



PERMANENT MISSION OF THE
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS
WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO)
AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
IN GENEVA

No: 74/POL-II/IV/2026

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, and Other International Organizations in Geneva presents its compliments to the Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence, Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances and Special Rapporteur on the right to education, and with reference to the Joint Communication (Ref.: OL IDN 11/2025, dated 12 January 2026), has the honour to convey the response of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, as attached herewith.

The response provides a more nuanced context on the concerns raised in the Joint Communication on Indonesia's commitment to the respect and protection of human rights, including efforts to advance truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence in addressing past gross human rights violations.

Since 2022, the Government of Indonesia has established the Team for the Non-Judicial Settlement of Past Gross Human Rights Violations to clarify historical context and formulate restorative recommendations. This process remains ongoing. In this regard, the Government respectfully encourages the mandate holders to avoid undermining or prejudging these efforts.

Furthermore, the Government also notes with concern that certain issues raised regarding the Indonesian History Book appear to be based on unverified information, as the content of the book has not yet been published. This raises questions regarding the basis of such concerns in the Joint Communication. In addition, it should also be noted that this matter is separate from the Government's ongoing efforts to address past gross human rights violations.

The Permanent Mission requests the abovementioned mandate holders to ensure that their work is informed by updated information and to pursue engagement with Indonesian authorities in a constructive manner.

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, and Other International Organizations in Geneva, avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Special Rapporteurs, the assurances of its highest consideration.

Geneva, April 2026



Mr. Bernard Duhaime, Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence

Ms. Alexandra Xanthaki, Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights

Ms. Gabriella Citroni, Chair of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

Ms. Farida Shaheed, Special Rapporteur on the right to education

**Reply of the Government of Indonesia
to the Joint Communication of the Special Procedures Mandate Holders
Ref.: AL IDN 11/2025 of 12 January 2026**

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia has the honour to respond to the Joint Communication AL IDN 11/2025 of 12 January 2026 from the Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence, Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances and Special Rapporteur on the right to education.

The Government reaffirms its unwavering commitment to the respect, protection, fulfilment, enforcement, and promotion of human rights, including efforts to advance truth, justice, reparation, and guarantees of non-recurrence in addressing past gross human rights violations.

The Drafting of an Indonesian History Book

The Government wishes to clarify that the Indonesian history book titled “Indonesian History: National Dynamics in Global Currents” was initiated as a scholarly and academic exercise, involving more than 100 historians, scholars, writers and editors from various academic institutions.

The Government’s role is to provide an enabling framework within which this work is carried out, in line with recognized academic standards, methodological rigor, and openness to diverse perspectives. In this context, importance is attached to ensuring that historical narratives are developed in a balanced and responsible manner, with due regard to historical facts and developments, and without diminishing significant historical experiences. Given the evolving nature of this academic work, any assessment should take into account its continuing and scholarly character.

The Government remains dedicated to an inclusive and transparent approach to historiography, drawing upon the expertise of historians from diverse academic institutions. The objective is to cultivate a more nuanced understanding of Indonesian history that transcends any singular nor reductive narrative.

Furthermore, the development and use of educational materials are strictly governed by Law No. 3 of 2017 on the National Book System. Under this framework, textbooks used in formal education are subject to rigorous quality benchmarks, ensuring that content is verified through comprehensive review; materials are grounded in robust and evidence-based scholarship; and perspectives are presented with the objectivity required for formal education.

The Designation of Former President Soeharto as a National Hero

Regarding the designation of individuals as National Heroes, including the late General of the Indonesian National Armed Forces H.M Soeharto is governed through several legal framework including:

- Law No. 20 of 2009 on Titles, Decorations, and Honors;
- Government Regulation No. 1 of 2010 on the Council of Titles, Decorations, and Honors;
- Government Regulation No. 35 of 2010 on the Implementation of Law No. 20 of 2009 on Titles, Decorations, and Honors;
- Minister of Social Affairs Regulation No. 15 of 2012 on the Nomination of National Heroes, as amended by Minister of Social Affairs Regulation No. 13 of 2018.

The legal framework also enables nomination process to be initiated by elements of society, which empowers individuals and organizations to propose candidates for national recognition. Proposals are reviewed through stages at both local and national levels, involving

independent expert bodies and relevant institutions. This structured, transparent, and evidence-based process is aimed at ensuring that each nomination is carefully assessed. These established processes reflect a careful and deliberative approach that does not lend itself to the characterizations suggested.

