

A PLAIN GUIDE

PEULARA DAMÈE

NURTURING PEACE

Findings Report of the Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission



Edition

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An Acehnese woman and her children watch a government soldier checks residents identity after a gun fire exchange between Indonesian military and the separatist rebel Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in Aceh Besar, Aceh, August 2003. © STR/AFP via Getty Images

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Editorial Note

The full Findings Report of the Commission was published in December 2023 and is more than 300 pages in length. The authoritative version is published in Indonesian. The main objective of the Findings Report, according to the Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Aceh TRC), was to reveal the truth regarding incidents of human rights violations that occurred in Aceh from 4 December 1976 to 15 August 2005.

With support from the European Union and Bread for the World, AJAR, together with KontraS Aceh, PASKA, and LBH Aceh, in cooperation with the Aceh TRC, produced this Short Version report on August 2024. The purpose of this Short Version Report is to make the longer and more complex Findings Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Aceh more accessible, particularly for international audiences.

In its recommendations, the Commission called for wide dissemination of the Findings Report in a variety of formats including engagement with the international community. This civil society initiative, coordinated with the Commission, is made in the spirit of these aims.

The editorial team has deliberately replicated the structural framework of the official full report of the Aceh TRC in this unofficial short

version. This aims to facilitate cross-referencing with the official version for readers who wish to examine certain topics in more detail or to read precisely what the Commission had to say on particular matters.

At the same time, the authors of this version have kept brief the sections on the formation, mandate, methodology, and implementation, as well as the applicable legal and human rights framework. This allows more focus on the voices of victims through testimonies, the analysis and findings of the Commission as well as its recommendations. To enable cross-referencing with the official full Findings Report, extracts of victim testimonies have been listed under the original testimony numbers published in that report.

For readers who wish to more closely understand the start-up conceptual and operational decisions, and the detailed considerations about domestic Indonesian and international laws, it is best to refer to the relevant chapters in the full official report.

Equally, the section on the history of the conflict is brief. Many readers may wish to cross-reference the chapter in the official report for more details and deeper contextual information.

When referencing the full Findings Report in English, readers should remain mindful that the Indonesian version is the authoritative version.

English Version Editorial Team

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The Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission (KKR Aceh) held a hearing in the Plenary Session Hall of the North Aceh DPRK, Lhokseumawe on 16-17 July 2019. The hearing presented 16 victim-survivors who gave testimony of various cases of human rights violations during the conflict period in Aceh. This was the second hearing after the first one was held in Banda Aceh in November 2018.

Photo: © Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission



Formation of the Commission

My hope is to live a long and healthy life, and that there will no longer be any unrest and conflict like before. I want to live quietly and peacefully, redeem our plot of land that was previously mortgaged (to free the family from detention), and get capital to start a business. My hope for the government is that we, the poor victims, will be taken care of. Don't let the government repeat the violence and abuse against the community.

Female survivor

We hope that peace can be maintained in Aceh. If the country is safe, we can live in peace and safety and earn our livelihood. We also hope that the government will pay attention to the victims of the conflict. The government should fulfil our rights. Those of us who experienced violence and are poor still don't even get help. Meanwhile, other people who previously did not experience severe torture and were not poor actually received help because they were close to the current authorities. For the perpetrators, we hope that the state can prosecute them according to existing laws. And we want the perpetrators to apologise to us. It must be done in an official way and recognized as appropriate, not like saying sorry during Hari Raya, just shaking hands saying sorry and leaving. Not saying sorry like this.

Male survivor

My hope is that in the future there will be no more violence. Safety. What I have experienced, no other woman should experience. If there is another conflict, I don't know what our situation will be.

Female survivor

Legal foundation

The Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Aceh TRC) was formed on the basis of national Law No. 11 of 2006 on the Governance of Aceh and the fulfilment of the Memorandum of Understanding signed by the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* or GAM) on 15 August 2005 in Helsinki, Finland (Helsinki Agreement).

The Aceh TRC was mandated as a continuation of the commitment of national leaders to end the decades-long armed conflict in Aceh. In 2016, with strong encouragement from a number of organisations and civil society, the Aceh TRC was officially formed by the Governor and the Aceh People's Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Aceh* or DPRA) based on Aceh *Qanun* No. 17 of 2013 concerning the Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The Commission is an independent statutory body. The commissioners were selected and appointed by the DPRA from candidates openly selected by a competent committee. The Commission is led collectively and collegially by seven commissioners. The organisational structure consists of a chairman (who is also a member), a deputy chairman (who is also a member), and five members. In carrying out its activities, the Commission is responsible to the Governor and DPRA.

Mandate

The Commission's mandate has three core elements as set out in Article 3 *Qanun* No. 17 of 2013. First, strengthening peace by revealing the truth about human rights violations that occurred in the past. Second, helping achieve reconciliation between perpetrators of human rights violations, both individuals and institutions, and victims. And third, recommending comprehensive reparations for victims of human rights violations, in accordance with universal standards relating to victims' rights.

At the end of its term of office, the Commission is obliged to prepare a report containing human rights violations including serious human rights violations, based on facts and evidence collected, including analysis of causal factors, background events, political and/or economic motivations, actions and actors, both state institutions and non-state, as well as the impact of violations.

Commissioners stated in their Findings report that it was a form of fulfilment of this obligation. Pursuant to the national Law No. 11 of 2006 on the Governance of Aceh, and the Aceh Provincial Government's *Qanun* No. 17 of 2013, the Aceh TRC was mandated to prepare a report on human rights violations including serious human rights violations based on facts and evidence collected. The mandate included analysis of causal factors, background events, political and economic motivations, actions and actors, both state and non-state, and their impacts.

Based on this mandate, the Aceh TRC collected facts and evidence about the conflict period from 4 December 1976 to 15 August 2005 and published its Findings Report in 2003.

Commissioners

The commissioners for the 2016—2021 period were appointed by the Governor of Aceh on 24 October 2016. The first-term commissioners completed their duties in October 2021. Commissioners for the second period (2022—2027) were appointed by the Governor of Aceh on 7 February 2022.

Commissioners for the period 2016-2021

1. Afridal Darmi
2. Evi Narti Zain
3. Masthur Yahya
4. Ainal Mardhiah
5. M. Daud Beureueh
6. Fuadi Abdullah¹

Commissioners for the period 2022-2027

1. Masthur Yahya
2. Oni Imelva
3. Bustami
4. Sharli Maidelina
5. Safriandi
6. Tasrizal
7. Yuliati

The Commission established several Working Groups which were each chaired *ex-officio* by a commissioner: the Working Group on Truth-Seeking; Working Group on Women; Working Group on Reparations; Working Group on Witness and Victim Protection; Working Group on Documentation and Publication; and the Reconciliation Working Group.

.....
¹ Fuadi Abdullah died of natural causes on September 2020.

The Secretariat managed administration and finance matters. The head of the Secretariat is functionally responsible to the leadership of the Commission and administratively responsible to the Governor of Aceh through the Aceh Regional Secretary.

Methodology and implementation

Truth-seeking

In accordance with its mandate, the Commission conducted its truth-seeking function as a non-judicial mechanism to uncover facts and explore what happened during the conflict in Aceh. The Commission recognised the voices of victims as the main source of information. The Commission utilised a range of methods for truth-seeking.

Statement-taking

Statement-taking was the initial stage in the truth-seeking mechanism of the Commission, collecting primary information from victims, family members of victims and witnesses to violence. Special training and measures were put in place for taking statements from and supporting victims of sexual violence.

During the 2016-2021 working period the Commission collected 5,195 victim and witness statements in 17 regencies/cities, 137 sub-districts and 747 villages. [See Annex I for a table showing locations and numbers of statements recorded.] The Commission's team included 83 statement-taking officers, consisting of 41 women and 42 men.

In taking statements, the Commission used an event-based methodology to analyse “acts” of violence, with a data structure based on the identification of “who did what to whom”. This

methodology is commonly utilised in analysing violence that violates civil and political rights, and has been used by various government and non-state institutions to identify forms of human rights violations.

Investigations

The Commission conducted investigations aimed at obtaining clarity and depth of certain data and information. The Commission used data obtained from investigations to create a picture of human rights violations that occurred in terms of place, time, pattern and motive regarding violent incidents that occurred during the conflict; analyse the causal factors and events behind violations as well as the impacts resulting from the violence experienced by the victim; formulate recommendations and lessons that can be taken from findings regarding violence.

The Commission carried out three thematic investigations on sexual violence, enforced disappearances, and Indonesian Military Tactical and Strategic Unit (*Sattis*) Posts in Aceh.

Investigations included in-depth interviews, reviewing archives and publications, and processing submission reports from other parties. The investigation team consisted of members of the Working Group and competent external parties.

Submissions

The Commission allowed submissions in written, audio-visual or oral form from individuals, government or non-government institutions. The Commission processed data from submissions as a secondary source for findings on truth-seeking, reparations and reconciliation. Civil society organisations that provided submissions to the Commission were: Asia Justice and Rights

(AJAR) and Social Economic Development (*Pengembangan Aktivitas Sosial Ekonomi* or PASKA) Aceh, on the torture in *Rumoh Geudong*, Pidie; Women Volunteers for Humanity (*Relawan Perempuan untuk Kemanusiaan* or RPuK), on sexual violence that occurred during the conflict in North Aceh Regency; Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence (*Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Tindak Kekerasan* or KontraS), on forced disappearances and human rights violations in the context of natural resource conflict.

Data and documentation management and integrative analysis

The Commission processed primary and secondary data and carried out a thorough analysis of information from databases, investigation results, archives, submissions and other relevant material. Integrative analysis was carried out to identify acts and incidents of violence, identify victims and perpetrators, as well as the impacts. Based on the results of this analysis, the Commission identified motives, and forms and patterns of human rights violations to inform its findings.

Public hearings

Hearings were carried out openly when possible. Victim testimonies were the main source of information at public hearings. The Commission also heard presentations from experts who spoke about the context, root-causes and impact of the violence.

Hearings were organised on thematic patterns and regional focus. Thematic hearings were focused on some of the most prevalent human rights violations and patterns reported to the Commission. The single location-based hearing was organised in a region with a high number of reported human rights violations. Hearings were held in parallel

with significant human rights days such as Anti-Violence Against Women Day and International Human Rights Day.

During the 2016-2021 period, the Commission held three hearings consisting of two thematic hearings (on torture and enforced disappearance, respectively) and one location-based hearing, in North Aceh. Initially, the Commission planned five hearings, but due to limited funds and the COVID-19 pandemic, which forced all public activities to be cancelled, the number was cut back.

Hearings revealed to the public the experiences and aspirations of victims and assisted the Commission in examining the motives and connections between acts and incidents of human rights violations reported by testimony givers. Victims giving testimony were supported with psychosocial programmes before and after hearings. At the end of the hearings, the Commission made observations based on the victims' testimonies and experts' presentations. Public hearings were covered by local media to broaden outreach and awareness.

Data collection, management, and security

The database built by the Commission is an open-source database application called OpenEvsys, which was developed by HURIDOCs (Human Rights Information and Documentation Systems), a non-profit organisation focused on developing instruments for documenting human rights violations. This application was developed using an event-based methodology and has been used by many human rights institutions around the world to document and analyse incidents of human rights violations. The Commission made several adjustments to the elements available in OpenEvsys to make them more relevant to the needs and context of Aceh.

Filing of statement-taking forms was done digitally and non-digitally (hard copies). Digital archiving was carried out by digitising all physical

documents from the statement-taking process which were then combined with other digital documents and stored on a hard disk then uploaded to the database.

In the published reports of the Aceh TRC, names of both victims and alleged perpetrators are coded. The Commission maintains the full records in a secure information management system.

Data limitations

The Commission noted in its Findings Report that although the truth-telling data generated by the Commission is the largest and most complete source of information on human rights violations during the conflict in Aceh, this data nevertheless has limitations.

Specifically, the Commission noted that there is a general gender bias in statements recorded, with women under-represented amongst those coming forward to give testimony. It also noted that of the 17 cities and districts where it collected statements, some geographical areas tend to be more represented in statement numbers than others – and not only because violence was more prevalent in these areas.

The Commission noted that factors such as financial constraints, human resources, and social conditions in the community meant that not all districts or cities in Aceh were reached. Limitations such as victims' capacity to give up time to travel and provide testimonies due to health, disability and financial constraints, religious and cultural norms inhibiting some victims from coming forward (especially women victims of sexual violence), and the language limitations of statement-takers who worked only in Indonesian and Acehnese. The Commission also noted that the still fragile security situation in Aceh may have deterred some people from coming forward to testify. Finally, the Commission noted that the passage of time resulted in difficulties in collecting testimonies about events and violations further into the past.

Report-writing

The Commission processed, studied and analysed all data and information recorded, collected and managed from statement-taking, hearings, investigations and submissions to identify forms and elements of violations. It also identified patterns and links between actions. In addition, the Commission invited experts to carry out further analysis regarding the context, roots of the conflict, legal studies, and the impact of violence that occurred during the conflict. This analysis then became the basis for Commissioners to formulate findings.

The Commission formed a Writing and Editorial Team to produce narratives related to patterns of findings, key case studies and victim testimonies, as well as to describe the impact and recommendations. The writing and editing process went slower than planned, hampered also by the COVID-19 pandemic. When the commissioner's mandate for the 2016-2021 period ended, the commissioners appointed for the 2022-2027 period continued the report writing process.

The official authoritative version of the Findings Report of the Aceh TRC is published in Indonesian. The Commission also published an English translation of this official version.

Former leader of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) Hasan Tiro (center) waves as he arrives at Sultan Iskandar Muda airport, Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) on November 2008.

