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FORGIVING THE UNFORGIVABLE: LANGUAGE POWER IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN INDONESIA AND TIMOR-LESTE
(Qualitative Research on Conflict Resolution over Human Rights Violations in East Timor, Before and After Referendum of 1999)

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Article Info	ABSTRACT
	The conflict that occurred between Indonesia and Timor-Leste (Timor Timur) after the Popular Consultation was a conflict of power or a power struggle. This power struggle resulted in gross human rights violations. To resolve this conflict, in 2005 the Indonesian Timor-Leste Truth and Friendship Commission (KKP) was formed. Researchers assume that language can be used in conflict resolution. So the aims of this study are (1) to reveal the meaning of the text in Per Memoriam Ad Spem in constructing human rights violations in Timor-Leste in 1999, before and after the Popular Consultation. (2) Explaining the power of language in the construction of reports on human rights violations and conflict resolution in Per Memoriam Ad Spem, so that an agreement is reached that should not be forgiven to be forgiven. Van Dijk's discourse theory, Derrida's theory of deconstruction, and Bourdieu's theory of language & power, all three are related to language and power. These three theories are used as a basis for dissecting the phenomenon of this research. This study uses a critical constructionism paradigm, a type of qualitative research, and an interpretive approach. The findings of this study are that the strength of the Indonesian language as the primary working language has a very extraordinary impact. Textually, in the macro, meso, and micro dimensions, through language, political communication has been constructed which leads to the establishment of reconciliation between parties in power, which should deconstruct human rights violations. The parties with their power discourse can melt down, so that gross violations of human rights, which should not be forgiven, become forgiven. This is in line with Derrida's idea of true forgiveness or unconditional forgiveness, namely forgiving the unforgivable

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1. INTRODUCTION
Language is a very important part of life and human life. It is a communication tool (Martinet, 1987: 3 2;

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Thomas & Wareing, 2007: 8; Liliweri, 2011: 334; Yanti, Zabadi & Rahman, 2017: 1; and Keraf, 2019: 1). Language as a means of communication between humans has a very long history, as stated by Chilton (2005), who quoted the statement of Aristotle (384–322 BC), a Greek philosopher. It is said that human superiority (*humans* or*human being*) compared to animals (*animals*) or embarrassed (*creatures*) another is lies in the ability to speak (*ability to speak*). This speaking ability can be interpreted as language ability. Chilton (2005: ix) says that*humans as creatures who have ability to speak* (Humans are creatures that have the ability to speak). Furthermore Chilton said that humans (*humans*) is a creature

(*creatures*) or animal (*animals*) who likes to make friends with the power of speaking (*gregarious animal with the power of speech*). In addition, humans can also distinguish between good and bad (*good and evil*), between the just and the unjust (*just and unjust*), between the useful and the harmful (*useful and harmful*), etc. While animals can not distinguish as humans do. (Chilton, 2005:198- 1999).

The importance of language as a communication tool is also conveyed by Dan Nimmo (2005) in his book entitled*Political Communication: Communicators, Messages, and Media*. Nimmo (2005: 85) says that Greek philosophers saw language as a tool to find and express truth, as well as to express artistic and persuasive things. Researchers also agree with what was conveyed by Nimmo because everything can be accepted by reason.

There are many definitions of language, but in the context of this research, the researcher refers to*Macmillan English Dictionary* (2002: 798). According to this Dictionary, the definition of language (*language*) there are 3 (three) meanings, namely:1. "*The method of human communication using spoken or written words*"; (a method of human communication using spoken or written words).

2. "*The particular form or words and speech used by the people of a country, area, or social group*" (a particular form or word used by a person from a country, area or social group).3. "*Signs, symbols, sounds, and other methods of communicating information, feeling, or ideas ….*". (signs, symbols, sounds, and other methods of communicating information, feelings, and ideas…).

From the three meanings mentioned above, it can be concluded that language is a sign or symbol which is a tool or method used by humans from a social group, region or country to communicate information.

In the context of this study, the researcher conveys the opinion of Pierre Bourdieru, a French philosopher (1930-2002), which was mentioned earlier. Bourdieu {1991, 2000) in his book entitled*Language & Symbolic Power*, argues that language is a symbolic instrument that is closely related to power. Language is not just a value-free and neutral instrument

construct social reality, but rather as an instrument in the arena (*field*) a battle or war of interests. For Bourdieu (1991, 2020), arena cannot be separated from habitus and capital (capital).

After President Habibie came to power, he faced the problem of conflict in Indonesia. As he acknowledged, there are three areas of conflict, namely (1) Aceh with the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), (2) Irian Jaya, and (3) East Timor (Habibie, 2006: 134). But Aceh and Irian Jaya are very different from East Timor. Aceh and Irian Jaya (Papua) are areas of the former Dutch East Indies*(Dutch East Indies)*or a former Dutch colony, which according to international law is an area or territory that legally belongs to Indonesia. Meanwhile, East Timor or previously known as Portuguese Timor (*Portuguese Timor*) is a former Portuguese colony and not a Dutch colony or a former Dutch East Indies territory (*Dutch East Indies*), so that according to international law, Indonesia has no right to inherit it, even though most of the people of Portuguese Timor made the proclamation of joining as part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

In the first half of 1999, Indonesia's political policy towards East Timor changed drastically. President Habibie did not want to continue President Soeharto's policy on the integration of East Timor into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which had been initiated for more than 20 years, namely from December 1975 to May 1998. President Habibie had his own policy, by opening opportunities to grant independence to the people of East Timor, through the Poll.

