



THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF VETERANS PAYMENTS PROCESSES EWER Policy Brief VI

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In 2008 Belun, in cooperation with Columbia University’s Centre for International Conflict Resolution (CICR), established the Early Warning, Early Response (EWER) system. This system was built in order to augment existing early response mechanisms and prevent violent incidents at both the national and community levels.

Belun and CICR recognize that the EWER system should be integrated with the programs and joint activities of all partners at the sub-district and national levels. In this light, we recognize the Timorese government (GoTL) national civil society organizations and other state representatives for their cooperation and tireless dedication to the issue of violence prevention in Timor-Leste.

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Belun and CICR assert that they are the sole authors of this briefing and that the ideas, opinions and commentary contained within are not intended to reflect or represent those of the Government of Ireland, Government of Germany, Government of Timor-Leste, GIZ or the European Union.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The question of how to recognize those who participated in resistance movements or conflict is both sensitive and significant across post-conflict and newly independent states. Governments must balance multiple priorities, including responding to the needs of the poor and numerous other groups, all with competing demands. Providing recognition for those who fought for independence must be tempered with the process of providing broad-based social assistance.

Reflecting this, the process of disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating those who fought has become a priority in post-conflict countries.¹ In Timor-Leste, the disarmament and demobilization of former resistance members are nearly complete; however, reintegration remains a drawn-out and poorly-defined process.² Since independence, the Timorese government, with support of international organizations such as the World Bank, has sought to address this issue and develop various policies in response to the needs of groups who fought for Timorese independence.

Beginning with the first constitutional government, and through multiple rounds of policy development and revision, Timorese legislators have made considerable progress in attending to the needs of national liberation combatants (NLCs), veterans,³ seniors (defined as those over 60 years of age) and other vulnerable groups. The current policies have evolved over an extended period of time to now provide a channel for social assistance to seniors and achieve a political equilibrium for veterans who fought for national independence.

The current veterans' policy also provides a means of recognition, principally through a system of valorizing those who contributed to the armed front. Individuals with more than 15 years of 'exclusive dedication'⁴, along with those disabled in the conflict and the families of those who were killed, have been given priority in receiving military decorations and pension payments; the majority of these awards and payments have been disbursed. The government has also sought to valorize those who hold 4-7 and 8-14 years of exclusive dedication, through the awarding of medals and payments; however these payments have not yet been made. However, challenges have emerged in relation to the payments systems and the public's limited understanding of the relevant laws.

Furthermore, defining who is a 'veteran' and determining the best means of recognizing and valorizing the contribution of those who participated, for example through decorations or payments, remain fraught. The pension program has also created new polemics based on the various community perspectives about veterans and concerns that some individuals have received considerable amounts of money while others continue to wait for medals and payments. A significant issue has also arisen around whether those receiving payments are recognized

¹ Kingma, Kees. 2000. 'The Impact of Demobilization.' *Demobilization on Sub-Saharan Africa: The Development and Security Impacts*. Ed. Kees Kingma. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.: 7; OECD. 2007. *OECD DAC Handbook on Security Sector Reform: Supporting Security and Justice*. Paris: OECD: 3

² Jennings, Kathleen M. 2008. 'Seeing DDR from Below: Challenges and dilemmas raised by the experiences of ex-combatants in Liberia.' *New Security Programme Fafo Report 3*; Muggah, Robert. 2009. 'Introduction: The Emperor's Clothes?' *Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Dealing with Fighters in the Aftermath of War*. Ed. Robert Muggah. London: Routledge.

³ In this report, the term 'veteran' is used generally to refer to those who participated in the armed or clandestine fronts of the Timorese resistance movements; it does not refer directly to the legal definition of 'veteran' as established in Article 8 of Law No. 9/2009, 29 July. This broader usage corresponds with the self-identification of most interviewees and focus group discussion participants.

⁴ 'Exclusive dedication' requires that a potential recipient can only count those periods of time in which they were exclusively serving the resistance and not engaged in other work or study. The contentions surrounding this issue will be further examined later in the brief.

as legitimate beneficiaries by their communities. Such issues have the potential to create conflict amongst veterans and within communities.

This said, Belun believes that practical and straightforward initiatives can help to ease tensions and better prepare communities and families to respond to issues arising from veterans social assistance payments. Suggestions include improving the socialization of the veterans' law through simple language; finding creative solutions for distributing veterans' pensions nearer to recipients' homes; and increasing the understanding of these issues in communities. A full range of recommendations is presented in the final section of this brief.

PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

During the October 2010-April 2012 period, the EWER program's monitoring and data analysis⁵ team noticed a number of incidents surrounding pension payments to veterans and martyrs' families (see Table 1 for a complete summary). These incidents include conflict between family members over how to use or distribute the pension funds or the theft of pension payments from individuals who had just begun to receive benefits.

The former Parliamentary Majority Alliance (AMP) government developed broad and comprehensive social assistance programs, which included those for veterans and seniors' pensions. This policy was a considerable success for the government, which has benefited from the appreciation of many families. However, despite these gains, the research contained herein suggests that various challenges also exist, particularly in the current distribution and compensation for identified beneficiaries.

The key issues of this research explore the policies surrounding veteran payments and who qualifies as a veteran, followed by the way in which payments are distributed, and finally issues and conflict arising from the receipt of veterans' payments. These themes are broadly categorized as follows:

1. Concerns about the State Policy on Veterans from groups that consider themselves to have been marginalized
2. The methods of the Administration process for Veterans Pensions
3. The Social Impacts of Veterans payments on community cohesion

The first section raises some of the complex questions relating to how to recognize the contribution of those groups who contributed and suffered as part of the resistance struggle though not necessarily as part of the formal armed resistance. The research raises the concerns of a number of groups, including some groups of the clandestine movement. It also reviews questions of how to acknowledge the contribution of women to the resistance movement, and particularly the suffering of victims of the occupation. Some of these groups consider their demands to have been marginalized by policies on veteran payments; this is an issue which has not yet been detected as causing individual incidents of violence but represents sentiments of discontent within communities, as detected through this research.

The following section, reviews the way in which veterans pensions are administered, through the stages of registration, verification and distribution of payments. This section identifies some of the complexities that administrators face such as how to identify and verify the number of years of contribution of each veteran as well as the role of the newly formed Veterans Commissions whose role it will be to review the verification processes. This section will also examine some of the technical problems being faced in dispatching payments to recipients. This distribution process also raises concerns about the personal security of beneficiaries, as veterans, like seniors, may be quite elderly and experience health problems; according to Belun's data, some have had various accidents while walking considerable distances to receive their benefits due to limited access to the transportation to distribution points. This creates a potential risk, and some persons have exploited this vulnerability to steal benefits or mislead beneficiaries.

Finally, the third section reviewing issues and conflict arising from the receipt of veterans' payments include tensions rising between veterans themselves who disagree over the legitimacy of others' claims to certain levels of benefits. Tensions have been noted in several cases to arise among family members over access to and utilization of pension funds.

⁵ For more information about the EWER program and methodology, please refer to Annex 1.

These findings show that cash injections into communities can provoke considerable issues of social jealousy when mechanisms are not in place to support beneficiaries to invest the funds wisely into family support, sustainable business or community activities. In the context of veterans’ programs, where payments are intended to offer valorization, such challenges are exacerbated as administrative hurdles can lead to serious criticism from the major lobby groups of veterans and clandestine groups, limiting the potential for successful reintegration.

In light of these findings, Belun considers this policy brief to be particularly timely as the number of former resistance members slated to receive single payments or pensions is due to increase dramatically in the coming months. As more individuals receive payments, and if steps are not taken to address the issues identified in this report, there is the strong possibility that the number of incidents related to the payments process will increase accordingly.