Photo: © BRR/Arif Riadi



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History of the conflict in Aceh

Geography: political, cultural and economic strength

Aceh is located at the westernmost tip of the *Nusantara* archipelago. Before joining Indonesia after it achieved independence, the area now known as Aceh Province was an Islamic monarchy under the sovereignty of the Aceh Darussalam Sultanate. This sultanate reigned over the Malacca Strait and most of the Sumatra mainland from the 15th until the end of the 19th century.

Aceh's strategic location along the "downwind" trade route helped the Sultanate grow rapidly as a key political and economic power, controlling trade in the region. Taxes and controls imposed by the sultan over Malacca Strait traffic was a factor in the ebb and flow of relations between Aceh and their European and Middle Eastern trade partners.

Historically, structurally and culturally Aceh was a wealthy region in the pre-colonial era thanks to this maritime trade as well as agriculture. Aceh's agricultural sector produced globally sought commodities such as copra, pepper, cloves and betel nut.

European colonial era

Aceh has never been one to submit to external powers, including Batavia and the trade under Dutch control. Acehnese leaders were able to navigate European colonial attempts at takeover, first by the Portuguese in the 16th century and later by the Dutch, including through armed resistance. Even during the colonial era, Acehnese merchants oriented their trade toward areas under British control, such as Penang and Singapore.

Dutch aggression culminated in their declaration of war against Aceh in 1873. These initial military adventures were largely repulsed as the Acehnese opened relations with the Ottomans, the USA and France. The Dutch were only able to control Banda Aceh, leaving large areas of resistance to reject Dutch rule, including through guerrilla warfare. The pacification of Aceh became the longest and most costly war in the history of Dutch colonialism, persisting for more than 30 years until 1930. Many Acehnese national heroes emerged through these years of struggle.

Aceh and Indonesian independence

The emergence of the new Indonesian nationalist movement coincided with the arrival of Japan that was preparing to invade Asia in World War II. Some in Acehnese-educated circles saw this as an opportunity to build communication with the Japanese, with the strategic goal of expelling the Dutch. However, after the Dutch withdrew, Aceh's relations with Japan immediately deteriorated. The educated elite who initially accepted Japan began to connect with the larger Indonesian nationalist movement that envisioned the establishment of a new republic in the archipelago that was to be free from colonialism. Acehnese fighters characterised this as a holy war.

Soon after Indonesia declared independence in 1945, Aceh decided to join the new republic as one of its provinces. However, as time went by many felt that this decision was not mutually beneficial.

In May 1950, the United Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of Indonesia reached an agreement on the formation of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This agreement prompted President Soekarno to dissolve the province of Aceh and merge it with the province of North Sumatra. This was followed by the full revocation of the status of the province of Aceh by the Natsir Cabinet in January 1951, further fanning resentment by the Acehnese elite.

Teungku Daud Beureueh, who served as Governor of Aceh, was furious because he felt that Jakarta had betrayed Aceh's contribution to the Republic. In September 1953, after the *ulama* congress in Titeue, Beureueh declared war against the central government and declared Aceh part of the Islamic State of Indonesia.

Initially, Jakarta responded with dialogue. However, as this failed, the central government ordered military operations, which resulted in the brutal use of force against Acehnese civilians. Thousands were arrested and detained, and military operations killed civilians and burned villages.

Widespread protests followed by Acehnese youth and opposition politicians against the central government and military violence. In 1961 the State of Aceh/NII name was changed to the Islamic Republic of Aceh. By 1962 peace negotiations led to granting Aceh special status within the Republic of Indonesia, and the region regained peace.

However, the New Order government – after 1966 – again displaced Acehnese from their land, and handed their resources to mining, forestry and plantation investors. This resurrected the long-standing resentment of the Acehnese toward Jakarta, prompting protests by clerics and community and rebel leaders.

Free Aceh Movement and new conflict

By the mid-1970s a new movement for Acehese independence was growing, under the leadership of Hasan Tiro working with the *ulama*, community leaders, intellectuals, government employees and Darul Islam veterans. In 1976 the Free Aceh Movement, GAM, was proclaimed.

GAM wanted to secede from Indonesia. It saw Aceh's identity and history as different from that of Indonesia in general, and this distinction became the fundamental ideology of the Free Aceh Movement supporters.

The Soeharto government responded to the GAM proclamation by adding even more troops and running larger and more brutal security operations. Civilians were often caught up in the violence or targeted, resulting in deaths and widespread property destruction. However, the population generally supported the idea of Aceh's independence as evidenced by the increasing number of GAM members between 1986-1990, which reached about 1,000 people.

Key periods of the conflict

In its Findings Report, the Aceh TRC divided the 30-year armed conflict into four periods, the latter three being those with the highest number of reported human rights violations:

- **1976 to 1989:** a period of chaotic militarised violence in Aceh.
- **1989-98, the “DOM period”:** when the central government designated Aceh as a Military Operations Area (*Daerah Operasi Militer*, DOM), code-named *Operasi Jaring Merah* (Operation Red Net).
- **1999-2003 Operation Sandi:** a series of violent military operations by Indonesian security forces under a range of code names, called the “Operation *Sandi*” (code-name) the Commission.

- **2003-4 Martial Law and then Civil Emergency periods:** when large-scale human rights violations continued even as peace negotiations and local social initiatives were underway.

1976-1989

Between 1976-1979 GAM was driven by only a few educated people (academics, doctors, engineers or entrepreneurs). At the end of 1979, GAM's strength was almost wiped out by Indonesian military counterinsurgency operations. However, in less than a decade GAM had already recovered military strength with significant numbers travelling to Libya for military training.

1989-98: the DOM period

From 1989-98 the DOM period resulted in the large numbers of human rights violations.

In response to Operation *Jaring Merah*, an armed movement emerged referred to by Indonesian security forces as called the "Security Disturbers Movement" (*Gerakan Pangacau Keamanan*, GPK). This group had significantly strengthened in the late 1980s, especially by members trained in Libya. Indonesian security forces categorised the insurgents into three groups, namely guerrillas in the forest, clandestine and popular supporters/sympathisers.

Indonesian security forces conducted operations at the village level and in the countryside, seeking out insurgents. The Aceh TRC found that Indonesian security forces pursued two doctrines during this period: first, the institutionalisation of terror as a method of dealing with national security threats; second, systematic mobilisation and coercing of civilian populations to assist in counterinsurgency operations as spies.

Civilians and communities at the village level were deeply affected by the violence. The Commission recorded a concentration of human rights

violations in two areas of Aceh, Pidie and North Aceh. The Commission also found that GAM was responsible for human rights violations against civilians, albeit in lower numbers.

1998-2003: Operation Sandi

After the 1998 fall of the New Order regime, amidst the period of national democratic reforms known as *Reformasi*, Acehnese aspirations for self-determination and independence emerged in public discourse led by students and intellectuals. GAM itself operated more openly. But despite this wave of national democratic reform, Indonesian security forces unleashed a series of violent operations, which resulted in widespread human rights violations, especially against civilians. Operations took various code names, and the Commission designated this general period as Operation *Sandi*.

As in the New Order era, the central government responded to demands for a referendum by increasing troop mobilisation, sweeping operations, and attacks on areas believed to be strongholds of armed groups. These operations were characterised by various forms of violence and led to mass forced displacement in remote areas. The Commission received information stating that 534,335 people, or 132,621 families, were forcibly displaced.

At the same time, the desire of the Acehnese people for self-determination strengthened, leading to the emergence of various popular resistance organisations driven by students and academics. Pointedly, during this period, there were also many killings targeting Acehnese leadership, including politicians, academics and human rights defenders.

Peace efforts while military operations continued

Amid security operations, the Indonesian government also sought to explore opportunities for peaceful resolution to the Aceh conflict by

engaging in dialogues with GAM. Dialogue was facilitated by the Geneva-based Henry Dunant Center for Humanitarian Dialogue. Negotiations continued throughout ongoing security operations.

On 12 May 2000, the first peace treaty between the Republic of Indonesia and GAM was agreed, known as the Joint Understanding on Humanitarian Pause for Aceh or more commonly referred to as “Humanitarian Pause”. The Humanitarian Pause (2 June 2000–15 January 2001) was followed by the Moratorium on Violence (15 January–15 February 2001), and later by the Peace Through Dialogue, until the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CoHA) in Geneva was reached in May 2003.

Martial Law and Civil Emergency periods

In May 2003, after the CoHA Humanitarian Pause was declared a failure and discontinued, the GAM negotiators were arrested and imprisoned. President Megawati Soekarnoputri announced martial law on 19 May 2003, based on the perception that increasing danger requiring a new military approach. President Megawati authorised 30,000 TNI and 12,000 police to Aceh. This was Indonesia’s largest deployment of military and security troops since the start of Operation *Seroja* (Lotus Flower) in East Timor on 7 December 1975.

During the martial law period, the Indonesian military reported killing more than 2,000 GAM members, and there were mass arrests and disappearances of activists. Under intense international pressure, including from the USA, in May 2004 President Megawati signed a decree to end martial law in Aceh, followed by a Presidential Decree imposing the Aceh Civil Emergency. However, the security situation in Aceh did not change. Aceh was still closed off to the outside world, and hundreds of lives were taken, mostly civilians.

Tsunami and ending the conflict

At the end of 2004, a massive tsunami struck Aceh, killing 150,000 to 170,000 people. Armed conflict stopped as a result. Aceh saw a drastic increase in international attention with humanitarian assistance to help recover from the devastation. Even so, the Civil Emergency status was only terminated in May 2005. Aceh was then assigned Civil Order status through Presidential Regulation Number 38 of 2005 concerning the Retraction of Dangerous Situations, a status known as Civil Emergency in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province.

The Aceh tsunami prompted an agreement on the peaceful resolution to the conflict. The Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding (Helsinki Agreement) was signed between the Indonesian government and GAM on 15 August 2005. This Helsinki Agreement signalled the aim of the Indonesian government and GAM to implement the steps it set out to end violence.

The Helsinki Agreement provided a holistic transitional justice framework and basis for building long-term peace in Aceh. It provided amnesty for people imprisoned because they were considered members of GAM; demobilisation and reintegration of combatants along with the withdrawal of Indonesian security forces; institutional reforms to strengthen accountability and the rule of law; and the formation of local political parties to institutionalise the voice of the Acehnese people. The Helsinki Peace Agreement also constituted an agreement by all parties to fulfil the right to truth and justice, with the promise of establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and a Human Rights Court.

The first step to peace was taken by implementing the point of the disarmament of combatants, demobilisation of the Indonesian military, and the reintegration of former combatants into civilian society. The Indonesian government also implemented the point in the Agreement on the promulgation of the Aceh Government Law No. 11 of 2006, which

stipulated, among other thing, efforts to fulfil the rights of victims of human rights violations and accountability for past human rights crimes, including establishing a Human Rights Court and a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Aceh. The Human Rights Court in Aceh is yet to be established.

Ongoing impact of the conflict

The Commission did not make a finding as to the exact number of civilian casualties of the conflict, but it referenced an Amnesty International report which concluded at least 10,000 to 30,000 people, mostly civilians, died as a result of the conflict. The long conflict also caused ongoing trauma and insecurity and has left indelible wounds for individuals, families, communities and Acehnese society. Victims were generally civilians who were not directly linked to the conflict.

A World Bank report concluded that 30 years of conflict in Aceh resulted in stunted economic growth, weak government and poor public services, relegating Aceh to provinces with the highest poverty rates in Indonesia.¹

¹ World Bank, *The Impact of Conflict, Tsunami, and Reconstruction towards Poverty in Aceh, Poverty Analysis in Aceh 2008*. Jakarta: World Bank, 2008, p. 9.



Fourteen victims and three expert witnesses gave testimony in Banda Aceh on 28-29 November 2018, during the Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission's first hearing for victims of human rights violations during the 1976-2005 conflict.

Photo: © Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission



Human rights and legal framework

The Aceh TRC applied a legal framework in line with international human rights law and international humanitarian law, in addition to applicable national laws including the national Constitution with its *Reformasi*-era human rights amendments as well as the Acehese *Qanun* establishing and mandating the Commission.

The Commission noted that the consensus of various human rights and humanitarian organisations is that the armed conflict in Aceh between the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) was a non-international armed conflict based on the 1949 Geneva Conventions. As such, both the state of Indonesia and GAM bear legal obligations in relation to human rights.

In general, the Aceh TRC applied the meaning of gross human rights violations as being systematic violations of human rights norms as stipulated in the national Law No. 26 of 2000, including genocide and crimes against humanity, that qualify as “gross human rights violations”. The Commission also used Article 104 (1) of Law no. 39 of 1999 to interpret terminology used for gross human rights violations, such as mass killings (genocide), arbitrary or extrajudicial killings, torture, enforced disappearance, enslavement or systematic discrimination. The Aceh TRC *Qanun* provides a definition of the meaning of “human

rights violations”, as well as the meaning of “gross human rights violations”, being crimes against humanity, genocide and war crimes.

The terminology and definitions of gross human rights violations described in national and regional laws are essentially the same as those referred to in international human rights law and in international humanitarian law. The Commission assessed using the following five elements: qualitative, referring to the form and character of the offence; quantitative, referring to the number of violations and the number of victims; time, referring to a consistent pattern of violations over a certain period of time; planning, referring to the planning of actions and violations; and the failure of the state to take the necessary steps to prevent and punish violations.

The Commission highlighted that these national and international laws provide a legal basis for accountability for human rights violations within the scope of the Commission’s mandate.

State obligations under national and international human rights laws

The national and international legal and human rights framework provide an obligation for states to respect, protect and fulfil human rights in various situations, both in times of peace and conflict. In the event of human rights violations, including the occurrence of atrocity crimes and the most serious crimes, the state is obliged to provide effective remedies for victims through political, legal, judicial, administrative and other necessary measures.