This research is a research on conflict, namely the political conflict between Indonesia (Pro-Integration Group) and Timor-Leste (Pro-Independence Group) before and after the Popular Consultation (referendum) in East Timor 1999. This research was limited from January 27, 1999 (before Popular Consultation) until 31 October 1999 (after the Popular Consultation). This time period is the temporal scope of this study. January 27, 1999 is the date, on which President B.J. Habibie in the Plenary Cabinet Meeting, conveyed his idea of the independent option if an opinion poll was held one day. After the cabinet meeting was over, Habibie's idea was announced. This announcement triggered a conflict between the Pro-Integration Group (Indonesia) and the Pro-Independence Group (Timor-Leste). (*United Nations Transitional Administration on East Timor*), the lowering of the Red and White flag in East Timor, and the TNI, POLRI and other Indonesian human resources leaving East Timor. It turned out that Habibie's idea at a limited Cabinet meeting (25 January 1999) and a Plenary Cabinet Meeting (27 January 1999) was proven, namely that the people of East Timor preferred

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"independence option" rather than "option of special autonomy (integration) as part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia". As is known, the result of the Popular Consultation was that 78.5% of the people of East Timor preferred independence, while the remaining 21.5% chose special autonomy or integration.

The announcement of the results of the Popular Consultation (Referendum on 4 September 1999 sparked a bloody conflict (*bloody conflict*) between the Pro-Independence Group and the Pro-Integration Group. Bloody conflict, which took the form of murder*(murder),* torture (*torture*), rape (*rape*), illegal detention (*illegal detention*), and so on, referred to as*monstrous crimes* (horrible crimes), which Derrida (2005) refers to*crimes against humanity* (crimes against humanity). This crime is classified as a violation of human rights (*human rights violations*), even as gross human rights violations (*gross human right violations*). The gross human rights violations mentioned above by Derrida (1997, 2001, 2005) are said to have left a bloody trauma in history (*the bloody traumas in history*).

But the conflict that occurred in East Timor in 1999 between the Pro-Independence Group and the Pro-Integration Group, before and after the Popular Consultation, was a conflict due to a power struggle, namely a power struggle between the Pro-Independence group (Timor Leste) and the Pro-Autonomy group. . (Bourdieu (1991, 2020) The pro-independence group received support, especially from the United Nations (UN) and Australia, while the pro-integration group received support from the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and civilian officials Both the UN and Australia on the one hand as well as the TNI, POLRI and civil officials on the other hand, who should act neutrally, but they are not neutral or even take sides.According to the researcher, this alignment is understandable and understandable for reasons of power, vision, mission and other reasons.

In order to resolve or resolve the conflict between Indonesia and Timor-Leste, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia (President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste (President Ray Rala Xanana Gusmao and Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri) held a meeting in Tampaksiring, Bali on 14 December 2004. During the meeting the two governments agreed to form a Truth and Friendship Commission (KKP) for Indonesia and Timor-Leste. This meeting in Tampaksiring was then followed up with a meeting in Jakarta on March 9, 2005 in order to agree on the Terms of Reference (*Terms of Reference*) KKP RI-RTDL.

Such a political attitude is commonplace in the political arena because there is a kind of axiom that states "**there are no eternal friends and no eternal enemies, only eternal interests**As it is known that the statement was originally a statement**Lord Palmerston** (1784 -1865), statesman and Prime Minister of England (1855-1865). The words of Lord Pamerston were spoken in his speech on March 1, 1848 at*House of Common,* as follows:

*"We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is our duty to follo***In"**(https://www.oxfordreference.com) **(**We have no eternal allies, and we have no eternal enemies. Our interests are eternal and eternal, and it is our duty to follow those interests)

Palmerston's statement was then elaborated by**William Clay** from the USA by making the following statement:

"This is quite a game, politics. There are no permanent enemies, and no permanent friends, only permanent interests". (https://www.quora.com) (This is a political game. There are no permanent enemies, no permanent friends, only permanent interests).

Based on these problems, more detailed research questions are:

1. How is the construction of the meaning of the text on*Through Memory to Hope*in representing human rights violations in East Timor?
2. How is the power of language in political communication between Indonesia and Timor Leste in the text*Through Memory to Hope,*so there is a decision that should not be forgiven be forgiven?

2. RESEARCH METHODS

The paradigm of this research is**paradigm constructionism critical**(*critical constructionism paradigm*). Before discussing the critical constructionism paradigm, the researcher conveys an opinion Littlejohn & Foss (2009) about constructivism, because to understand constructionism, an understanding of constructivism is also needed.

Constructivism is a theory developed by Jesse G. Delia (1987) which has a strong influence in the field of communication. Constructivism theory that individuals make interpretations and act according to the conceptual categories that exist in the mind (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009: 179-180). Littlejohn & Foss further said that constructivism is partly based on the opinion of George Kelly (1955). Constructivism grew out of Edmund Husserl and Wilhelm's phenomenological philosophy Dilthey (Liliweri, 2018: 598).

Denzin & Lincoln (2009: 157) say that what is understood as knowledge and truth is the result of perspective. Furthermore, Denzin & Lincoln said that:**Knowledge and truth are created but not discovered by thought, the character of reality is plural and flexible. Plural in the sense that reality can be expressed in various language**

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symbol systems; flexible in the sense that reality can be stretched and shaped according to action.

Critical constructivism is known since the publication of the book**Robert Heiner,**Profesor Sosiology pada Plymouth State University**,** which is titled*Social Problem: Introduction to Critical Constructionism*, published by Oxford University Press. The book currently circulating in the community is the 5th edition, which was published in 2013. There is no information as to when the 1st edition was published. (https://www.research gate.net).