DATA ON INCIDENTS OF CONFLICT RELATING TO VETERANS PAYMENTS

GRAPH 1: INCIDENTS OF CONFLICT RELATED TO VETERANS PAYMENTS JAN 2010 – NOV 2012

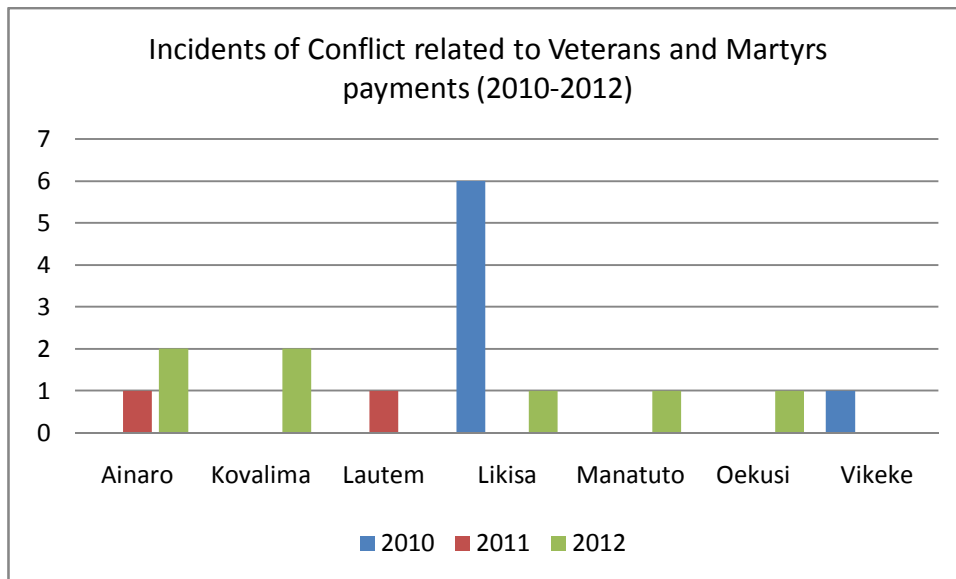


TABLE 1: DETAILS OF INCIDENT DATA RELATED TO VETERANS AND MARTYRS PAYMENTS, JAN - DEC 2012

<p>Ainaro District, Ainaro Vila</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 7 Jan 2012: Conflict between siblings over the theft of martyr’s payments for a younger sibling killed during the Santa Cruz massacre• 7 Feb 2012: Violence by one man against his sister for already picking up their younger brother’s martyr payments. <p>Cova Lima District, Suai Vila</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 15 Jan 2012: Conflict between an uncle and his nephew over distribution and utilization of martyr’s benefits between family members• 1 April 2012: Conflict between siblings over their father’s martyr’s benefits because the sister did not receive a share <p>Lautém District, Los Palos Vila</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Nov 2011: Conflict between veterans because of distrust and accusations that some were traitors and worked for Indonesian military intelligence <p>Liquiça District, Maubara</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 11 April 2012: Incident where an older sibling threatened to kill a younger sibling because he received the father’s pension and did not share with his other siblings <p>Manatuto District, Manatuto Vila</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 27 May 2012: Conflict between family members over father’s veterans payment <p>Oecusse District, Pante Makassar</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 25 January 2012: Physical and verbal threats between veterans and veteran authority• 2008 – July 2012: Incident where local authorities illegally collected money from pensioners. Occurring since 2008, the community failed to make a formal complaint to Suku authorities. In July 2012, students gathered information that at least 5 people were forced to give money illegally. PNTL is investigating.

RECOGNISING VETERANS THROUGH SOCIAL ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS: CHALLENGES AND CONCERNS, A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Through this research, Belun's data directs attention to some of the more technical challenges involved in the implementation of payments processes to the Veterans as part of the government's Social Assistance and Valorization programs and some of the social impacts being detected through Belun's EWER monitoring. This issue of payment processes however, sits within the context of a much broader literature that explores the political and representative natures of Veterans policies and Social Assistance as well as the sustainability questions and economic impacts of such wide-reaching payments distributions for a country such as Timor-Leste. As such, the literature first reviews many of the more complex challenges that face those who develop policies that aim to balance the competing priorities of poverty alleviation for the most vulnerable and recognition of the contributions of those who struggled to achieve this new country's independence.

The aim of this review is to highlight the difficult task facing policy formulators and to outline the key areas within the broader debate on how best to valorize former combatants as part of a longer-term reintegration process to allow for a more comprehensive discussion on any future policy development. The main themes identified through this review are:

- 1) Definition: Who is a veteran? Can or should all three fronts (armed, clandestine and diplomatic) be defined in the same way?
- 2) Recognition: How does the state acknowledge and appreciate veterans' contributions? Is the issue monetary or symbolic? Can victims and their suffering be recognized using the same methods?
- 3) Legacy: How does the state respond to veterans' demands and expectations? What role does the older generation play in the new state?

The majority of the discussion within the literature focuses on who should be recognized through government valorisation programmes and how this should be carried out. More specific questions are asked about the recognition processes for female veterans, as well as how to acknowledge and support victims of the occupation. The main challenge for policy makers on the issue of veterans is that the resistance movement was not only made up of a structured unit of fighters. It encompassed men, women and children, who contributed to the resistance movement through a number of channels and personal sacrifices, only some of which involved formally or continuously contributing to the armed front.