Based on constitutional obligations, legal obligations and international human rights obligations, states must fulfil the rights of victims of human rights violations. These include the right to know the truth, the right to justice, the right to reparations, guarantees of non-recurrence

and the satisfaction of victims. States have the duty to acknowledge and recognise victims, to memorialise human rights violations that occurred, to prosecute perpetrators and other duties in the framework of effective and fair settlement and remedy.

States have the duty to recognise the status of victims of human rights violations regardless of whether the perpetrators of violations can be identified or known, arrested, prosecuted or punished, and regardless of the family relationship between perpetrators and victims. States must also recognise the status of victims, regardless of whether or not there is due process for gross human rights violations (for example, because the perpetrator was not found, prosecuted or punished). Recognition of the status of victims can be achieved through investigation to reveal the truth as well as for the purpose of prosecuting and punishing the perpetrators.

States are also obliged to implement a process of accountability for human rights violations, either through institutional accountability or ensuring accountability of individuals or persons who commit crimes that result in the occurrence of gross and serious human rights violations.

States are obliged to provide prompt, fair and adequate remedies for victims for the suffering and damages due to human rights violations. The mandate of the Aceh TRC legal mandate stipulates that remedies should be provided without delay.



A statement-taker is interviewing a victim of the Aceh conflict from 1976-2005 in Aceh Jaya Regency in October 2018.

Photo: © Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission

4

Findings and analysis

The basis of the findings

The findings produced by the Aceh TRC were based on a truth-seeking process conducted in several ways:

- Statement-taking from victims and their families.
- Requesting information and documents from government and non-government organisations, including accepting submissions on specific investigative themes.
- In-depth investigation of events.
- Integrated analysis of information from all sources.

Scale of violence

The Commission found that there was a great deal of extraordinary violence during the conflict. This violence committed was often inhumane, and violent events and patterns were often repeated throughout different periods of the conflict. Many statements to the Commission demonstrated that violent events and human rights violations were interrelated, as victims suffered multiple different human rights violations during the same or linked episodes. Many victims also

suffered serial human rights violations, repeating over a continuous time period or during different periods of the conflict.

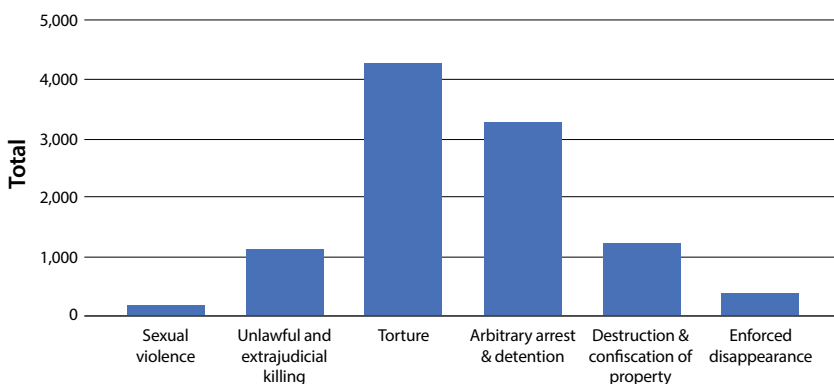
Based on 4,765 processed statements, the Commission identified a total of 10,652 acts of violence. The Commission found 1,792 acts of violence during the DOM period, 4,364 acts during Operation *Sandi*, and 4,496 acts during the Martial Law and Civil Emergency periods.

Forms of violence

The Aceh TRC findings report focuses on four forms of violence, which were the most commonly reported, namely:

- Unlawful killing.
- Enforced disappearance.
- Sexual violence.
- Torture.

Diagram 1: Categories of acts of violence



The Commission chose to use the term “violence” (*kekerasan*) to describe all forms of human rights violations, serious human rights violations and other serious crimes. The word “violence” was considered easier

to understand, and is part of the vocabulary used by the Acehese people when describing events they witnessed or experienced.

Victims were deprived of civil and political rights, especially the right to equal recognition and treatment before the law, the right to life, the right to be free from torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment, the right to personal freedom and security, the right to freedom of movement, as well as the right to free assembly and association, and other rights. Prominent violations of socio-cultural-economic rights included the right to property ownership, the right to control sources of livelihood, the right to adequate housing and the right to decent work.

The Commission found that Indonesian security forces were responsible for the overwhelming number of reported human rights violations. At the same time, it found that, to a lesser extent, GAM committed many forms of violence against civilians.

The Commission identified a pattern showing that all these actions were related and became serious acts targeting bodily integrity and humanity as part of the Indonesian security forces' efforts to suppress resistance. The Commission stated that there should be more in-depth study and analysis in the future into other acts of violence to better understand the full nature, scope and impact of human rights violations.

Timescale and context: three key periods of the conflict

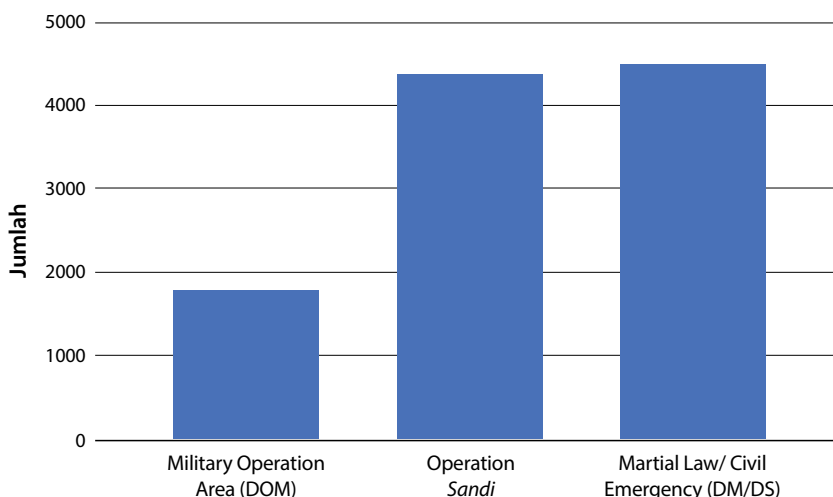
The Commission analysed violent acts by examining three key periods of the conflict, namely:

- Military Operation Area (DOM) in force from May 1989 to August 1998;
- Imposition of various military operations under different code names after the lifting of the DOM and before the imposition of

Martial Law between August 1998 and May 2003 (referred to by the TRC as the Operation *Sandi* period); and

- Martial Law (between May 2003 to May 2004) and Civil Emergency (between May 2004 to May 2005).

Diagram 2: Number of violent acts by conflict period



This division viewed human rights violations within three different contexts, namely: a period of conflict arising from the policies of the New Order regime through the designation of Aceh as a military operation area; a period of conflict that occurred in the early days of *Reformasi*, a period marked by a process of political democratisation and openness of people's aspirations which, nonetheless, failed to eliminate violence in Aceh; and a period of conflict at the time of the declarations of Martial Law and Civil Emergency which turned Aceh into a site of the largest deployment of military and police forces in Indonesian history.

Although the conflict virtually ceased following the tsunami on 26 December 2004, the Commission noted that several violent events still occurred after that disaster. The Indonesian government only lifted the

Civil Emergency status in May 2005. The Commission also found acts of violence that occurred before the imposition of DOM, although the number was very small and the Commission incorporated these into its analysis of the DOM period.

Interrelated acts of violence

The Commission found that acts of violence were interrelated, and victims experienced various acts of violence at once. In its report, the Commission highlighted linkages between violent events to show the connections between acts.

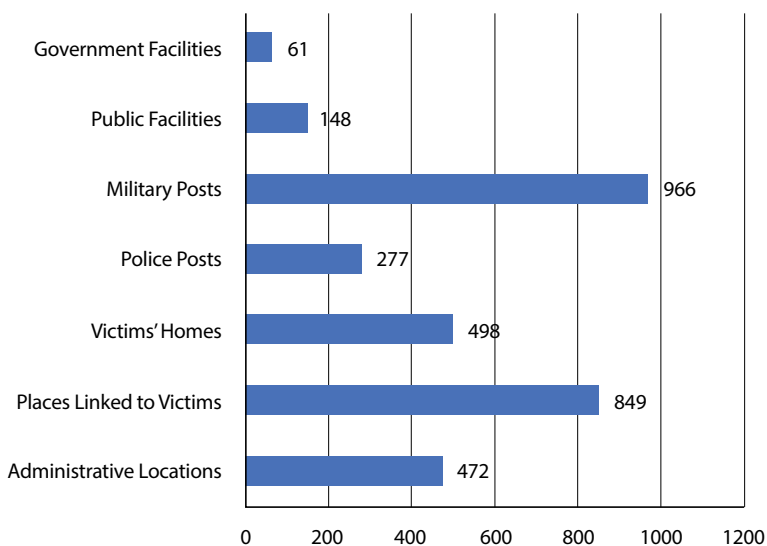
The Commission's Findings Report focuses on mapping key trends in acts of torture, sexual violence, extrajudicial killings and enforced disappearances in the three conflict periods. These four acts are described specifically because they were the most prominent and consistently committed by the Indonesian security forces. Additionally, key patterns in the analysis are also presented: the victim's profile, the location of the dominant events, the method of violence used, and the perpetrator's profile.

Almost all violent incidents that occurred included arbitrary arrest and detention, which became an enabling factor for ensuing violations, including torture either at the place of arrest or at Indonesian security force posts, public facilities that were converted into military posts, or other government facilities.

Arbitrary arrest and detention accompanied by torture were generally perpetrated on civilians to seek information on the whereabouts of GAM members, or for allegedly being part of the resistance movement. Arbitrary arrest, detention and torture were often followed by sexual violence, killing or enforced disappearance. There were many cases reported of forced abductions or summary executions of people targeted during operations. The Commission also found numerous

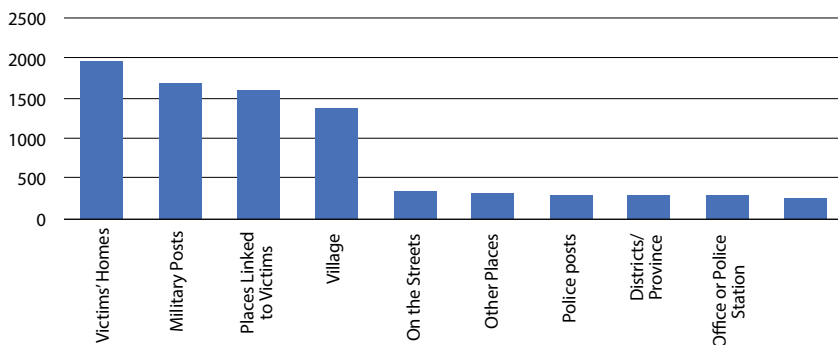
acts of destruction and confiscation of civilian property committed by Indonesian security forces.

Diagram 3: Distribution of locations of arbitrary arrests and detentions



Prominent sites of violence

Diagram 4: Location of reported violent events



The Commission found many prominent sites of violence in the three key periods of the Aceh conflict, as well as the involvement of international corporations in facilitating human rights violations committed by Indonesian security forces.

For example, what stood out about torture during the conflict was the existence of special sites. These were generally military posts, unit headquarters, civilian-owned buildings, or public buildings converted into strategic posts known as Pos Sattis (*Pos Satuan Taktis dan Strategis*, Tactical and Strategic Unit Posts). Violations in these locations often included sexual violence, as well as unlawful killings and disappearances.

The *Rumoh Geudong* in Pidie District was perhaps the military post most notorious for especially cruel methods of torture by Indonesian security forces. Formerly a large, traditional old wooden house built on stilts, the house was believed to have been built in 1818. It was converted into a military post and torture centre under the control of the elite Kopassus forces from 1990-98. The Commission recorded testimonies from dozens of victims tortured at the *Rumoh Geudong*.

Many other official and ad hoc military and police facilities were used as sites of torture by Indonesian security forces, including down to the village level, especially in areas of military operations. The Rancong Post in Lhokseumawe in North Aceh was a secretive Kopassus post notorious as a site of arbitrary detention and torture. It was located deep inside the compound of the multi-national gas company PT Arun (a local arm of US-based Exxon Mobil), highlighting the complicity of large corporate interests in the violence.

Patterns of and motives for violence

The Commission found several main motives for perpetrators of arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, sexual violence, killing and enforced disappearance.

First, the Commission found that arbitrary arrests and detentions were used by Indonesian security forces as a way of separating GAM from Indonesian supporters in villages. Second, the Commission concluded that Indonesian security forces used torture against detainees who were mostly relatives of GAM leaders and members, with the aim of quickly locating fugitives and dismantling GAM's underground political resistance network, as well as a way for the military to recruit spies. The Commission also concluded that the use of enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings was intended to quell the GAM resistance. This is evidenced by the large number of victims of killings who were influential GAM leaders, figures, members or who played key roles in the underground movement.

The Commission also considered that gross human rights violations committed by Indonesian security forces were a way to severely punish those who continued to provide support to GAM (leaving or hiding food and logistics) as a deterrence to other sympathisers.

Overall, the Commission found that the interrelated violence showed a pattern of the Indonesian security forces aiming to destroy human dignity as part of a strategy to crush the resistance movement in Aceh.

The Commission also found that GAM used assassinations as a strategy to destroy the spy networks of the Indonesian security forces in areas they controlled or aimed to control. It cited evidence showing the background of the victims as people close to the Indonesian military or police, civil servants, or those from ethnic backgrounds supportive of the Republic of Indonesia. GAM also carried out killings of members who defected or turned into double agents.

The Commission also found that the use of arbitrary detention, torture and sexual violence was a means for some individuals of the Indonesian security forces and GAM to seek personal gain. This included both Indonesian security forces and GAM commonly demanding large

sums of money from victims and their families to be released from arbitrary detention, ongoing torture and the threat of death.