Heiner (2013) defines*Critical constructionism*, as follows:

"*Critical constructionism is a synthesis of conflict theories and symbolic, and is useful for dissecting social problems.*"

From the definition above, it seems that critical constructionism from Heiner (2013) can be used to dissect the problem of political conflict that occurred in East Timor in 1999 between the Pro-Independence group (Timor Leste) and the Pro-Integration group (Indonesia), before and after the popular consultation. . The philosophy of constructionism is influenced by the philosophy of constructivism. The figure of constructionism before Robert Heiner was Seymour Aubrey Papert (1928-2016).

The type of this research is**qualitative research**. According to Denzin & Lincoln (2009:1) that qualitative research has a long history in the humanities discipline. It can be traced back to the 1920s and 1930s through the field of sociology studies conducted by the "Chicago school". After that, qualitative research is used in other fields, such as anthropology, other social science fields including communication science. However, qualitative research is still difficult to define, says Denzin & Lincoln (2009:*ibid*).

This research approach is**interpretive approach.**The interpretive approach is a systematic analysis of meaningful social action through detailed and direct human observation in natural settings, in order to gain understanding and create and maintain their social world (Neuman, 2013: 116). According to Neuman (2016) interpretive approach. This interpretive approach by Creswell (2007a: 248) is called*interpretive qualitative research* (interpretive qualitative research), by providing an explanation that interpretive qualitative research:

is an approach to qualitative research that has become interwoven into the core characteristics of qualitative research. It recognizes the self-reflective nature of qualitative research and emphasizes the role of the researcher as an interpreter of the data and an qualitative research and an individual who represents information. It also acknowledges the importance language and discourse in qualitative research, as well as issues of power, authority and domination in all facet of qualitative inquiry.

The method used is**Discourse Analysis (*Discourse Analysis*)** from Van Dijk. In the discussion of discourse analysis, of course it cannot be separated from the discussion of discourse in general. Discourse analysis is a relatively new form of analysis, especially since the 1970s. Discourse analysis is an alternative to text analysis (Eriyanto, 2009: 335). Rusadi (2015: 129) in his book Glossary, says that the term discourse analysis (discourse analysis) is

refers to one of the methods in social research. Discourse analysis sees that the language built in the text is inseparable from interests. Discourse analysis is to uncover hidden meanings (*reveal-hidden meanings*).

Data collection techniques are the most important step in research, said Sugiyono & Puji Lestari (2021: 520-521) in their book entitled*Communication Research Methods (Quantitative, Qualitative, and Easy Ways to Write Articles in International Journals)*. Then Sugiyono & Lestari

said that data collection can be done in various settings, various sources, and various ways. When viewed from the data source, data can be in the form of primary sources, secondary sources, and so on.

Primary sources include the Final Report of the Indonesian Timor Leste Truth and Friendship Commission (KKP) entitled "*Memory to Hope*(2008). Discussion of primary sources can be seen from Kuntowijoyo (1995: 94). Primary sources by Sjamsuddin (2007: 106-121) are referred to as first sources while secondary sources are referred to as second sources. In this study, researchers used several primary sources, including;

(1) Balibo Proclamation 30 November 1975;

(2) Arsip Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia (2000) yang berjudul Australia and the Indonesian Incorporation of Portuguese Timor 1974-1976;

(3) Zacky Anwar Makarim, Glenny Kairupan, Andreas Sugianto, and Ibnu Fatah (2003), entitled*East Timor's Last Days: A Testimony.*

(4) Wiranto (2003) entitled*Farewell to East Timor, The Struggle to Reveal the Truth: Wiranto's candid statement.*

(5) KKP final report (2008), entitled*Through Memory to Hope;*

(6) Laporan Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR);

(7) C.M Rien Kuntari (2008), entitled*East Timor One Last Minute: A Journalist's Note*; (8) FX. Lopez da Cruz (1999) entitled*Testimony of me and East Timor;*

(9) Burhanuddin Jusuf Habibie (2006), entitled Decisive Moments: Indonesia's Long Road Towards Democracy.

(10) Kiki Syahnakri (2013) entitled East Timor: The Untold Story.

As for secondary sources, among others:

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1. A.B Lapian and JR. Chaniago (1988) entitled*East Timor in Movement for Development.*2. Eurico Guterres (2002) entitled*Through the Indonesian Political Storm.*
3. Ali Alatas (2006) entitled*The Pebble in the Soe : The Diplomatic Struggle for East Timor.* 4. Joseph Nevins (2008) entitled Slaughter*East Timor: Horror of the International Community.*5. Basilio dias Araujo (2014), entitled*East Timor, the Failure of a Diplomacy: An Analysis and Criticism from a Historical Actor.*
6. Peter Job (2021) entitled*A Narrative Of Denial Australia And The Indonesian Violation Of East Timor.*

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In a study, researchers must understand the contents of the text and the elements that make up the text, such as words, sentences, paragraphs, and propositions (Eriyanto, 2001: 226-227). Furthermore, Eriyanto said how to express events or incidents in certain language choices, and how this can be expressed. The text structure consists of three components, namely: (1) macro structure, (2) superstructure (meso structure), and (3) micro structure.

In order to carry out an analysis of the macro structure of the text, as contained in the top column of Figure 2, which is about the global meaning of a text that can be understood to see a topic or theme of a text. The global meaning of this text is the title of the final report of the Indonesian-Timor-Leste Truth and Friendship Commission, which is "*THROUGH MEMORY TO HOPE*" (Latin) which means "Through Memories to Hope" which means that human rights violations in East Timor in 1999, which Derrida (1997, 2001, 2005) referred to as "*bloody traumas in history*"It is only used as a historical record of the past. But the most important thing is hope for the future, where the future relationship between Indonesia and Timor Leste is a harmonious relationship in all areas of national and state life.

