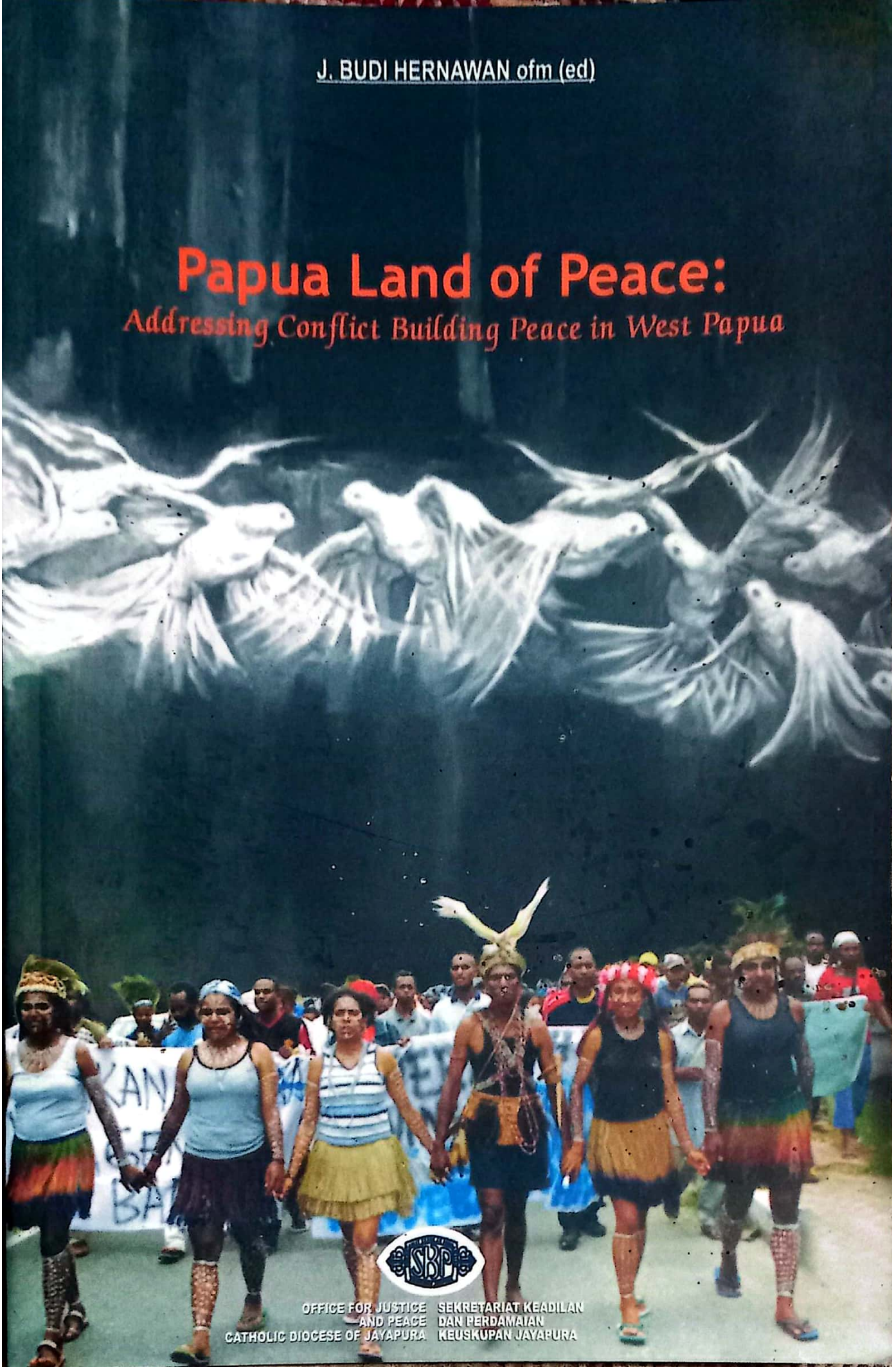
J. BUDI HERNAWAN ofm (ed)

Papua Land of Peace:

Addressing Conflict Building Peace in West Papua



OFFICE FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE
CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF JAYAPURA

SEKRETARIAT KEADILAN DAN PERDAMAIAN
KEUSKUPAN JAYAPURA

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Papua Land of Peace:

Addressing Conflict Building Peace in West Papua

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Papua Land of Peace: *Addressing Conflict Building Peace in West Papua*

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Foreword

As part of her mission to promote inter-faith dialogue for justice and peace, *Sekretariat Keadilan dan Perdamaian (SKP)* Jayapura has long held the desire to publish these materials as a single document. We feel these materials deserve a wider audience so that more people will have access to information about the history of the peace movement in West Papua, Indonesia, particularly since the former President Soeharto stepped down in May 1998.

This book aims to provide an overview of the process behind the peace movement in West Papua in terms of its origins, its conceptualisation within the Papuan context, its development and its manifestation during annual gatherings, including the recent celebration of the International Day of Peace, 21 September 2005. To this end, this book contains two sections.

The first section comprises a report on the Workshop on Peace-building held from 25-30 November 2002 in Sentani, Jayapura. On this occasion, some 40 organisations from various backgrounds reflected on peace and conflict resolution based on their experience working with communities in different parts of Papua. This part is divided into four sub-sections outlining the process toward formulating the concept of peace and includes an articulation of all elements that constitute the on-going process to build peace in Papua.

The second section consists of four articles discussing various aspects of the peace movement in West Papua to map out the progress of critical thought and reflection on the idea "Papua, Land of Peace." The declaration of Papuan religious leaders issued in Jayapura on 15 September 2005 concludes this presentation by illustrating the commitment of these leaders to promote peace based on justice.

Of course, this book does not cover everything nor every reflection made by the many elements of civil society in West Papua with respect to peace and justice. It is intended specifically to profile the evolution within the commitment of religious leaders who, as leaders of communities of faith, constantly

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encounter injustice in West Papua. Facing with this reality, faith leaders are challenged to act as agents for peace and justice on behalf of their congregations and informed by their respective religious visions and missions.

In closing, we wish to stress that we welcome any input, comments and critiques to this book so as to develop further our efforts toward promoting Papua as a Land of Peace! Thank you very much.

Jayapura, 4 October 2005
Peace and all good,

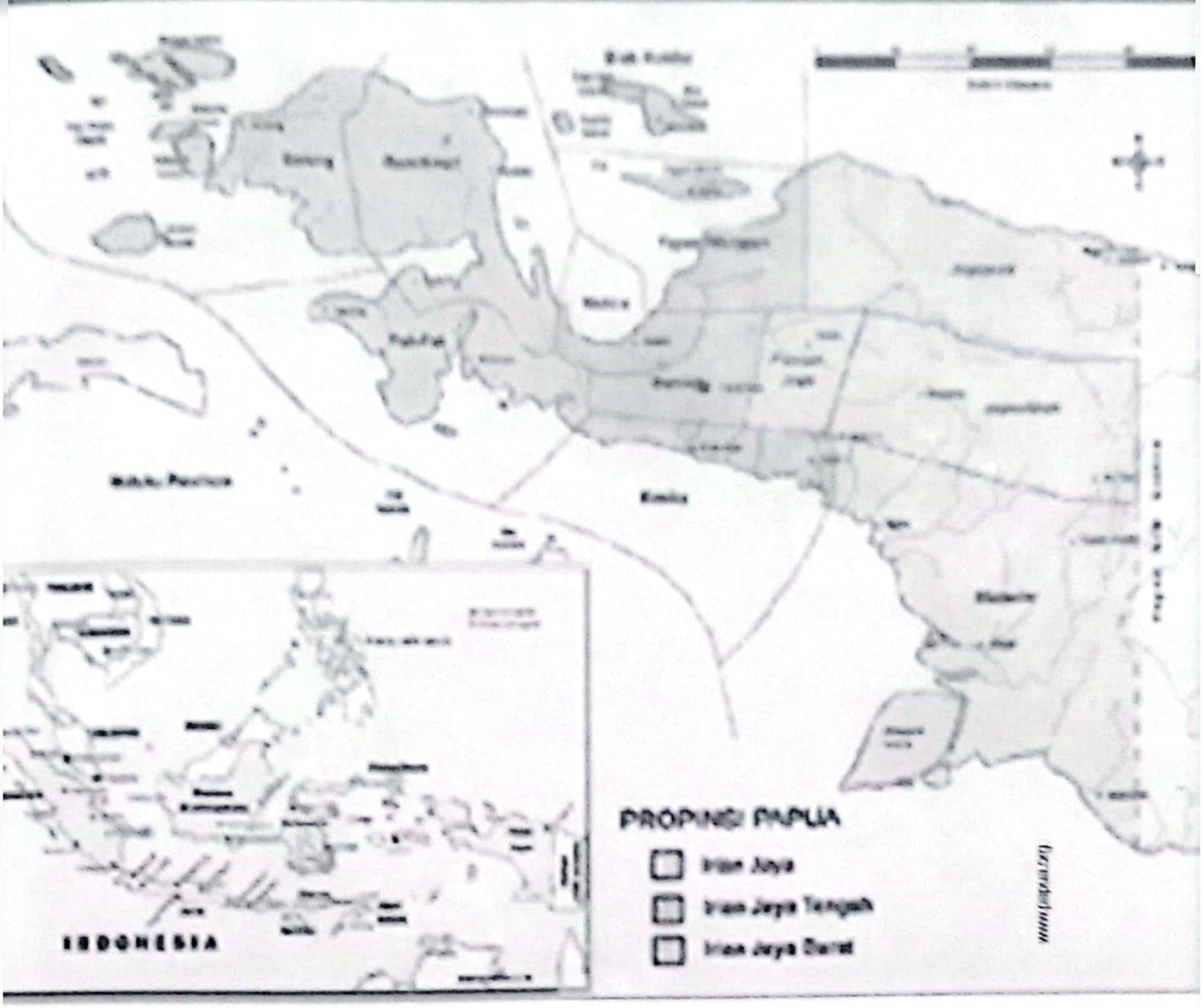
J. Budi Hernawan ofm
Director of SKP Jayapura

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List of abbreviations

SKP : Sekretariat Keadilan dan Perdamaian (Office for Justice and Peace of the Diocese of Jayapura)
PLP : Papua Land of Peace
GDP : Gross Domestic Product
UNCHR : United Nations Commission on Human Rights
ELSHAM : Lembaga Studi Hak Asasi Manusia (Institute for Human Rights Study and Advocacy)
OPM : Organisasi Papua Merdeka (Free Papua Movement)
PGGP : Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Papua (Ecumenical Council of Churches in Papua)

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Current Papua map after the divisian by Indonesian government

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People sell things in the street, since local government didn't provide special place for traditional market

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1 BUILDING A CULTURE OF PEACE TOWARDS

"Papua, a Land of Peace"

Theo van den Broek,
Ms Frederika Korain SH,
Br. Rudolf Kambayong OFM (eds.)

INTRODUCTION

This report is the product of a workshop held by the Office of Justice and Peace Diocese of Jayapura (SKP) on 25 - 30 November 2002. The theme of this workshop was: BUILDING A CULTURE OF PEACE TOWARDS "PAPUA, A LAND OF PEACE". The workshop was attended by 40 participants who represented various components of the Papuan community: (1) NGOs: LBH, Elsham, YPPWP, LP3A, YPMD, LP3BH, Pt. PPMA, ALDP;1 (2) Regional Government: two members of Commission F (of the local parliament or DPRD), and representatives of traditional community organizations or LMA (LMA Mandobo, Lemasa/Lemasko); (3) religious organizations: Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist organizations (4) Tertiary Education Institutions: Uncen, STTGKI and IPI; and (5) mass media: Timika Pos, Jubi, and Nurani Papua. The Papuan People's Presidium (PDP) was also invited to take part in this workshop, however some concerning developments ahead of the anniversary of the declaration of Papuan independence on the 1st of December forced representatives of the PDP to cancel their participation. Staff members of SKP (including staff of SKP Jayapura, Merauke, Agats and Sorong) were responsible for the smooth running of all processes during the workshop.

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[1] Please refer to Appendix 1 for the full names of the organizations appear in this document.

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The aims of the workshop were:

1. To bring together a number of 'activists/actors' who are seen to have the intention and desire to be involved in efforts "to build a culture of peace".
2. To reach an in-depth understanding with in the operational components of "building a culture of peace" as a common set of guiding principles.
3. To develop a system for "task sharing" and partnership involving all operational components.
4. To formulate an initial operational program in relation to all components in the process of "building a culture of peace".

The workshop was a success in terms of organization and in deepening our understanding of the dynamics of "building a culture of peace". It has also helped to bring about a shared commitment to continue our collective efforts to promote a 'culture of peace' in Papua.

In compiling this report, we have sought to be faithful to the outcomes of the workshop, while also helping to promote a level of concrete activity as both follow-up to the workshop and an expression of our commitment to build "a culture of peace" in Papua. In this report, we document the results of discussion during the workshop and provide a complete account of all ideas for peacebuilding activities suggested by participants. In addition, we include a number of additional ideas that arose during reflection by SKP staff following the workshop in compiling this report. These ideas are additional to what was produced at the workshop and we take license to include them on the basis that these "additions" can perhaps help us in following up on the outcomes of the workshop. These additions are offered as an invitation for further consideration/discussion in order to make our work plans more concrete.

We regard this report a 'tool', and consequently welcome any additions, responses or corrections. Our main aim in compiling this report is to provide the impetus to become genuine and effective actors in building a culture of peace to bring about: "Papua, a land of Peace"!

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REPORT CONTENTS

In 1. A. we note the background to the need of a joint commitment to "building a culture of peace" in Papua. Special attention is given to a number of de facto sources of conflict in Papua today.

In 1. B. the concept of "building a culture of peace" is outlined, weaving ideas developed during the workshop into the introductory concept paper presented to participants. The discussion revisits those components introduced in the concept paper as integral aspect of the concept of "peace" with reference to ideas put forward by participants of the workshop.

In 1. C. we outline a framework for action in relation to the nine components of "building a culture of peace". Each component is equipped with a series of activities that can serve as guides to follow-up action. In this description of activities, we pay careful attention to the input suggested by participants (detailing the types of activities to be implemented, as well as implementing agencies). Description of activities are divided into three categories: [1] general activities, [2] concrete activities, and [3] additional ideas (from SKP Jayapura). This chapter is designed to be the starting point towards a system of concrete and effective follow-up action.

In 1. D. we highlight a number of reflections by SKP staff. Furthermore, we include a work plan as a guide for SKP Jayapura staffto promote the continuation of our commitment to become "builders of a culture of peace".

1. A. BACKGROUND TO THE IDEA OF "PAPUA, A LAND OF PEACE"

We have all become familiar with the idea of creating "Papua, a land of peace".2 This concept emerged within an atmosphere rife with tension; the kind of atmosphere that has characterized the life of community in Papua recently. For the past four years, Papuan people have sought to "liberate them-

[2] We prefer to use the phrase "Papua, land of peace" and not "Papuan Zone o f Peace" considering the fact that peace should extend throughout Papua, and aware that the phrase "peace zone" is too easily associated with geographic divisions between "peace zones" and "war zones".