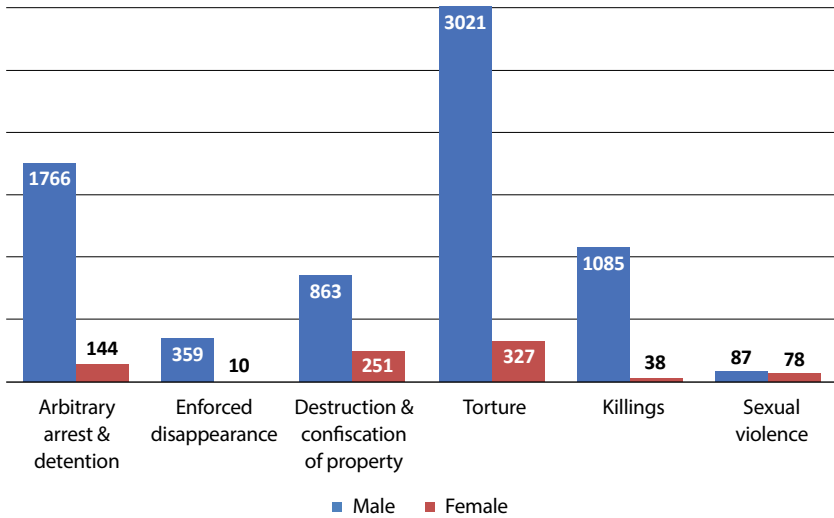
Victims

The Commission noted that at least 8,029 people became victims of major human rights violations described above, comprising 848 women and 7,181 men. As seen in Diagram 10, 1,776 men and 144 women were victims of the crime of arbitrary arrest and detention, while 1,085 men and 38 women were victims of extrajudicial killings. Commission findings also state that 3,021 men and 327 women were victims of torture. The Commission recorded 127 victims of sexual violence, with a total of 165 acts of sexual violence being reported, 78 committed against women and 87 against men. The Commission also recorded 359 men and 10 women as victims of enforced disappearance, while 863 men and 251 women were victims of destruction and confiscation of property.

The Commission concluded that the victims of these violations were not random persons but were targets of the conflicting parties. The Commission concluded that the victims of the Indonesian security forces were immediate relatives of GAM leaders, figures, and members; GAM leaders, figures, and members; sympathisers or people who started to sympathise with GAM; journalists and humanitarian workers who regularly reported on TNI/police violence.

The Commission concluded that victims of violence by GAM members were targeted because they were members of militias or Operations Assistants of the Indonesian security forces, GAM defectors and villagers who did not support their cause, or internal migrants who were seen as potential supporters of the Indonesian security forces, especially people from Java and North Sumatra.

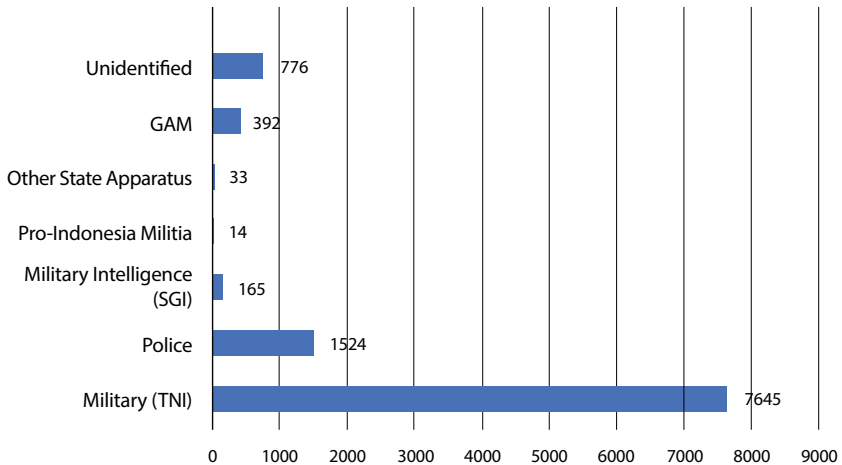
Diagram 5: Number of Victims per Violation and Gender



Perpetrators

The Commission found that perpetrators of violence during the conflict in Aceh were predominantly Indonesian security forces, pro-Indonesian militias and GAM. Most of the perpetrators were Indonesian security forces, with TNI involved in 7,645 cases, Indonesian police in 1,524 cases, SGI (Military Intelligence) and other units in 165 cases, other state apparatus in 33 cases, and pro-Indonesian militias in 14 cases. GAM was responsible for 392 cases.

Diagram 6: Number of Perpetrator per Institutional Affiliation



Testimonies: the voices of victims

This short report attempts to capture the long-forgotten or ignored voices of victims of violence and human rights violations.

The Commission expressed the belief that the experiences and aspirations of victims are the moral foundation for building a peaceful, just and non-violent Aceh. It stated that its Findings Report is an example of how a nation can bravely, honestly and with integrity walk alongside victims to face a dark past for the sake of a better future.

This report replicates the testimony numbers and victim and perpetrator codes used in the Findings Report of the Commission, to enable cross referencing.

The testimonies below focus on the four serious human rights violations most widely reported to the Commission: unlawful killings, enforced disappearance, sexual violence and torture.

It should be noted that the Commission found that arbitrary arrest and detention were generally the precursor to these serious human rights violations. The total number of arbitrary arrests and detentions from 1989 to 2005 was 3,271 cases, with a total of 5,179 victims, consisting of 391 women and 4,788 men. Most of these cases occurred in military posts (966 cases), followed by locations related to victims (849 cases), victims' houses (498 cases), administrative locations (472 cases), police posts (277 cases), public facilities (148 cases) and other government facilities (61 cases).

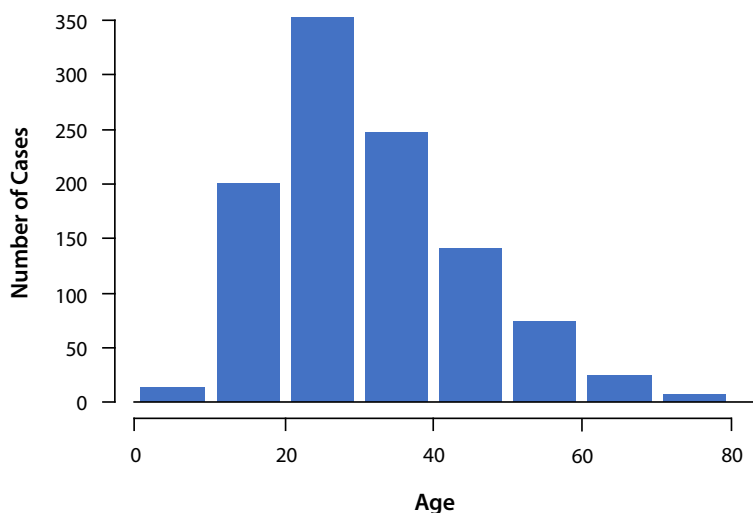
Unlawful killings

The Commission recorded 1,135 events of extrajudicial killings with 2,257 victims. The Commission also found that killings during the DOM period were prominent, with the highest number of cases occurring during the Operation *Sandi* period and the Military Martial Law and Civil Emergency periods. Most of the victims were men, with 2,181, and 76 women.

Unlawful killings generally took the form of extrajudicial killings after the victims were subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention, torture or forcible abduction. There was also a high number of summary killings when the victim was killed summarily at the scene of the incident, with punishment, partly, as the motive. In smaller numbers, there were forms of killings due to mistargeting, being caught in crossfire, and death due to loss of access to food.

The Commission noted that killings by Indonesian security forces were committed against civilians without necessarily being linked to accusations of being GAM members or being involved with GAM activities. The Commission also found that human rights defenders and humanitarian volunteers were targeted with extra-judicial killings. In smaller numbers, GAM carried out unlawful fillings.

Diagram 7: Age distribution of victims of unlawful killings



Testimony 49, Summary execution of 11 civilians of hok Meulaboh, 2002

“My husband and I worked as farm labourers. We got paid from working on other people’s farms. We have two children, the eldest was in second grade at elementary school. The incident occurred on Monday, 7 February 2002.”

“Early in the morning there was a dawn attack that frightened all the villagers. TNI soldiers descended on the village patrolling people’s homes and shooting anyone they suspected. The sound of gunfire forced me and my children to take shelter in my parents’ house not far from the local mosque. My husband went to check the situation. According to information from eyewitnesses, there were victims in the courtyard of the local mosque. When TNI saw my husband, they chased and shot him. My husband died on the spot.

“The bodies of 11 people who were killed were collected at the local mosque, along with many other injured victims. They used all kinds of torture. Some people were hacked in the neck and head. Some were even run over, using motorcycles.

“They also ransacked the contents of the local mosque and tore up the Koran. Not long afterwards the bodies of the 11 people were taken away in a car. No one knows where they took them. ...”

Testimony 45, Killing of two civilians, 1990

“The incident happened on 17 October 1990. My father was at home with me and my mother that day. An armed group wearing fatigues came to the house. They knocked on the back door. When my father opened the door, they immediately pulled him out. They kidnapped three people at that time – my father, MNB, and MI. MNB’s body was found the next day, at M2 garden shot in the head and with his genitals cut off. But we only found my father’s body with NI in 1997. My father’s body was found in CV’s Garden in an old well in the Alue Merah area.”

Testimony 46, Civilian killings, Pulo Keunari, 1998

“The incident that my husband experienced happened during the conflict in Aceh in 1998. Every time they carried out military operations, the soldiers would bring civilians with them. Through the village leader, they called from loudspeakers at the local mosque, and the community gathered ten people every day to participate in the military operations.

“It was 1998. I don’t remember the exact day, date and month ... But at exactly 7:00am my husband was preparing to go to the Pulo Keunari Military Post. At that time, I was eight months pregnant. From the Pulo Keunari Military Post, they headed to Mount Cot Beurandeh. When they got to the mountain, they encountered GAM and armed contact was inevitable. Unarmed villagers ran for their own safety.

My husband was shot in the back and died on the spot. I don't know who shot him, soldiers or GAM.

Testimony 51, Killing of M, Indrapuri, 2003

“The incident happened at 6:00am. They picked [my husband] up at the house and took him for three days and three nights. My husband was taken to the Indrapuri Kopassus headquarters.

“When they brought him back to the village, the soldiers buried him in the ground, half his torso, while he was alive. They told the villagers to throw dirt at my husband. He stayed like this for less than a day, because the owner of the land came and lifted him out and brought him back to the village. At the village, they told my husband to run and then shot him. This happened near the back of my house, about 50 metres away.

“... The perpetrators were 12 Kopassus from Indrapuri. I do not know who were the individual perpetrators ...”

Testimony 54, Summary killing of three people for breaking curfew, 1990

“It was 1990. My son was 20 years old. My son was a guard at the night post when the army came to arrest him. We were at home, not aware of this.

“The next day around 9:00am we were called to gather at the mosque. After we gathered, my son was told to stand at the front. There were many soldiers. T shot my son in the head, near his ear. Three people were shot at that time: my son, MG and NU from Timur Village. They shot my son first. I was only about two metres when they shot him. My son collapsed slowly and died. I tried to run towards him but was stopped. My son was shot in front of my eyes from only two metres away.” -

Testimony 59, Killing of residents by militia, 2000

“[M]y brother’s ... name was I bin Sl. In the 1990s we lived in Simpang Hakim, Pondok Gajah District, Bener Meriah.

“My brother was growing coffee in Takengon. He was returning from the farm with coffee beans on his motorbike when he was axed in his chest and stomach. On the road.

“When his son S and others found my brother’s body, his head was covered with coffee beans ...

“I think they killed him because they suspected him of being part of GAM. He was killed by militia who had been formed by the security forces, even though he was not involved in anything. He was just an Imam [religious leader] in a local mosque, besides farming coffee.”

Testimony 62, Killing of AR, Wih Pesam, 1998

“My father worked as a water regulator in the village. He was also the head of the Pancasila Youth organisation. In 1998 the GPK [GAM] shot him, in our own home. He had been telling me about how the GPK caused trouble in Lhokseumawe. My father complained about his job managing the water quality every day up in Uning Berteh, in Pante Raya ...

“Two days before the rituals for my brother’s circumcision, a car came carrying very scary-looking people, like they came from the mountains. They wanted to take my father. My father said, ‘Wait for 2-3 days. I cannot leave my children and wife during the celebrations.’ ... My father said that they wanted him to join their group. He refused because he was loyal to Indonesia.

“That night [two days after the rituals], before we went to the celebration place behind the house ... I saw that there were three people under the orange tree, whispering to each other. I didn’t pay much attention. I just thought that they were from the celebration.

“Later ... I saw them [again] and I asked, ‘Who are you looking for, uncle?’ ‘Is your father here?’ they replied ... They were big and tall, and they said they were from Kodim ... I had a bad feeling.

“... Even at the door, the gun was barely concealed under his sarong ... Father asked ‘Where are you from?’ They said they were from the company, then they shot him twice. They shot him in the chest and abdomen. Then they ran away. I chased but could not catch them.

“On the way to the hospital, my father said that the man who shot him was named A, from Blang Keujeren. He lived in Sukaramai.

“... After my father’s passing, the police often summoned me to be a witness. GPK threatened our family, saying that they would kill us if we testified ...”

Testimony 64, Persecution and killing of alleged spy or cuak in Ule Glee, 1998

“My husband was attacked twice before he was finally killed. First, in 1990. He was a member of GAM. He didn’t know where to run, and finally surrendered. We were not yet married. We got married in 1993. This happened while he was living in Ule Glee. Kopassus arrested him and took him to their post at Ulee Gle. When he finally returned home, he was wearing only his underwear. I didn’t know for sure if they had beaten him.

