FINDING A WAY FORWARD FOR TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE IN ASIA

Bali, 30 January – 4 February 2017
BACKGROUND

A history of mass crimes accompanied by impunity are features of many Asian states, providing a base for ongoing instability, failure of the rule of law and continuing cycles of violence. Transitional justice (TJ) mechanisms are widely misunderstood and resisted in the region, where perpetrators often remain in powerful positions in post-transition landscapes. In these settings, those that are implicated in mass human rights violations often actively promote the lack of accountability, cloaking self-serving protective strategies under the umbrella of ‘Asian values’. Regional human rights mechanisms remain weak, particularly around accountability for mass crimes.

Concerned about this history of mass violations and impunity, AJAR, together with KontraS Aceh (Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence, Aceh, Indonesia), ND-Burma (Network for Human Rights Documentation, Myanmar), Suriya Women’s Development Centre (Sri Lanka), Alternative Law Groups (Philippines) and Cross Cultural Foundation (Thailand) convened a five-day workshop on transitional justice early in 2017. At the end of the workshop, participants agreed to establish the “Transitional Justice Asia Network (TJAN)” to facilitate learning across Asia and strengthen Asian voices in the field of transitional justice.
AJAR President Patrick Burgess opened the workshop by outlining the objectives of creating this space: to learn from each other in Asia, to identify our best practices, and to exchange ideas in order to strengthen our impact. After getting to know each other, and placing our expectations on a map of Asia, we spent the first day reviewing the foundations of transitional justice.

Transitional justice is an approach to systematic or massive violations of human rights that both provides redress to victims and creates or enhances opportunities for the transformation of the political systems, conflicts, and other conditions that may have been at the root of the abuses.

A transitional justice approach thus recognizes two goals in dealing with a legacy of systematic or massive abuse. The first is to gain some level of justice for victims. The second is to reinforce the possibilities for peace, democracy, and reconciliation. To achieve these two ends, transitional justice measures often combine elements of criminal, restorative, and social justice.

Transitional justice is not a special form of justice. It is, rather, justice adapted to the often-unique conditions of societies undergoing transformation from a time when human rights abuse may have been a normal state of affairs. In some cases, these transformations will happen suddenly and have obvious and profound consequences. In others, they may take place over many decades.

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Patrick presented a framework for transitional justice, simplified into four areas:

*Criminal prosecutions* are judicial investigations of those responsible for human rights violations. Prosecutions frequently give great weight to investigating those considered most responsible for massive or systematic crimes.

*Truth-seeking* mechanisms are inquiries established by states for the primary purposes of investigating and reporting on key periods of recent past abuse. They often make recommendations to remedy such abuse and to prevent its recurrence. Truth-seeking may include memorialization efforts such as museums, memorials, and other means to preserve public memory of the victims and raise moral consciousness about past abuse in order to build a bulwark against its recurrence.

*Reparations* are state-sponsored initiatives that contribute to repairing, on a massive scale, the material and moral consequences of past abuse experienced by victims. They typically distribute some mix of material and symbolic benefits to victims.

*Institutional reform* consists of wide-ranging programs to transform the security sector: military, police, judiciary, and related state institutions from instruments of repression and corruption into instruments of public service and integrity. Reforms may also include other sectors such as education and elections.

During this session, we also discussed tips on how to communicate your passion and knowledge about transitional justice with others:

- Start simply and expand.
- We should be able to explain what transitional justice is so that when we go home, we can explain it to our families.
- Use question and answer sessions as an opportunity to discuss more technical issues of TJ.
- Brainstorm about what should be done after a conflict.
- Present the framework and repeat it.
GROUP DISCUSSION 1: MAPPING OBSTACLES TO TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

Participants were asked to discuss in their country groups the main challenges to achieving transitional justice goals in their contexts. The challenges they identified are summarized below.

Myanmar

In general, the military and government are the most difficult obstacles for TJ in Myanmar.

- constitution presents biggest obstacle for TJ, in particular clauses that protect perpetrators from justice
- on-going conflict in ethnic areas;
- Corruption, detention and no rule of law.

South Thailand

We are young and we try to build a space or try to find a way to bring [together] the conflict parties to talk to each other, to find agreements, to find resolutions together and we include people in the process. This is the hard work.