The International Center for Transitional Justice, in an unpublished paper⁶, looks at the recognition of women in the resistance and notes that many of the concerns of the victims of the 1975-1999 conflict remain unaddressed. Primarily, the contention surrounds the government's recognition of former-combatants of the armed front. This valorization, the paper argues, has overshadowed all other transitional justice initiatives in post-conflict Timor-Leste and has made one's contribution to the independence struggle a key factor in determining the legitimacy and worthiness of many individuals in the society. However, limiting the scope of such valorization to only those with "exclusive dedication" – primarily the armed front and some select members of the clandestine front, has alienated many others who contributed in various important ways to the struggle.

⁶ International Center for Transitional Justice, forthcoming, *A Luta Continua: Recognizing Timorese Women's Contribution to the Independence Struggle*.

Exclusive dedication is a somewhat contentious criterion for awarding decorations and pensions. It requires eligible participants to calculate their years of service based on the sum total of all periods of deportation, detention and occupation exclusively dedicated to the struggle for independence. If the individual was participating in study or regular waged labour, this time is precluded from consideration as exclusive dedication. In practice this policy favours the armed front who can easily tally up their years of service in the mountains. The diplomatic and clandestine fronts on the other hand find it difficult to claim periods of exclusive dedication due to work or study commitments that they claim were often necessary to carry out their service to the struggle. In particular, women's contributions in providing intelligence, logistical and medical services and in some instances armed support are overlooked by such a definition. Women instead are compensated as 'survivors' or dependents of male combatants or potentially as 'victims' under future reparations schemes.

The argument is elaborated on at a theoretical level by Rimmer, who extends the definition of 'victims' to incorporate them as 'veterans of conflict', thereby opening the possibility for 'victims' to be granted the same reparations and respect due to other groups who were part of the struggle, including combatants. In this way the definition of a 'veteran' is expanded to include female victims of occupational aggression and their children. This takes into consideration that some of the more abhorrent tactics of the occupying forces such as rape and forced "marriage" aimed to reduce the power of the resistance movement. As such, any person who was a target of this policy can be considered directly related to the resistance movement and therefore can be labeled a veteran.⁷ She argues that there needs to be a shift in society to counter the patriarchal attitudes and enshrine in law the acknowledgment of women and children's suffering as part of the resistance movement.

The World Bank's reflective study on the development of Veterans' policies over the years in Timor-Leste, examines some of these questions. They note that some past commissions did seek to expand on such definitions, and recommended that treatment of those who can be considered to be part of more peripheral groups such as women, children, and members of the clandestine front should focus more on recognition and acknowledgment than any form of financial assistance.⁸

Peake notes however, that in reality, the recognition of women and children in this process has been practically non-existent. He echoes the argument of the ICTJ and Rimmer, that due to their suffering during the occupation, widows and orphans have a legitimate claim to the title of veteran.⁹ He further posits that those who believe they have been neither recognized nor compensated for their service to the struggle see that their lives have been irreparably altered in order to bring about freedom and prosperity that they cannot yet fully participate in. Sousa-Santos raises the concern that these groups have been condemned to live on the fringes of society, a disenfranchised, unemployed and poorly educated demographic, creating a potentially volatile group capable of causing violence en masse.¹⁰

Rather than attempting to expand the definition of a 'veteran' and justify a larger group deserving of financial support, the International Crisis Group takes a broader look at the current veterans policies and raises concerns

⁷ Rimmer, Susan Harris. 2006. "Orphans or Veterans?: Justice for Children Born of War in East Timor." *Texas International Law Journal* 42: 323-344

⁸ World Bank. 2008. *Defining Heroes: Key Lessons from the Creation of Veterans Policy in Timor-Leste*. Report No. 45458-TP. Timor-Leste, Papua New Guinea and Pacific Islands Country Management Unit

⁹ Peake, Gordon. 2008. *What the Veterans Say: Unpacking Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) Programmes in Timor-Leste*. Centre for International Cooperation and Security, University of Bradford

¹⁰ Sousa-Santos, Jose Kai Lekke. 2009. "The Last Resistance Generation": The Reintegration and Transformation of Freedom Fighters to Civilians in Timor-Leste." Presented at *Harii nasaun iha timor-Leste urbanu no rural*. Dili, Timor-Leste.

about the use of cash transfers to valorize any group given the financial burden that this will leave resting on the state's shoulders. The ICG suggests that there needs to be secession from the old political generation to the new to allow for a successful post-conflict transformation to a sustainable state. The ICG not only notes the financial burden on the state due to reparations but also the potential for the singling out of certain individuals and groups to cause political and social tension and jealousies. The problem is exacerbated by the real or perceived incidence of false claimants, those who have been perceived to have not been loyal supporters of the struggle or have exaggerated their involvement within the resistance to gain financial rewards.