“The second incident occurred in 1998. GAM accused him of being an informer for the military or police. They killed him. When another GAM member was shot to death, GAM said also accused my husband of providing the military with the information. But my husband told me this wasn’t true. ‘I didn’t point to anyone. Other people did, who are out to get me.’

“I was pregnant with my second child at that time. GAM ransacked our house ... There was one person who was jealous of us because my husband worked as a woodcutter and had a lot of work at that time. This person provoked everyone, saying that he was a cuak.

“... One of the locals warned [my husband] that a crowd was marching to our house, saying ‘Please hide for a while.’ My husband hid in Beuriweuh, Meureudu Sub-district, watching the house as the crowd gathered.

“... My husband went back to his brother’s place in Ule Gle, then he moved around hiding in different places. Sometimes he came home. Even in this situation he still managed to visit me while I was pregnant.

“My husband was killed just after he finished the maghrib [evening prayer] from the Kulam local mosque. He had gone to the guard post to sit down and eat noodles. N and P killed him on 22 March 1999 at the guard post of Gampong Meunasah Kulam, Beuracan, Mereudu Sub-district ...”

Testimony 65, Massacre of plantation workers, 2001

“The incident happened on the night of Saturday, the 17th [no month stated] in 2001. Around 10:00pm someone knocked on my door calling out my husband’s name. My husband was asleep. I woke him up.

“They were wearing masks and dressed all in black. One person was at the door and two of them were waiting on the hill. My husband came out and asked them why they were here. They asked for help to tow their car, which they said was stuck. Back then, my husband worked as a tractor driver. But my husband apologised because the tractor had been put away.

“That night, my father searched for information about my husband’s whereabouts, until finally they found my husband’s body at Afdeeling 4 in Alur Nirih. But my father did not tell me that my husband was dead. I was told to go to Langsa Hospital to see my husband, who he said was in good health.

“When I got to the hospital, I found out that my husband had passed away. Apparently, my husband was killed along with six others. One of them survived by pretending to faint. He was the one who

told the story of these sadistic killings. His name was M. He was traumatised after the incident and was sent home by his work manager to Pekanbaru. Last I heard he died of depression.

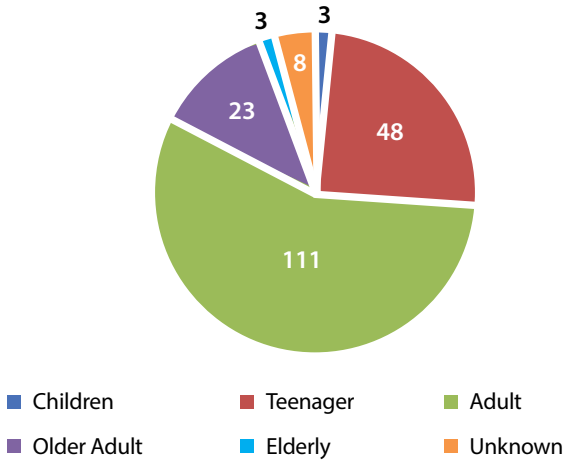
“According to M’s testimony, before they were shot their hands were tied behind their backs and they were blindfolded. They were shot from behind one-by-one, from a distance of two metres. But M pretended to faint and his friend who was shot fell across his body. His friend’s blood-soaked his body. He was wearing a white shirt, and the masked men thought he was dead along with the six others including my husband. They were all dumped in the Raya River in Tanah Lapang.”

Enforced disappearance

The Commission recorded 371 male and female victims of enforced disappearance. Only one victim was found, while the whereabouts of 370 other victims remain unknown. A total of 364 victims (98 percent) were male and seven victims (2 percent) were female, while the sex of three victims could not be identified. The Commission found that 75.21 percent of victims of enforced disappearance were civilians.

There was one case of enforced disappearance before the DOM period, in 1977; 57 cases during the DOM period (15.88 percent); 198 cases during the Operation *Sandi* period (55.15 percent); and 103 cases during the Martial Law and Civil Emergency periods (28.69 percent).

Diagram 8: Number of Victims of Enforced Disappearance by Age



There were no findings of cases of survivors of enforced disappearance. The Commission reflected on the lack of information surrounding most cases of enforced disappearance, given the secretive circumstances of these violent acts. Many statements, the Commission noted, do not have detailed information on the methods by which the victims were disappeared, who was involved in their disappearances or what happened to them, including whether the victims died. In this light, the Commission found that the information it gathered is not representative of the full extent of enforced disappearances.

Testimony 67, Enforced disappearance of GAM at Rumoh Geudong, 1997

“My name is R bint I. I am 61 years old. I work as a farmer. My husband was a member of GPK [GAM]. I have four children.

“After my husband came down from the mountains, I was no longer obliged to report. But when he came down, they took my husband. They took him away to Rumoh Geudong. They tried to get him to

tell them where the GAM bases were. After that I didn't hear from my husband. I don't even know where his grave is, let alone his body.

Testimony 68, Enforced disappearance of A, Lamlo, 1990

“First there was an incident related to my father, A. He came to Lamlo Post and then the military took him to Mount Blang Pandak, to fight. My father didn't return and supposedly he has died. I don't know where his grave is.

“My [husband's] incident happened around 1990. I was told to report to Lamlo Post, because they suspected my husband of being a member of GAM although I don't know if that was true. They asked where my husband was and whether he had come home. The military found my husband, and he never returned. I never saw his body. I don't know where his grave is.”

Testimony 69, Enforced disappearance of S, Simpang Lhee, 2000

“It happened during the conflict before the tsunami, in the period leading to demonstrations demanding a referendum. The incident started at the kiosk, where the military found my older brother. There were many soldiers. They were on an operation.

“Someone reported that my brother was GAM. The soldiers went right away and asked for my brother's identity card, telling him to come at 8:00am tomorrow to report. Then he went home to tell Mom. She told him, ‘Don't go, son. I don't feel good about this.’ ‘It's okay Mom,’ he replied. ‘I haven't done anything wrong. There's nothing wrong with just going there.’ So he went there to report.

“There was a football game that afternoon, so he got there a little late at 2:00pm with RBT. He did not return. Finally, that night our mother went there and asked the soldiers, ‘My son came here to report. His name is S.’ ‘Oh, he's not here Ma'am,’ they said. ‘Sometimes your son goes to watch football.’ ‘There's no way my son went to watch football,’

she said to them. ‘He came here.’ ‘He’s not here. We don’t know anything,’ they said. ‘Did you take his identity card?’ she asked. ‘No, we did not take any identity card.’ That’s what they said. They pretended not to know. The next day my mother went there again. She sat there. Still nothing.

“Weeks passed, until a helper there said, ‘Hey Ma’am, your son was moved. That night your son was moved.’ So my mother really knew that her son had been there. She kept going back there ...

“Finally, G apologised to my mother. ‘Ma’am, I hit your son. It was wrong of me to hit him. The person who reported him already knew the names of everyone, but they couldn’t tell because they had died. He was from this village too ... I don’t know, I’m sorry, Ma’am. I brought him to Kuala Simpang. But after Kuala Simpang we don’t know where he was taken, because they kept moving him and we didn’t know where to look.’

“... Every time a body is found, my mother always goes to check. From east to west, west to east. She spent all her money searching. We always went to Kuala Simpang, but still we haven’t found the body. Because they never told us what area it was in. People who worked there said that my brother was beaten ‘until we cried just looking at him.’ That’s what they said.”

Testimony 71, Enforced disappearance of Mul, Simpang Empat Kota Fajar, 2002

“Our family did not know the whereabouts of my father after they took him. From what local residents said, my father was taken to the Simpang Empat Marine Post, Kota Fajar, North Kluet Sub-district. Our family and the village official came to this Marine Post to ask about my father’s whereabouts. But the soldiers said he wasn’t there. The family also looked for him in other places following information we received from people. We sold our property to pay for information about father’s whereabouts, from a psychic from Bakongan and

Gampong Air Pinang Tapaktuan District. We also heard someone say that my father was taken to Java. Some say my father was taken from post to post.”

Testimony 73, Enforced disappearance of K, 2002

“... The incident took place around 2002, in the fisheries between GAM and the security forces. [My brother] was delivering fish to his in-laws’ house on a motorcycle. He was with three friends. I did not know them. When he arrived at Koramil Trieng Meuduro Baroh headquarters, he was arrested by BKO soldiers from the Rajawali Unit, around 40-60 soldiers. He was detained there for several days. Then he was taken to Tapaktuan in a military vehicle.

“We looked for him at the Kodim but didn’t find him. At the Kodim they did not tell us anything. I searched for him for a month, together with RZ who worked at the sub-district office at the time. But I ran out of money and still couldn’t find him. I have no news of him to this day.”

Testimony 74, Enforced disappearance of I bin A, Trienggadeng, 1990

“... [M]y younger brother who was a victim of the conflict. His name was I bin A. At the time of the incident, he was 22 years old ...

“It was early one morning in 1990. Everyone in the village, even babies and children, were gathered in the local mosque of the village of Tamphui Kami. All lined up neatly following directions. My brother arrived late. The briefing was finished by the time he arrived. He joined the line, hands on his waist. It was just his habit, not out of arrogance or acting like a thug. The soldiers saw him and took him to the Ubit local mosque.

“When I asked the Company commander why my brother was being taken, he said he would only be away briefly, that they would return him home.

“In the evening, from Ubit mosque they loaded him into a car and took him to the Trienggadeng Koramil headquarters. He didn’t return home. One day, one week, then months, he didn’t come back. Our family searched everywhere, all the way to Pantan Labu. We even asked psychics for help to find out his whereabouts.

“My younger brother was the only man in the family. As a result of this incident, mother and father had heart attacks. A year later my parents passed away.”

Testimony 79, Enforced disappearance of material vendors, 1990

“My husband worked daily selling building materials. The incident started at 6:00am, when ten armed men in military uniforms came to our house. My husband was sick at the time. The armed men just took him ... They took him to a local mosque, where they gathered others suspected of involvement with GAM ...

“Some of the others who had been arrested were J, I, H and R. They were all loaded into the vehicle by Brimob officers and taken to the Task Force Post in Lamlo. Soon after, some of the men were released. But my husband was not among them. I was so sad when my son cried because his father didn’t come home.

“My husband has never come home. He disappeared without news. There is still no information whatsoever about him. I have reported this incident to the authorities, but to no avail. There are reports circulating that my husband is dead. Some say that he was taken to another place after the others were released. I only saw his clothes and trousers because they were worn by I.”

Testimony 82, Enforced Disappearance of M, 2000

“Two days after M’s release, on 8 March 2000, my husband planned to stop by his house, located at Gampong Lhok Sialang Rayeuk in Pasié Raja Sub-district. The gampong is located toward the direction of

the mountain, as you ride a bicycle. My husband left at around 2:00pm. But by nightfall my husband had not returned.

“I was three months pregnant at the time, so it took me some time to go to M’s house and ask for my husband. M said that my husband had been to his house and then left to return home. He said that he did not see my husband being kidnapped by GAM people.

“It is thought that my husband was kidnapped on the way back home. My family and I suspect that my husband was kidnapped by GAM people. Because, when you think about it, BKO posts did not exist at all at that time. The BKO troops were not deployed very widely and were only placed in the sub-district police stations. It was impossible that police would come all the way down here when it was still a Civil Emergency.”

Sexual violence

The Commission recorded 165 reported acts of sexual violence during the armed conflict between 1989 and 2004; 78 acts were committed against women and 87 acts against men. The Commission recorded 42 women and 51 men as sexually assaulted, and 17 women as raped. The Commission also found that 12 women and 33 men were sexually abused. A total of five women and one man were victims of sexual slavery and forced marriage. In addition, the Commission also found that one woman and two men were victims of sexually linked killing-mutilation.

The Commission found that most perpetrators accused the victims of being linked to GAM as the main reason for committing their crimes. However, the Commission also noted that a wealth of evidence suggested that these acts were a way for perpetrators to impose their sexual domination during military operations, and military and civilian officials turned a blind eye to this reality.

The Commission noted the cultural and social factors inhibiting many victims of sexual violence from coming forward to record testimonies. In these circumstances, it found that sexual violence was significantly under-reported in its Findings Report.

Table 1. Acts of sexual violence

No	Acts of sexual violence	Female	Male	Total
1	Sexual harassment and assault	42	51	93
2	Rape	17	0	17
3	Sexual torture	12	33	45
5	Sexual slavery and forced marriage	6	1	7
6	Killing and sexual mutilation	1	2	3
Total		78	87	165

Table 2. Perpetrators of sexual violence during the period of conflict (1989–2004)

No	Institution	Period				Total
		DOM	Operation <i>Sandi</i>	Martial Law	Civil Emergency	
1	Military	45	44	50	17	156
2	Police – Mobile Brigade	1	16	10	7	34
3	Joint Military-Mobile Brigade	-	3	2	-	5
4	GAM	-	1	-	-	1
5	Unknown	-	2	-	-	2
Total		46	66	62	24	198

Rapes and other sexual violence against female detainees

Sexual violence, sexual harassment and rape are the torture methods most remembered by the female victims of the *Rumoh Geudong*. Almost all female victims claimed to have been stripped naked by the officers in this place and forced to dance while naked to blaring *dangdut* music (traditional popular music).

Testimony 9, Torture of seven women, 1990

“Every time I hear a *dangdut* song, I feel tormented and remember how humiliated I was by the TNI in the *Rumoh Geudong*. I was tortured with my hands and feet tied. They electrocuted my big toe. While in pain, they stripped me naked. When I was naked, they forced me to dance to *dangdut* music that they blared from a loud tape recorder. I was ashamed because there were so many other prisoners forced to watch me dance naked.