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selves"; struggling to break free from fear and inferiority, and striving to be able to again stand proud as a people deserving of recognition. Different elements of the community have responded to this struggle in different ways: [1] Papuans are relieved to finally break free from their silence and voice their aspirations; [2] non-Papuans (in Papua) have watched these developments with concern; [3] the authorities feel uneasy and on guard as they regard the new awareness of the Papuan community as "an act of opposition", and therefore akin to "separatism."

There are differing perceptions of the struggle for "self-liberation", both among Papuans themselves and "outside observers." But what is apparent to all is that the social situation in Papua today could cause and is causing serious tensions that may have serious consequences if not handled wisely. It is also clear that the increasingly strained social situation cannot be addressed through violence; this would only aggravate the tensions that have accumulated over the course of Papuan history. Amid this context, the idea of building a culture of peace and "Papua, a land of peace" emerged as a way to create conducive conditions to peace; conditions in which all parties concerned could work together so that Papuan people would be allowed to live in peace as they work to address the conflicts released from efforts toward self-liberation.

Sources of Conflict

Tensions that characterize the current social situation have emerged because of decades of oppression; this experience stored as "collective memory" (memoria passionis) needs to be aired. Expressions of this experience of oppression have caused concern, especially as the background to this experience was poorly understood. There are also social tensions caused by various factors, which could easily trigger conflict in the future. The potential conflict has various sources; some of which are described below:3

[1] Differing Political Aspirations

There are differing political aspirations among the community, particularly concerning the issue of Papua's integration into the unitary state of Indone-

[3] This is a brief overview of the analysis put forward by Mgr. Leo L. Ladjar ofm - the bishop of Jayapura - in his key-note speech to the "Peace Conference for Papua", 15-16 October 2002, in Jayapura.

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sia. These different aspirations are yet to be properly reconciled. Meanwhile, the Special Autonomy reform package has not been an adequate response to the aspirations of Papuan communities. In fact, Special Autonomy also has the potential to cause tensions between Papuans themselves by splitting the community into autonomy and independence camps.

[2] Misuse of Official Position and Authority

The contest for (government) positions amid initiatives giving priority to Papuans in recruitment practices is a sore point that could easily become a source of conflict between ethnic groups. In addition, the national 'diseases' of corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN), as well as the "project mentality", which have long been rampant in the central government, have quickly gained ground in Papua. This reality has been strengthened by the absence of a clear "concept for implementation of Special Autonomy and benchmarks for achievement" which could be used as a guide for the broader reference of the community.

[3] Confusing governance

While there is a growing desire to see governance in Papua (and in Indonesia generally) placed under civilian authority, TNI continues to assume a prominent and powerful role in governance. This reality does not help the process of democratization in Papua. TNI appears to operate in a way entirely removed from civilian authority. It is also clear that the authority of TNI is not exclusive of economic interests and the military often has its own agenda. TNI is clearly a source of conflict and tension in the community.

[4] Suspicion between ethnic and tribal groups

A lack of respect for dignity and rights of human beings is a source of conflict. There are many among us who are yet to fully appreciate others as fellow "human beings" and deserving of respect on this basis. The status and dignity of a person is more often measured in consideration of their physical appearance (their skin color, etc,) or based on their wealth and social position.

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[5] Suspicion between different religious groups

The human instinct to compete and gain up upper hand over rivals can encourage people to call on the help of God Allah to back them in their competition. Throughout history, this narrow perspective of religion has risen fanatical views from extreme religious groups seeking to not only be stronger than other religious groups, but wipe them out by any means possible. This kind of perspective toward religion robs people's of their ability to bring peace and instead, breeds tension and social unrest through the use of violence - irrespective of the fact that violence itself is a disavowal of God as a manifestation of love and goodness.

[6] Socio-economic disparity

One of the main potential sources of conflict is the socio-economic imbalance between different social strata. While some have a lot (perhaps even much more than they need), others have little or live in continuous poverty. The gap between rich and poor is a form of injustice (a result of attempts to protect one's existence without compromise) and this causes disharmony in the relations between people. This imbalance is a potential source of conflict that threatens and destroys the prospects for peace.

[7] Loss of common spiritual basis

For decades the Papuan community has been flooded with influences of the modern world (in aspects of leadership, economics, society, culture and politics), which have forced the Papuan community out of isolation. These same influences have undermined the basis of traditional life, including its traditions and customs, which ensured harmonious living. Consequently, the traditional community has felt the loss of its common spiritual foundation and witnessed the disavowal of its basic values (including the system of indigenous rights to land and resources) by the "modern world". Thus, the continued existence of Papuans as people has been threatened.

[8] Draining of natural resources

Papua is a land that is very rich in natural resources. For decades its wealth has been exploited without any real improvement to the standard of living

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of the local people. The community has increasingly felt that their land has been exploited and its wealth looted. Furthermore, pollution and damage to the environment have increased daily and attract less than serious attention from the government and other authorities.

1. B. UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF 'BUILDING A CULTURE OF PEACE'

In view of many sources of conflict (as outlined above), an increasing number of people and organizations have come to believe that the potential of conflict can only be contained if we agree to live together in peace with a spirit of mutual acceptance to create a place where everyone is able to develop on acceptable terms. What is needed is a "culture of peace" as an alternative to the resolution of conflict through the use of violence.

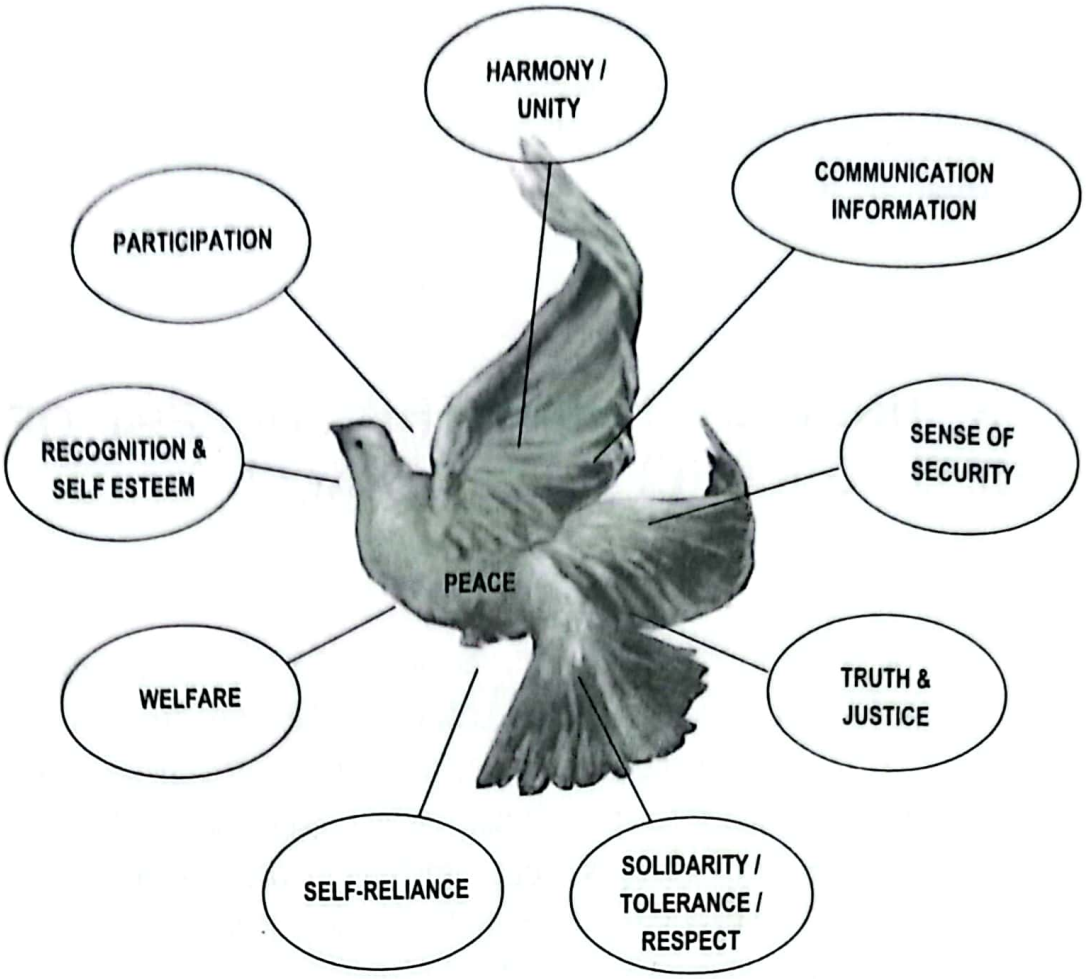
Peacebuilding should rise above the level of discourse; it needs concrete action. Moreover, peacebuilding requires extensive effort and shared political will to address the problems we currently face. These problems are very complex; they relate to socio-cultural, economic and political aspects of life. Yet ultimately, all these issues have a common foundation: the desire of the Papuan people "to liberate themselves from all forms of oppression".

Creating "Papua, a land of peace" is one means towards the goal of liberation from oppression as defined above. It is also a precursor to the resolution of problems without the use of violence. Therefore, the concept of "Papua, a land of peace" is a 'social condition', not just a geographical area which is free of violence within a war zone.

Nine components

As a framework for the development of the concept for "building a culture of peace", we can identify a number of components that determine the existence of "sense of peace". These components are outlined below.

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Brief explanation:

When it comes to "peace", there are a number of elements that we desire to be part of our daily reality and shared principles of the community: we want to feel secure, we want to be respected as a person irrespective of difference; we want to have enough food to eat and other basic needs to be fulfilled, we want to be treated fairly and justly; we want to be recognized as individual and as ethnic group; we want to live without dependent on anyone and with control over our own lives; we want to be heard and taken into account; and finally, we want to live in harmony with nature, with a sense of unity and wholeness.

All the above components are important and serve as principles in formulating activities and policies in our efforts to "develop a culture of

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peace". Many of these components are "politically loaded", or require action that accords with this.

PARTICIPATION:

As members of a community, we all have the right to take part in building the world around us. Just as it was in the past (when communities were organized along the lines of local traditions/customs (adat) and everyone had a distinct role), today, all members of the community are expected to take an active role in taking care of community affairs. This participation can be realized through involvement in local governance; helping to determine government policies or by supervising the execution of its policies. It can be undertaken by individuals or through community organizations such as legislative bodies, NGOs, traditional community organizations (LMA), village councils, religious organizations, higher educational institutions, etc. Inclusive representation, both through institutions and on individual level, ensures we are able to fight for the issues and the views of the community. We need to maximize opportunities of involvement from all community members on an equal basis and maintain a balance in the participation of all elements of the community. This includes involving women, who make up half of the population, in the dynamics of social life.

Experience shows that many of the important decisions taken in Indonesia - especially in Papua - were made by a small group of people. The majority of the community forms a 'voiceless' group and unable to bring about the changes and progress they desire. Similar powerlessness is experienced when it comes to the fulfillment of basic needs. The time has come for the Papuan community to become agents, not victims, of history. The role of the government in this regard is pivotal. It must be courageous and create opportunities for the Papuan community to play a real role and forge the way for change. The role of the community is no less important; it must be aware of and want to take a role in determining its own future, without depending on others.

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Opportunities for participation are increasing in this era of reform, especially with the Special Autonomy provisions for Papua (Otsus). The Papuan community has been given the confidence to organize itself to meet its needs and determine its own future. Those in government have gained authority to make special policies, including decision making regarding the allocation of funds to fulfill the needs of the community. However, similar to the abuse of power and misuse of authority by bureaucrats in the past, the considerable authority and funds available in the newly autonomous Papua has enabled the rampant misuse of funds (corruption). Evidence of this began to emerge in 2002, the first year of regional autonomy, when the supposed benefits of Special Autonomy were not seen by the Papuan community, except in the form of many luxuries afforded to Papuan bureaucrats. To prevent this from continuing, the community needs to put into effect the mechanisms of social control, in order to monitor the actions of the government.

In order to be able to participate effectively in social affairs, each member of the community must have a strong grasp on the current reality in Papua. An understanding about the current state of affairs helps to promote the kind of attitude and action required to bring about "Papua, a land of peace". This understanding requires serious effort by all groups capable of promoting community awareness regarding the situation in Papua and the skills to help people to speak out. What is certain is that participation can only be achieved if freedom of expression is guaranteed.

SOLIDARITY AND TOLERANCE / RESPECT

Participation is strongly tied to the sense of togetherness among people who come from diverse backgrounds and different ethnic, cultural, religious and gender identities. In everyday life, solidarity is mostly determined by blood ties, place of origin, ethnicity, shared history, place of residence and/or a feeling of shared fate in fortune and misfortune. These aspects of identity can

[4] The term "Amber" is widely used to refer to 'people coming from outside Papua'.

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become a strong bond between people - but they are dangerous if they are regarded as the only true cohesive value (narrow primordialism) as is implied by the oft-heard expressions to the tune of: "we're Papuan, you're Amber4; we're mountain people, you're from coastal areas", etc.

Solidarity is also determined by a sense of equality and shared commitment to those values respected by all human communities, such as truth, peace, justice, etc. These are the values that guarantee the continuation of human life under any conditions.

Solidarity is not the same as uniformity or equality. On the contrary, within solidarity there are 'differences' that should be viewed as strengths and assets. These become important considering that differences sometimes become bitter conflicts and destroy the principles of humanity, as occurred in Kalimantan, Maluku and Poso over the past few years. Tolerance is also required to maintain a critical attitude; that is, the ability to accept new ideas, recognize and value differences - the uniqueness of others as inseparable parts of our own existence - without abandoning the inherited value system of our respective communities. This kind of attitude helps us to understand better developments in Papua that have been led to ethnic, racial and religious problems, and could also be behind the formation of groups who claim to represent certain religions or ideologies, like Laskar Jihad, Laskar Kristen, Red and White Garrison, Papuan Taskforce, TBO (Operation Help Force: members of the community recruited by the Indonesian military to help an operation).

In the context of creating "Papua, a land of peace", a tolerant attitude (that is mutual recognition and valuing uniqueness) and the disavowal of extreme fanaticism are some of the essential keys in helping to prevent the occurrence of a conflict based on identity. Tolerance is also a basic tool for reconciliation and permanent mutual acceptance in the community. This attitude to life should become a part of our basic education within each family unit and cultivated in other inner circles of acquaintance. We can also work to achieve it by communicating with other groups through dialogue between religious communities or ethnic groups, and also dialogue between different components of society (the military, police, NGOs,

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LMA, government and other community groups) so that we can develop a joint commitment to strive for peace in Papua.