Furthermore the formal recognition of this group and the associated status within both society and politics that is attributed to those recognized as 'veterans' presents a certain undemocratic tendency, particularly in a state with a weak legal structure prone to political influence. The state needs to balance the desire to pay homage to veterans with the need to encourage a younger generation of leaders to move into the political realm and the continued emphasis on valorizing and rewarding veterans continues to grant the older generation of combatants a power and legitimacy that prevents this from occurring.

The question of how to recognize those who contributed to the resistance is a broad and complex one. Only a minority of former resistance leaders, from within the armed and other fronts, have made the transition into national politics. A majority of the population, including former members of the armed struggle, those who provided resources to the armed struggle through the clandestine and political movements, and victims of atrocities committed by the occupying forces, suffer from varying levels of emotional grievances as well as socio-economic concerns.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Through interviews and focus group discussions (FGD), Belun has identified core issues that have resulted in various difficulties for veterans. In order to respond to these issues and reduce community tensions related to the payments process, Belun, taking into account the suggestions and insights of participants, has developed the following recommendations. The recommendations are divided into three sub-sections:

1. Concerns about the State Policy on Veterans from groups that consider themselves to have been marginalized
2. The methods of the Administration process for Veterans Pensions
3. The Social Impacts of Veterans payments on community cohesion

CONCERNS ABOUT THE STATE POLICY ON VETERANS FROM GROUPS THAT CONSIDER THEMSELVES TO HAVE BEEN MARGINALIZED

CONFUSION OVER THE CONTENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAW

- The “Homage and Re-verification Commission” should socialize law ‘N.^o 9/2009 from 29 July 2009’ to community members, to families of beneficiaries of Veterans and Martyrs payments to aid their understanding of the intention of the law and eligibility of recipients
- Provide clarification to beneficiaries about the numbers of pensions any one family or recipient are entitled to receive, even if they have claims to more than one funding stream through the Veterans and Martyrs’ payments mechanisms

RECOGNITION OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CLANDESTINE FRONT; FEMALE VETERANS; VICTIMS AND OTHER MARGINALIZED GROUPS

THE PERCEPTION THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS YET TO ATTEND TO THE NEEDS OF: WOMEN’S RESISTANCE GROUPS; VICTIMS’ ASSOCIATIONS; CLANDESTINE GROUPS; CPD-RDTL

There remain groups in which many members are unsatisfied with the valorisation process; these including: women, clandestine organisations, and CPD-RDTL. In order to respond to these problems, Belun recommends:

- Open a discussion on how to valorise clandestine organisations, female victims, and women who contributed to the struggle.
- Look into options that do not depend upon financial payments to valorise individuals’ contributions to the resistance struggle. For example, veterans’ agricultural or business cooperatives could be established for those who live in the same village or sub-village so that their money could grow through buying and selling local products.

- Request leadership from the Internal Political Front (FPI) of 1999 in order to find ways to affirm young people’s contribution to the national liberation struggle. Youth organizations that gathered together through the Youth Association *Prezidium ba Juventude Loriku As’Wain* (PJLA) to support preparation processes for the referendum are seeking recognition from the GoTL. This is necessary in order to prevent confusion between youth groups.
- In relation to female victims, while a valorisation process already exists, efforts are needed to assure victims that processes have been set up and provide guidelines about timeframes for implementation. Belun calls upon SEPI and all women’s organisations in Timor-Leste, as well as the leadership of OPMT, to look after female victims of the colonial occupation, to identify female victims of torture and sexual abuse, and to encourage the state to provide social assistance for household needs and trauma counseling services. Many female victims are not brave enough to show themselves in public because of the concerns for personal dignity and shame.

NATIONWIDE TRADITIONAL AND RELIGIOUS SERVICES AND CEREMONIES TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE MARTYRS

- The government should facilitate nationwide traditional cultural ceremonies and religious services and to promote communal trauma healing and acknowledge the contributions of the martyrs that gave their lives for the liberation of the country in order to lay their souls to rest.