“Every time I stopped, they would beat me and threaten to electrocute me. Then they laughed when I danced. The TNI in *Rumoh Geudong* staged a mock wedding ceremony. I was told to be the bride and a male prisoner the groom. We had to attend the wedding ceremony, pronounce the *ijab qabul* vows, and then we were seated side by side. The soldiers ordered me around, about how I should act and pose as the bride. They forced us to do things as they pleased. They were very amused and laughing. We prisoners were mocked as entertainment.”

Testimony 33, Sexual violence against female detainees, 1990

“It was the fasting month when we were ordered to suck and bite testicles that had already been cut off. The women prisoners were all ordered to do this. The testicles had been cut from a dead person and then wrapped in newspaper, coated in balsam until they became tough. When bitten, they tasted spicy. This happened at the office

of the Sub-district Military Command— the Tangse Post of the Joint Intelligence Unit.”

Testimony 34, Rape of a female detainee in Rumoh Geudong, 1990

“They asked where my husband was. I said that I rarely saw him because he wasn’t home often. Then I was taken up to Rumoh Geudong and put in a room with a glass cupboard. I was stripped naked by four members of Kopassus. I was eight months pregnant at the time. One of them put an ugly hat on my head. Another soldier put a gun in my mouth and inserted it into my vagina. Then another one poured gasoline on my hair saying he would burn me alive ...”

“They yelled at me to tell them who my husband’s friends were. When I said I didn’t know, they got angry and hung me from the beam of the building with a neck strap until both my legs hung about 30 centimetres from the ground. Kopassus soldiers also threatened to parade me naked in the streets. I said do whatever you want. After that I was taken down and laid on my back without a single thread of clothes on my body. One of the Kopassus stepped on my feet.”

Testimony 29, Sexual violence against female detainees, 1992

“My son was a member of GAM. I am still afraid to see soldiers. In 1992, soldiers picked me up at home and took me to the irrigation canal and immersed me in it. I was soaked and subjected to torture. That’s why I am still sick, even now. I was beaten on the back.

“I was accused of providing food and other assistance to GAM. How could I not give food, because he was my son. When asked, I replied that I had never given anything. I was ordered to take off all of my clothes so that my genitals were exposed. I was just stripped naked.

“There were five other women who experienced the same thing as me. They were stripped naked, but in separate locations. Even though

we were old, we were stripped like this. Imagine how we felt. Among the five victims, one was named N bin T, usually called P. Only she and I are still alive. The other three women have died.”

Testimony 36, Rape of R, a female detainee, Nisam, 2001

“During the three days I was held captive, each night the soldiers used me like a toy. They tied my hands and made me sit on a chair. Soldiers watched me while other soldiers took turns sexually attacking me. Some held my thighs, others my breasts, and others pulled my long hair before they cut it short. Five soldiers took turns raping me, until I lost consciousness. After three days, I was allowed to go home to my children, but I was required to report every day for one month.

“These rapes and abuse have left scars to this day. Often in the middle of the night I wake up and cannot go back to sleep. I am haunted by the faces of the men who raped me. I cannot forget this violence. I still often have headaches. And I prefer to be alone, because it is difficult for me to be around many people.”

Sexual violence against male detainees

Surprisingly, the Commission was able to document acts of sexual violence experienced by men, despite the strong cultural barriers and stigma.

Testimony 30, Sexual violence against a male detainee, 2002

I was questioned by the military and forced to admit that I was a member of GAM. I didn't want to confess. I hadn't joined GAM. I was an ordinary citizen. They hit me, punched me in the chest, digging into one of my ribs. I still didn't want to confess. Some even coaxed me to confess so I could then join them in the service. But I still didn't want to confess because I wasn't GAM.

“After that I was ordered to take off my pants. Then they took a can of Sprite and were about to cut my penis. They wanted to cut off my

genitals, but I didn't confess. Why confess if I wasn't GAM? I was an ordinary citizen. I said if they didn't believe me they could ask the village leader..."

Testimony 32, Sexual crimes against a male detainee, 2002

"They tied me up with 30 metres of rope. I was suspended by my feet with my hands still tied behind my back. In that position, they beat me again until I lost consciousness.

"When I regained consciousness, their commander came and asked me about the weapons. I really didn't know anything and answered that I didn't keep any weapons. They didn't believe me and beat me again. I was held for four days in Ulee Glee. Every day they tortured me. I wasn't hanging anymore. But then a group of soldiers who had come from the hills joined in torturing me. They tied my penis with a rope and then pulled it.

"I was taken to the post in Rancong. They tortured me severely there. I was beaten and they gave me electric shocks several times. I was made to lick their dog's genitals almost every night after they returned from an operation. If I didn't, they threatened to beat me. I was forced to lick the dog's genitals."

Rape and other sexual violence against women, including sexual slavery, forced to report to military installations

Testimony 42, Sexual slavery of 25-year-old woman, North Aceh

"I was ordered by the army to report three times a day—morning, afternoon, and evening—for up to three months. After that, it was three times a week, then once a month. The mandatory reporting lasted eight months. Every time I reported to the post, I experienced sexual harassment and assault ... They always ordered me to get something in the room, using various excuses. I had to serve the soldiers by massaging them and stroking them when they were

tired after returning from military operations in the villages. I was forced to serve soldiers in a room next to the torture room.

“The first time I was held, I was told to take off all my clothes. I didn’t want to. But they threatened me. Because I was scared, I took off my clothes. I was treated like an animal. Two soldiers squeezed my breasts. They forced me to serve their lust, both of them at the same time. This happened every time I reported to the army post for eight months.

“There was even one soldier named N. He forced me to stroke his penis and his whole body until he was aroused, then he made me use my mouth to suck it. N made me do this every time I had to report. I had to satisfy N’s lust first, then the others.”

Testimony 35, Rape of two female detainees, Alue Papeun, 2002

“When I was reporting to the army post in Alue Papeun, Nisam Sub-district, the soldiers accused me of cooking for GAM and of delivering rice to them. They tied me up and took me to the back of the Sub-district Command office. They kicked my body, and then kicked my legs with their boots until I fell down. Later I found out that my leg was broken.

“They took me to a room, took off my clothes and pushed me against a wall. Two army men raped me against the wall. When they were raping me, I bit the hand one of their hands because I was very scared. They were barbaric when they raped me. At that time there was another woman there, who I knew, who came from my village. She and I were raped in turn by the same two soldiers.

“After raping us, the soldiers smeared their semen on our faces and bodies. Then ordered us to face the wall and they repeatedly raped us from behind, so that I fainted and didn’t remember anything else.

“When I woke up, I saw that my thigh was smeared with blood and I couldn’t stop urinating. Even now I have difficulty controlling my urine. My bladder leaks, so I must always use diapers.”

Rape and other sexual violence in women's homes

Sexual violence took place with total impunity, often taking place within the confines of victims' own homes.

Testimony 43, Rape of two women by unknown soldiers, 2000

“That night many officers came to my parents' house. A soldier examined my father, me and my husband. After checking our identity cards, the officer locked my father in a room and tied my husband to the pillar in the middle of the house. After that the soldiers raped me in front of my parents and husband. At that time, I was four months pregnant with my third child.

“After the soldiers raped me, they left taking my money and jewellery. They threatened us not to tell others what had happened. While they raped me, other soldiers also raped L and sexually assaulted several other women.

“I was severely traumatised. Even now, I'm still scared when I see someone wearing a camouflage shirt ...”

Testimony 41, The repeated rapes of M, 2002

“A month later, after I was raped by a member of the army from Company C Eagles, there was another soldier from the same company. Two soldiers came. One asked, ‘Did you see any GAM people running through here, you GAM bandit?’ I replied, ‘How is it possible that I'm a GAM bandit? What makes you think I'm a GAM bandit?’ Then the soldier said, ‘If you are not a GAM bandit, get into that room.’ I refused to enter the room and told the soldier that the house was empty. ‘Nobody is there, there are goats sleeping in there.’ The soldier said, ‘Go inside. If you don't want to enter the room, then you will have to come with us because you are a GAM bandit.’

“The soldier yelled at me, ‘If you don't want to open your jibab (traditional head covering) and clothes, we will shoot you.’ Seeing

my short hair, the soldier said, 'You are a GAM bandit.' I replied, 'Don't treat me this way, I'd rather die.' The soldier looked at my body and smiled and said, 'This is a symbol, no?' I denied it, saying that it was a mark from a bra strap. I remembered the soldier's name was I from Company C, Alue Garut Post. He told me to have sex with him, and with a Javanese accent he said, 'Mine is strong compared to your husband's that is old.' I refused saying, 'I don't want it, sir, because I have a husband and it's impossible for me to do that.' He forced me by pressing my body up against the wall and raped me. After the soldier raped me, he left my house.

"Two months later, when I opened the door of the house, I was surprised to see two soldiers already standing at the front door. I was with my young child, and at that time my child was constantly asking to eat. I went inside to get some food. The soldiers followed me inside. As I was taking food from the kitchen, a soldier hugged me from behind. I was shocked and resisted. The soldier kissed and bit my neck repeatedly, while the other soldier took my child to the living room. I shouted, 'Don't do this to me, you evil pig. Go home and bite and suck your own wife.' However, the soldier ignored my screams and told me, 'If you dare scream again, I'll shoot you and your child.'

"I was propped up against the wall of the house while the soldier rubbed his penis against my bottom and I felt his penis get stiff like wood. I pushed the soldier until he fell. He got angry and was cussing. When the soldier got angry, my child cried. The soldier left the house and went away saying, 'Just wait, I'll return some day.'"

Testimony 17, Torture of women in their homes, 2003

"Five soldiers came to my house. They were troops from the 112 Marines. Two soldiers interrogated and tortured me in turn. The others stood guard in front of the doors and windows ...

"They kept asking questions and mentioning the names of GAM members while they strangled my neck and pushed me against the wall. I told them that I knew of one name, but didn't know the person.

At that time, I spoke Indonesian so that they would understand. But they didn't believe me and continued to torture me. I was dragged to the door of the room, then told to swear that I was speaking the truth. But then they slapped me hard on my cheeks, twice. My cheeks were swollen, and I had difficulty opening my eyes. They kept demanding that I confess and provide information. They asked about my father and sister. When I replied in Acehnese, they didn't understand and hit me again.

“Then they hit the top part of my breast with the tip of a rifle. They told me to take off my shirt if I still wouldn't confess. I took off my clothes until all I had left was underwear. Then I threw the clothes in their faces. Of course, they went berserk and said I dared to challenge them. They smashed my head against the wall. Then they took a banana that happened to be at home and a bottle of lemonade. They inserted the banana into my vagina alternately with the lemonade bottle. The soldier who did this was named I. They kept shouting at me to confess. I could only accept how they treated me and surrender to Allah ...

“They were not satisfied with torturing me in this way. They cut my left breast with a kitchen knife. They squeezed my breast until it released a white liquid mixed with blood. The soldier named I put his cigarette on the nipple of my right breast. Then, they used a lighter to burn my pubic hair until it was charred.”

Rape of underage girls

Children were also victims of sexual violence.

Testimony 37, Rape of A (a 14-year-old girl) and M, 2002

“That day in 2002 at 9:00am, I was in my garden behind the neighbour's house ... I went to the garden to pick nutmeg and peel the fruit to get the seeds. After I finished peeling the nutmeg and collecting the seeds, I called out to M, who was in her house, to come

out and sit with me on a wooden bench while we made a kind of salad from the young nutmeg skins. While we made the salad, we shared stories, laughing and joking together.

“About half an hour later a group of soldiers arrived, about 20 of them. I became afraid when I saw so many soldiers wearing brown camouflage shirts. I didn’t know which company the soldiers were from, but M whispered to me, ‘We will die today, they’re from Company C.’

“The soldiers started talking to me. They accused me: ‘You’re with the Inong Balee force, right?’ I replied, ‘I am not with the Inong Balee force. I am just an ordinary person and am not involved in anything. I am just a garden farmer, Sir.’ ‘If you two are not with the Inong Balee force there is no way you would dare to sit in a garden in the forest like this,’ shouted a soldier. We were scared, our faces became pale and our legs were shaking.

“The soldier asked again, ‘What are you doing here?’ ‘Peeling green nutmeg,’ I answered in a trembling voice. Then we argued with the soldiers. The soldiers accused us of being ‘GAM bandits.’ We continued to defend ourselves. Then two of the soldiers ordered both of us to enter M’s house to examine the Inong Balee emblems on our bodies. We refused to enter the house, but the soldiers forced us. They used the points of their rifles, saying they would shoot us if we didn’t enter or if we resisted. Once inside the house, the soldiers told M to open the door to her room and told me to enter the room first.

“In the room, they ordered me to remove my headscarf, dress, underwear and bra, so that I was naked and my hair was loosened from its bun. I cried because I was afraid and ashamed. A soldier grabbed my breasts and squeezed and roughly handled my vagina. He sucked on my neck until it hurt. The soldier whispered in my ear that I looked a lot like his wife. I was frightened and pushed the soldier off so that he fell to the floor. He was angry and cursed at me, ‘Who do you think you are, daring to shove me.’ Then he pulled my hair hard and said, ‘You dare to resist me, I’ll shoot you dead!’ I cursed the

soldier in my heart. I said to him, ‘Don’t treat me like a dog. I have a husband, you know!’ I didn’t dare scream because the soldier said, ‘If you scream, I’ll shoot you!’