In the analysis of macro-structural texts, according to van Dijk, as referred to by Rusadi (2015: 114) and Eriyanto (2001: 228), the elements observed are the themes that are put forward in a text. This theme is often referred to as thematic. The thematic elements are a general description of a text, which is often called the main idea or main summary (Eriyanto,*ibid*.)

Once again, according to this macro text analysis researcher, it is enough to do the title of the KKP Final Report entitled*Through Memory to Hope*. Based on the researchers' analysis, the thematic element in the CTF Report is building good relations between the two countries (Indonesia and Timor Leste) in the future, and past human rights violations are only used as historical records.

For the analysis of this section, the structure of the contents of the report is discussed, which is contained in LIST OF CONTENTS
The KKP Final Report entitled "*THROUGH MEMORY TO HOPE*" as stated below. LIST OF CONTENTS

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PART III
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8.3 Conclusion: Serious Human Rights Violations
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Chapter 9 Lessons Learned and Recommendations
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9.2 Implementation of Recommendations
9.3 Lessons Learned and Final Reflections

If in macro-structural analysis, the elements observed are themes or thematic, then in meso-structural or superstructure analysis, the elements observed are schematic elements or text flow from the introduction to the conclusion. In the context of this research, the meso text or superstructure that the researcher observes is focused on the introduction. Because the text in the introduction according to the researcher has described what is in the conclusion. Thus, the structure of the text in the meso structure or superstructure observing the schematic elements has been fulfilled from the text in the introduction. This schematic element by van Dijk, as cited by Rusadi (2015: ibid.) and Eriyanto (2001: ibid) is called a schematic element. In the text which is a schematic element, some of the information is highlighted and some is hidden.

In the framework of superstructure analysis, the researcher tries to see the schematic elements in the Table of Contents. In the Table of Contents, the researcher looks at the schematic flow from the introduction to the conclusion, the flow is: In Part I, the researcher selects the text in the "Background" in the Introduction Chapter. The essence of the content of the Background is as follows:

"Based on the principles of mutual respect and mutual benefit, the Republic of Indonesia has gone through a long journey to overcome its past. Recognizing that as a democratic nation and state that is still in the process of transformation towards a better life, each country faces domestic problems and priorities, an atmosphere to stabilize the social, political and economic order of life. ... For this reason, the two countries have determined to strive to develop dynamic, friendly and mutually beneficial neighborly relations. As part of this determination, the two governments intend to resolve residual issues between the two nations (KKP, 2008: 7)

Among the important residual issues are related to the various human rights violations that were reported to have occurred before and immediately after the 1999 Popular Consultation in East Timor. …the violence that occurred before and immediately after the Popular Consultation in East Timor 1999 was a very bad humanitarian experience

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that should be regretted,…. (KKP, 2008: 7-8) The Indonesian Timor-Leste Truth and Friendship Commission was formed to create a productive approach to diplomacy and healing past wounds. … Indonesia and Timor Leste are carrying out an investigation into this past as a way to transform a historical burden into a lesson that can prevent human rights violations and build peace for the people of the two nations and countries." (KKP, 2008: 8).

After analyzing the background text in the INTRODUCTION chapter above, it can be concluded that the main purpose of establishing the KKP was to resolve residual problems regarding human rights violations in East Timor in 1999. In this study, the researcher only focused on the introductory text because according to the researcher, the introductory text was actually it's all covered.

If macro text analysis emphasizes thematic elements, meso text analysis or schematic superstructure, then micro text analysis, the elements observed are semantic elements, syntactic elements, statistical elements, and rhetorical elements (Rusadi:*ibid*), But Eriyanto only conveyed 1 (one) element, namely the semantic element (Eriyanto,*ibid*). Below is the micro text, which is very detailed in the Final Report*Through Memory to Hope*, as follows:

1. …both nations need a condition that is conducive to peace, including harmonious relations between the two countries. For this reason, the two countries are determined to continue working towards developing dynamic, friendly and mutually beneficial neighborly relations. As part of this determination, the two governments intend to resolve residual issues between the two peoples. Among the important residual issues related to various human rights violations that were reported to have occurred before and immediately after the 1999 Popular Consultation in East Timor (KKP, 2008: 7)

From the text above it is acknowledged that there have been human rights violations in East Timor in 1999, before and after the popular consultation, which were committed by the parties (Indonesia with the Pro-Integration Group and Timor-Leste with the Pro-Independence Group). Before the existence of the Truth and Friendship Commission (KKP), human rights violations were only inflicted on Indonesia. After the formation of the KKP, it turned out that human rights violations could be exposed. Previously, almost all human rights violations committed by the Pro-Independence Group were not recognized. Here, the CTF acts neutrally to uncover the truth of human rights violations committed between parties.

a. Human rights violations in 1999 were considered by the parties as a residual problem that had to be resolved by the two governments (RI and RDTL).

b. How the residual settlement is carried out is not explained.

The Commission constructs the need for a conflict solution in the statement "teacher of the nation" requires a conducive condition for peace. The sentence is a reflection of the motivation of the parties to build a harmonious relationship. This motivation also contains an aspiration to build neighborly relations in the values reflected in the dynamic vocabulary of friendship and mutual benefit. However, there are statements that seem to negate this statement by indicating a residual problem, namely human rights violations.

2…the incidents of violence that occurred before and immediately after the Popular Consultation in East Timor in 1999 were a very bad humanitarian experience that should be regretted…. Therefore, both nations and countries are determined not to let this burden become a historical burden for future generations.

