police, civil society and communities. These dual tasks of promoting understanding of the common history of the two nations, and providing a resource center for conflict resolution initiatives

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

11. The CTF constitutes a new and unique experience whereby two countries, with a recent shared history, agree with courage and vision to look at the past as a lesson and embrace the future with optimism

Responsibility

References or discussions of who bears responsibility for historic events or crimes

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Asia\\Indonesia-TimorLeste.CTF_.Report-FULL> - § 6
references coded [0.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.04% Coverage

Throughout the New Order, the Indonesian State Police (Polri) were part of the military structure of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI). The long history of Polri's subordination to the ABRI strongly impacted on the independence and capacity of this institution to uphold law and order. Polri followed a similar doctrine to ABRI, a doctrine that views security as the responsibility of all citizens. Based on the Neighborhood Security System (Siskamling) members of communities play a role in securing their own areas.²⁹ The Police, like the military, had a regional structure, that extended down to the village level (Bintara Polisi Desa, Binpolda). In addition to its normal policing tasks, the Police also has a paramilitary unit, the Mobile Brigade (Brimob). The role of Brimob was to reinforce the civilian police and the military in responding to internal security threats that were considered beyond the capacity of the civilian police. Until April 1999 the police were under the authority of ABRI.

Reference 2 - 0.04% Coverage

In the discussion above various historical, social and political factors were highlighted that were most relevant to the development and dynamics of the events that occurred in East Timor in 1999, and could be agreed on by both countries. The reader is once again reminded that this chapter is not meant to convey final conclusions about the period of history prior to 1999. The focus of the Commission's mandate is understanding the events of 1999 and their implications for institutional responsibility, and to devise appropriate ways and recommendations for healing the wounds of the past, and to secure human dignity through promoting reconciliation and friendship. The historical and contextual points that the Commission found most applicable to fulfilling their mandate can be summarized as follows:

Reference 3 - 0.04% Coverage

Various participants in the hearings presented their interpretations of the causes and nature of the violence in 1999. A common thread among these speakers was that East Timor's cultural and political history was highly relevant to the formation of the conflict in 1999. Some of these speakers, including the former President of Indonesia, B.J. Habibie, and Kiki Sjahnakri, felt that the absence of a solid and responsible decolonization process between the people of East Timor and Portugal resulted in deep political rifts among the populace.⁴ They claim that political alignments that originally formed over different views regarding independence from Portugal and which animated the ideologies of the political parties involved in the Civil War in East Timor in 1975, continued to be the sources of political power and conflict in

Reference 4 - 0.05% Coverage

Other speakers believed that the terms of the 5 May Agreement may have exacerbated these conflicting pressures put on Indonesian institutions, including the security forces and the Regional government. For example, under the 5 May Agreement brokered by the UN between Indonesia and Portugal, the Indonesian Police Force was given the primary role in providing security for the elections. Former Foreign Affairs Minister, Ali Alatas, explained his view of the history of these negotiations to the Commission. According to Alatas, from the beginning the UN Secretary-General refused to hand over security control to Indonesia. The UN initially wanted the deployment of international troops to support UNAMET and the security function of the Popular Consultation. However, Indonesia wanted to maintain control of security for reasons of national sovereignty. In the end a compromise was reached that gave control of security to Indonesia, but there were qualifications. Because the UN believed it was a matter of order and law enforcement, the responsibility was given to the Police and the military was asked to take a backseat position and only intervene if its help was needed.

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

When considering this testimony, the Commission noted that the 5 May Agreement was already in effect, and only the Police had been given the authority to provide security. The civilian government's official monetary support for Pamswakarsa at this stage is in conflict with the Agreement. The specific inclusion of Tim Alfa in these funding proposals demonstrates deliberate support by the civilian government of a militia group that has a history of violence.

Reference 6 - 0.03% Coverage

- Funding was systematic in form and it manifested itself in explicit linkage to armed groups like Team Alfa and to the shared political goal of supporting the autonomy cause. Because such funding was provided when the 5 May Agreement was already in effect, and only the Police had been given the authority to provide security, the civilian government's official monetary support for Pamswakarsa at this stage is in conflict with the Agreement. The specific inclusion of Tim Alfa in these funding proposals demonstrates deliberate support by the civilian government of a militia group that had a history of violence against civilians.

True or Accurate

References or discussions of true, accurate, or genuine history

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Asia\\Indonesia-TimorLeste.CTF_.Report-FULL> - § 5
references coded [0.12% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

The Commission believes that events of the past should never shackle the two nations in a space devoid of hope. The past must be accepted and agreed as a common footstep to open a new page of history. Revealing events of the past based on factual and conclusive truth serves as the foundation for the two nations to pave a new road towards cooperation that can empower each other in the spirit of eternal friendship.

Reference 2 - 0.03% Coverage

On this journey we learned that no reconciliation can be reached without sacrifice from all relevant parties. Sacrifice is needed in the dynamics to accept the fact of truth that determines the degree of responsibility of all relevant parties. The Commission also reached a conviction that in looking at events of the past that caused resentment, no one could claim oneself as being fully/absolutely right, and other parties as absolutely wrong. This is because in the reconstruction of history to reveal the fact of truth, challenges faced pertain to how all parties can reach a fact of truth that can be agreed upon.

Reference 3 - 0.02% Coverage

Point 10 of the Terms of Reference states that “... Indonesia and Timor-Leste have opted to seek truth and promote friendship as a new and unique approach rather than the prosecutorial process...” Furthermore in point 11 of the Terms of Reference it is affirmed that through this new and unique Commission, the two countries, who share a common history, have agreed with “courage and vision to look at the past as a lesson and embrace the future with optimism”.