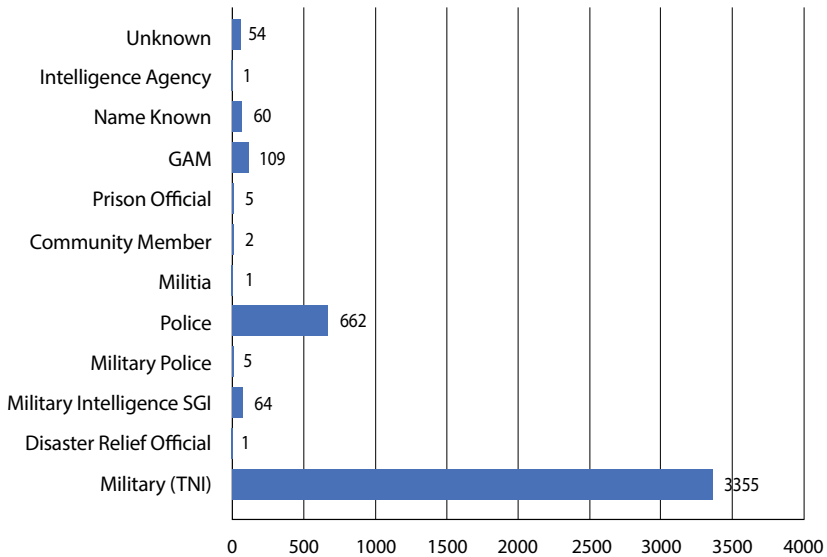
“The soldier took off his pants and shoved me. He ordered me to lie on the floor without any mat or pillow. He told me to lie on my back. Then he lay on top of me and put his penis into my vagina. A few minutes later the soldier pulled out his penis and spilled his semen on my body while I was still lying on the floor. He told me to wipe off the semen with my dress. Then he yelled at me to put the dress back on, covered in his semen. The soldier quickly put his pants back on and threatened me, ‘If you dare tell, I will shoot you dead!’

“After threatening me, the soldier ordered me to leave the room. I saw that M was being pinned against the wall by another soldier. They ordered me to stand in the corner of the living room. Then another soldier ordered M to enter the room, and he stood guard over me while M was being examined and raped in the room. About half an hour later, they took M out of her room. The soldier who raped me yelled at me to go home.”

Torture

The Commission found torture to be the second-most reported human rights violation, with 4,249 cases involving 1,210 victims. The Commission reported that 671 acts of torture were committed during the DOM period, 1,652 acts occurred during Operation *Sandi*, and 1,926 acts during Martial Law and Civil Emergency periods.

Perpetrators by Institution/Organization



The Commission found that the high incidence of torture showed that this form of violence was a common method of the Indonesian security forces and an almost constant act of violence. Torture was generally accompanied by humiliation and degrading humanity. Victims were often subjected to repeated torture over different time periods, involving multiple perpetrators and locations, and accompanied by other types of violence.

Testimony 9, Torture of seven women, 1990

“On the day of the incident, in the morning I came home with charcoal to cook rice. There were already a lot of soldiers at my home. The soldiers came for my husband. When they didn’t find him, the soldiers seized the charcoal from my hands. Then went inside and burned my house. After that they burned six other houses, which were those of GPK members. At 11:00am, me and six other women were rounded up and taken by car to the Tangse Koramil

office. When I got there, I was again questioned about my husband's whereabouts and I said I didn't know. At 1:00pm we were immersed in a pool of water for an hour, fully clothed. We were immersed only up to the neck so that we could still breathe. The soldiers watched us. When we got out of the water, they made us stand facing the wall in the locked room. Some women urinated and defecated out of fear."

Testimony 10, Torture of M, East Aceh 1990

"I was detained for a month in Krueng Tuan, where they conducted the operation. When I was first detained, I was beaten with a wooden plank in the back until my bones broke. I was tortured by being stripped naked and burned from head to foot. First, they burned me by melting a plastic comb, dripping the hot melted plastic onto my body. The marks are still there, though the scars on my head are almost healed now. I was beaten every day while I was detained. I couldn't tell day from night. Every time I was beaten and knocked down, they told me to stand up again. They pushed me against the wall, then two soldiers took hold of my hands, then others punched me in the chest until I fell. I was also thrown into a large muddy puddle, once I almost drowned there.

"My bones were broken and now I cannot work at all. For nearly 25 years I haven't been able to work. Even compared to Z, who died, I had been beaten worse."

Testimony 3, Torture of religious teacher in Rumoh Geudong, 1998

"Every night I felt my body. The situation was awful. My body was deformed. My ankles were punctured. My back still has scars. I was beaten with iron rods by M. My feet were crushed with a beam by Kopassus Commander P, which ruptured my veins. I was stripped naked, electrocuted, the electrodes attached to my penis and ears. This did not hurt as much as when they combined it with electrocuting my eyes, my mouth and on the top of my head..."

“Then one day ... I was put in the pond behind the Rumoh Geudong. I was fasting at that time. Then Commander P came. He stepped on my head and told me to eat the faeces. I was tortured because I once gave rice to A’s friend, who was a member of GAM. I was a GAM sympathiser.”

Testimony 4, Torture of women and their children at Rumoh Geudong TSU post and Pintu Satu post, 1998

“We were jerked and thrown about. It did not stop there. I was hit with a wooden beam as large as an arm. My two children cried hysterically seeing me being hit ... Kopassus asked where my husband was. I always answered the same way, ‘He’s out making a living.’ They also asked about weapons. I didn’t say anything. My husband didn’t have a gun, he just brought a rice-cutting tool. They did not believe me, and they kept beating me. They picked up my two children who kept crying and threw them. They kept up the beating. They also hit me with a bamboo stick ... My body was covered in wounds. But I still endured the blows. For two days and two nights in Rumoh Geudong, I was interrogated and beaten.

“A few days after my release, Kopassus took me and my sister-in-law in the middle of the night to Pintu Satu. Same questions. They were still looking for my husband who they accused of being GAM. I was detained for 21 days there, with even more severe abuse than in Rumoh Geudong. Not only was I hit, at Pintu Satu I was electrocuted to the point of unconsciousness. I was electrocuted wherever they liked. Although the wounds from the previous beatings had not even healed.”

Testimony 6, Torture of five residents of Sungai Pauh, 2000

“I was with four villagers on night watch at the patrol post. Fifteen Pioneers [soldiers] came dressed in full uniform with weapons. Six

of them interrogated us. They asked where GAM was, where GAM had fled to. We replied that we didn't know. That no GAM ran here. Then three of the soldiers started beating us. They smashed gun butts into my forehead, chest and mouth until they were torn and bloodied. We fell, unable to get up again. My chest was sore and tight, my teeth were broken, my lips were so torn apart that I couldn't eat that night. I went for treatment with village medicine. I drank a turmeric concoction with henna leaves.

Testimony 27, Torture of retired civil servants, Bukit Cot Mancang, 2002

“Another incident happened to my father in 2002. At the time he was about 65 years old and in a sickly condition. My father was arrested by GAM at his home when he was ill. He was accused of being a cuak (spy). But my father was just a retired civil servant teacher.

“At around midnight, 15 members of GAM took my father to the Kulam mosque located in Bukit Cot Mancang. My brother could not intervene because he was held at gunpoint. At the time of the incident, I was in Banda Aceh. My father was shot in the mouth, and his palms, shoulders and forehead were burned with cigarettes. Because it was 7:00am, many people went to the market across the highway. They saw a dead body lying in the street without underwear. Father was wearing a sarong but it was opened.

“Later, after my father died, in 2003, my mother was told to go up the hills to bring money to GAM. They threatened her that if she couldn't come up with Rupiah 30 million, they would shoot the children and burn down the house. So my mother lost around Rupiah 30 million, which GAM used to buy weapons. My mother had to sell her gold and cows. As a result of the incident, my mother had a mental breakdown. Then she suffered a stroke and has been paralysed for a year.”

Testimony 13, Torture of GAM member's younger brother, Kute Binjai, 2004

“I was arrested at home, during a party, by about eight SGI soldiers. They took me to an SGI base in Kuta Binjei ... “I was tortured while being questioned for two days and nights...

“I was taken by SGI because my brother was a member of GAM. I was targeted because ... the soldiers couldn't find my brother, so they took me instead. But I was not actually involved in the group and knew nothing.

“I was hit with a hard hose that was split in half. Beaten from my back to my buttocks. My hands were crushed with pliers. I was tortured by two SGI members. Then I was detained for two months, accused of being a member of GAM.”

Testimony 22, Torture of a 53-year-old male, Pidie 2004

“At the time of my arrest I was beaten, but not so heavily. They tore my clothes off, leaving me only in my underwear. I was forced into the car and taken to the front of the public toilet. They pointed the barrel of their gun into my mouth. When they pulled the barrel out, the weapon hit my teeth and knocked out two of my teeth. Then they shot towards the side of my ear, almost hitting it. The shot made my ears buzz and I lost hearing. Then they kicked me to the ground. They put me in the car and took me to the police station.

“At the police station the police chief, named T, hit me in the head with a log ... I was detained in B Prison until the tsunami hit.”



A monument commemorating the human rights violations in the Simpang Kertas Kraft Aceh (KKA) case stands tall on the Medan-Banda Aceh Highway, North Aceh. Dozens of civilians were killed on 3 May 1999 – their names inscribed on the monument's foundation, leaving a promise of a just and dignified legal settlement for the victims.

Photo: © Asia Justice and Rights/Aghniadi

5

Conclusions and accountability

Overview

In accordance with the Helsinki Agreement of 2005 that signalled the end of the long conflict in Aceh, by revealing the truth the Aceh TRC has taken one step towards the aspiration for accountability. The Commission concluded that its efforts to reveal the truth about human rights violations, by listening to the voices of more than 5,000 victims, had two important outcomes: accountability for perpetrators of human rights violations and recognition of victims.

The Commission noted that in these terms, accountability did not refer to criminal or civil liability – which it reported was the scope of the judicial process. It noted the significance of its Findings Report as an instrument for further acts of accountability, highlighting that the report named individual perpetrators and contained other significant evidence identifying institutions and command leadership responsible for serious human rights violations.

Highlighting Indonesia's constitutional, legal and international obligations, the Commission concluded that in the case of these serious human rights violations, the state is obliged to: ensure that any person whose rights or freedoms are violated obtains effective remedies even

if the violation is committed by persons acting in an official capacity; ensure that such recovery must obtain certainty from judicial, administrative, legislative or other competent institutions; develop legal remedy possibilities; and guarantee that the competent institutions will carry out the recovery.

The Commission also stressed that every person whose rights have been violated has the right and can take steps to obtain remedies in various forms and through domestic and international mechanisms.

The Commission highlighted that one of its working principles is the rejection of impunity. From this principle, the Aceh TRC concluded that in the context of actions that fall into the category of serious human rights violations based on Law No. 26 of 2000, perpetrators can be held individually accountable in a Human Rights Court or ad hoc Human Rights Court, including the Aceh Human Rights Court. The Commission extended this call for accountability to command responsibility for senior military, police and civilian officials.

Key conclusions on accountability

The Commission found that:

- The Indonesian security forces were responsible for the overwhelming number of cases of human rights violations reported to it: of the 10,652 cases of human rights violations, the Indonesian security forces were responsible for 98 percent, with GAM members identified as the perpetrators for the other 2 percent.
- During the conflict period (4 December 1976—15 August 2005), Indonesian security forces committed systematic human rights violations on a mass scale and against civilians. It concluded that these human rights violations satisfied the threshold set by international human rights law regarding crimes against humanity

and war crimes. The Commission also found that moral, institutional and individual responsibility lies with the Indonesian security forces who carried out unlawful killings, enforced disappearances, torture and sexual violence during the conflict period with almost total impunity. It found that these violations were used to subdue opponents, obtain information, and punish, threaten or humiliate victims.

- During the conflict period (4 December 1976 –15 August 2005) there were many cases of violations by the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in violation of its obligations to protect civilians under Geneva Convention General Article 3 Additional Protocol II 1997. However, based on the fact that less than 2 percent of reported violation cases were committed by GAM members, the Commission concluded that it did not find sufficient evidence to conclude that the violations were based on orders or policies from the GAM leadership structure. Therefore, the Commission concluded that violations by members of GAM were isolated incidents that were not part of the policy or orders of the GAM leadership structure. The Commission found that in accordance with international humanitarian law, GAM leaders still had authority over their members and its leadership structure knew or should have known that violations of the laws of war had occurred, and that it did not take sufficient action to sanction or prevent them.
- From the data collected, several names of operations and institutions that violated human rights have emerged as triggers for an increase in the number of violations. It concluded that further investigations need to be carried out to identify the names of individuals who bear command and superior responsibility for the following operations and institutions. Specifically, the Commission named 15 military and law enforcement operations or specific periods for further investigation (see Annex II, Table 13 from the Findings Report).

In further conclusions

The Commission:

- Urged the competent authorities to immediately carry out investigations into the troops and individuals named by victims in key testimonies.
- Noted the involvement and responsibility of international corporations for war crimes and crimes against humanity that occurred in Aceh, namely the Exxon Mobil Corporation. The Commission's conclusion is in line with the decision of the District Court in the United States which stated that civil lawsuits from victims of violence in Aceh could be carried out at the domicile of the Exxon Mobil Corporation. The Commission also called on the Exxon Mobil Indonesian affiliate, PT Arun, to admit its involvement in crimes against humanity that occurred in Aceh and apologise to the victims.
- Highlighted the importance of immediately providing remedy to victims. It concluded that the state must acknowledge the various human rights violations that occurred and acknowledge the existence of the victims and their status. It affirmed the importance of public recognition from official state or government bodies will contribute to affirmation and healing.

Hundreds of people gathered in a memorial event at the former Rumoh Geudong torture site, Bilie Aron, Pidie on 3 March 2020. Victims, families, and civil society have been routinely holding events ahead of the International Day for the Right to the Truth concerning Gross Human Rights Violations and for the Dignity of Victims since 2017, praying for those who died and disappeared during the conflict.