Specifically regarding the late General H.M. Soeharto, the nomination was initiated by community stakeholders who viewed his role in advancing Indonesia's development during his presidency through the Five-Year Development Programs (Pelita), which set targeted priorities for each periods – ranging from strengthening agricultural infrastructure, promoting development beyond Java, Bali, and Madura, to expanding equitable access to education and employment for all citizens. Additionally, the late General H. M. Soeharto also had been recognized as a central figure in "National Development," a title conferred by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), the highest representative body, through its Decree No. TAP V/MPR/1983.

His nomination followed the formal administrative procedure, starting at the local level with the Regent of Karanganyar and the Governor of Central Java, and subsequently submitted to the Ministry of Social Affairs. To ensure objectivity, the candidacy underwent a multi-tiered review process. The initial assessment was undertaken by the Regional Research and Review Team ("TP2GD"), comprising historians, academics, and multidisciplinary experts. The secondary, rigorous review was completed by the Central Research and Review Team ("TP2GP"), an independent body of experts mandated to verify scholarly and historical merit of the nomination. Following these assessments, the recommendation was submitted to the President of the Republic of Indonesia through the Council of Titles, Decorations, and Honors ("Dewan GTK"), strictly in adherence to statutory procedures.

This structured approach underscores the Government's commitment to a transparent, evidence-based, and participatory process. The involvement of independent expert bodies and various levels of government ensures that the conferment of national honors is conducted with utmost due diligence, integrity, and in compliance with the legal framework.

Government Measures to Address Past Gross Human Rights Violations

The Government of Indonesia continues to address past gross human rights violations through a comprehensive approach. It includes the official acknowledgment of a number of past gross human rights violation cases, the establishment of dedicated follow-up mechanisms, and the provision of concrete forms of assistance to victims and their families, including access to health services, social support, and educational opportunities.

Ongoing efforts are directed at enhancing coordination, data consolidation, and victim-centered approach in the provision of remedies, with a view to advancing accountability, reconciliation, and non-recurrence. These measures should be considered in their entirety in assessing the Government's overall approach.

Under Presidential Decree No. 17 of 2022, the Government established the Team for Non-Judicial Settlement of Past Gross Human Rights Violations ("Tim PPHAM"). This body of independent experts was mandated to clarify historical contexts and formulate restorative recommendations. Following the submission of their findings in December 2022, the President formally acknowledged and expressed profound regret for twelve identified cases of gross human rights violation in January 2023, serving as a significant milestone in the national journey toward truth and reconciliation.

To translate these acknowledgments into tangible outcomes, the Government formed the Monitoring Team for the Implementation of Recommendations on the Non-Judicial Resolution of Gross Human Rights Violation ("Tim Pemantau PPHAM") under Presidential Decree No. 4 of 2023. Coordinated by the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, and

Security Affairs, the multi-stakeholder team delivers tailored remedies to victims and their families, including social and economic support, legal restoration and institutional rehabilitation.

The Government remains committed to data-driven integrity. The National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) continues its vital work in victim verification by issuing official recognition letters (SKKPHAM) to 8,359 individuals as of December 2025. This verified data serves as essential foundation for targeted and effective policy responses.

Looking forward, the Government is finalizing a Comprehensive Roadmap for the Resolution of Past Gross Human Rights Violations. The roadmap is intended to integrate judicial and non-judicial measures into a coherent policy; establish clear timelines, benchmarks, and inter-agency coordination mechanisms; and prioritize a unified data system and victim-centered remedies to ensure no one is left behind in the pursuit of justice, recovery and non-recurrence.

This approach reflects a steadfast dedication to the pillars of truth, justice, and reparation, and guarantee of non-recurrence. By continuously strengthening national institutions and fulfilling its constitutional mandates and international obligations, the Government remains resolute in its efforts to pursue accountability and the protection of human rights for all its citizens.

Conclusion

The Government of Indonesia remains committed to constructive engagement with the Special Procedures and stands ready to continue dialogue in a spirit of cooperation and mutual respect, alongside its continued efforts to advance the above-mentioned objectives.

At the same time, the Government of Indonesia further emphasizes that the development of national history books and designation of national honors are sovereign, legally grounded domestic processes, that should be considered separately from the Government's ongoing efforts to address past gross human rights violations.

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