THE METHODS OF THE ADMINISTRATION PROCESS FOR VETERANS PENSIONS

CHALLENGES IN THE REGISTRATION AND VERIFICATION PROCESSES

THE PROCESS OF VERIFYING DATA

- Departments within the Ministry of Social Solidarity (MSS) should continue the commendable processes of cleaning and verifying data in existing databases as this is a good accountability measure and improves the MSS database.
- Evaluate the verification process from the previous rounds of registration, including the distribution process of payments and apply ‘lessons learnt’ when designing the verification process for the next round of registrants.

THE WORK OF THE “HOMAGE AND RE-VERIFICATION COMMISSION”

Some veterans remain dissatisfied with the representativeness of the members of the “Homage and Re-verification Commission”, which has been accused of lack of professionalism and manipulation of data. Belun therefore recommends that:

- Regular independent evaluations are required to review the work of the “Homage and Re-verification Commission”. In cases where the Commission continues to meet difficulties, the composition of the Commission should be reconsidered and processes should be put in place to ensure that work is conducted transparently.

PAYMENTS PROCESSES

SECURITY OF BENEFICIARIES

The majority of veterans are over 40 years old and many face issues related to health and disability; vulnerability related to the distance from banks creates the potential for threats and criminal activity. In order to address these issues, Belun recommends that the government seeks creative solutions for assisting veterans and former combatants who are entitled to monthly payments. Suggestions include:

- Expand the pilot mobile banking programme (payments distributed from a vehicle), which currently exists in five districts, to cover all 13 districts. Apply the lessons learned from the pilot and coordinate with the police to provide security.
- Consider the experiences of other countries making payments via mobile phone.
- Open banks at the district level so that people, particularly veterans, can save money more securely. Banks include: ANZ, BNU, and Mandiri; National Commercial Bank of Timor-Leste; Government's microfinance system (through SEFOPE)
- Inform veterans via SMS when their benefits are available from the bank so as to avoid unnecessary waiting and travel.
- Recommend to veterans to travel in groups or for family friends or relations to accompany individuals receiving their payments as a form of personal security.
- Inform and coordinate with community police in order to monitor the banks and travel routes during the dispersal of veterans' pension payments.

WEAKNESSES IN THE BANKS' SYSTEM FOR DISPERSING PAYMENTS

- Increase and improve communication between the Ministry of Finance (MoF) and the Ministry of Social Solidarity (MSS) concerning the system for and regulation of payments.
- Provide civic education in order to socialise the law so that beneficiaries may better understand the veterans' law and other social assistance programmes.
- Create or clarify the mechanism for responding to technical problems confronted by beneficiaries in the receipt of their pensions.
- The Secretary of State for Veterans, the Ministry of Finance and Banks should come together to develop a clear and realistic plan and timeline for the distribution of Veterans payments which can be socialized to all beneficiaries to receive their payments at an appointed time, minimizing delays.
- Banks should guarantee that once funds from the government are transferred, they can facilitate access to the funds by individual beneficiaries according to the timeframe as published by the Secretary of State for Veterans (on the 15th day of each month).

IMPROVE THE MECHANISM FOR BENEFICIARIES TO MAKE COMPLAINTS

- Form a consultative committee composed of representatives from participating banks, MoF, and MSS in order to address problems encountered by beneficiaries; if such a body already exists, strengthen this team's performance.
- Related to entering and receiving complaints, it is important to make the contact information for relevant departments available, allowing for direct communication from beneficiaries. Beneficiaries could seek clear responses to technical issues with the bank, beneficiary lists, and other cases, reducing tensions.
- Utilise the list of complaints to identify existing failures related to technical problems in the bank and databases. Following this evaluation, cases could be addressed and claimants provided with clear information concerning their status.
- If people do not understand the law, a complaints team could respond and clearly explain it to beneficiaries, particularly to those who are illiterate.
- Improve the current district-level and sub-district level systems for responding to complaints and reduce the amount of time needed to respond to cases in order to minimise dissatisfaction amongst beneficiaries.
- Create a means of making confidential or anonymous complaints so that the team can investigate the case according to the reality of what happened during the resistance.¹¹

THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF VETERANS PAYMENTS ON COMMUNITY COHESION

CONFLICT RELATED TO THE USE OF PAYMENTS FUNDS

CONFLICT WITHIN FAMILIES

- The "Homage and Re-verification Commission" should socialise Law No. 9/2009 from July, particularly for the families receiving martyrs' benefits so that they can better understand the law.
- Advise and give guidance to beneficiaries that experience problems between family members concerning how to use the benefits.
- Individuals have the right to use the benefits as they wish, however, if problems arise, there should be a way to provide mediation and advice to these families. A monitoring and mediation team from MSS or civil society could facilitate this process.