INFORMATION/COMMUNICATION

The prerequisite to participation in community life is having information, access to sources of information and the freedom to communicate as we desire. Communication and information are fundamental to any kind of participation in today's world. Incorrect information can only mislead people. While correct information helps people position themselves in relation to others. There is a lot of misleading information circulating in communities in Papua at present: this relates to rumors of "masked people" associated with Laskar Jihad; suggestions that the Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan, would get involved in the diplomatic politics of Papuan independence; the rumored that Kofi Annan visited Wamena and Manokwari; and so forth. False and misleading informations as shown before make community nervous, confused and afraid. Any attempt to censor the truth or to make it blur is also a form of misinformation. Clearly, the mass media plays a pivotal role in regard to this issue.

Information/communication can take various forms and can be undertaken by anyone. Information/communication can be oral or written, and transmitted through many forms of communication technology available today. What we need is the ability and creativity to utilize various forms of communication to convey our message, so that the message can be received accurately and is easily understood. On one hand, there is a significant responsibility with the writer in deciding what kind of information should be conveyed. On the other hand, there is also responsibility of the information recipients to view it critically and assess the veracity of the information. It is also important to take into account the source of the information and any particular agenda from the person who distributing that information may have.

The important role of information/communication is reflected in the fact that we can find dynamism in towns and cities in Papua, but there is instability in inland, remote and coastal communities. Information received by these communities is sometimes not complete or simply incorrect. This can have

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significant consequences, with some in inland communities, for example, becoming "dreamers". They gave up the tasks required for their daily existence and wait for a "new beginning" where some community leaders have led them to believe will soon come and solve all of their problems. Another bitter truth relates to the situation regarding indigenous rights to land and natural resources. Traditional owners of land are sometimes surprised when companies arrive ready to set up operations on the community's traditional lands armed with licenses from the government (Jakarta) without forewarning let alone any consultation with the local community. Information about such matters, which is deliberately blocked, does not only wreak havoc on the development plans of the company and government, but also on the state of the community where the development is planned.

To help bring about "Papua, a land of peace", news reporting must maintain balance, meaning that responsibility must be taken for the accuracy of information and the scope of coverage (so that reporting does not exclusively cover the activities of those in authority). The media must strive for objectivity, transparency, and factual analysis; it must not promote propaganda or intentionally provoke the community. In order to preserve the independence of the media, intervention from other groups must be rejected. However, this also depends on the orientation, attitudes and aims of the media agencies themselves. When the media are exclusively "profit oriented" they treat news as merchandise, and fail to contribute to public awareness or knowledge. Consequently, it is not unusual for a newspaper in Papua to be filled with sensational news or for a media agency to secure its income by serving as a mouthpiece for those in power.

WELFARE

In Papua, like everywhere else, people need to eat and drink; they require shelter, guarantees of safety and so forth. In the language of the Mee ethnic community this is called mobu, which literally translates as "full or satisfied". The word implies a sense of material and spiritual satisfaction where no-one need to suffer from hunger, poverty or disease. Among the Dani people, the duty of a leader is focused on "ensuring fertility", which means that all members of the community

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should be given the opportunity to develop and have equal access to collective forms of wealth, such as land or other resources. Similarly, each member of the community deserves the equal right to be healthy and educated. In brief, welfare means that all basic needs of every person, not just a minority of people, are fulfilled. Without equitable community welfare, there will be no peace.

This is the current reality of community welfare in Papua: there is a high maternal mortality rate and the rapid spread of deadly diseases like tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS; the quality of education is a cause for concern - especially in isolated areas which are in reality Papuan "ghettos"; and, poverty is rampant. This situation is of great significance in relation to the state of the human resources in Papua now and in the future. Education system and training have been determined more by political motivations than genuine objectives to improve the intellectual capacity of our children.

The issue of welfare is closely related to policies in practical politics, that is, government development policies should focus on improving the welfare of the community. What is needed are (local) government policies that protect the economic resources of the Papuan community from exploitative forms of natural resource extraction, an issue which is also closely linked to the issue of traditional ownership of land and resources. The system of indigenous rights to land and resources that has been inherited through generations of Papuans needs to be recognized and respected under law in order to be binding for all parties operating in Papua. With such reforms, natural resources will be able to be managed to bring prosperity to Papuan communities as legal owners of their land.

Especially in this era of Special Autonomy with its influx of funding, the political will - in the form of regional government development policies - needs to be targeted at improving welfare for the Papuan people by making them the "economic participants", not just "spectators". As you can see throughout Papua today, business centers are all controlled by non-Papuans. The powerlessness of the Papuans is demonstrated by the vendors who sit on the dirt floor to sell their wares, or by the Papuan women who earnestly try to earn some rupiah by hawking the product of their gardens on the side of the road or on the footpath under the intense sun.

The community also needs policies that really address their needs in terms of developing human resources through a quality education system based on local Papuan wisdom and culture. The problem of poor quality of health, which causes high rate on death, also can only be ameliorated or

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solved if the regional government seriously directs attention and funds to building an adequate health service. If this happens, one day there may be no need to listen to the complaints we often heard, such as that news that someone has died because of the difficulty in obtaining expensive medicine, or that they couldn't receive medical treatment as there was no doctor, nurse or medical equipment available. Being too long in this situation, the community needs to be empowered and protected; in particular this will require training, dissemination of information and high quality training addresses their real needs.

SECURITY

A sense of security constitutes a basic needs of all people. This fact has encouraged all components in the society to try to fulfil this needs through various methods and actions. While creating a sense of security is a task of the entire community, this does not mean that all civilians are obliged to take part in the community security system (Siskamling), for example, or to be recruited to assist a military operation, or to serve as members of the Red and White Garrison (Barisan Merah Putih). All components of the community can contribute to the security of their society by carrying out their social duties in a positive way (without corruption, with discipline and respecting others, etc.)

Formally, civil security is the responsibility of the police, and the military has a mandate to defend the integrity of the country from outside attacks - or from groups who threaten national security. However, the division of tasks between these two institutions is not clear, and the community is very confused. In a number of cases there have been clashes between the military and the police over their respective roles; these clashes have often been violent and civilians have been caught in the crossfire. The role of these institutions is even more confusing when they involved in activities which are not part of their task, such as economic ventures. When either of these institutions involved in economic ventures, you can be sure that their interests will be protected using their authority or force. It is clear that such conflicts of interest are very damaging to the faithful execution of their duties. It is very unfortunate that the security forces themselves to create insecurity in the community - as has been revealed by several events in Papua over the last few years. There should be a clarification from

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the respective roles of security organs, in this case the police, military (including those of non-organic status) and civil community groups regarding their tasks, to avoid further "breakdown" in maintaning the security and social order.

A 'sense of security' is something that influences the dynamics of other aspects in life. If they feel secure, people are able to think calmly, creatively so that they can build a community with a better future. For many years, the rights of the Papuan community to feel safe was neglected and often experienced physical torture, mental and even sometimes sexual violence, especially towards women and children. This is clearly seen in the regions far from the centers of government/cities, which have little means of communication and monitoring.

To build a truly "New Papua", where people can live peacefully and enjoy safety as a basic right, there must be greater effort toward law enforcement. This should be the main role of the police and law enforcement agencies. They need support to become more professional and independent in performing their duties. It is very unfortunate that several humanitarian incidents in Papua, which have caused great suffering in the community, have not been properly dealt with under the law. Resolving such issues depends heavily on the political will to create "Papua, a land of peace". As long as there are parties who still do not wish for peace in Papua, the desire of the community to live in peace will not be realized.

TRUTH AND JUSTICE

Truth and justice are basic values in dealings with our communal life. People of Papua, when telling their life story never forget the misery they have suffered for years. Many feel as if they have been wounded; become the victims of ideologies of both national and international authorities. They have been respected as human being only as far as they benefit people or groups in power.

Several practical/strategic steps can be taken to raise up truth and justice - advocacy, research, declaration of facts, mediation and negotiation - to raise awareness of and look for solutions to issues in relation to this component that are considered to be essential for the Papuan community. These steps are aimed at realizing genuine law enforcement for all (to stop the virtual legal immunity of certain groups). They are also aimed at providing transparent information of what is true and what is false.

The correction of political history in Papua is one of the main demands voiced by the community and an important means to promote truth and jus-

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tice. There must be dialogue in regard to Papuan history by all involved parties to discover the historical truth of the territory. At the very least, dialogue will create an opportunity to clarify truths and untruths, therefore, open a way for the truth to be understood and accepted. This clarification will help to give due expression to basic problems faced in Papua, give the community a sense of truth, satisfaction and justice, and hopefully bring about an attitude of mutual admission of mistakes, mutual forgiveness, mutual respect and mutual trust. This is the first step towards reconciliation, where all groups can be helped to understand the reality of what has happened in history.

Establishing clean government (that is free from corruption, collusion and nepotism) is also a crucial step. Individuals with morality and integrity, who are able to recognize the rights of others based on their merits and needs as people, are the kind of individuals required to organize community life. Greed wreaks havoc on our lives as it causes people to value others only to the extent they are useful to oneself or one's group. Besides this, acts of violence in the name of the country, integration, religion or God, are a bitter reality that brings much misfortune. Such attitudes and actions seriously jeopardize efforts to create "Papua, a land of peace".

Manipulating information or facts of an event for whatever reason, is also a mistake. Whether one is aware of it or not, this practice greatly affects the life of many people. Manipulation of information does not help community to understand developments in the world. When monitoring a process of justice, it is difficult to move forward if a truly illegal act is justified, or vice versa. The community finds it difficult to position itself and take action to follow the developments of the world.

SELF-RELIANCE

We all want to feel we are in charge of our lives and that we can take care of ourselves without depend on other people. This means that people of Papua must take the initiative in optimizing the potential of their resources (both natural and human).

The tendency toward a "project mentality" is the antithesis of independence. A "project mentality" translates into a community's dependence on external help. The community does not have confidence with their potential to look after themselves, let alone to determine its own future. As long as the "project mentality"

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holds sway over the attitude of the community, and so as the government encourages this attitude through aid projects, such as the Social Safety Net (JPS), District Development Project (PPK), rice aid (Beras Opsus), Crash Program, etc, the community continues to wait for others to act as their life support. In short, this "project mentality" indirectly kills the creativity of the people; it makes them dependent, an object of other people's decisions and creates false impression that people are in control of the livelihood.

We can see throughout Papua people behaving like beggars, going from one office to another looking for charity. This mentality is strengthened by the way Special Autonomy has been promoted, in particular given the way the government has drawn attention to the fact that it has "lots of money". This situation becomes even more serious when people or institutions believe that they can not rely on the capacity of Papuans.

In developing the Papua of the future, community members need to take the initiative in creating their own opportunities by tapping into their abilities; such as those in the areas of art and local industries, including fishing, livestock farming (pigs, cows, goats, etc.), areca (pinang) plantations, yams, bananas, legumes, and other enterprises to help reduce and even do way with dependence on other groups. Such enterprises need to be supported by various forms of formal and non-formal education (including local content).

"To take charge of one's life" doesn't mean restricting oneself and, ignoring other people's aspirations or potential changes for the better. Instead, we need to be prepared to work with other components of society to promote the sound development of the community.

SELF-ESTEEM AND RECOGNITION

It is clear that the self-esteem of the Papuan people has been suppressed to the point that it has almost ceased from existence. Many Papuans have begun to feel inferior because they are regarded as ignorant primitives. Such attitudes are the result of a discriminatory environment that has continued for decades, and in which, for example, there was no opportunity for traditional celebrations and artistic expression, or, in some instances, such events were prohibited outright.

There is no other way to reclaim self-respect except for the Papuan people to

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rise up and demonstrate their capacity. All types of potential among the Papuan people must receive serious attention, be appreciated by Papua's own sons and daughters, and also be respected by all those who set foot on Papuan soil. Of course, this does not detract from the importance that Papuans accept the different traits of others who also live on this land. Mutual recognition of the existence of each individual or ethnic group in Papua is the beginning of efforts to create "Papua, a land of peace". The struggle to restore one's self-respect and to be recognized as an equal member of the human race is a natural urge for everyone in the world. In the eyes of God we all have the same value and dignity! The same statement is expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is universally valid as a guide to today's "new customary culture (adat baru)".

In the history of Papuan peoples' suffering, the self-esteem and recognition of the Papuan people have often depended on the way others have regarded and acted toward them. However, the reality is that the self-esteem and recognition of Papuans have also been greatly determined by the behavior of Papuans themselves. Bad habits - such as the frequenting bars, not working hard at work, not wanting work in the fields, getting drunk and the like - erode the dignity of the Papuan people. The time has come to work to negate the basis of this social stigma through a convincing display of personal dignity.

Self-respect can be developed by promoting the potential of Papuan society, through activities to revitalize near-extinct communal traditions or recognizing/celebrating days of historical significance for the Papuan people. We can try to conduct ourselves in positive ways to eliminate the stigma that "Papuans are drunkards, lazy, stupid, and primitive", at the same time as we work to eradicate the oppression that underlies many of the bitter experiences Papuans have experienced for so many years. In addition, improving the standard of Papuan people's performance in economic, social and political spheres will help to regenerate self-confidence and self-respect and bring about the recognition of Papuan people's existence.

UNITY/ HARMONY

We are all part of a unity much greater than our own existence. Humankind recognizes that the universe is its only dwelling-place and that human life is inseparable from the land, water and other life forms. For centuries the uni-

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verse was understood and protected through a variety of inherited traditions, such as those expressed in the various philosophies of life held by the Papuan people. For example, for the Amungme people, land is the mother who gives life. Because of this, customs were created within the Amungme communal tradition to carefully regulate the land's use.

However, it appears that the dynamics of development in Papua take an exploitative pattern where land is taken over and forest felled completely to promote various initiatives, such as transmigration, mining and timber processing. Rivers and oceans are polluted due to investor activities. The environment is truly threatened - even in this era of autonomy and Special Autonomy - when the focus of development is centered on the realization of the greatest possible regional profit through the exploitation of natural resources with huge capital investment. The Freeport mine caste a dark shadow over the lives of the Amungme and Kamoro; forestry activities by logging concession holders have completely destroyed the forests of a number of traditional societies in Sorong, Merauke, Asmat, Bintuni-Wasior-Manokwari, coastal Jayapura and other regions; and small, isolated communities in Teluk Bintuni are likely to be disempowered with the arrival of LNG gas companies. Situations such as these that create the imperative to work on building a culture of peace in the aim this will help to free the Papuan people and their land from the exploitative oppression of the past.

Being aware of the importance of the integrity of the universe and the future sustainability of human life, we must come to a true understanding of how we should utilize it. An understanding of integrity and harmony must be expressed in our lives through our relations with God/Life's Mystery, with one another, and in our relations with the environment. The universe, including its people in all their ethnic, racial and religious variety, is God's creation. An attitude of religiosity in inter-personal relations must be developed, while recognizing that no religion or belief system seeks the destruction of mankind. Excessive (fanatical) ethnocentric/religion-centric attitudes will spoil the harmony of creation in whose mystery we have faith. Such understanding moves us to love one another and our surrounding environment.