Reference 4 - 0.04% Coverage

In the discussion above various historical, social and political factors were highlighted that were most relevant to the development and dynamics of the events that occurred in East Timor in 1999, and could be agreed on by both countries. The reader is once again reminded that this chapter is not meant to convey final conclusions about the period of history prior to 1999. The focus of the Commission’s mandate is understanding the events of 1999 and their implications for institutional responsibility, and to devise appropriate ways and recommendations for healing the wounds of the past, and to secure human dignity through promoting reconciliation and friendship. The historical and contextual points that the Commission found most applicable to fulfilling their mandate can be summarized as follows:

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

All of such statements are, of course, opinions and not factual statements, as is the case with the majority of contextual information provided in this forum. They offer interpretations of Timorese history without substantiating those interpretations with carefully documented and nuanced analyses of specific events. These individuals are also not acknowledged experts in the history of Timor nor are their opinions based upon their own independent research.

Village Stories

References or discussions of local or village stories

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Asia\\Indonesia-TimorLeste.CTF_.Report-FULL> - § 2
references coded [0.08% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.07% Coverage

The Commission was able to review a very large body of documents. It received cooperation from Komnas HAM, the Office of the Attorney General of Indonesia, the Prosecutor General of Timor Leste, and the CAVR. The Commission, with the assistance of its Expert Advisor and his research teams in Dili and Jakarta, conducted an in-depth analysis of these documents. This analysis of the documents obtained from these four sources and contained in the two Reports of the Expert Advisor,⁴ constitutes the basis for the analysis in this section of the Commission's Final Report (Chapter 5). The analysis of such a large body of documents, however, was inevitably limited by considerations of time, resources, and access. All of the documents from the twelve Jakarta trials were examined. While the CAVR report was fully analyzed (in regard to the events of 1999), access was not granted to the actual witness statements on which the report is largely based, due to the nature of CAVR's confidentiality and access policies. However, the Commission was allowed to access a collection of Community Profiles at the CAVR archives. These Community Profiles consist of brief village histories as narrated by residents of each village, which recount major human rights violations from 1974-1999. This collection includes histories from over 300 villages from every district and sub-district of Timor Leste. In regard to the Serious Crimes Process, because of the size of the archive it was not possible to examine all of the files and documents in the custody of the Prosecutor General of Timor Leste.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

In the community profiles from the CAVR the Commission found a report of Falintil conducting roadblocks to apprehend those who were suspected of being militia. The area of Belecacasac, Maucatar, Covalima recorded in their village history:

Violence

References or discussions of violence

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Asia\\Indonesia-TimorLeste.CTF_.Report-FULL> - § 5
references coded [0.18% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.04% Coverage

Various participants in the hearings presented their interpretations of the causes and nature of the violence in 1999. A common thread among these speakers was that East Timor's cultural and political history was highly relevant to the formation of the conflict in 1999. Some of these speakers, including the former President of Indonesia, B.J. Habibie, and Kiki Sjahnakri, felt that the absence of a solid and responsible decolonization process between the people of East Timor and Portugal resulted in deep political rifts among the populace.⁴ They claim that political alignments that originally formed over different views regarding independence from Portugal and which animated the ideologies of the political parties involved in the Civil War in East Timor in 1975, continued to be the sources of political power and conflict in

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

When considering this testimony, the Commission noted that the 5 May Agreement was already in effect, and only the Police had been given the authority to provide security. The civilian government's official monetary support for Pamswakarsa at this stage is in conflict with the Agreement. The specific inclusion of Tim Alfa in these funding proposals demonstrates deliberate support by the civilian government of a militia group that has a history of violence.

Reference 3 - 0.03% Coverage

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Reference 4 - 0.05% Coverage

An understanding of the past and the ability to educate and inform the two peoples about the common history they share requires preservation and analysis of the historical record of the violence of 1999. The various bodies that have conducted investigations or trials involving the violence in 1999 have assembled a vast amount of documentary and other evidence. These organizations include the Commission's collection of documents and testimony as well as CAVR, SCU, KPP HAM Indonesia and the Human Rights Ad Hoc tribunal in Jakarta. Other relevant evidence and documentation is held by other organizations or governments. These documents constitute an important historical, legal and political legacy and a resource that must

be protected, preserved and where appropriate made accessible to researchers and the peoples of the two countries. When properly preserved and utilized this resource and legacy can make an important contribution to promoting friendship and nonrecurrence of violence between the two countries.

Reference 5 - 0.05% Coverage

- Acting through the DCRC the two governments should encourage and promote cooperative historical research between scholars and experts from the two countries with the aim of promoting a common understanding of the shared history between the two nations. To achieve such mutual understanding cooperative research must encompass the historical roots of the events of 1999, extending back to the period of Portuguese colonization. This dimension is reflected in this Report in Chapter 4 which, following the Commission's mandate, explores the historical context of the 1999 violence. As part of the cooperative research process, documents that are contained in state files of Indonesia and Timor-Leste regarding this period of shared history should be provided to and preserved at the DCRC with appropriate consideration for issues of security and confidentiality. Priorities for this document recovery program should include all documents related to any persons detained, tried and convicted for their stated political opinions. The results of this cooperative historical research should be used to develop new course materials and curricula for use in education at all levels in the two countries to promote understanding of their common history.