- long-term struggle for self-determination
- martial law and counter insurgency
- lack of trust among society

Aceh

We've had long periods of human rights violations in Aceh. It goes far back, even close to the independence day of Indonesia itself; there’s been almost no time free of violations. And now after the peace process, there’s a certain demand from the people, all of these mass abuses of human rights in the past need to be dealt with to get justice for the victims.
• perpetrators from the New Order are back in power in Indonesia
• stagnancy on efforts to achieve accountability at national level
• peace impedes justice

Philippines

_TJ can help us move forward to [become] a better country; can help us get out of the lies of the past._

• people power in 1986, but now Marcos’ son almost elected in presidential election
• feudal relationships and patronage still influence electoral system
• a widespread sense of hopelessness about transitional justice
• justice perceived as “reparation” (Marcos’ payment) by the government

Sri Lanka

_In 2016 the Sri Lankan government started several processes. I think since 2015 they have also taken very important steps on institutional reform which symbolically gives a message about trust, about impartiality._

• centralized government
• issue of trust
• exhaustion and extremism

Despite these challenges, there are some civil society initiatives to promote accountability and realize justice. For example, civil society organisations have assisted victims and documented human rights violations and victims’ stories. Civil society has also led the way in disseminating the transitional justice discourse and building awareness about it. Civil society has also built memorials to preserve memory and supported networks of solidarity on behalf of victims’ rights.

In addition, a number of innovative approaches in the region provide interesting examples and lessons learned.

• The Reparation Working Group in Myanmar has lobbied for a reparations policy.
• The recently-established Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission is the world’s first permanent truth commission, established not by national, but rather by a local district law.
• Some forms of compensation to victims include government compensation for a relatively small number of civilians affected by conflict in South Thailand, payment of millions of dollars in the form of the Islamic “diyat” to victims in Aceh, and a limited reparations system for victims of the Maoist-government conflict Nepal.
• The establishment of a transitional justice package in Sri Lanka is an essential element to sustaining peace.
It’s okay if they give us truth now, then the other things will follow. The first thing is finding out the truth…

Howard Varney, senior staff and advisor for numerous truth commissions across Africa and Asia, elaborated on the importance of truth in the process of transitional justice. He started by explaining the role of justice in assisting healing and closure, restoring dignity, standing against impunity, and seeking root causes and deterrence. He described the right to truth (it is inalienable, autonomous and non-derogable), and its origins. This explanation included delineating the elements of the right to truth, its contours, its applicability to enforced disappearances, and the freedom of information and expression. He also considered the enforceability of the right to truth, according to the context, and asserted the importance of preserving truth as public memory. Varney detailed the truth that ought to be revealed, such as the identity of the perpetrators, the atrocities that took place, and progress in the investigations.
Varney situated the right to truth in history with a presentation on the origins of the right to truth, mentioning conventions, commissions and institutions such as the American Convention on Human Rights, the Honduran Society, and the African Convention on Human and People’s Rights as well as giving an example—the South African Constitutional Court’s judgment *Citizen v Robert McBride*.

Varney elaborated on ways to pursue the right to truth. He discussed the pros and cons of criminal justice, explaining that although it is not always possible to hold criminal trials, it remained an interesting way to oblige states to provide truth. He described different types of fact-finding, such as Commissions of Inquiries, ad hoc public inquiries, project terms, presidential commissions, think tanks and advisory bodies. He detailed the objectives of a truth commission that included:

- inquiry into matters of importance and controversy
- focus on larger patterns and trends of human rights violations
- put victims at the heart of the truth-seeking initiative
- promote reconciliation and tolerance
- refrain from being a substitute for persecutions
- make recommendations.

Originally, the right to truth was the achievement of the long struggles of Latin American families of enforced disappearances, many of whom continue to wait for clarity about the fate of their loved ones. The right to truth is an emerging principle of international law as seen by the state obligation to provide the truth about human rights violations to victims, families and society. Victims, families and society are also guaranteed the right to know the truth about human rights violations. Therefore, as a mandated state responsibility, the state must share and preserve information about the history of conflicts for public memory.

Varney concluded his presentation by analyzing different types of truth that could be sought and how to adapt them to each other. He explained, e.g., that factual or forensic truth requires an investigation, while personal or narrative truth requires the testimony of victims and eyewitnesses. Similarly, social or popular truth needs a general acceptance of the population.