In addition, development activities in Papua must be based on 'patterns of sustainable development'; that is development that takes into consideration the sustainability of the lives of generations to come. This concept must be

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fought for so that it can be reflected in the development policies drafted by the regional government.

1. C. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES "TO BUILD A CULTURE OF PEACE"

In this chapter we try to present what participants in the workshop have produced in terms of a program of activities. After studying the outcomes of the workshop, it was clear that the majority of the programs proposed are of a general nature; more of a "framework" than concrete set of activities which will be undertaken by any one of the organizations. This motivated us not to simply report on what was produced by participants, but also to take the liberty of adding a number of thoughts (in the section of potential program plans) to encourage further reflection. In formulating the program of activities, we did not pay a great deal of attention to all the 'key elements' from previous discussion, and concentrated on those of greatest interest.

This chapter describes activities formulated by participants component by component. It is composed as follows:

1. Firstly, we will present a summary of the essential elements of each component.
2. Secondly, we will note the formulation of activities as proposed during the workshop and those already a part of the program commitments of the actors/key players involved.
3. Thirdly, we will add (printed in italics) a number of ideas, if there are any, connected with the component under consideration.

Note:

In this third section, we include a number of ideas, including suggestions regarding actors who could follow through on these actions. We simply offer these ideas freely, and do not claim that they are all perfect and complete.

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Anyone may feel free to use them, to change them and to add to them, etc. Essentially, this material is only presented as "tool to be shared among colleagues" without any other pretensions. Hopefully, it will be useful!

PARTICIPATION

PARTICIPATION==========KEY ASPECTS/OBJECTIVES

	PRINCIPLES/CORE ASPECTS		MEANS — CONDITION
1.	Rights/obligations to participate in the development of the world we live in	1.	Participation in governance
2.	Becoming agents - not victims - of history	2.	Adequate mechanisms for public representation required
3.	Communities must be informed of and involved in determining of government polices	3.	Increased organisational strength/capacity of representative organizations (DPRD, NGOs, LMA, neighborhood committees, among others)
4.	Freedom of aspiration and the expression of opinions	4.	Developing programs of pro-active activities
5.	Shared perspectives	5.	Achieving equality of opportunity
6.	Mutual respect	6.	Roles of NGOs, religious and community leaders
7.	Building a shared awareness	7.	Roles of higher education
8.	Gender equity	8.	Roles of government
9.	Using persuasive and adoptive approaches in a range of activities and policies	9.	Public education
		10.	Knowing history

PARTICIPATION ========== ACTIVITY

ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Participation in governance	Strategic plan for 25-year province-wide development program beginning in 2003 to be brought into compliance with the people's basic rights and Special Autonomy legislation.	DPRD, MRP, BP3D Papua, community groups / LMA, PERFORM Project Papua, Pt. PPMA Papua, YPMD Papua, LPMUD "Sup Orisar" Biak, LPMS-ICS Jayapura, LMA, women's groups
	Training to promote capacities to wisely maximize the potential of natural resources/ human resources through training in environmental impact management	WALHI, YALI, YPLHC, PPMA, Perform Project, BP3D Papua, LMA.
	Monitoring-evaluation and determining standards of practice (??)	WALHI, YALI, YPLHC, PPMA, PERFORM Project, BP3D Papua, LMA.
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Participation in the drafting of government regulations and legislation	Tertiary education institutions: UNCEN, IPI, STT GKI; LBH
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Monitoring discussion in the DPRD regarding the 2003 regional general budget	Foker, kelompok Agus Sumule Faculty of Economics, UNCEN / STIE

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ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Adequate mechanisms for public representation	Increasing the capacity of people serving in mechanisms for public representation through assessment and capacity building	UNCEN, regional government (at the levels of province, city, regency), NGOs
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Capacity building for LMA	Pt PPMA
	Support for LMA Asmat	SKP Agats
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Working for the formation of the MRP	DPRD, NGOs, religious organisation
	Awareness raising among the leaders of political parties	ALDP
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Developing programs of pro-active activities	Conducting public education, campaigns, inter-cultural/ethnic dialogue	Media, Department of education and culture (regional government); NGOs; LMA; associations of ethnic groups
	Providing information and promoting understanding regarding government programs	Public relations divisions of regional government
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Public education and campaigns (about?)	ALDP, Pt PPMA (awareness raising & Buletin Kontak Kawan), Commission F (DPRD) DPRD, LMA Mandobo, LEMASA, SKPs in Papua, LP3BH
	Inter-faith dialogue	SKP Jayapura; religious organizations
	Inter-cultural dialogue	ALDP, SKP Archdiocese of Merauke
	Promoting rubric for dialogue in daily and weekly media	Timika Pos, Nurani Papua, JUBI
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Interactive dialogue on TV/radio/other forums	SKPs, religious leaders, YPMD, Foker, ALDP
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Role of government	Providing the means and infrastructure to promote development of local capacity and interests	Regional government in Papua (province, city, regency), related NGOs
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Socialisation of the results of this workshop among government (at levels of province and regency)	SKPs, religious leaders
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Good governance	The formation of an organisation for the monitoring government policies, spending of public monies by government/NGOs, monitoring of the performance of the military and DPRD.	Facilitated by those following through on the results from this workshop and bringing in competent organizations as relevant.
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Strengthening of the forum for independent	SKP Diocese of Jayapura

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	civil society (Forum Masyarakat Sipil Independen)	
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Promoting the formation of a monitoring and surveillance organizations at tertiary education institutions - (Kelompok Sumule)	UNCEN, STFT, STTGKI
	Revitalizing and assisting PERFORM	AI_DP
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Capacity Building	Capacity building is required to support the implementation of all elements of the peacebuilding program by improving the organisational capacity of actors involved. For example: improving the capacity for legal drafting among the DPRD, tertiary education institutions, NGOs and relevant community organizations to promote the drafting of local regulations (PERDA, PERDASI, PERDASUS)	Facilitated by organisation following up the results of the workshop (SKP Jayapura), with the assistance of other organizations as required for individual programs.
	Creating opportunities for NGOs and LMAs to increase the quality of their programs	As above
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Promoting the peacebuilding capacity of organizations in the follow-up program	SKP Diocese Jayapura
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Increasing the effectiveness of cooperation between NGOs	Foker
	Preparing a list of "resource people/experts"	Foker

COMMUNICATION - INFORMATION

COMMUNICATION/INFORMATION ======== KEY ASPECTS/OBJECTIVES

	PRINCIPLES/CORE ASPECTS		MEANS — CONDITION
1.	Communication and information are a key to participation	1.	Developing a capacity for critical thinking among [a] those providing information, and [b] those receiving it
2.	Information creates opportunities to influence "the world"	2.	Providing knowledge and understanding
3.	Incorrect information misleads people	3.	Balance of information: information that is accountable
4.	Accurate information helps people to position themselves	4.	Formulating opinions (pro-active; based on one's values, including religious values)
5.	Freedom of opinion	5.	Media/press freedom and independence
6.	Information is not intended for propaganda/provocation	6.	Changing patterns of thought and behavior (whose?)
7.	Information should be factual and analytical	7.	Transparent policies and implementation in ways that promote credibility

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COMMUNICATION/INFORMATION ========== ACTIVITIES

ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS
Developing critical thinking	• Media education • Reading rooms (meaning?) • Libraries • Alternative media	Media (print/electronic); regional government department for education and research; UNICEF; YPLHC; Churches/mosques/ temples; NGOs
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Improving access to libraries	UNCEN, IPI, STT GKI
	Alternative media: "Buletin Kontak Kawan" (networking media)	Pt PPMA
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Developing reading rooms for students	Research Division-GKII
	Writing competitions	UNCEN, STIE, STFT, STTGKI
	Establishing a journalism school	UNCEN, regional government
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Balance of information	Balance of news in all areas through: - news reports - rubric for religious dialogue - opinion pieces	Print media: CEPOS; JUBI; Pt. PPMA; YAPEMKA-Biak; Timika Post; Papua Post; Tifa Papua
	Increasing the space/opportunities for balanced discussion among policymakers	Media
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Rubric for religious dialogue in the media	Religious groups working with the support of Timika Pos
	Opinion pieces regarding peacebuilding	Timika Pos
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Expanding rubric for religious dialogue on RRI	Religious organizations
	Informative interactive dialogue	NGOs
	Follow-up on the "Deklarasi Manokwari 2003"	Tifa Papua
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Transparency	Objective and informative news reporting	Media
	Media independence	Media
	In-depth interviews with policymakers in Papua	Media
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Increasing the quality of journalism, research	Jubi, Tifa Papua
	Series of in-depth interviews with commentators on socio-political issues	Jubi, Tifa Papua
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Awareness	On-going efforts toward awareness raising among the public and policymakers in government and police.	All organizations and institutions in ways relevant to their current programs
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS

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	Providing information materials in accordance with the area of specialization of the organisation	NGOs, all SKPs in Papua, media, tertiary education institutions, representative organizations.
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	News service to provide information about the actual (social/economic/political/cultural) situation in Papua	Foker
	Public reporting	FORMASI
	High-standard popular writing regarding actual developments	SKP, Research Division-GKII, Research Division-GKI
	Improved communication (including the exchange of information) among community actors	NGOs
	Improved communication (including the exchange of information) among government agencies and NGOs/religious organizations	Commission F (DPRD) NGOs Religious organizations
	Development of a website on Papua	ANU Canberra - UNIPA

JUSTICE - TRUTH

JUSTICE/TRUTH======== ELEMENTS/OBJECTIVES

	PRINCIPLES/CORE ASPECTS		MEANS — CONDITION
1.	Justice: granting and recognizing genuine human rights	1.	Struggle through advocacy, research, fact finding, mediation, negotiation and reconciliation
2.	Truth: speaking and acting true to actuality (human beings, nature, situation, etc.)	2.	Clean governance: free of corruption, collusion and nepotism
3.	Justice and truth: fundamental values in all forms of social interaction	3.	Models of religious interpretation that are grounded in local culture
4.	Total abolition of legal immunity	4.	Attention to the plight of the poor and disadvantaged
5.	Recognizing the contribution and needs of all members of society	5.	Recognition of indigenous rights
6.	Eradicating the use of religion, doctrines and ideology as a pretext for maintaining political power	6.	Development in accordance with local culture
7.	Eradicating the tendency to value other people only to the extent that they can be of use		
8.	Eradicating the manipulation or engineering of facts		

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JUSTICE/TRUTH ========== ACTIVITIES

ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Law enforcement; basic rights	Drafting local regulations (PERDA, PERDASI, PERDASUS) regarding: economic protection, education and health for Papuan communities (including education and training; economic assistance for education and business capital; market access; providing employment opportunities in the public and private sectors)	DPRD, MRP, Governor, YPPW-P, YPMD, UNIPA & FE UNCEN
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Drafting local regulations (PERDA/ PERDASI/PERDASUS)	Commission F (DPRD), UNCEN
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Monitoring the drafting of regulations	FORMASI, ALDP
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Enforcement of indigenous rights to land and resources	Local regulations regarding indigenous rights to land and resources	DPRD, MRP, Governor, PT-PPMA, YPMD, customary councils, Faculty of Anthropology UNCEN, STFT Fajar Timur, UNIPA, LP3BH Manokwari
	Regulation of spontaneous migration from outside of Papua	DPRD, MRP, Governor, Faculty of Geography UNCEN, LMA, Police
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Mapping of traditional/indigenous land boundaries (that can be legislated in the form of local regulations)	Commission F (DPRD), LMA, LEMASA, PT PPMA
	Research regarding traditional/indigenous land boundaries for all tribal groups in Papua and documentation of customary law (regarding land and resources)	UNCEN, Pt PPMA
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Gender equity	Drafting local regulations for the protection of women and chiidren	DPRD, MRP, Governor, LP3A-P, women's organizations, NGOs that work on women and children's issues, Office for the Empowerment of Women, religious leaders
	Research/analysis on gender-based conflict	LP3A, LBH, national courts, YKP, Yayasan Kesehatan Bethesda Jayapura (YKB); Yayasan Kasih Mulia (YKM) - Fakfak; Wanita GKI- Biak; Bidang Hukum dan HAM Sinode GKI Papua; Yapsel-Merauke; YALHIMO-Manokwari; YUSE-Manokwari; eLPERA-Jayapura; PKBI-Biak; Yayasan Bina Mandiri (YBM)-Fakfak; FOKER LSM Papua; Kelompok "Faduru" Lingkungan Hidup (KFLH) Biak.
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS

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	Research and advocacy (litigious and non-litigious)	LP3AP, LP3BH
	Research and advocacy (non-litigious)	YPMD
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Empowerment of the women's organizations	Women's coalition
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Law enforcement regarding human rights violations	Establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Human Rights Commission and Human Rights Tribunal for Papua	DPRD, MRP, Governor, Kontras, SKP, LBH Papua, ALDP
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Bringing about the establishment of a regional branch of the National Commission for Human Rights and an Ad Hoc Human Rights Tribunal for Papua	Commission F DPRD
	Taking the initiative in legal drafting for the establishment of TRC	KONTRAS
	Support the establishment of TRC	Elsham, SKP, LBH
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Monitoring efforts to address cases of human rights violations	Elsham, SKP, Commission F (DPRD), LBH, KONTRAS
	Community empowerment vis-à-vis the ability to understand and monitor the human rights situation	Elsham, SKP, ALDP, LBH, KONTRAS
	Investigation and reporting on human rights violations	Elsham, SKP
	Promoting the role of the news service in providing information on the human rights situation (among a wide audience)	Elsham
	Scientific research and documentation of cases of human rights violations in Papua since 1960	Intellectuals, Elsham
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Historical review	International and national dialogue	PDP, DPRD, MRP, religious leaders, indigenous community organizations, Tertiary education institutions, in partnership with UN and countries involved in the historical of transfer of power in Papua
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Support PDP in developing a framework for political dialogue	SKP Jayapura
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Channeling information regarding Papuan history	NGOs
	Creating an atmosphere of dialogue	Religious leaders, peace commission

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SECURITY

SECURITY ========== ELEMENTS/OBJECTIVES

	PRINCIPLES/CORE ASPECTS		MEANS — CONDITION
1.	Enjoying a life of peace to feel a sense of physical, social and psychological/mental security	1.	Clarification of the roles of security forces (TNI, police and paramilitary groups)
2.	To live free of threat or arbitrary treatment	2.	Law enforcement and respect for basic rights
		3.	Shared political commitment to bring about conditions of peace