¹¹ Doing so would reduce the use of 'popular justice.' Some people feel ashamed of their dark past experiences and suffering under colonial Indonesian military occupation; personal problems and intimidation also can prevent people from stepping forward publically to tell the true history.

- The government, through the “Homage and Re-verification Commission”, can monitor how the martyrs’ pension payments are used for Timorese cultural ceremonies and advise families on this process in order to reduce tensions (for example, receive martyr’s payment – gather remains – construct a grave site – hold mass or prayers – distribute resources in accordance with *fetosaa-umane* – divide the remainder amongst family members).
- Concerning gender, socialise and reinforce that female children of martyrs also have the right to receive benefits. A mediation team could address this if mediation is requested.
- Belun, through this report, could disseminate this information to Belun’s *Network for Conflict Prevention and Response* (RPRK) at the sub-district level so that network members assist in spreading this information to their communities.
- Belun also recommends that the office of the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Equality (SEPI) and the NGO Moris Rasik provide training to beneficiaries on household money management skills. Beneficiaries, particularly veterans who receive larger sums, could also receive training and support on how to establish small businesses in order to use their benefits to support both their families and communities.
- Create a program for encouraging beneficiaries to save money to benefit their families in the future rather than pursue activities that do not help to improve their families’ lives.

CONFLICT RELATED TO SOCIAL JEALOUSY

Belun recommends that going forward the government thinks creatively about the distribution of social assistance in order to minimise the problem of social jealousy, relating to people’s concerns about who is worthy of receiving benefits. Social jealousy will be more likely to arise where there is real or perceived lack of transparency about the objectives and methods of the verification and distribution processes. Therefore all recommendations in this report are relevant to this issue. In particular the government should focus efforts on the following:

- The National Veterans’ Council should assume a clear role by providing civic education to beneficiaries and their communities about the purpose of the payments system and the verification processes.
- Improve the implementation of the payment system to ensure more people are paid more reliably.
- Establish a complaints mechanism, National Veterans’ Council body, or mediation team in each district that is available at the grassroots level so that those who do not understand the law or have problems with their cases can seek advice.
- Belun recognizes the commendable planned initiative by the government to establish Representative Panels of the Veterans Council in each district. Belun offers its support through its district monitoring networks to share information about any new problems identified in each area and offer mediation services, if requested, to facilitate processes to seek solutions to local tensions.

- According to the approved law, payments to veterans were to begin on 1 January 2008. Veterans have complained that the law should be applied to all recipients equally and demand that those who were last to receive their payments should be compensated from the beginning of the programme (back payments).

CONSIDER HOW TO RECOGNISE THE COMPLEXITY OF RESISTANCE HISTORY

Consultations by the commissions at the district and the sub-district levels are needed, as well as accurate information, as the basis of the registration, verification and payment processes; this will facilitate the selection of true veterans. The commissions could also do more to involve veterans and members of the Popular Organisation of Timorese Women (OPMT) at the sub-village level as they have the best knowledge of those involved. It is important that the commissions understand the resistance structures from the highest to lowest level so as to resolve the following concerns:

- Within the current law, there is a need to acknowledge the complexity of contributions to the struggle¹². A list could be published with approval of the National Veterans Commission of those people who made secret contributions to the resistance movement despite also working for the Indonesian government, institutions or military. This will reduce the accusations made by the public when those who were perceived as “traitors” but were nonetheless supporting the resistance movement are recognized.
- One can look to nationalism and nation-building, but history must also recognise the complexity of the struggle. Two examples that do this well are: Jill Jolliffe’s *Living Memory Project* and the Post-CAVR activities.