*Uncovering the truth is important in the first instance for the victims of those violations. Without uncovering the truth you condemn those victims to a lifetime of agony and trauma. They need the truth for purposes of closure and moving on...[T]he truth is important for society because without society knowing the truth, that society will also be held back, that society will be unable to identify...structural issues...fault lines that gave rise to those violations.*

Howard Varney, transitional justice practitioner
PROSECUTIONS

Patrick Burgess introduced the topic of prosecution. The investigation and prosecution of international crimes, including genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes is a fundamental component of transitional justice. He went on to describe the different types of criminal prosecutions, namely domestic courts, hybrid courts, and international courts. A domestic prosecution consists of a trial instituted at the local level within a national legal system. A hybrid court generally operates where the alleged crimes occurred, but employs both international and national personnel, and usually has jurisdiction to try both international and domestic crimes. International prosecutions require a political decision by the United Nations, such as the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR).

When we look at the possible ways in which prosecution for mass violations can take place, we can divide it up into international courts, national courts, and what we call hybrid or mixed tribunals.

Patrick Burgess, AJAR President

In particular, Burgess elaborated on the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the crimes within its jurisdiction—genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and crimes of aggression. He explained that genocide requires a special intent to destroy a group, whereas crimes against humanity are deliberately committed as a widespread or systematic attack against any civilian population. Burgess then detailed the procedure of the ICC, highlighting that national courts still have a significant role to play in prosecutions.

Universal jurisdiction, acknowledged as part of the transitional justice pillar on criminal justice, means that a national court may prosecute individuals for any serious crime against international law (crimes against humanity, war crimes, genocide, and torture) based on the principle that such crimes harm the international community or international order itself, something that individual states may act to protect.
GROUP DISCUSSION 2: CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES FOR TRUTH AND PROSECUTIONS

In the afternoon, participants discussed challenges and strategies for upholding the right to truth and justice.

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<tr>
<th>Challenges to Prosecution</th>
<th>Challenges to Truth</th>
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<tr>
<td>• <strong>Weak judicial system:</strong> few countries have ratified the ICC, no independent judiciary, weak laws, no command responsibility</td>
<td>• Reprisals to victims who submit complaints</td>
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<td>• <strong>Insufficient evidence:</strong> costly and budgets are limited, good documentation unavailable, burden of proof, lack of witness protection</td>
<td>• Lack of trust in victim protection or community protection</td>
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<td>• <strong>Perpetrators still in power:</strong> no public support</td>
<td>• Victims are tired and hopeless</td>
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<td>• Lack of gender sensitivity</td>
<td>• Perpetrators investigate the incident</td>
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<td>• Defamation, reporters accused of cyber libel</td>
<td>• Victims stigmatized/branded as armed group after making complaint</td>
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<td>• Reprisals to victims who submit complaints</td>
<td>• Victims demand for truth denied</td>
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<td>• Long period of time passed, evidence gone</td>
<td>• Perpetrators still in power</td>
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<th>Strategies Forward</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Share best practice</td>
<td>• Initiate victim healing centres to strengthen communities</td>
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<td>• Ratify ICC and raise public awareness</td>
<td>• Work with government reps who are willing to reduce intimidation</td>
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<td>• Promote universal jurisdiction</td>
<td>• Regional CSO cooperation to help develop useful mechanisms</td>
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<td>• Train judges and prosecutors on gender sensitivity</td>
<td>• Strengthen access to complaint mechanisms</td>
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<td>• Create “women’s commission” like in Indonesia</td>
<td>• Police reform (change policing culture)</td>
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<td>• Increase protection for human rights defenders</td>
<td>• Better victim and witness protection</td>
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<td>• Ensure independence of members of accountability mechanisms</td>
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REPARATIONS

On the third day, Galuh Wandita, Director of AJAR, highlighted the importance of the reparation process, placing it in the broader context of empowerment. She reviewed the objectives of reparation such as the empowerment of survivors, and described different forms of reparations, namely: compensation, restitution, rehabilitation and satisfaction. Beyond reparation, Galuh explained, recognition is fundamental for victims to return to normal life, and beyond that, to give support to endeavours of the victims.