SECURITY========== ACTIVITIES

ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Role of military, police and militia	• Building pressure among the local and international community to reposition the role of the military and police in accordance with the spirit of Special Autonomy legislation through: research, fact finding, advocacy, mediation, negotiation and public campaigns • Promoting change within the military to increase its professionalism and hence reduce its role in civilian policing	DPRD, MRP, LMA, PDP, NGOs, general public, religious figures. International pressure: SKP, Bishops, Sinodes, religious leaders, Elsham, ALDP, LBH - in partnership with international networks.
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Promote the professionalism of the military and police through campaigning and national/international pressure	Elsham, ALDP
	Publicizing facts (regarding military/police activities) through publications, newspapers and publishing	Elsham, SKP Jayapura
	Human rights education for police cadets at the academy in Jayapura	SKP Jayapura
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Meetings with leaders of OPM/TPN to encourage them to embrace peaceful approaches	Elsham
	Research regarding the economic involvement of the military in businesses activities in Papua	STIE
	Monitoring the appearance/formation of paramilitary and militia elements and publishing findings	Elsham, SKP, religious organizations
	Enforcement of articles of Law No. 26/2001 regarding civilian control over security forces	DPRD (in particular Commission F)
	Eradication of "militaristic style" at events for children and students	Education foundations
	Develop a network for monitoring in isolated areas	Elsham, SKP, religious organizations

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SOLIDARITY - TOLERANCE

SOLIDARITY/TOLERANCE ===== ELEMENTS/OBJECTIVES

	PRINCIPLES/CORE ASPECTS		MEANS — CONDITION
1.	Commitment to community on the part of its members	1.	Eradication of narrow understanding of Papuanisation
2.	Sense of shared destiny - joint responsibility for fortune and misfortune	2.	Understanding of issues that implicate of ethnicity, religion, race and interests
3.	Shared commitment [1] among Papuans, [2] among Papuans and non-Papuans	3.	Understanding the interests (positive and negative) of different groups
4.	Awareness of shared universal values Coming together as one does not mean being the	4.	Understanding of issues - conflict prevention (proactive)
5.	same as each other; room for difference amid togetherness	5.	Eradicating excessive primordial sentiment
6.	Not only accepting - but actively respecting - differences	6.	Dialogue - building communication - between ethnic groups
7.	Understanding of difference, different values	7.	Developing patterns of thinking that are open and critical
8.	Difference is a source of wealth and strength	8.	Building a shared commitment among community actors (regional government, security organs, NGOs, religious and indigenous leaders) and avoiding stereotyping
9.	Open and critical attitude required	9.	Providing opportunities to the disadvantages
10.	Avoiding fanaticism	10.	Willingness for forgiveness and reconciliation
11.	Beginning the process of change close to home		

SOLIDARITY/TOLERANCE ========== ACTIVITY

ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Democracy and human rights education	Training in reconciliation	SKP-KAM Merauke YAPSEL Merauke KPHP Merauke LMA Okaba Merauke Duta Damai Wamena Religious organizations
	Dialogue and education for religious and community leaders regarding the role of religion and community	YASMAN Biak, YDPTB Bintuni, KONTRAS Papua, YUSE Manokwari, Sinode GKI, religious organizations, SKP Diocese Jayapura, regional government, Foker LSM, women leaders, Elsham Papua
	Political education and democracy education; Education regarding history and tribal religions in Papua; Revision of school curriculum (Sunday school) to include teaching about other religions in easy-to-understand ways	LP3BH Manokwari, ALDP, LBH Papua, PAHAM Merauke, YABIMU Nabire Publications: religious organizations, regional government, tertiary education institutions, NGOs Revision of Sunday school curriculum: churches

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	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Democracy and human rights education	SKPs throughout Papua, ALDP, LP3BH
	Inter-faith dialogue	MUI, Hindus, Buddhists, Diocese of Jayapura, Sinode GKI
	Dialogue with religious leaders in response to incidents that occur in the community	SKP Jayapura
	Education regarding religious tolerance	Sunday schools; private education foundations
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS

WELFARE

WELFARE========== ELEMENTS/OBJECTIVES

	PRINCIPLES/CORE ASPECTS		MEANS — CONDITION
1.	All members of the community have the opportunity to develop themselves	1.	Access to communal resources (land, etc.)
2.	Balance - equality of development	2.	Adequate education (formal and non-formal)
3.	Special efforts to promote protection/strengthening/ empowerment for disadvantages groups	3.	Avoiding patterns of education and public service that are oriented toward political interests
4.	Fulfilling primary needs (shelter, food, clothing and nutrition)	4.	Understanding about the influence of thinking, spiritual beliefs, social and physical environment in the occurrence of sickness/disease
5.	Healthy social environment	5.	Monitoring of companies to ensure a positive impact in improving the welfare of the local community
6.	Becoming an actor in the economy and a subject of development		

WELFARE========== ACTIVITIES

ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Access to natural resources, working capital and education	Supporting the community to enable people to become businesspeople through training in management of enterprises such as credit unions, cooperatives, kiosks, shops (economic empowerment of Papuan communities)	Regional government, YPMD, YPPW-P
	Government efforts to facilitate access to banks	Government, banks
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Agriculture, savings mobilization, clean water facilities, kiosk development, transportation to markets, eco-tourism	YPMD
	Business development, business management training, capital assistance, market access, access to banks	YPPW-P
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS

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	Linking cooperative groups in interior regions with support organizations in urban centers	Catholic Church social affairs delegate
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Community as custodians of indigenous rights to land and resources	Local regulations to regulate the management of natural resources	Government, DPRD
	Study of indigenous rights to land and resources and provision of information regarding the relevant laws	LBH, Pt PPMA, YPMD
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Empowerment of LMAs Empowerment of LMA Asmat	Pt PPMA SKP Agats
	Identification and documentation of indigenous rights over land and resources and customary law	Pt PPMA, LP3BH, Tertiary education institutions
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Development of simple information materials for distribution among traditional communities	LBH, LP3BH, PT PPMA
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Community has a stake in companies located in traditional communities	Negotiations between LMA and companies Capacity building for traditional communities in areas where commercial operations are needed	Government, LMAs, religious organizations, NGOs
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Empowerment of LMAs Empowerment of LMA Asmat	Pt PPMA SKP Agats
	Support for traditional communities in drafting local customary law	Pt PPMA, LP3BH
	Provision of information regarding agrarian law and customary laws pertaining to land	LP3BH Manokwari
	Sosialization of customary law and traditional lands	Timika Pos/media; LBH
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Enforcement of regulations relating to business activities	Regional government, police
	Development of patterns of (effective) representation for traditional communities	ALDP
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Creating equal opportunity	Recruitment of employees with priority on well-qualified local people	Regional government Papua (province, city and regency), private companies
	Providing education opportunities for local communities	Regional government, tertiary education institutions, educational foundations: YPK, YAPIS, YPPK, Advent, YPPGI
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS

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	Education opportunities for Papuan communities	Tertiary education institutions (UNCEN, IPI, STT GKI)
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Monitoring of employment situation and attention to workers rights (in particular regarding private companies)	LBH, Church social affairs divisions
	Developing of appropriate and applied methods of education	Educational foundations
	Support for the marketing of local products	ADB, YPPW-P
	Development of "finished product" manufacturing in areas where produce is sourced, i.e. fruit syrups, honey, coffee	ADB, YPPW-P
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Fulfillment of primary needs	Research and development to promote the nutritional value of local food sources	UNIPA, UNCEN, government office for food and horticulture
	Access to credit for housing	Government, banks
	Providing assistance to satisfy primary needs	Government, NGOs
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Research into local sources of food	UNCEN (program underway)
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Adequate health services	Allocation of funding for health services in the regional government budget to hospitals and dispensaries set up by communities	Government, private health foundations
	Providing health information	Health NGOs, hospitals, community health stations and centres
	Training of new medical personnel and professionalization of existing personnel (including the development of a medical faculty at UNCEN)	Tertiary education institutions, government, private health foundations
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Development of a medical faculty	UNCEN
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Control of drug prices (drug companies)	DPRD (Commission ?)
	Promotion of generic brand drugs (including the support and distribution of these drugs among medical practitioners)	Regional government, private health foundations
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Healthy social environment	Awareness raising and provision of information within the community	Health NGOs, hospitals, private health foundations
	Regulation of areas for consumption of hard liquor (local and imported products) and gambling	Regional government, DPRD, MRP, provincial police authorities, customary councils, LBH Papua, religious leaders.
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Campaign to combat HIV/AIDS	ASA. FHI, YPMK, Yasanto
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS

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	Control of the commercial sex industry	Regional government, religious organizations
	Support for anti-HIV/AIDS campaigns	Religious organizations, NGOs, regional government
	Effective regulation to help combat HIV/AIDS	Regional government, religious organizations
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Good understanding of the incidence of illness/disease	Providing information regarding the incidence of illness/disease	Government department of health, private health foundations
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Information campaign regarding HIV/AIDS	ASA, FHI, YPKM
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Health information campaign based on the knowledge of local cultures	Government department of health, private health foundations
	Eradicating promotion of "miracle cures"	Cendrawasih Pos, Papua Pos

SELF - RELIANCE

SELF - RELIANCE ========== ELEMENTS/OBJECTIVES

	PRINCIPLES/CORE ASPECTS		MEANS — CONDITION
1.	Feeling a sense of being in control of one's life and not an "object" of other people's interests	1.	Taking initiative and doing as much as possible to make the best of one's situation
2.	Increased self-confidence	2.	Ways of thinking: desire to improve one's life, real expectations
3.	Decreased dependence	3.	Free from the "project mentality"
		4.	Improved self-control and discipline
		5.	Willingness for change
		6.	Healthy competition and willingness to listen to others
		7.	Accommodating local forms of education

SELF - RELIANCE ========== ACTIVITIES

ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Development of a system of community-based education	Research regarding education curriculum that respond to the needs and actual conditions within Papuan communities	Tertiary education institutions, government, private education foundations
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Drafting of local curriculum	UNCEN, IPI, STT GKI
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Community-based training in social analysis	ALDP, PT PPMA, YPPW-P, YPMD, SKP
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Healthy competition	Education/awareness raising regarding local capacities and promoting skills development among core groups particular individuals	Regional government, government department for education, private education foundations

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	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Reducing the "project mentality" in all levels of the community	Who is in a position to do this and not contaminated themselves? Religious organizations?
	Shifting the focus of Special Autonomy laws from financial issues to aspects relating to self-reliance and self-respect	Regional government, DPRD, religious organizations

SELF RESPECT - RECOGNITION

SELF RESPECT & RECOGNITION ====== ELEMENTS/OBJECTIVES

	PRINCIPLES/CORE ASPECTS		MEANS — CONDITION
1.	In the eyes of God, we are all equal, with the same worth and rights	1.	Oppression causes many people in Papua to act in ways that immoral: excessive drinking, reluctance to work, etc.
2.	Issues of self-respect and recognition relate to how we conduct ourselves in daily life	2.	Making self-respect possible: creating opportunities and chances
3.	The time has come for Papuans to develop and demonstrate their abilities and potential, while also respecting the potential of others	3.	Negating stigma with healthy daily conduct
4.	Being recognised and recognizing others	4.	Self-respect and self-confidence
5.	Mutual recognition of the existence of all people/ethnic groups as the starting point to building peace	5.	Respect and love for healthy customary traditions, love for the land

SELF RESPECT & RECOGNITION ========== ACTIVITIES

ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Culture	Papuanization of place names For example: Stadion Mandala; Sasana Krida (in Enggros/Tobati languages)	DPRD, regional government (province, city and regency) (local regulations)
	Revitalisation of the Papuan Cultural Expo at Waena	Regional government (relevant departments)
	Days of historical commemoration, traditional celebrations	LMA, regional government
	Encouraging Papuan families to make a habit of eating indigenous foods, use native languages and utilise traditional medicines Encouraging hotel and restaurant owners to serve indigenous Papuan foods	Campaigning by the media, NGOs, customary councils, women's organizations, government department for education (through the PMTAS program) PHRI
	Folk tales, history of integration, weaving, hand crafts, dance, song, carving	Government department for education, department of culture, customary councils (teacher training required)
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Socializing Papuanisation of place names	Timika Pos, JUBI, Nurani Papua
	Media campaign: encouraging consumption of local Papuan foods and traditional medicines	Timika Pos, JUBI, Nurani Papua

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	Community cultural performances: folk dance, folk tales, folk songs	Papuan artists/performers Electronic media: RRI (Papua-wide); TVRI Papua; commercial radio in Papua
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Folk tales writing contests	Arts council, LMAs
	Documentation of traditional/customary ceremonies that are intended to overcome conflict in local communities	ALDP, STFT, STTGKI
	Documentation of the cultural history of Papua	Tertiary education institutions, intellectuals
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Developing local education	Research relating to methods of initiation Supporting youth to educate about and prevent excessive drinking, free sex, drug use. Requires ability to know oneself to build self respect	Tertiary education institutions, GKI research division, BP3D Customary councils, religious leaders, LMAs, youth organizations
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Developing local curriculum	UNCEN, IPI, STT GKI
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Developing methods of assistance/information regarding "modern" values (new customary culture, "adat baru")	Those who deliver religious services, organizations for religious education
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Knowing history	Research and documentation regarding Papuan history for incorporation into local curriculum	Government department of education, department of culture (province/city/regency), LMA, Pt PPMA, YPLHC in cooperation with churches and tertiary education institutions
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Research and local curriculum development based on coordination meetings between institutions of tertiary education, or for example; exchange of teaching staff among different tertiary institutions	UNCEN, STT GKI, IPI
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Documentation of the socio-political history of Papua	PDP, intellectuals
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Customary law/religious laws/positive law	Creating support for traditional communities/customary councils in drafting local customary laws	LBH, LPPMA, ELSHAM, YBH Fakfak, etc.
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	See above under component Justice and Truth	
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	See above under component Justice and Truth	
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS

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Religious life with Papuan characteristics	Promoting and implementing local cultural and religious values as a system of belief and as part of worship and official ceremonies	Theological colleges in Papua (STT GKI, STFT FT, IPI, STT Walter Pos, STAKIN, STAIS, etc.)
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Inculturalization of religion	Religious organizations (Hindu, Buddha, Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism).
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Developing curriculum for anthropology and linguistics for use in religious colleges	STTGKI, STFT, IPI, STT Walter Pos, STAKIN, STAIS
	Stimulating the interest of religious leaders in inculturalization of religion through meetings with religious leaders	SKP Jayapura
	Developing methods of education that are based on Papuan culture for religious figures	IPI, STFT, STTGKI, STT WP, STAKIN, STAIS etc..
	Research regarding elements of indigenous religiosity in Papua	UNCEN Faculty of Anthropology, STFT, STTGKI, STT WP, Research Divisions of GKI & GKII, etc.