SOCIAL HISTORY TO BE WRITTEN TO GATHER TOGETHER THE MULTIPLE STORIES OF THE RESISTANCE

- The Museum of the Resistance in Dili is an important initiative for remembering those who participated in the struggle. Because Timor-Leste is a post-conflict country, to look at recent history is very sensitive; however, many people want to bring together the history of the resistance.
- A national research team could be formed, including academics, to conduct nationwide research (to the *aldeia* level) into the multiple social histories that exist among different geographic, political and social groups in order to and write an accurate history of the complete process of national liberation. This will bring together a social history that reflects the diversity of stories and experiences of the Timorese resistance period; it will serve as a reference and educational tool and prevent historical narratives from being usurped for political or social gain.
- Such a social history project can utilize books, websites, social media, film and theatre to spread the message to the population; research should be linked to the history-gathering efforts of the Women’s

¹² For example, a person could find work supporting the resistance from both sides as a strategy for hiding from the enemy; in this case, the individual should be categorised as a true veteran or combatant according to their contribution within the reality of the conflict.

Resistance Association “OPMT” as well as the current socialization efforts of the “Chega!” report by the Post-CAVR Technical Secretariat¹³. Gaps can be identified and complimentary work undertaken.

CONTINUE RESPONSE TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS MADE THROUGH THE CAVR PROCESS

- The Government, through the Post-CAVR Technical Secretariat and Civil Society should continue their efforts to develop policy and programs that respond to the recommendations made through the “Chega!” Report in order to support continued research, support of formal justice processes and reparations and support for victims.¹⁴

DISAGREEMENTS RELATED TO ACCESS TO STATE FINANCES

ISSUES RELATED TO EDUCATION PROGRAMS FOR FAMILIES OF VETERANS

- Establish educational programmes for the families of veterans; on a national to local level socialise and clarify the policies regarding scholarships and vocational training for the children of martyrs and veterans and who is eligible or ineligible. This will reduce misunderstandings between the veterans’ and martyrs’ families.

¹³ “Chega!” Report, post-CAVR (Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation) Technical Secretariat: Dec 2005, Balide, Dili

¹⁴ Interview with Director of the post-CAVR Technical Secretariat, 18 September 2012, Balide, Dili

ANNEX 1: EWER METHODOLOGY

In 2008, Belun and Columbia University's Center for International Conflict Resolution (CICR) established Timor-Leste's Early Warning and Early Response (EWER) system for monitoring and addressing conflict and tensions nationwide. EWER's Dili-based management team and 13 District Coordinators are supported by a network of 84 sub-district-based volunteer monitors (2 in each of the program's 42 sub-districts) who gather information relevant to the potential for local conflict and civil unrest. The system currently monitors approximately 64% of Timor-Leste's communities, after scaling up gradually over its first three years of operation. EWER monitors are established members within their communities and are supported by Belun to strengthen links with official and civil society stakeholders in order to ensure a broader spectrum of data collection. Monitors receive training through a six-module course in Conflict Transformation skills, with each monitor attending two training modules per year.

Monitoring is undertaken largely through an observation, rather than an investigation model using local networks and local understanding of community dynamics to inform data collection. EWER conflict data is collected and reported in two ways: the first captures violent incidents from threats and intimidation to property destruction and physical harm. When reporting incidents, monitors select from a list of possible initiators, victims and respondents, as well as note incident methods of violence, impacts and locations. Given the observational nature and broad objectives of the monitoring, the EWER system facilitates appropriate referral pathways to address issues related to gender-based violence rather than providing direct response to individual incidents.

The second examines 65 situational indicators including 39 salient conflict factors (distributed across social, economic, political and external factors) and 23 peace capacities (See Annex 2 for a complete list). These indicators were chosen based on Belun's 2007 electoral violence monitoring work in 53 *sucos*.¹⁵ Although many indicators are comparable with those included in other early warning systems from around the world, EWER has pioneered the integration of gender-specific indicators and explicit inclusion of inter-family and sexual violence, among others.¹⁶

Finally, these 65 situational indicators are weighted to produce a Conflict Potential Index (CPI) in each sub-district and nationally. While this CPI is not intended to provide an accurate and targeted *prediction* of the type or location of violence that may occur, as unpredictable proximate factors can often provide stronger triggers for violence, the CPI does provide a comprehensive examination of the underlying conditions in each locality, allowing for a deeper analysis of trends over time and identification of vulnerabilities in the local peace capacity as well as potential for broader civic unrest.

¹⁵ *2004 Timor-Leste Conflict Assessment*, published by Columbia University Center for International Conflict Resolution (CICR) and Belun.

¹⁶ See Barton, F. et al, *Early Warning? A Review of Conflict Predictive Models* - PCR Project Special Briefing (Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC: February 2008), which contains a detailed comparison of early warning indicators from 30 warning models.