From the text above it can be seen that what is meant by violence here is human rights violations (gross human rights violations) in East Timor in 1999, which it is hoped will not become a historical burden for future generations in the future of the two nations.

This conclusion can be seen from the vocabulary of "very bad" about the violence that occurred. The worst experience was deconstructed with the phrase "teacher of the nation of the state" determined not to let that experience be repeated in the future. This shows that there is a passion from the actors to deconstruct what should be unforgivable to be forgiven.

3…The Indonesia-Timor-Leste Commission of Truth and Friendship was created to create a productive approach to diplomacy and healing past wounds, rather than a country-level approach that would encourage unproductive attitudes of blame, revenge and distrust. Indonesia and Timor-Leste carried out an investigation into this past as a way to transform a historical burden into a lesson that can prevent human rights violations and build peace for the people of the two nations and countries (KKP, 2008: 8).

From the text above it can be seen:

a. The formation of the KKP was intended to heal wounds resulting from the conflict that occurred in East Timor in 1999 between the Pro-Independence Group and the Pro-Integration Group. This can be seen from the statements with the vocabulary of "creating", "productive approach", "healing old wounds from the past". This statement is deconstructed by comparing state-level conflicts which reflect the opposite, namely blaming each other, grudges, and distrust.

b. One of the CTF's tasks was to conduct an investigation into human rights violations in East Timor in 1999,

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with the aim of preventing future human rights violations and building peace for the people of Indonesia and Timor-Leste. This conclusion is revealed in a statement about the implementation of education which is directed not to seek the truth but aims to transform historical burdens in building peace.

4… "On April 26 1999, Falintil ambushed a minibus (Sinar Rejeki) because all the passengers were wearing the Indonesian flag (Merah Putih). The vehicle was burnt by Falintil…." (KKP, 2008: 264)

Analysis of the microstructure of the text, it can be seen that the description of human rights violations by the Pro-Independence Group can be seen explicitly, in the sentence structure, the use of vocabulary, among others, as follows.

The sentence structure emphasizes that there was a conflict between the Pro-Independence Group and the Pro-Integration Group on April 26, 1999. That date was the date before the Popular Consultation. The pro-independence side was expressed by mentioning the perpetrators were

Falintil. Falintil is short for*Armed Forces of National Liberation of Timor-Leste*(East Timor National Liberation Armed Forces). Passengers using the red and white flag can be interpreted as the Pro-Integration Group which is the opponent of the Pro-Independence Group. The vocabulary used, such as "interception", "burnt" in the series of words "The Falintil's vehicle was burnt" in Obstruction, shows aggressive behavior. The word "burnt", in the sentence the bus was burned, is an intentional act. In the context of this research, the researcher conveys several quotations in the form of microtext without being analyzed, because in principle the text evidence below is almost the same as the explanation above. Some of these micro texts are as follows:

The CAVR has received reports of 11 fatal violations (killings and disappearances) committed by falintil between January and May: In February three civilians were killed in Covalima; in March two civilians were killed in Erema; In April two civilians "disappeared" in Baucau and one person was killed in Bobonaro; and in May people were executed separately in Eremera, Covalima and Liquica. In terms of the number of violations, the identities of victims and locations, these cases appear to be a continuation of the pattern observed over the previous three years […]. In all the Commission received information regarding 22 unlawful killings and seven disappearances committed by Falintil in 1999, 17 of which were during the post-ballot period (KKP, 2008: 255).

In addition to the above cases of killings, there is a significant amount of evidence suggesting that Falintil and pro-independence groups may have systematically and extensively arrested and detained people illegally. The victims were generally active members of the militia, but their detainees may also have included non-combatants. These detentions it seems became increasingly systematic and widespread in the post-1999 Popular Consultation period (KKP, 2008:263).

The Commission also identified acts of violence that were reportedly perpetrated by pro-independence groups (CNRT, Falintil, pro-independence youth groups) against civilians. Some of these acts include murder, illegal detention, destruction of property, and sexual misconduct. In all attacks, the victims were pro-autonomy civilians, including former militia members. Violations by pro-independence groups in 1999 were reported to have occurred in at least eight districts of East Timor. These attacks also demonstrated a number of systematic elements, namely: Targeted attacks on people "known" as pro-autonomy supporters. The use of style operations military operations, such as roadblocks, regular patrols and raids. Orders and reporting procedures to military officials and CNRT. (KKP, 2008:306).

It needs to be said that so far academics, including Indonesian academics tend to see that human rights violations in East Timor were only committed by the Pro-Autonomy Group (Indonesia). The data above shows that human rights violations were also committed by the Pro-Independence Group.

In connection with that the researcher wants to convey**human rights violations committed by pro-integration groups**, as follows:

Massacre at the Liquiça Church, 5-6 April 1999. b. Murder of Cailaco Residents, Bobonaro, 12 April 1999. c. Interception of the delegation of Manuel Soares Gama, 12 April 1999. d. Execution of Civilians in Bobonaro district, 13 April 1999. e. Attack on the House of Manuel Carrascalão, 17 April 1999. f. Riots in Dili on 26 August 1999 during the last campaign for autonomy, in which a student named Bernardino (Bedino) Agustopro-Guterres was publicly killed by Mobile Brigade. g. The attack on the Dili Diocese on 4-5 September 1999. h. Attack on Bishop Belo's residence on 6 September 1999. i. Burning of Residents' Houses in Maliana on 4 September 1999. j. Attack on the Suai Church on 6 September 1999. k. Murder at the Maliana Police Station on 8 September 1999. l. The killing of Sander Thoenes on 21 September 1999 while traveling between Lospalos and Kupang. m. The killing of a group of nuns and brothers in Lautém on 25 September 1999.n. Gender-based violence, 15 included: On 16 September 1999 in Ainaro two women were taken to West Timor and forced to live with Commander Mahidi in NTT. - 30 women were reportedly detained in a refugee camp in the Raihenek area (Kobalima District, Belu Regency, NTT) and were subjected to sexual violence by the militia..On 6 June 1999, 23 women were detained by BMP militia near Gugleur, Maubara District, Liquiça District and the victims were forced to cook and wash for the militia and were subjected to

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sexual violence.