UNITY-HARMONY

UNITY/HARMONY ========== ELEMENTS/OBJECTIVES

	PRINCIPLES/CORE ASPECTS		MEANS — CONDITION
1.	We are all integral parts of an entity that is far greater than our own existence	1.	Relations with supernatural that are implicit to our existence
2.	Commitment to unity/harmony in terms of the relations between human beings and God, between human beings themselves and between human beings and nature	2.	Foster attitudes of faith, tolerance, without fanaticism/ethnocentricism
3.	Commitment to unity in terms of responsible exploitation of nature and related polices	3.	Exploitative practices cannot be considered in isolation to the fight for basic human rights in Papua
		4.	Working to establish sustainable patterns of development so that such practices can be reflected in development policies
		5.	Love of the environment

UNITY/HARMONY ========== ACTIVITIES

ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS
Relations between human beings	Popularisation of the concept of human rights as a foundation for social exchange (adat baru, new customary culture), including attitudes of tolerance, openness, peace and appreciation of the rights of all individuals	Community leaders/actors

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	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	Dialogue with religious leaders	SKP Jayapura
	Training in adat baru (human rights) at the grass-roots/community level	SKP Jayapura
	See above under component of "Togetherness"	
	CONCEPT - PROGRAM	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Promotion of understanding of "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" as the "adat baru" in contemporary customary culture	ALDP, SKP, Elsham, religious organizations
	See above under component of "Togetherness"	
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
Relationship with nature	Education regarding respect for the environment and raising awareness of the need for a sense of responsibility to preserve of the natural environment	Regional government, DPRD, religious organizations, environmental foundations: Yali, WWF, CI, etc.
	Formulation of clear regulations for protection of the environment and monitoring their implementation	Regional government, DPRD, environmental foundations: Yali, WWF, CI, etc.
	Legal action regarding cases of environmental destruction	LBH, national judiciary, LMAs
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	POTENTIAL ACTORS
	Monitoring of corporate practices in management of natural resources	Environmental foundations: WWF, Yali, CI, etc.
	Exploring indigenous traditions in the preservation of nature and the legal recognition of effective customary practices	LMA, environmental foundations, regional government, DPRD
	Enforcement of regulations and binding controls	Regional government (relevant departments)
ELEMENT	PROGRAM FRAMEWORK	ACTORS
Relations with God	Foster religious attitudes regarding faith in the unity of creation	Religious organizations
	Providing information regarding environmental preservation for staff at religious colleges	Environmental foundations, Research Divisions of GKI - GKII
	PROGRAM PLANS	ACTORS/KEY PLAYERS
	POTENTIAL PROGRAM INITIATIVES	CONCEPT - ACTORS
	Develop a theology that is rooted in culture and the concept of unity of creation	IPI, STFT, STTGKI, STT WP, STAKIN, STAIS, etc.
	See above under the component of "Recognition and Self Respect"	

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1.D. EVALUATION AND FOLLOW-UP PROGRAM

In this chapter, we present several reflections on the workshop process and suggestions of ways to consolidate the outcomes of the workshop.

EVALUATION

Preparation Stage

The workshop, "Building a Culture of Peace Towards "Papua, a land of peace", had been long planned by SKP and with encouragement from a number of supportive groups - both Papuan (including religious leaders) and international (including Franciscans International, Catholic Relief Services, Cordaid and Justitia et Pax Holland), we finally decided to move ahead with the program. We began developing the basic concept in June and in the beginning of September, a workshop schedule was composed. In October and November, this schedule was developed to become the basis for the full process of the workshop. The schedule was designed to facilitate a high level of participation so that the workshop's outcomes would truly represent the efforts of the participants.

The month prior to the workshop was used for [1] selecting the participants, and [2] training the facilitators for the workshop, consisted of staff from SKP Jayapura, SKP Merauke, SKP Agats and SKP Sorong.

Participants : Selection of participants was given special attention since the style of the workshop demanded that the participants [1] were prepared to take an active part in the processes of reflection and discussion, and therefore, needed to [2] be prepared to attend the entire workshop.

We often find a tendency for participants to "come and go" during events such as this. This tendency stems from the fact that usually a seminar consists of a number of lectures and does not require active participation from attendees. Not wanting to give into this 'seminar culture', we chose to approach potential participants privately to make clear to them the style of

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the workshop we planned to hold. This personalized approach was necessary and useful in attracting a highly motivated group of participants. To help ensure that participants were prepared to attend the entire workshop, we also decided to use conference facilities of a high standard (Hotel Sentani Indah at Sentani).

The selection of participants was also influenced by our view that the number of participants should be limited if we wanted active participation to work. Therefore, the maximum number of participants was capped at 40. This restriction meant that a number or interested groups (both private individuals and organizations) were not invited. This caused disappointment to several people/groups, however it was unavoidable and they understood the decision after the reasons were explained. It was not just the number of participants that restricted us in the selection process, but also our desire to invite as diverse a representation of the community as possible. Eventually, a strong list of participants was drawn up, yet it was not without some shortfalls. For example, the regional government (executive) was not represented, because we were unsure who should be invited. The security forces were also unrepresented - irrespective of the fact that two places were offered to the Papuan Regional Police, which decided it would be best if they did not attend, so that the participants would feel at greater liberty to express their opinions. Most disappointing was the cancellation of the participation of the PDP. Despite its great determination to have a representative attend the workshop, the PDP was forced to cancel its attendance at the last minute, because all members were needed to deal with the serious developments that emerged ahead of the celebration of the anniversary of the declaration of Papuan self-reliance on 1st December. This reason for non-attendance was understandable and made us aware that the timing of the workshop was not optimal - it was not ideal to hold a meeting such this just immediately prior to 1st December. However, although there were some shortfalls here and there, in general, it can be said that the selection of participants was quite good and the motivation they brought to the event set the stage for the workshop's success.

Facilitator training: From the outset, SKP Jayapura was keen to see the workshop run by SKP staff. We refused offers from groups outside of Papua who were interested in contributing to the workshop. We decided that suffi-

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cient resources could be found amongst ourselves to run a meeting of this kind, and that a locally-run workshop would help to ensure the event was based on the Papuan experience. Therefore, we decided that the core staff throughout the workshop would come from the four SKPs in Papua, with some external technical help and two external facilitators (a lecturer from STT GKI and one from the secretariat of the Diocese of Jayapura).

To ensure the smooth running of the workshop by the staff of the four SKPs, we were engaged in preparations during the week prior to the event. This involvement in the lead-up to the workshop and in-house training helped the staff to understand the aims and content of the workshop. This opportunity for "on-the-job training" benefited us all.

Workshop Concept Paper: The concept paper for the workshop was key throughout the preparation stage, in particular because it was a source of information and direction for the participants about the planned workshop. This concept paper began to be developed in June and while serving as study material for SKP staff, it was continually being augmented and edited. The end product was quite good and as a concept paper succeeded in providing direction and inspiration throughout the workshop. Of course, this initial stimulus could have still been improved and perfected, but what was most important was that initial concept paper opened up the perspective of participants and help to inspire meaningful discussion.

Funding: Preparations for the workshop included efforts to ensure sufficient funds. We were aware that workshops such as this, especially when held in facilities of high standard, require a sizable budget. Thankfully, we were assisted by Cordaid in this regard; we could proceed calmly with our preparations and work without exceeding the limits of the budget.

Execution Stage

Participation: Judging from the enthusiasm of participants in contributing ideas during the workshop, we can conclude that a highly satisfactory level of participation was achieved. This participation was helped by methodologies employed during the workshop. For many participants, the workshop pro-

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cess was new and refreshing, and this feedback was expressed many times during the evaluation on the conclusion of the workshop. It should be noted that the process was aided by the technical support of a data projector and hard work from a special staff member, Ms Jane, who enabled the outcomes from the discussion to be displayed as soon as they were formulated. Besides this, we take off our hats to the three main facilitators who successfully guided the discussion, without reducing the opportunities for participants to contribute ideas.

Process and Method: The workshop program was executed as we had hoped. This meant that the three stages of the discussion process were well prepared throughout and the participants were supported throughout the three stages of the "what", "who" and "how" of "building a culture of peace". The process was dynamic throughout. Some stages were altered to fit in with the rhythm of discussion. These changes were made by the main facilitator of the workshop in consultation with the two other facilitators. Adjustments to the program were executed smoothly and did not cause concern for the participants. It should be mentioned that the decision to change/ adapt the program did not greatly involve the SKP staff, whose energies were spread thin by the demanding workshop schedule. The lack of negotiation at this working level could be seen as a "loss" and is a lesson for next time.

Facilities and funding: The good facilities (Hotel Sentani Indah) helped tremendously in the smooth running of the workshop. Both accommodation and workshop facilities (including a room for the secretariat) were ample. In the end, the total cost of the workshop was reasonable, totaling Rp. 145 000 000.

Many of the participants expressed their surprise that there was little funding for "transport expenses" and no "honorarium for attendance". "Local transport expenses" (calculated at Rp. 50 000 per participant) were admittedly quite low and Rp. 100 000 would have been more appropriate. The SKP policy with respect to "honorarium for attendance" is to never pay such fees on the principle that participants should attend an event with motivation to learn to study and provide their work a solid grounding. SKP felt that its only have the obligation was to ensure that everyone was able to enjoy adequate facilities and that any expenses incurred through attendance, as was the case with trans-

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portation costs, were covered. Perhaps the attitude of SKP in this regard goes against the norm. However, the only real mistake was the lack of explanation from SKP at the beginning of the workshop, that would have made certain undue expectations were avoided.

Reporting of the workshop's outcomes: SKP made a commitment to compile a report of the outcomes of this workshop. This was not as easy as we thought previously. We did not want to simply compile a report that noted what happened from hour to hour, day to day, but rather, we wanted to produce a report that would serve as a basis for further activities. For this, we needed sufficient time, both to systemize the preliminary outcomes and also to augment them with a number of key ideas. It should be noted that the outcomes of the workshop were not strong in terms of ideas for concrete activities and actors to carry out these activities. Most of the activities proposed were of a general nature, and the suggested actors were unclear. This motivated SKP Jayapura to take license in "completing the outcomes". While this made our work more arduous, we felt a certain satisfaction in formulating a number of ideas which could encourage further reflection amongst our fellow practitioners in the future. Furthermore, the burden of compiling this report fell to three staff members, in addition to the normal workload in the SKP office. Thankfully, the report was finished by the end of January, 2003.

FOLLOW-UP

In following up the workshop, SKP has committed itself to handling the initial stage, that is the socialization of the outcomes of the workshop. This socialization will be achieved through meetings to introduce the outcomes of the workshop. We will also consider printing the outcomes in attractive way to promote its dissemination beyond workshop participants to other people and organizations.

The socialization meetings will be held both with participants (as far as they can be contacted) and other individuals or other groups who are considered important to the process of "building a culture of peace". It is hoped that after this initial socialization stage, a 'Coordination Team' (with a

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membership broader than SKP Jayapura) can be formed to ensure the continuation of the process.

It is hoped that during the 'initial stage', firstly, the content of the workshop can be known among the wider community, and secondly, that all organizations that intend to engage in the process of bring about "Papua, a land of peace" develop their own respective (or joint) programs so that a single clear and effective commitment can be achieved. We hope that this initial stage can be completed by the middle of March. We also hope that the contents of the workshop report can be corrected and augmented during the planned meetings, so that it will eventually be refined and more relevant as a guide for use by broad range of actors. We will also consider printing this material for distribution among the general public.

As soon the "Coordination Team" is formed, its tasks can be developed further. As an initial sketch, we plan that the team will:

1. Continue the socialization process described above.
2. Contribute creatively to the development of a framework for activities (new concepts).
3. Participate in the development/execution of activities run by partner organizations and evaluation.
4. Regularly organize meetings between partner organizations to reflect on recent developments in Papua and work to cultivate shared perception and commitment.
5. Serve as a link between implementing agencies and support organizations (funding, expertise, etc.)

The Coordination Team will require a clear and effective organizational structure, in recognition that its tasks will be implemented over the long term and it will need to act in the spirit of partnership.

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Appendix

ADB	: Asia Development Bank
Advent	: Adventist Church
ALDP	: Aliansi Demokrasi untuk Papua (Alliance Democracy for Papua)
ANU	: Australian National University
ASA	: Aksi Stop AIDS (Stop Aids Action)
BP3D Papua	: Badan Perencanaan Pengembangan Pembangunan Daerah Papua (Papua Regional Development Planning Department)
Cendrawasih Pos (CEPOS)	:(daily newspaper)
CI	: Conservation International
DPRD	: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (Papua Regional Legislative Council)
eLPERA-Jayapura	: Lembaga Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Rakyat (Empowerment People's of Economic Institute)
Elsham Papua	: Lembaga Study dan Advokasi HAM (Institute for Human Right Study and Advocacy)
FHI	
Foker LSM	: FOKER LSM Papua (Papua NGO's Forum)
FORMASI	: Forum Masyarakat Sipil Independen (Forum for Civil So ciety and Indenpency)
GKI	: Gereja Kristen Injili (Papua Evangelical Church)
GKII	: Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia (Indonesian Christian Bible Community Church)
IPI	: Intitut Pastoral Indonesia (Indonesian Pastoral Institute)
Jubi	: (weekly newspaper)
KONTRAS	: Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Tindak Kekerasan (The Commission for Disappearance and Victim of Vio lence)
KPHP Merauke	: Kelompok Pemerhati Hak-hak Perempuan (Women Rights Watch Group)
LBH Papua	: Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (Legal Aid Foundation)

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LEMASA	: Lembaga Musyawarah Adat Suku Amungme (The Amungme Tribal Council)
LMA	: Lembaga Masyarakat Adat (Tribal Council)
LP3A-P	: Lembaga Pengkajian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak Papua (Institute for Research & Development for Women and Children in Papua)
LP3BH Manokwari	: Lembaga Penelitian, Pengkajian, dan Pemberian Bantuan Hukum Manokwari (The Manokwari Institute for Re search, Development and Legal Aid)
LPMS-ICS Jayapura	: Lembaga Penguatan Masyarakat Sipil Papua (Institute for Civil Strengthening)
LPMUD "Sup Orisar" Biak	: Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Usaha Desa (Institute for Villagers Economic Empowerment)
MRP	: Majelis Rakyat Papua (Papuan People Assembly)
MUI	: Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Assembly)
Nurani Papua	: Newsletter of Elsham Papua
PAHAM Merauke	: Pusat Advokasi Hak Asasi Manusia (Center of Human Rights Advocacy)
Papua Pos	: Weekly newspaper
PDP	: Presidium Dewan Papua (Papuan Presidium Council)
PERFORM Project Papua	: Govermental Watch Body
PKBI-Biak	: Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia (The Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association)
Pt. PPMA	: Perkumpulan Terbatas untuk Pengkajian dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Adat Papua (Association for Papua Indigenous People's Study and Empowerment)
SKP	: Sekretariat Keadilan dan Perdamaian Keuskupan Jayapura (Office for Justice and Peace of Jayapura Diosce)
STAIS	: Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam (Institute for Muslim Religion Studies)
STAKIN	: Sekolah Tinggi Agama Kristen (Institute for Christian Reli gion Studies)
STFT Fajar Timur	: Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat & Teologi Fajar Timur (Catholic Theology & Philosofy Institute of Fajar Timur)