In essence, the term “reparation” means mending what was broken. To care and empower survivors is essential and requires long-term reparations. Different types of reparations include symbolic and material reparations that are provided for individual and collective victims. Often the payment of compensation in Asian contexts does not fulfil the prerequisites to be considered official reparations.
CASE STUDY 1: THE TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION IN MINDANAO (PHILIPPINES)

- In Mindanao, the Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) completed its mandate in 2016. The TJRC worked with victims to address the grievances of the Bangsamoro people through consultations, assessments and a special listening process. The findings are: Legitimate grievances: A wide range of disparate issues and dissatisfaction of the Bangsamoro people have historical roots. To recognize and respond to the legitimate grievances of Bangsomoro requires rebuilding trust among state, broader society and community actors.

- Historical injustice: There is a pattern of historical injustice, including towards the indigenous people in the Bangsamoro area. In addition, the wrongdoings committed or sanctioned by governments that have hurt or harmed people repeatedly over time and have not been properly addressed.

- Human rights violations: The main pattern of violations includes systematic and direct violence that targets Bangsamoro people and indigenous civilian population. In addition, most of human rights violations committed have yet to be fully documented, formally investigated, and addressed.

- Marginalisation through land dispossession: The Bangsamoro have inherited a legacy of political marginalisation beginning with the dispossession of their land as a result of colonisation.
CASE STUDY 2: THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION IN ACEH (INDONESIA)

The Humanitarian Pause for Aceh in 2000 was a joint understanding between the Indonesia Government and the Free Aceh Movement to forge peace. However, these negotiations ignored the voice of civil society organisations voice and disregarded Transitional Justice. The 2005 Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding, signed between the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement, also had shortcomings. It neglected to introduce reforms of judiciary and security sectors, and despite the recent establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, a lot remains to be accomplished. The conversation ended with a reminder that the heterogeneity of Aceh’s identity precludes any attempt to unify Aceh. Challenges include:

- long conflict since the colonial era: sovereignty and economic injustice
- various peace processes unsuccessful
- tsunami in 2004 accelerated the peace process
- peace negotiators did not prioritise the issue of TJ, whereas CSOs always pushed for it
- Helsinki MoU weak on reform of judiciary and security sector
- Helsinki MoU included a TRC and human rights court, but TRC was only established 11 years later, and currently in process

The Aceh TRC was established by the Law of Aceh Governance and further by qanun (Islamic) law. The Aceh TRC is unique, because it is the only permanent TRC in the world. The first period of the Aceh TRC is expected to operate from 2016 to 2021. It’s successful implementation is vital to better understand the circumstances that led to past abuses in Aceh, to ensure that experiences of violence are acknowledged and preserved, to ensure truth and reparation for victims of conflict and their families, and to learn from the past so that such crimes will not be committed again.
GROUP WORK 3: ROLE PLAY ON PEACE AND JUSTICE

Another session on Day 3 focused on the development of tools for transitional justice, especially regarding communication. Participants reviewed guidelines to follow when delivering a presentation, such as: identify the audience and adapt your presentation accordingly, use of different methods to make points (e.g., storytelling), and remain authentic and well-structured.

Participants concluded the day by taking part in a peace and justice role play. They divided into two groups—one was a “peace negotiator” and the other was the “commander of the armed forces.” Media is overseeing the process and reporting the process at the end of negotiation process. The activity aimed to develop their debate and negotiation skills.

Role Play on Peace and Justice

**Peace Negotiator:** You are a seasoned peace negotiator who has mediated a number of conflicts in Asia. You have recently attended a seminar by AJAR and want to introduce some transitional justice mechanisms for accountability into the peace agreement. On the other hand, you do not want to jeopardise the peace talks. If you can bring everyone around to sign a peace agreement, you may win a Noble Peace prize!

**Commander of Armed Forces:** You have spent your entire military career dedicating yourself to the defense of the nation. You know that some of your troops took shortcuts when trying to stop the rebel groups, but you believe this was necessary at the time. This included trying to get information from civilians who were hiding rebels, and moving whole villages to get them away from rebel groups. You are prepared to call off the military if there is a blanket amnesty for crimes committed during the conflict.

**Commander of Rebel Group BIG:** You think that the mediator is elitist and does not understand the suffering of your people. You are determined not to give up too much after so many decades of fighting for your people’s rights. You distrust everyone, particularly representatives of the government and the SMALL rebel group. At the same time, the hunger season is approaching and people from the community need to be able to plant food.

**Commander of Rebel Group SMALL:** You are the leader of an ethnic minority group that broke away from the BIG rebel group because your people were not getting equal opportunities. SMALL has recently bought new arms by selling diamonds.

