

ABSTRAK

Antonio Octaviano Marcelo da Cunha, 18.75.6295. *Upaya Xanana Gusmão Dalam Membangun Hubungan Bilateral Timor-Leste dan Indonesia Pasca Kemerdekaan Timor-Leste*. Skripsi, program sarjana, Program Studi Filasafat Agama Katolik, Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Katolik Ledalero.

Penulisan karya ilmiah ini bertujuan untuk (1) memahami alasan mendasar yang mendorong Xanana Gusmão untuk membangun kembali hubungan bilateral Timor-Leste dan Indonesia pasca kemerdekaan Timor-Leste, dan (2) menganalisis upaya yang dilakukan Xanana Gusmão pada masa kepresidenannya dalam mewujudkan rekonsiliasi antara kedua negara, Timor-Leste dan Indonesia, serta langkah-langkah yang ditempuh kedua pemerintah (Timor-Leste dan Indonesia) dalam upaya proses penyelesaian kasus pelanggaran HAM masa lalu.

Metode penulisan karya ilmiah menggunakan analisis deskriptif-kualitatif, dimana penulis mempelajari sumber-sumber tulisan seperti buku-buku, jurnal ilmiah, ensiklopedia, studi dokumen dan arsip negara yang memberikan informasi yang komprehensif tentang hubungan bilateral Timor-Leste dan Indonesia.

Berdasarkan hasil penelitian, saya mengatakan bahwa Xanana Gusmão, Presiden pertama Timor-Leste, memiliki partisipasi politik yang serius dalam upaya membangun kembali hubungan bilateral antara Timor-Leste dan Indonesia pasca kemerdekaan Timor-Leste. Xanana Gusmão menyelesaikan persoalan pelanggaran HAM berat masa lalu lewat jalur rekonsiliasi dan diselesaikan melalui pembentukan Komisi Kebenaran dan Persahabatan (KKP). Namun proses ini tidak memprioritaskan jalur hukum untuk menyelesaikan pelanggaran HAM yang dilakukan selama pendudukan Indonesia, Pembentukan KKP merupakan titik awal untuk kerjasama lebih lanjut antara kedua pemerintahan yang disepakati bersama lewat penandatanganan nota kesepahaman, *Memorandum of Understanding* (MoU). Penandatanganan kesepakatan (MoU) dan *Joint Commission* (JC) hendak menyatakan hubungan kedua negara telah membaik kembali sehingga memungkinkan kedua negara kerja samanya di berbagai sektor, dengan tetap saling menghormati kedaulatan masing-masing. Rekonsiliasi yang diupayakan Xanana Gusmão dimaksudkan untuk menciptakan masa depan yang baik dan harmonis antara kedua negara dan juga menghindari konfrontasi yang diilhami oleh siklus balas dendam di masa depan.

Menurut penulis, rekonsiliasi yang diupayakan oleh Xanana Gusmão telah berhasil membangun kembali hubungan bilateral Timor-Leste dan Indonesia pasca referendum. Namun upaya politik Xanana belum dapat dikatakan sebagai sebuah rekonsiliasi komunal. Xanana bergerak di level para elit politik, dalam hal ini sebagai keplala negara, tetapi di dalam konteks masyarakat akar rumput rekonsiliasi belum difasilitasi secara komunal dan terbuka. Apa pun kekurangan dalam upaya itu, Xanana sebagai kepala negara telah berjuang menjaga stabilitas negara yang baru berdaulat. Xanana adalah figur pemimpin politik berbakat yang memiliki karisma untuk mempersatukan orang.

Kata Kunci: Xanana Gusmão, hubungan bilateral Timor-Leste dan Indonesia, proses penyelesaian pelanggaran HAM pada masa pendudukan Indonesia, rekonsiliasi, dan kerjasama multisektoral.

ABSTRACT

Antonio Octaviano Marcelo da Cunha, 18.75.6295. *Xanana Gusmão's Efforts in Building Bilateral Relationship between Timor-Leste and Indonesia after Timor-Leste's Independence*. Thesis. Undergraduate Program, the Study Program of Catholic Philosophy, of the Institute of Catholic Philosophy Ledalero, 2022.

This scientific work aims at (1) grasping the fundamental reasons which prompted Xanana Gusmão to rebuild the bilateral relationship between Timor-Leste and Indonesia after the country's independence, and (2) analyzing the efforts he made during his presidency in bringing about reconciliation between the two countries, Timor-Leste and Indonesia, and the steps taken by the two governments (Timor-Leste and Indonesia) in their endeavors to resolve cases of past human rights violations.

This work employed method of descriptive-qualitative analysis in which the author studied written sources such as books, journals articles, encyclopedias, documents, and state archives. These sources provided comprehensive information over the bilateral relationship between Timor-Leste and Indonesia.

My research tells that Xanana Gusmão, the first President of Timor-Leste, had serious political will in the efforts of rebuilding the bilateral relationship between Timor-Leste and Indonesia after Timor-Leste declared its independence. Xanana Gusmão mediated the resolution of the past human rights violations through reconciliation and this is completed through the establishment of the Commission of Truth and Friendship. However, this process did not prioritize legal avenues on resolving the human rights violation committed during the Indonesian occupation, the establishment of the Commission of Truth and Friendship was only the starting ground for further cooperation between the two governments agreed through the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). The signing of the agreement (MoU) and the Joint Commission (JC) were to state that the relationship between the two countries is reestablished and consequently enabling the start of cooperation on various sectors while at the same time maintaining the respect on respective countries' sovereignty. The reconciliation that Xanana Gusmão has sought was intended to create a good and harmonious future between the two nations and also to avoid future revenge-inspired confrontations.

In my view, the reconciliation attempted by Xanana Gusmão did succeed in rebuilding the bilateral relationship between Timor-Leste and Indonesia in the wake of momentous referendum. However, Xanana's political efforts cannot yet be described as a communal reconciliation. Xanana worked at the level of political elites, in this case *qua* the head of the state, but the reconciliation at the grassroots society level has not been fully consolidated at a communal and public setting. Whatever the flaws are, Xanana as the head of the state has tried his best to maintain the stability of the country, a nascent sovereign state. He is a gifted political leader who has charisma to bring people together.

Keywords: Xanana Gusmão, bilateral relationship between Timor-Leste and Indonesia, the process of resolving human rights violations during the Indonesian occupation, reconciliation, and multi-sectoral cooperation.