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STIE	: Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Ekonomi (Institute for Economic Studies)
STT GKI	: Sekolah Tinggi Teologi GKI (Evangelical Theology Institute)
STT Walter Pos (STT WP)	: Sekolah Tinggi Teologi Walter Post (Christian Bible Community Theology Institute)
Tifa Papua	: Weekly newspaper
Timika Pos	: Daily newspaper
TVRI Papua	: National television broadcaster
UNCEN	: Universitas Cendrawasih (Cenderawasih University)
UNIPA	: Universitas Negeri Papua (Papuan National University)
WALHI	: Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (Indonesian Forum for Environment)
Wanita GKI- Biak	: Wanita Gereja Kristen Injili Biak-Selatan (Evangelical Christian Church & Women in Biak)
WWF	: World Wildlife Fund
YABIMU Nabire	: Yayasan Sosial Bina Mandiri Utama (The Bina Mandiri Utama Foundation)
YALHIMO-Manokwari	: Yayasan Lingkungan Hidup Humeibou Manokwari (The Manokwari Humeibou Foundation)
Yali	: Yayasan Lingkungan Hidup Papua (The Papua Environment Foundation)
YAPEMKA-Biak	: Yayasan Pengembangan Ekonomi Kecil Masyarakat di Kampung (Fondation for Economics Develompment Community Cell in the Villages in Biak)
Yapsel-Merauke	: Yayasan Pengembangan Sosial Ekonomi dan Lingkungan Hidup (Foundation for Social Economic and Environment Development)
Yasanto	: Yayasan Santo Antonius (Santo Antonius Foundation)
YASMAN Biak	
Yayasan Bina Mandiri (YBM)-Fakfak	: Foundation for the Development of Self-sufficient Community
Yayasan Kasih Mulia (YKM) -	: People's Economics Empowerment Institute

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Fakfak
Yayasan Kesehatan : Bethesda Health Foundation in Papua
Bethesda Jayapura
(YKB)

YBH Fakfak : Yayasan Bantuan Hukum Fakfak (Fakfak Legal Aids Foundation)

YDPTB Bintuni : Yayasan Dialog Pembangunan Teluk Bintuni (Foundation for Development Dialoque in Bintuni Bay)

YKP

YPKM : Yayasan Pengembangan Kesehatan Masyarakat (Community Health Development Foundation in Papua)

YPLHC : Yayasan Pendidikan Lingkungan Hidup Cycloops Papua (Center The Environmental Education)

YPMD Papua : Yayasan Pengembangan Masyarakat Desa Papua (The Papua Rural Community Development Foundation)

YPPGI : Yayasan Pendidikan Persekolahan Gereja Injili (School and Education Foundation of Christian Bible Church)

YPPK : Yayasan Pendidikan Persekolahan Katolik (Catholic School & Education Foundation in Papua)

YPPW-P : Yayasan Pengembangan Prakarsa Wirausaha-Papua (Foun dation for Enterpreneurship Development)

YUSE Manokwari : Yayasan Upaya Sejahtera (Community Development Foun dation)

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Timika mile 63, a place where Freeport operates mining activities

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2 "PAPUA AS A LAND OF PEACE": a Journey towards conflict solutions in Papua*

J. Budi Hernawan ofm

INTRODUCTION

FOLLOWING the inauguration of the new province, *Irian Jaya Tengah* (Central Irian Jaya) in 23 August 2003, Timika, the proposed capital of the new province, was torn by a bloody conflict between the proponents for and the opponents of the decision. A few months earlier, in a letter to President Megawati, the spiritual leaders in Jayapura had warned her for such a potential conflict as a consequence of political instability following the Presidential Decree of January 2003 accelerating the division of the Province of Papua into three new provinces. In a similar vein, some human rights NGOs (*Cenderawasih Pos*, 24 February 2003), Governor Jaap Solossa (*Cenderawasih Pos*, 21 February 2003), the Provincial House of Representatives (*Cenderawasih Pos,* 8 February 2003) raised their concerns. However, the government ignored the concerns until the incident occurred. This is not only a recurrence of violent incidents but also illustrates the pattern of conflict in Papua which is marked by a disjunction between government policy and complex realities in Papua.

This paper examines the nature of current peace initiatives encapsulated in the phrase "Papua as a land of peace" in dealing with the conflict in the region. To do so, first it will summarize the root causes of the conflict. Secondly, I will

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* This paper was presented at the Indonesian Council Open Conference, 29-30 September 2003, at the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

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discuss peace initiatives which are manifestations of the jargon as well as responses to the conflict before concluding with some important remarks.

THE ROOT CAUSES

Post the New Order era, it is not unusual to publicly discuss the root causes of conflict in Papua, a homeland for 2,1 million people (the 1999 national census) consisting of 42% migrants and 58% indigenous Papuans who live in an area as large as 422,000 sq km. Such discussion attempts to explain the sensitive question: "Why Papuan people want independence?" Three core issues are considered as the root causes of the conflict (Office for Justice and Peace 2000). *First*, the historical and political questions of the transfer of power from the Dutch to Indonesia administrations in the late of 1960s. The Second Papuan Congress 2000 argued that the transfer was unlawful as only 1,022 Papuan representatives voted to integrate to Indonesia whereas the 1962 New York Agreement stipulated that the plebiscite should have been done under the principle of "one man, one vote" so that the Papuan people demand a review over the UN resolution on the adoption of the result of the 1969 Act of Free Choice. Moreover, they insist that in 1961 they had gained independence (Broek, Hernawan, Korain and Kambayong 2001: 273) when the Dutch administration provided them with key national symbols: the Morning star flag, *Hai Tanahku Papua* (Oh, Papua My Land) as the national anthem, and the House of Representatives (Saltford 2002:11).

As a response to this position, Indonesia government has repeatedly asserted its sovereignty over Papua and the whole country emphasizing the historical roots of the country back to the Majapahit era in the thirteenth century to justify the continuity of its cultural and political relationship with the region (Indonesian Permanent Mission to the UN 2003:9). Furthermore, the government stresses the legality and reality of the 1969 Act of Free Choice as it was unanimously ratified by the UN General Assembly resolution no 2054 (XXIV) on 19 November 1969 (Indonesian Delegation to the UNCHR 2003). Therefore, both sides are at odds in dealing with the lingering question and seems unprepared to be involved in any negotiation.

The second part of the problem derive from the recurrence of gross human rights violations. Since the so-called reformation era in Indonesian poli-

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tics, the civil society organizations, such as *Sekretariat Keadilan dan Perdamaian* (SKP or the Catholic office for Justice and Peace) has documented 27 unresolved cases across the province (Hernawan 2003). It was not until the year 2000 that the National House of Representatives promulgated Act no. 26 of 2000 (UU 26/2000) on the Human Rights Court which gives real power to the judicial system, particularly the National Commission on Human Rights (KOMNAS HAM), to address gross human rights violations. However, none of the human rights cases has been brought to the Human Rights court.

Finally, the third part of the problem is a welfare issue. As a province endowed with rich natural resources, Papua has contributed large portion to the Indonesian economy. As an illustration, PT Freeport Indonesia which has mined gold and copper since 1967 was the largest single taxpayer contributing US$180 million a year during 1991-2001 and the source of over 50 percent of Papua's GDP(Blair and Phillips 2003:51). Despite the large revenue contributed to Indonesian economy, the province is ranked the second poorest province in Indonesia. Furthermore, the literacy rate for women is 44 percent compared to 78 percent in the rest of Indonesia; and for men, 58 percent compared to 90 percent for the whole country. Only 10% of the Papuan people have high school education and only 1 percent has graduated from college (Blair and Phillips 2003:74-75). This illustrates serious lack of human resources which subsequently has caused injustice and resentment across the province to the government.

As a response to this issue and through highly complex processes, Act no 21 of 2001 (UU 21/2001) on Special Autonomy for the Province of Papua was promulgated as an attempt to address these injustices and inequalities and improve the living-condition of Papuans. Under this provision, the provincial government is expected to increase its budget allocation by threefold from Rp. 800 billion (US$ 63 million) to Rp.2.5 trillion (US$277 million) plus the other Rp 400 billion (US$ 45 million) funds from the central government and Rp 770 billion (US$86.5 million) from the share of revenues (ICG 2002:8). However, this step was stalled following the Presidential Decree no. 1/ 2003 on the division of the province into three new provinces which bypassed this provision and sparked uncertainty to the authority and power of the incumbent provincial government (Franciscan International 2003) and recently flared a bloody conflict in Timika. More importantly, the central government plans

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to amend the Act (*Cenderawasih Pos*, 30 August 2003).

Having followed this description, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the origins of the conflict are highly complex resulting from the triangulation of historical and political, human rights and welfare issues. However, the state has not created mechanisms that enable all stakeholders to deal with these protracted problems.

PEACE INITIATIVES

Recent peace initiatives attempt to deal with the root causes of conflict in Papua. The first peace initiative, *Forum Rekonsiliasi Masyarakat Irian* (FORERI or Reconciliation Forum for Irianese People), was established in 24 July 1998 by civil society organizations, including three major church leaders, representatives of women groups, representatives of *Adat* groups and representatives of university students. This establishment was a response to the tense situation in Papua following the *Morning Star* flag raising in several regencies which met with harsh repression from the military and the police even though it was in the midst of democratic spring across Indonesia. The main idea of this forum was to create neutral space for dialogues between the state with the people to deal with aspirations for independence. This forum facilitated several dialogues between the state and the people in Jayapura and Jakarta and culminated in the historic meeting in the Presidential Palace between 100 representatives of the Papuan people (Team 100) with President B.J. Habibie and his cabinet in 26 February 1999. This meeting struck the elite in Jakarta when Tom Beanal, the chair of the team, clearly asked for independence as the only solution for the protracted problems in Papua. President B.J. Habibie dismissed the meeting saying that Team 100 should go home and reconsider their statement. Therefore, instead of engaging in further discussion, both sides made no effort to clarify or understand each other.

Along with the political development of independence aspirations, a few of the founders of FORERI engaged with and play a key role in the struggle for independence. In the statement of *Musyawarah Besar Bangsa Papua* (the Papuan Deliberation) February 2000, the Papuan Presidium Council states that they will use peaceful dialogues and democratic ways to gain international recognition from the Indonesian government and other nations (Broek,

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Hernawan, Korain and Kambayong 2001:270). This position was echoed in the statement of the Papuan Congress in June 2000 which also marked by the diffusion of the phrase "Papua as a zone of peace". These processes contributed to the diminishing role of FORERI in promoting peace and creating neutral space for dialogues.

However, the idea of peace and dialogue inspired some academics, NGO activists, support groups, politicians and Papuans in exile to establish the West Papua Project in January 2000 under the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies of the University of Sydney with its principal aim to promote peaceful dialogues between the people of West Papua and Indonesia. This project reports that it gained some key achievements, including organising a conference and workshops, networking and partnerships with key representatives of the Indonesian government in Australia, identification of key issues in developing peace in Papua, and outlining future plans (Rees, Ondoawe and King 2003).

The withering FORERI was replaced by the establishment of a Peace Task Force headed by Dr Benny Giay (a theologian and anthropologist) in July 2002. This group, which was sponsored by ELSHAM, an influential human rights NGO, held a conference on peace for Papua in conjunction with the provincial House of Representatives, the Governor and the Police in 15-16 October 2002. "Papua as a zone of peace" was defined during this conference which encompassed most stakeholders, including politicians, NGOs, women groups, adat groups, religious leaders and the police (ELSHAM 2002) despite the refusal of the military to participate. This conference defined the zone of peace in three component (1) a situation whereby the Land of Papua and its people feel free from physical and psychological conflicts, (2) all policies have to adopt to the social and cultural conditions in Papua, and (3) it has to be formulated in a law. Moreover, the conference proposed the establisment of a Peace Commission which would be responsible for promoting peace in the province (ELSHAM 2002:39-40).

In a similar vein, the further development of peace initiatives was organized by SKP which held a workshop on peacebuilding in Jayapura, 25-30 November 2002, covering major stakeholders, excluding the Papuan Presidium Council, the military and the police. This conference aimed at reaching a deeper operational understanding of the components of peace culture resulting in the identification of a variety of conflict sources and the key components nec-

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essary to build a culture of peace in Papua, including harmony, communication, sense of security, justice and truth, tolerance and respect, self-reliance, welfare, togetherness, recognition and self esteem, and participation (Office for Justice and Peace 2002:3-4). This program was followed up by some activities, such as inter-faith prayers for peace in Jayapura, to mark the International Day of Peace.

While civil society organizations in conjunction with the House of Representatives, the Provincial government and the Police, promote the idea of peace and dialogues through several peace initiatives, these efforts are often disrupted by continuing violent incidents in different areas in Papua. Therefore, there is a big question whether or not all initiatives helps to prevent the people from prolonging conflict.

Some concluding remarks

To answer this question, there are some points that should be emphasised. First is the nature of peace initiatives. The chronological account of the current peace initiatives illustrate a strong commitment by civil society organizations to build culture of peace and create space for dialogues. These dynamic processes are marked by strong involvement of the elite level of Papuan society, including religious leaders, NGO activists, academics, and politicians. These groups obviously play a key role in stimulating peace processes, embracing the provincial government, the police and the provincial house of representatives, fostering the idea of peace encapsulated in the phrase of "Papua as a land (zone) of peace". However, such initiatives have met with the resistance of the military to participate in the processes which most likely have strong influence to and sometimes disrupt the progress of such initiatives.

Secondly, even though peace initiatives have been formulated and structured by the elite of Papuan people, this group represents the grass roots which support its initiatives. However, it is hard to see ongoing processes of peace initiatives in grass roots level because of the networking issues and logistical problems. Some key initiatives have identified the issue of participation or inclusiveness but need to develop mechanisms that enable the grass roots with an enourmous diversity to play a key role in the processes.

Thirdly, despite the fact that the primary agenda of FORERI was to deal

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with the violent incidents, this agenda conflatted with the political agenda of the independence promoted by the Papuan political leaders. This impression is strengthened by the involvement of *Adat* leaders in the Papuan Presidium Council which is hard to avoid suspicion that peace initiatives are merely a pretext of political struggle for independence. However, such an impression is not entirely accurate because most of the founders of the FORERI, such as church leaders, women's groups and NGO'activists, remain independent and separate from the political movement for independence.

Finally, despite all contribution of all peace initiatives to prevent continuing conflict or violent incidents, these efforts seem fragmented and uninstitutionalized because civil society organizations in Papua need to develop their efforts through ongoing conversations with the grassroots which they represent. Such dialectics need to be done in the future to build an integrated peace initiatives towards open-ended solutions of conflict in Papua.

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Church shows its concern over incident in Assue district, Mappi, Merauke

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3 A PEACE MISSION:

The church response to conflict West Papua case[1]

Theo van den Broek

INTRODUCTION

FIRST of all I would like to express my gratitude for the invitation to participate in this extra-ordinary meeting. It is a great honour to be here and to be asked to contribute to the discussion. I will do so by sharing some of the experiences we in the Office for Justice and Peace (OJP) in Jayapura have gone through over the last couple of years. I would like to stress that our experiences and way of working are far from normative for others, but I hope that sharing these experiences might in a modest way help you to come closer to your own answer as a church community to the challenges of today's world.