Cases of gender violence, especially rape, were reported by the UN Thematic Special Rapporteur on 8 December 1999. (KKP, 2008: 85).

The militia came to us in the middle of the night and pulled the blankets off our faces and stared at us. If they liked a woman they would drag her to another room... I told the police that I was three months pregnant. He didn't care that we were brought together and raped in different rooms (KKP, 2008:126).

Luisa Alves de Almeida said that on 19 May 1999 her husband was killed by pro-independence supporters. The witness testified that while she was at her house, a group of pro-independence youths came to take away her husband, Luis de Almeida's weapon, a member of the Baucau Kodim. Because Luisa and her husband resisted, her husband was killed. The group is said to have used firearms and machetes in carrying out the killings. After that they reportedly took Luis de Almeida's weapons and fled (KKP, 2008:194).

The militia in Suai went door to door looking for people who supported the CNRT and East Timor's independence. "At that time I was a pro-independence supporter. One of my tasks at that time was to explain to the villagers everything about the Popular Consultation. As I said, everyone knows I am a pro-independence supporter and nephew of the CNRT leader [name redacted] The militia who arrested me then forced me to go to the Indonesian Military post in Suai town called the Kodim. [the perpetrator] threatened me and

my uncle, actually the whole family at that time, because we were all pro-independence. He tore my shirt with a knife pointed at my chest. The upper part of my body was naked... I tried to keep kicking. I actually thought he was going to kill me, so I gave up. I cried continuously after he raped me but he didn't care,

he just kept doing what he was doing. He threatened to kill me if I told anyone else about what he did. (KKP, 2008:126-127)

My daughter was kidnapped by militia from the Suai Church. The militia took my daughter to West Timor to become the wife of [name redacted] (KKP, 2008: 127).

From the description above, it can be concluded that there is a relationship between structures, namely (1) macro (thematic), (2) meso structure or superstructure (schematic), and (3) micro structure (semantic, etc.). The macro structure implies that the report's discourse*through memory to hope*implies a motivation to seek reconciliation between the parties. While the meso structure gives*framework* or a framework for how the parties resolve residuals from conflicts that occur. At the micro level, there is evidence of texts through the use of semantics and vocabulary, which on the one hand constructs a desire to make peace and forget the past, but this construction actually deconstructs the bad realities that have occurred and violence that violates human rights which will create possible problems in the future.

Thus all these structures and elements are interconnected with one another that cannot be separated, which in the end is macro analysis, meso analysis or superstructure analysis and micro text analysis, which produces something amazing. The parties, especially KKP members from Indonesia and Timor Leste, and (2) the Government of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste. Both parties have let go of their egos of power, in which the two nations and countries have melted themselves into political arrogance in responding to human rights violations in the past, and have only made it a dark historical record on the one hand. But on the other hand, the two nations and countries look to a future filled with hope and harmony for peaceful coexistence. As a result, the problem of human rights violations in the past, especially in the period around the Popular Consultation in East Timor in 1999, and in general human rights violations that occurred earlier.

From the description above, it can be concluded that language has a very important role in the conflict resolution process between Indonesia and Timor Leste, which in turn is able to reduce the power of the parties from what should not be forgiven to being forgiven.

Textually as stated in the conclusion in chapter 4, that the language factor in the macro, meso and micro dimensions through language has constructed political communication which leads to the establishment of reconciliation between the parties in power which actually deconstructs
there are human rights violations.

Based on table 6 and the macro meso micro analysis in chapter 4 above, the researcher sees that the representation of the power of the Indonesian language in conflict resolution is able to melt arrogance, power and political power. The parties, especially KKP members from Indonesia and Timor Leste, and (2) the Government of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste. Both parties have let go of their egos of power, in which the two nations and countries have melted themselves into political arrogance in responding to human rights violations in the past, and have only made it a dark historical record on the one hand. But on the other hand, the two nations and countries look to a future filled with hope and harmony for peaceful coexistence. As a result, the problem of human rights violations in the past, especially in the period around the 1999 Popular Consultation in East

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Timor, and in general human rights violations that occurred before, has also been discussed previously.

All efforts to resolve the conflict were used as material for the report of the Conflict Resolution Commission (KKP), which officially is the Truth and Friendship Commission (KKP). This means that the perspective of the preparer of the report which consists of the parties, represents the situation of the parties' thoughts and also the expectations of the parties. These are all discussions.

The focus of this research is the analysis of social cognition in the KKP Final Report entitled*Through Memory to Hope*Analysis is not only limited to text analysis, but also to the production process of discourse practice, which includes ideology, power, and so on. Social cognition is a bridge between phenomena and texts.

As previously stated, the conflict in Timor Leste in 1999 was not only a matter of power, but also of ideology. In the context of ideology, the analysis offered by Thompson, as quoted by Rusadi (2015: 120) is different from that offered by van Dijk. For ideological analysis, there are (three) phases of analysis, namely: (1) social analysis, (2) discursive analysis, and (3) interpretation. However, in the context of this study, this will not be discussed further.