Photo: © Asia Justice and Rights/Aghniadi



6

Recommendations

It is important for concerned organisations and individuals to consider the Commission's recommendations in totality, as they are broad ranging as well as quite specific in the actions they call for.

This short report sets out the mandated framework for the Commission's recommendations and highlights some of the underlying themes of the recommendations. In order to focus follow-up advocacy action, it presents a selection of the Commission's recommendations into those for short-term immediate advocacy and those for medium-term advocacy strategies.

Mandate framework for recommendations

In setting out broad ranging recommendations, the Commission recalled Indonesia's constitutional obligations to uphold human rights, as well as its international treaty obligations in particular the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Punishment (CAT, 1998) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 2005).

Citing the 2000 amendments to the 1945 Constitution, the Commission highlighted the Human Rights Chapter (Article 28). Article 28 G which specifically states that:

“(1) Any person shall have the right to the protection of their person, family, honour, dignity and property under their control, and to security and protection from the threat of fear to do or not do something that is a fundamental right;

“(2) Any person shall have the right to be free from torture or degrading treatment and to political asylum from another country.”

The Commission noted that its mandate under the Aceh *Qanun* No. 17 of 2013 requires it to make recommendations in accordance with Article 16, specifically related to:

- 1) legal, political and administrative reforms;
- 2) implementation of reconciliation mechanisms;
- 3) reparations to victims;
- 4) legal action against perpetrators of human rights violations; and
- 5) other actions.

Overview of recommendations

Under these mandated headings, the Commission made a total of 12 major recommendations with a further 52 sub-recommendations. The framework for recommendations included:

Recommendations for Legal, Political, and Administrative Reforms

- Legal and institutional reforms.
- Political policies.
- Administrative policy.
- Recommendations for Reconciliation Based on Local Wisdom
- A reconciliation process related to non-serious crimes, grounded in local Acehnese culture and wisdom.

Recommendations on Reparations

- A range of measures to be taken by government at all levels and civil society to fulfil the rights of victims to reparations including financial support, orienting integrated government development programmes to support victims, physical and mental health services including individual and collective trauma recovery.

Recommendations for Legal Action Against Perpetrators of Human Rights Violations

- Komnas HAM (National Human Rights Commission) to undertake a range of investigations, including with other authorities into the troops and individuals named by victims in key testimonies.
- The Attorney General of the Republic of Indonesia to immediately follow up on the *pro justitia* investigations completed by Komnas HAM for three cases.
- The Government and the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia to immediately establish a Human Rights Court.
- Judicial proceedings against those who have committed serious violations of international human rights law.

Recommendations Related to Other Actions

- Human rights culture and learning
- Individual and collective trauma recovery
- Dissemination of the Findings Report in Indonesia and to the international community
- Aceh TRC archives and a human rights museum

Some underlying themes of recommendations

- The dignity of victims, repairing individual and family lives as well as community well-being to be central to future actions which should include reparations programmes including integrated policy, planning and action across all levels of government and civil society to orient support and services to victims.
- Acehese culture and institutions to underpin recovery of individual dignity of victims, social healing and reconciliation especially in light of the long struggle to maintain cultural identity.
- The rejection of impunity for perpetrators of serious human rights violations, both individuals and institutions, and the call for further investigations and judicial action.
- Changing the culture of security forces, especially through effective oversight mechanisms as well as training.
- Embedding and developing understanding of and respect for human rights across all levels of society in Aceh as part of the guarantee of non-repetition, with a focus on youth.
- Elimination of violence against women and girls as a key foundation for peace.

Selection of key recommendations

Short-term action, for immediate priority advocacy

Reparations and support for victims of past human rights violations

- Civil society to continue strengthening and building its capacity to be in solidarity with and assist victims and their families, and work for the implementation of the recommendations of the Aceh TRC.

- LPSK (*Lembaga Perlindungan Saksi Korban*, Witness and Victim Protection Agency) to ensure the implementation of witness and victim protection as stated in the Memorandum of Understanding of the Aceh TRC and LPSK, to protect all sources who have testified to the Commission from lawsuits and other actions, and to provide support and assistance for urgent medical and psychosocial services.
- The Government of Aceh to stipulate urgent and comprehensive reparation recommendations as an official government document.
- The Government of Aceh, together with civil society actors and Komnas *Perempuan*, to support the Aceh TRC in developing a broad reparations programme with a gender perspective.
- The Government of Aceh to develop urgent recovery and reparation mechanisms for victims of sexual violence who require special treatment.

Dissemination of the Aceh TRC Findings Report, and strengthening human rights culture

- The Aceh TRC to submit the Findings Report to all Aceh peace stakeholders, including through multilingual versions, particularly in English, to the United Nations and international human rights organisations, the ASEAN Human Rights Commission, as well as developing a popular version for the wider public.
- Government and civil society to build a culture of human rights awareness through formal and non-formal educational programmes to disseminate the findings of the Aceh TRC (starting with a popular version across a range of accessible media and languages), including the development of school and university curricula by the Regional Education Council.
- The *Wali Nanggroe* (the traditional cultural leader, who heads the customary governance structure in Aceh) to work with the

Government of Aceh to ensure that the handling of victims of past human rights violations is implemented with cultural sensitivity.

- Development policy and planning by the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) and Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) to have a human rights perspective, including by fulfilling victims' rights.
- The Ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia shall maximise its role to ensure that public services respect human rights.
- The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia and the Senate of the Republic of Indonesia to continue to strengthen the Aceh TRC institution at the national level.

Reconciliation

- The Aceh TRC with the Government of Aceh and all elements of society to carry out a reconciliation process, based on local wisdom of Aceh, for non-serious human rights violations.

Eliminate violence against women and girls in Aceh

- The Government of Aceh and civil society to support programmes to empower women victims to strengthen peace and security.
- The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia and the government to implement the Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence to ensure non-recurrence of sexual violations experienced by victims in Aceh.

Security sector:

- The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia to review the Findings Report of the Aceh TRC and ensure intensive oversight of the entire security sector.

- The national government to strengthen understanding and knowledge of human rights and Aceh local wisdom across all security actors (TNI, INP and intelligence agencies).
- The Chief of the Indonesian National Police and the Attorney General to seek approval from the Governor of Aceh to ensure that the leadership of security and law enforcement institutions have their track records publicly tested during their nominations.
- The Commander of TNI to seek approval and/or consideration from the Governor of Aceh and the Aceh House of Representatives in appointing the Aceh Regional Military Commander by ensuring that a public test of the candidate's track record is conducted.
- TNI and Indonesian National Police shall not station security personnel in Aceh who served there during the conflict (1976-2005).

Medium term action, for sustained advocacy

Reparations and support for victims of past human rights violations

- The Government of Aceh and civil society to improve mental health services, counselling and spaces for survivors to share traumatic experiences with special attention to torture survivors and children and adolescents.
- The Government of Aceh to develop a trauma healing policy that is integrated in all services where people are given a platform to process, discuss, understand and reinterpret their experiences and how they affect their lives today. This policy must involve the Aceh Government Work Units (SKPA), especially related agencies such as the Health Service, Social Service, Education and Culture Service and others.
- The national government and Government of Aceh to establish a Trust Fund for Victims and other regulations to ensure immediate

restoration of victims' rights, in compliance with the UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparations for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law (2005).

- The national government to formulate national policies in the form of Presidential Regulations, Presidential Instructions, and other regulations so that recommendations for reparation or restoration of victims' rights can be implemented immediately.
- The Governor of Aceh to formulate regional policies in the form of Governor Regulations, Governor Instructions, and other regulations to follow up on recommendations for reparation or restoration of victims' rights.
- *Bupatis* (Mayors) to formulate regional policies in the form of Mayoral Regulations and other policies to follow up on recommendations for reparation or restoration of victims' rights and make sure they can be implemented immediately.
- The Government of Aceh to develop policy planning with reference to the Commission's recommendations, integrating the recommendations into a development approach with a human rights perspective in the Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJM) of the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), the Aceh RPJM, and District/City RPJMs; ensure synergy and constructive coordination between Bappenas and Bappeda (Province and District/City) to fulfil victims' rights to remedy.
- The national government and the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia to draft an omnibus law on the restoration of the rights of victims of human rights violations and the rights of victims of gross human rights violations.

- The Government of Indonesia and the Government of Aceh to immediately establish a claims commission as mandated in the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding.

Dissemination of the Aceh TRC Findings Report, and strengthening human rights culture

- The Aceh House of Representatives to pass a *Qanun* which regulates the preservation, organisation and use of Aceh TRC archives, which shall form part of an active human rights centre to be developed by the Aceh TRC with the aim of remembering, respecting and learning from the history of human rights in Aceh.
- Government and civil society to develop memorialisation efforts for learning and knowledge to respect victims of past human rights violations. This includes ensuring human rights days, monuments, museums to honour victims of the conflict, both living and deceased, and to have meaningful communal activities in accordance with local culture and customs targeting various age groups and sexes at the village level.
- The national government, Government of Aceh, and district/city governments throughout Aceh to ensure that public services give precedence to the respect, protection, and fulfilment of human rights to serve the public interest.

Justice and judicial action

- Judicial proceedings against those who have committed serious violations of international human rights law. Komnas HAM to follow up such judicial proceedings according to its mandate pursuant to Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights and Law No. 26 of 2000 on Human Rights Court.
- Komnas HAM to follow up on findings produced by the Commission of cases that should be reasonably qualified as gross

human rights violations. In particular, to establish an investigative team to continue *pro justitia* investigations of security forces and those holding command responsibilities referred to in the Findings and Accountability Section of the Aceh TRC Findings Report. See Annex II.

- The Government and the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia to immediately establish a Human Rights Court to discharge the mandate of Article 228 paragraphs (1) and (2) of Law No. 11 of 2006 concerning the Government of Aceh:
 - (1) To examine, adjudicate, decide, and resolve cases of human rights violations that occurred after the promulgation of this law, a Human Rights Court shall be established in Aceh.
 - (2) The decision of the Human Rights Court in Aceh as referred to in paragraph (1) contains, among others, the provision of compensation, restitution and rehabilitation for victims of human rights violations.
- The Attorney General of the Republic of Indonesia to immediately follow up on the *pro justitia* investigation conducted by Komnas HAM for three cases (*Rumoh Geudong*, *Jamboe Keupok*, and *Simpang KKA*, *Kertas Kraft Aceh*).
- Government and security institutions to disclose all documentation related to military operations that led to human rights violations against civilians.
- The Aceh TRC to take steps to access court case files (military, criminal, civil), including the Exxon Mobil case in US courts.

Legal and institutional reforms

- The national government to acknowledge the gross human rights violations that occurred in Aceh and establish a security sector reform team mandated with conducting comprehensive reforms

to ensure accountability and non-recurrence of human rights violations in Aceh and throughout Indonesia.

- The national government and House of Representatives to push for judicial reforms and revisions to the military law to ensure that human rights violations by military personnel are tried in civilian courts.
- The Indonesian House of Representatives and the national government to immediately pass the draft Torture Bill and ratify the Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture (OPCAT) to strengthen the legal framework to prevent and punish acts of torture, as well as review the effectiveness of the implementation of special regulations against torture.
- The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia and the national government to immediately ratify the Convention Against Enforced Disappearance of Persons; revise Law No. 26 of 2000 to include war crimes in accordance with the Rome Statute; revitalise the Human Rights Court mechanism; and immediately ratify the Rome Statute.
- The Government of Aceh and the Aceh House of Representatives to include the ratification of the refugee convention in local regulations.

Annex I

Regions and number of statements taken in 2017-March 2021

Region			Number of victims/ statement-givers		
Regency/City	Number of sub- districts	Number of villages	Men	Women	Total
West Aceh Regency	4	27	291	78	369
Aceh Barat Daya Regency	2	2	2	0	2
Aceh Besar Regency	17	156	542	314	856
Aceh Jaya Regency	4	28	348	111	459
South Aceh Regency	12	43	91	89	180
Aceh Tamiang Regency	7	32	153	75	228
Central Aceh Regency	11	62	130	107	237
East Aceh Regency	7	29	230	93	323
North Aceh Regency	18	102	437	269	706
Bener Mariah Regency	7	66	141	161	302
Bireuen Regency	9	32	257	97	354
Nagan Raya Regency	4	10	2	11	13
Pidie Regency	18	114	326	282	608
Pidie Jaya Regency	7	37	190	184	374
Banda Aceh City	5	7	5	3	8
Langsa City	2	7	74	17	91
Lhokseumawe City	4	21	60	25	85
Total	138	775	3279	1916	5195

Annex II

Table 13. Names of military and law enforcement operations and institutions in Aceh (into which the Commission recommended further investigations to identify the names of individuals who bear command and superior responsibility)

Name of Operation	Period
Operation <i>Nanggala</i>	1977 - 1982
Operation <i>Siwah</i>	1982 - 1989
Operation <i>Jaring Merah</i>	May 1989 - 1998
Operation <i>Wibawa</i>	January - April 1999
Operation <i>Sadar Rencong I</i>	May 1999 - January 2000
Operation <i>Sadar Rencong II</i>	February - May 2000
Operation <i>Cinta Meunasah I</i>	June - September 2000
Operation <i>Cinta Meunasah II</i>	September 2000 - February 2001
Operation Law and Order Restoration I	February - August 2001
Operation Law and Order Restoration II	September 2001 - February 2002
Operation Law and Order Restoration III	February - November 2002
Implementation of Martial Law	19 May - 18 November 2003
Extension of Martial Law	19 November 2003 - 18 May 2004
Implementation of Civil Emergency I	19 November 2004 - 18 May 2005
Implementation of Civil Order	19 May 2005 - 14 August 2005