**Leader of Group of Women Victims:** You have not been invited to the negotiating table, but you and your group are trying to get your demands heard by the people in the peace talks.

**Senior Government Official:** With all the crimes and corruption that have been committed during this time of conflict, an amnesty would suit you and your President quite well. On the other hand, your government hopes to be elected to the UN’s Human Rights Council and wants to be seen as a leader in human rights in your region.

**Media Reporter:** At the end of the role play, you will do a stand-up report on television to the big group, summarizing the main issues and challenges ahead.
On the fourth day, participants discussed institutional reform and structural change based on each country’s context. Marlon J. Manuel, National Coordinator of the Alternative Law Group in the Philippines, explored the concept of institutional reform as a “never again” or “never forget” guarantee that the atrocities of the past will not be repeated. As countries emerging from conflict, it is important to rebuild institutions and mechanisms to be accountable and restore confidence in them. Puri Kencana Putri, Deputy Coordinator of the Commission of Disappeared and Victims of Violence (KontraS) in Indonesia stated that the security sector, including the police, military, judiciary, prison and intelligence services, is fundamental in any democracy for the protection of citizens’ rights. Reforming constitutions, and legal and judicial systems is essential to building new democratic countries.

Both resource persons discussed the advances made by institutional reform in the Philippines and Indonesia as well as deadlocks faced.

**Philippines**
- new constitution was formulated
- limitations on the powers of the President
- independent judiciary
- military and police were reorganized
- certain laws were repealed (e.g., the anti-subversion law) and new laws were passed
- electoral system was reformed

**Indonesia**
Indonesia is becoming a new significant player of development in Asia, is often lifted up as an example of a transition country, and provides expertise on security sector reform to other countries. On the other hand, when dealing with human rights violations, the state forgets victims, ignores human rights, and there is a lack of attention for state accountability. The constitution has been reformed, human rights laws have been adopted, and security sector institutions have become more professional. However, impunity and the recurrence of violence continues.
- progressive policy achievements only on paper, but lack of enforcement
- military is still strong and perpetrators are taking important positions at government levels and in business sectors
- police reform is stuck and vigilante groups attack fundamental freedoms
- the state intelligence body is untouchable and involved in the unresolved case of Munir’s murder
- state oversight bodies are getting weaker and are losing focus of their mandates.
RECONCILIATION

As a part of structural change, Howard Varney explored the path to reconciliation. Reconciliation includes mediation initiatives and peace agreements in relation to conflict resolution. Reconciliation methods include healing, forgiveness, and apologies to restore trust. Reconciliation is not a quick fix, but takes a long time with gradual change. Every stakeholder must be willing to acknowledge what really happened. There are three levels of the reconciliation process: the interpersonal level (individual victims and perpetrators); the community level (reconciliation between communities or within a community); and the national level (this includes a national vision and nation-building). Reconciliation is not a separate process, rather it is built along with other TJ mechanisms. Varney emphasized that the key to a successful peace process is participation that allows everyone to get involved as individuals or communities (or even as a nation) in building a better future. Legal mechanisms that may come into play in peace processes include amnesty, pardons, immunity, and leniency.

STRENGTHENING VICTIMS

Myanmar

AJAR Myanmar has assisted women political prisoners and ethnic women from conflict zones in Karen and Kachin States by using a participatory research tool called “Stone and Flower”. The tool adopts a new approach and elicits information about how women experience impunity during conflict and post conflict situations. The Stone and Flower method integrates self care, building solidarity, and documentation in a safe space. Some of the women participants have become agents of peace in their communities.

Sri Lanka

Tamil, Sinhalese, and Muslim women victims have strengthened each other by building solidarity and joining together to prevent violence. Mothers and other women led a people’s movement against the war. They developed peer support by sharing “stories, sorrows and histories” and also by visiting each other.
DAY 5

MAPPING OUR CHALLENGES: THEMATIC ISSUES

On the fifth day, participants took time to reflect on emerging topics related to transitional justice in Asia.

1. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and Transitional Justice

Atty. Cecilia Jimenez, a UN Special Rapporteur for the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) explored how the issue of IDPs and transitional justice is imperative for peace. Due to armed conflict and militarisation, disasters and development projects, thousands have fled from their homes in Mindanao, Philippines. It is important to address the human rights of IDPs with particular attention to the need for durable solutions. This includes providing IDPs with access to remedies, justice, and ways to participate in solutions. TJ is a tool to institutionalise participation of IDPs in the management of their solutions, to break the cycle of displacement, to address root causes of the conflicts, to strengthen good governance and democracy, and to contribute to the imperative for peace in the country.
2. Natural Resources and TJ
Howard Varney considered the issue of natural resources in African transitions with attention to certain cases such as Sierra Leone’s blood diamonds and the Liberian TRC’s attention to economic crimes regarding timber, iron and diamonds. The Kenyan Truth and Justice Commission also had special findings on economic crimes such as the exploitation of natural or public resources to perpetuate armed conflicts.

3. Torture and TJ
Pornpen Khongkachonkiet from the Cross Cultural Foundation explored the situation of systematic torture in Thailand/South Thailand and the urgency to document cases of torture. Despite efforts to compensate victims and to reform the police, the state still fails to provide security to victims. Challenges include accusations by state officials of libel and reporting false information to reporters who provide coverage of torture, including accusations against victims of torture themselves.

4. Gender Lens and TJ
Finally, participants examined the issue of gender justice. In Sri Lanka, women are able to work more effectively in conflict situations than men. Therefore it is important to promote policies that support their role, such as considering the implications of women’s experiences of conflict for policy and providing a safe space for women to tell their stories. In the Burmese context, insecurity faced by Burmese women and their difficulties in accessing justice are big challenges. Human rights defenders faced three Ds: “dangerous, dusty and difficult”. Justice is still unreachable while violence is systemic and ongoing.
AJAR Director Galuh Wandita reviewed the process and concluded that TJ is finding its way forward in Asia. Transitional justice has to be holistic and sequential. Dealing with mass crimes after a conflict can be challenging because there are so many competing priorities. Truth is the foundation for transitional justice; otherwise the other mechanisms would be wobbly. Empowering survivors is also part of the foundation for transitional justice and participatory grassroots methods contribute to this empowerment. Transitional justice means looking to the future by learning to co-exist. Continually increasing our knowledge and building networks is important.

The participants agreed to establish a Transitional Justice Asia Network in an effort to work on transitional justice and accountability, and to fight impunity across Asia. Participants are committed to learning best practices from each, exchanging ideas, and strengthening each other.
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. Atty. Cecilia Jimenez-Damary, UN Special Rapporteur on HR of Internal Displaced Persons
2. Howard Varney, Advocate Practitioner and Consultant with the Johannesburg Bar, South Africa
3. Patrick Burgess, President of AJAR
4. Ermiza Tegal, Lawyer, Sri Lanka
5. Jansila Majeed, Women’s Action Network, Sri Lanka
6. Ponni Arasu, Lawyer, Sri Lanka
7. Sarala Emmanuel, Suriya Women’s Development Centre, Sri Lanka
8. Sumika Perera, Women’s Resource Center, Sri Lanka
9. Vijayalachumi Segaruban, Suriya Women’s Development Centre, Sri Lanka
10. Moon Nay Li, Kachin Women’s Association, Thailand
11. Mai Ja, AJAR Myanmar
12. Mi Mi Khine, Vimutti Women Organization, Myanmar
13. Wanna Nwe, Assistance Association for Political Prisoners, Myanmar
14. Zaw Zaw Htun, Former lecturer in Political Science, Youth Empowerment School of Active Citizens, Myanmar
15. Afridal Darmi, Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Indonesia
16. Amrizal J. Prang, Lecturer at University of Malikussaleh, Lhokseumawe, Indonesia
17. Faisal Hadi, Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence/KontraS, Aceh, Indonesia
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23. Guiamel Alim, Consortium of Bangsamoro Civil Society, Philippines
24. Jennifer Corpuz, Tebtebba Foundation, Philippines
25. Marlon Manuel, Alternative Law Groups, Philippines
26. Rene Clemente, Alternative Law Groups, Philippines
27. Anchana Heemmina, Duay Jai Group, South Thailand
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29. Natalie Bergman, Cross Cultural Foundation, Thailand
30. Poom Moolsilpa, Lecturer at Assumption University, Thailand
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33. Somchai Homlaor, Cross Cultural Foundation
34. Galuh Wandita, AJAR
35. Atikah Nuraini, AJAR
36. Indria Fernida, AJAR
37. Marzita Ardiantina, AJAR
38. Perdana Putri, AJAR
Truth

Reperation