Based on Bourdieu's theory of language and power (1991, 2020), the researcher argues that the background to the conflict that occurred in East Timor in 1999 was power. For the Pro-Independence group, the battle to win power was supported by the United Nations (UN) and Australia. Meanwhile for the pro-integration group, the battle is to win power because they feel supported by the TNI, Polri and civilian officials. The conflict that occurred was also based on ideology, in which the pro-independence group had an ideology of "independence" while the pro-special autonomy group had an ideology of "integration".

KKP members understood violent behavior in the 1999 conflict before and after the opinion poll. Both human rights violations committed by both parties are influenced by their social habitus. In carrying out the disposition (habitus) it requires resources or symbolic capital in the arena of conflict resolution between Indonesia and Timor Leste. In the context of this research, the researcher would like to add a discussion of (1) arena, (2) habitus, and (3) capital in the process of resolving conflicts between Indonesia and Timor-Leste.

The Arena is a political communication forum for the Indonesia-Timor-Leste Commission of Truth and Friendship. It was formed by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who represented the government of the Republic of Indonesia (RI) and Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao and Mari Alkatiri, who represented the Democratic Government of Timor Leste (RDTL) to resolve the residual problems of the two nations as a result of the bloody conflict (*bloody conflicts*), which constitute crimes against humanity (*crimes against huminity*), which is also a gross violation of human rights*(gross human rights violations*) between the Pro-Integration group and the Pro-independence group. As for crimes against humanity, according to the KKP (2008: 23), these include:

(1) murder (*murders*)
(2) destruction (*extermination*)_
(3) deportation or forced transfer (*illegal detention*)
(4) imprisonment (*imprisonment*);
(5) torture (*torture*);
(6) rape (*rape*);
(7) enforced disappearance (*enforce disappearce*);
(8) other inhuman acts (*other inhuman acts*).

Through the arena, KKP is determined to build good, friendly, neighborly relations.
harmonious, and mutually beneficial in the future.

As is well known, Bourdieu, through his habitus, dismantled the domination of power between parties, namely the Pro-Integration group (Indonesia) and the Pro-Independence group (Timor-Leste). Researchers assume that the habitus corresponds to the reality that existed in Timor Leste in 2005-2008. The agents are the conflicting parties who see the habitus of the people of East Timor from 1976-1999 as cultural capital. In this regard, the CTF is an arena that bridges reconciliation or conflict resolution between Indonesia and Timor Leste. Meanwhile, there are 10 (ten) armed wing organizations, namely:

1) Ailieu Hamerin Integration (AHI) in Alieu;
2) Dead Integration with Indonesia (MAHIDI) in Ainaro;
3) Laksaur di Covalima;
4) Aitarak di Diliu;
5) Integration of Red Blood in Ermera;
6) Team Alfa / Teak Merah Putih in Lautem;
7) Besi Merah Putih (BMP) in Liquisa;
8) Manatuto Hadomi Oranomi (Mahadomi)
9) I Struggle to Preserve the Integration Mandate (ABLAI) in Manufahi;
10) Sakunat in Oecussi (KKP, 2008: 56).

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Pro-Integration organizations, both the political wing (2) and the armed wing (10) are actors who play in the conflict against pro-independence actors). Habitus Pro-Autonomy with a background and motivation to gain power by integrating. These actors have emotional attachment to the TNI, Polri, and Indonesian civil servants. This emotional closeness is built by communicating through Indonesian elho.

The highest pro-independence group organization is the Conselho Nacional da Recistencia Timorense (CNRT) (National Council of Timorese Resistance). CNRT is an umbrella organization for all pro-independence forces (KKP, 2008: 53). CNRT is a new organization that was originally named Conselho Revolocionario da Resistencia Nacional (CRRN) (National Resistance Revolutionary Council). With the formation of the CRRN, Fretilin became one of the elements in the CRRN. Back to the CNRT. CNRT oversees 2 (two) youth organizations, namely:

1. *Timor-Leste Youth and Student Organization*(OJETIL) (Timor-Leste Youth and Student Organization);
2.*Resistencia Nacional dos Estudantes de Tomor Leste*(RENETIL) (Timor-Leste Student National Resistance.

It should be noted that the Pro-Independence habitus refers to actors from Falintil, OJETIL and RENETIl, who have backgrounds and motivations to seize power through independence. The Pro-Independence Group (Timor Leste) has succeeded in seizing power from Indonesia through the Popular Consultation. In 1999, when the Popular Consultation was held, the Pro

Independence, although the name of the organization uses Portuguese, the language used is Indonesian because Indonesian was still the official language of the Province of East Timor at that time. In 2005-2008, the official languages of Timor-Leste were Portuguese and Tetun, but one of the working languages used by the people of Timor-Leste, including the former Pro-Independence group, was Indonesian. (KKP, 2008). It should be stated that in 2015, as stated by Julio Tomas Pinto (2015: 144)), which the researcher mentioned earlier, Indonesian is still used by the people of Timor Leste at various levels of their lives, because the Timor Leste Constitution recognizes Indonesian as a working language. .

As previously discussed, according to Haryatmoko (2016: 44), the concept of capital, even though it is a repertoire of economics, is used by Bourdeieu because it is able to explain the relationship with power. By Haryatmoko (2016: 17) capital is defined as a resource. Haryatmoko further said that in every society there are always those who control and those who are controlled, where domination depends on resources and strategy. When the pro-independence group won the battle in the political contest through the opinion polls in 1999, the pro-independence group was more dominant than the pro-integration group.

There are four Bourdieau concepts regarding capital, namely: (1) economic capital, (2) cultural capital, (3) social capital, and (4) symbolic capital. The fourth capital or symbolic capital is capital that is very relevant to this study because it relates to one's honor and principles (Eka Ningtyas, 2015:155).

For researchers, cultural capital and symbolic capital owned by actors in the MPA discourse play a very important role. More so when it is related to the "concept of restorative justice", where reconciliation is more important than punishment of perpetrators of human rights crimes, the ego of the power of the parties in the CTF becomes liquid and even melts, so that those who should not be forgiven

be forgiven. The latter, without realizing it, the resolution of the conflict between Indonesia and Timor Leste is the implementation of Derrida's ideas (1997, 2001, 2005) about true forgiveness*(true forgiveness)* or unconditional forgiveness, known as unforgivable forgiveness.

Analysis of the social context is an analysis of how the discourse (discourse) that develops in society, the process of production and reproduction of an experience is described (Eriyanto, 2001: 275). Analysis of the social context is often also called the analysis of the social dimension. In the context of this research, the social context, mainly the context of power. This can be seen, among other things, from the idea of forming the Indonesian Timor Leste MPA which came from the two government leaders of Indonesia and Timor Leste. The first idea for the formation of the KKP came from President Megawati Soekarnooputri, then it was continued by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono from the Indonesian side. Meanwhile, from Timor Leste, there are President Ray Rala Xanana Gusmao and Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri.

Social context analysis is an analysis of how power is produced through discourse and legitimacy practices. According to van Dijk as told by Eriyanto (2001: 271-174) there are two important things in this matter, namely (1) power (*power*) and (2) access (*access*). Power is defined as the property possessed by a group to control another group. As for access. Powerful groups get better access from online

less powerful group.

Analysis of the social context, namely power and access, will be seen at the international and national levels in the description of political communication.

1. Indonesian Political Communication on the International Stage regarding the Integration of East Timor into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. It is felt that it is important to discuss Indonesian political

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communication on the international stage regarding the East Timor issue. This discussion is intended to find out how international political communication was carried out by Indonesia prior to the coup (referendeum) of the Coup. Is there a correlation between the political communication that was carried out and the release of East Timor from Indonesia. International political communication is divided into 2 (two), namely: (1) Political Communication in the New Order Era, and (2) International Political Communication in the Reformation Era.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis that has been carried out by the researchers above, the researchers draw the following conclusions:

1. The text in Per Memoriam Ad Spem represents human rights violations in East Timor in 1999, before and a Popular Consultation was carried out by both parties, namely by: (1) The Pro-Independence Group (Timor-Leste) which was of a smaller degree, During this time the allegations of violations HAM is only aimed at the Pro-Integration Group, and (2) the Pro-Integration Group (Indonesia), which is much larger in number. Textually, in macro, meso and micro dimensions, through language, political communication has been constructed which leads to reconciliation between the parties in power which actually deconstructs human rights violations.
2. The power of language in political communication between the two government leaders (the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste) and members of the Indonesian Timor-Leste Truth and Friendship Commission, as well as between members of the KKP and parties related to the 1999 Popular Consultation in East Timor is extraordinary. normal result. Indonesian is used as *primary working language* in the settlement or resolution of the conflict between Indonesia and Timor Leste it can dissolve the power between the parties, so that an agreement can be reached that gross human rights violations that should not be forgiven should be forgiven. This is in accordance with Derrida's idea of true forgiveness or unconditional forgiveness.

The main finding of this research is the language factor, namely at the level of use of Indonesian. Indonesian is the dominant language in the reconciliation process. As it is known that Indonesian is as *primary working language,* which shows the existence of a strong domination within the body of the CTF. Furthermore, in the report it can be seen that there has been a construction process in building agreements to resolve conflicts. This construction actually deconstructs reality

human rights violations. The theoretical implications are:

a. First. At the level of discourse theory, the findings of this research provide a theoretical contribution that discourse through language is generally used to dismantle practices of power deviance. This research finds that discourse can actually work to melt power and build harmony in the future.
b. Second. The implementation of Derrida's proposition is likely to be culture-driven *(culture)* Indonesia has dominated, which prioritizes the human factor *(humanity).* Indonesian culture is considered important by pro-independence parties, especially since Timor Leste proclaimed its independence on 20 May 2002.

While practically:

1. The deconstruction that took place where cases of human rights violations were drowned raises logical implications for the possibility of problems with demands from various parties, including the post-conflict generation. However, until recently, after the KKP report was compiled (2008), there was no visible concern that there had been no ripples.
2. It is hoped that this research can open insight into the history of the conflict between Indonesia and Timor-Leste for the community.
3. It is hoped that this research can be used as a source of information for the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) in the paradigm shift of the conflict between Indonesia and Timor Leste
4. This research can be used as a reference or reference for other countries in solving or resolving similar conflicts.
5. This research is expected to add to the repertoire of research on bilateral conflict resolution between the two countries.

The implications for policy are that the two government leaders (the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste) can apply restorative justice when it comes to resolving conflicts or making policies in conflict resolution.

This suggestion is divided into 2 (two), namely (1) academic advice, and (2) practical advice.

1. **Academically**. In order for Derrida's notion of true forgiveness (*true forgiveness*) continues to be studied, so that these ideas can be developed into theories, which will enrich the repertoire of Communication Science, especially political communication.

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2. **Practically speaking**. So that the settlement or resolution of political conflicts regarding human rights violations can be resolved properly, as has been implemented by the CTF, namely by implementing restorative justice, which prioritizes reconciliation rather than punishment.

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