As I have been asked to present a 'case study on West Papua' I will start my presentation with some brief explanation of the background of the problems in Papua (*The problems in West Papua)*. Further on I will dwell on some main fields of attention (*Faithful attention)* before getting into what we try to do as an office for Justice and Peace under the authority of the Bishop of Jayapura (*Office for Justice and Peace)*. Special attention will be given to the central theme of 'building a culture of peace' as the main''social condition' towards a solution of the problems. I will end with some critical remarks (*Church's involvement)*, which might take us into further discussion and dialogue towards a way of dealing with the demands of the world nowadays.

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[1] Presented at the conference of the joint ecumenical programme of the United Evangelical Mission in the Asian Region to empower church leaders and justice, peace and integrity of creation (JPIC) contact persons, Sukamakmur, North Sumatera, 12-17 July 2004.

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1. THE PROBLEMS IN WEST PAPUA

a. Some important information

1. Indonesia is a secular country with the largest Islam population in the world. The population is about 217 million. Roughly 90% formally confess themselves as belonging to the Islam-religion. Christians represent a minority, but have often been present in a rather non-proportional way, especially in the business world. Overrepresentation, especially when connected with the central government in the past (1980ties), has been often a source of potential conflict for the Muslim majority.
2. Geographically the Christian community is mainly concentrated in two parts of the republic: in Flores and Papua, although also Maluku, North Sulawesi, West Kalimantan and West Timor have a substantial Christian community. In Papua the demographic majority of Christians is challenged nowadays by a heavy migration (planned and spontaneous) from other Indonesian islands, slowly tipping over the demographic balance related to indigenous versus not-indigenous as well as related to Christian versus Islam
3. The Christian community in Papua is divided in a variety of Christian denominations, ranging from "liberal to fundamentalist" in kind. Consequences of that attitude are reflected in the ways the initial founders of the various denominations have dealt with local traditions and culture.
4. Papua has only been integrated into the Republic of Indonesia during the sixties. The process has been very painful for the Papuan community as in the process its voice has been denied completely. Although an official referendum has taken place under supervision of the UN in 1969, everybody familiar with what happened knows that the whole process has been heavily manipulated and voices for independence have been eliminated. Nevertheless, the UN has declared the process legitimate and has endorsed the official integration in 1969. Political and economic interests of important power centres (USA and Australia) have marked the whole process more than fairness or respect for the right of people to self-determination. Therefore, it is not surprising that what happened way back in the sixties are nowadays the main source for protest and the increasing call for independence.
5. The integration of Papua into the Indonesian republic has been followed by a long period of oppression (30 years); the dignity of the Papuan as a

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human being has been denied, and people from outside show mainly an attitude of superiority, leaving the Papuan behind as feeling "stupid, uncivilised, and poor". Most painful to hear Papuans who at the end of this long process talk about themselves as "stupid, uncivilised and poor".

6. Since 1998 (the fall of President Soeharto) there has been more room for expression, which has led to a strong call for independence and awareness among the Papuans that things have to be changed. We are still in the middle of that new movement, while slowly the room for expression is decreasing again; the Indonesian government and security will not allow a 'second East Timor'-story and feels itself backed up by important powers in the world, including the US, Australia and the European Community.
7. Since January 2002 the central Government has granted the province of Papua Special Autonomy in response to an increasing Papuan people's call for independence.

b. The basic attitude of the Papuans

It is worthwhile to note that the Papuans have one very fundamental attitude, namely the desire to "govern themselves". Throughout their history, Papuans have proven to be able to govern themselves so as to be able to maintain their existence for many centuries. This fundamental attitude has also been shown by the Papuans to everybody and to whatever agency showing any tendency to stifle their chances to govern themselves. Such an attitude was shown in their encounter with the Dutch government, missionaries and traders, and newcomers in general. It is not surprising, therefore, that any agency that wanted to "control" the Papuans often resorted to violence. In view of this fundamental attitude, it is also not surprising that December 1, 1961 has been written with golden letters in the pages of Papuan history, as at that time the Dutch government opened up a very agreeable future perspective for that fundamental attitude by initiating "the process of freedom". The loss of this perspective through an international political game in the sixties left a deep scar for the Papuans.

c. Three factual elements

While bearing the above information in mind, special attention should be given to three factual elements that also underlie Papuan problems today:

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First: A complex of experiences during the last four decades, which we like to refer to as the collective "Memoria Passionis" ("memory of suffering"), such as:

a. The development policy followed by the Indonesian government over the last 40 years; recently expressed in conflicting policies by the central government urging the implementation of a Presidential Decree (Inpres 1/2003) to speed up the division of the province, although the Decree was legally contradicting the UU21/2001 on Special Autonomy; the implementation of the Decree has completely paralysed the implementation of the Special Autonomy Law over the year 2003.
b. Dozens of human right violations in Papuan territory since its integration into the Republic of Indonesia, with the most known recent cases as Abepura (nowadays handled in the Human Rights Court in Makasar), Wasior (2001), the murder of a political leader Theys Eluay (2001), and Wamena (2003)[2].
c. The behaviour of the Indonesian armed forces in this territory, commonly marked by arrogance and an excessive use of power/violence, as most recently in Wamena (2003).

Second: Events during modern Papuan history, such as:

a. The program for freedom initiated by the Dutch Government on December 1, 1961 by (1) nominating representatives of the local community to become 50% of the total membership of the *Nieuw Guinea Raad* (parliament); (2) flying the Morning Star flag besides the Dutch flag; and (3) "socializing" the national anthem "Oh Papua, My Land".
b. The adoption of the New York Agreement (NYA) of 1962 as the basis of the transfer of *Nederlands Nieuw Guinea* from the Dutch to the Indonesian governments. This basic agreement was made without the participation of Papuans themselves in the negotiation.
c. The Determination of the People's Opinion (PEPERA; English: Act of Free Choice) in 1969, which was implemented incorrectly as it was accompanied by intimidation, coercion, torture, and unilateral interpretation of the conditions of the implementation laid down in the NYA.

[2] See Table of the pattern of violations of civil and political rights in West Papua, 1998-2004, at the end of this paper.

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Third: The protest of the public has not been heard—there has been no serious response by the ruler, hence:

a The Papuans have never felt that their dignity and identity as human being were recognized; the government hardly ever took measures to promote and protect fundamental freedom and human rights of the Papuans.
b. The Papuans have never felt that they were acknowledged and protected as full Indonesian citizens with full rights and obligations, as stipulated the second Amendment of paragraph 4 of the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (the 1945 Constitution)[3].

d. Silence because of helplessness

The suffering summarized above finally produced a community, which was deeply disappointed and frightened. A community, which felt neglected and abused. A community, which felt used as a mere object of projects, which it was not consulted about. The community has been forced to hold back its anger for many, many years. It is quite natural that one-day the "memory of collective suffering" would finally reveal itself and become a source of "strength in the struggle", once the opportunity presented itself.

2. FAITHFUL ATTENTION

The gospel offers us all kind of inspirations and I would like to draw attention to three major values which are often the very heart of the Good News and which are well worth considering central to our own way of living and acting. These three major aspects are: [1] ***inclusiveness***: nobody should be excluded from our caring attention; [2] ***compassion***: listen to your heart or the openness which prompts our heart to respond; and [3] ***reconciliation***: restoring relations while giving anyone a second or third (even seven times seven) chance, regardless of whatever suffering the person may have caused. They point to a full understanding and respecting of the dignity of each person, and it is this very dignity that is at stake in the complicated world of today.

[3] See Article 28

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Fields of attention

Inspired by the gospel, we are invited to open up our hearts and minds to the surrounding world and to provide 'life which is for real' according to the most demanding call that any human being (and other beings) naturally asked us to listen to: *the call to be respected in his/her/its dignity as a being.*

It is not a secret that scores of real situations don't reflect this respect for human dignity. Just looking at what we face in Papua I would like to mention various fields that demand our special attention and might invite the participants of this meeting to reflect on the key problems in their own respective situation.

1. VIOLENCE: denial of human dignity

Violence, a daily pattern

Over the years I have witnessed people being killed, tortured or beaten up because of their socio-political beliefs, or because they just don't understand what is happening around them. Over a long period of time (roughly the last 40 years) Papuans have been killed or mistreated as they protested the way they have been handled politically, socially and culturally. The central government backed by security forces claim to know what is the best for the people, and claim to have the right to force anybody to bow to their 'legal' will. This has ended up in a complete denial of basic rights (to speak up, to get the needed education, to get economical opportunities etc), a complete denial of human dignity (why bother about 'primitive people'??). The step from denial of human dignity to 'the right to kill' has been proven very small.

Domestic violence

Physical violence is not just limited to the 'political world' but is often also found in the daily family life. Reports on wife-beating, the mishandling of children, or on sexual abuse of partners are common in Papua, and it is often amazing how this kind of treatment is hardly been given any attention in our male dominated Papua-world. The respect for human dignity is at stake on a very daily level.

2. TOLERANCE - INTOLERANCE

The multi-cultural setting

Respect for differences in culture and religion is often looked for, but as often not found. For instance, although recognizing each other as original

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inhabitants of Papua it still seems hard for coastal groups to give credit to their people from the mountains. The people from the north of Papua who have been enjoying access to education and to an earlier contact with the outside world often show a kind of superiority towards their compatriots from the south or the mountains. The situation has become still more complicated as scores of people from other Indonesian islands have flooded into Papua. They very often feel much more clever and more civilised than Papuans and generally adhere to another religion (Islam).

From difference to conflict

This 'multi-cultural, multi-religious society' demands for an explicit effort by all parties to respect each other in their respective differences. This is easily said, but very hard to achieve. The lack of tolerance easily leads to conflict, as people who feel their own identity (and dignity) denied are easily ready to defend their well-being by all means. Above that economical conflicts can be easily turned into an ethnic or religious conflict as has been proved over the last years in Papua; but not only there: it has been proven in Indonesia (Maluku, Sulawesi, Kalimantan), and it has been proven world-wide (NewYork –September 2001-, Bali –October 2002-, Iraq –2003).

3. (UN)EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

Being in charge of your own life

Under this heading we like to refer to differences in opportunities to be in charge of your own life and the life of the community, its development, its fulfilling of basic needs. In everyday terms it means the opportunity to get a job, to make a living, to have a roof over your head, to have bread in the cupboard, to have your voice heard and to be treated equally before the law. It means access to education, to healthcare, to participation in decision-making on any level of the society, access to information and the freedom to communicate.

Inadequate conditions of life

Looking at the situation in Papua we have to conclude that a lot of suffering is caused by unequal opportunities. The indigenous inhabitants of Papua are losing out to the people coming in from outside (transmigrants). Demo-

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graphically estimates are that nowadays 45% of the inhabitants are people from outside, while 55% is indigenous. Around 70 of the inhabitants in the main urban centres like Jayapura and Sorong come from outside Papua, and determine the policies. They are often better educated and/or better equipped to profit from the economic opportunities. The education system is very poor and leaves countless numbers of indigenous people uneducated, hence not equipped to fill in the job-opportunities. The impact of this very damaging infrastructure is strengthened by systematic corruption on almost every level of the administration as well as by narrow ethnic concepts in which people in the position to recruit do so from a basis of nepotism rather than by adhering to an objective assessment of candidate quality.

It has to be admitted that budget-wise Papua has benefited from many opportunities over the years. Still, Papua is listed as one of the poorest provinces if tne Republic, not capable to lift the larger part of the indigenous community above the familiar subsistence level. The ample availibility of money has led to a rapidly increasing 'culture of corruption' as well. This 'culture of corruption' formerly was limited to people from outside Papua, civil servants, traders and such. But over the last years the same culture has rapidly spread out among the Papuans themselves as they are nowadays much more involved in the bureaucracy than ever. Hence we now face internally (within the original Papuan community) a growing inequality, and in the worst cases "Papuans selling Papuans", because of their own personal gain.

The latest example of such a reality is demonstrated by the trend to divide up the Papua province into three or more provinces. The division is mainly based on a combination of personal ambition of certain Papuans to get themselves a position in which they have access to governmental resources, with parties in the central government who wish to end the Papuan call for independence. In the effort to gain a position individual Papuans are not unwilling to sell their own people, to reach compromises with the central government and the security forces that are quite happy to play along in order to crack down on the liberating movement, which has picked up momentum over the last years. The whole trend fits the description of "divide et impera". Only a very small elite will gain from this division and a large part of the community will become the victim, surveying developing events from the sidelines and unable to join in. Given this evident increase in corruption and all the effects

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linked to it, the situation in Papua is very worrying.

Information gap

As people in the urban centres mainly decide on the opportunities, the gap between them and the community far inland (where most of the indigenous inhabitants are living) is growing rapidly. This is not only true when looked upon it from the point of view of economic activities but as much true when looked at it from the point of view of access to information and communication. There is hardly any balanced information available in the inland about developments; hence people are relying on the little bits that reach them (often mere slogans or rumours: either from the official side – government – or from own interest groups like the liberation movement). This leads easily to false (often: inflated) expectations. People's dreams are betrayed by the realities, and frustrations mount. This lack of access to information paralyses the local community, or puts it on the wrong foot, and makes any effective participation is decision-making a mere piece of theatre.

Traditional (in)equality

Dealing with (in)equality of opportunities it should also be mentioned more explicitly than I did above that the traditional past carries with it a strikingly patriarchal way of thinking and living. Equality between men and women is not a very familiar element in the local traditions. Hence gender issues should be taken very seriously, especially also as Papua is more and more moving to a dramatic increase of HIV/AIDS[4], the highest infection rate in Indonesia, and still increasing with a devastating speed every month. What is said about the relation between local traditions and the gender issue might be applied as well to traditions in our catholic church.

4. POWER SHARING– POWERLESSNESS

Disturbing power play

Still more worrying is the fact that local people are so easily manipulated, or even mistreated by institutions in power, especially by the security forces. Papua has a lot of security personnel all over the place. Besides the almost

[4] A conservative estimate: at least 10.000 people infected on a population of 2,4 million. The disaster touches all levels of the community. In a recent statement (June 7, 2004) the Head of the Health service in the Mimika District said that of the 581 HIV/AIDS cases in his district, 130 concerned housewives, 103 concerned local farmers, and 100 concerned sex-workers.

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'natural' fear among the local communities they seem to cause, a disturbing aspect as well is that they are not just there to maintain security, but also to make a living for their institution or for themselves as an individual. This might sound a bit strange to people from outside, but it might be better understood when I explain that the budget for the army and the police is only for 30% covered by the central government. These institutions themselves have to look for the rest of the budget (70%), hence mainly involving themselves in economic activities[5], which according to frequent rumours are not always legally clean[6].

The impact on the local community is dramatically illustrated in the 'sandalwood-industry'. Traders and security people are working together to collect this expensive sandalwood, which only can be found deep in the forests. Local people are hired to do the job. When delivering their materials at the base camp (after an extensive stay in the forest) they are paid for it (not in proportion to the high economic value of the materials they are delivering) and the money can be spent on the spot on shopping (run by sandalwood tradesmen) and on women made available. These sex-workers are mainly sex-workers who have worked in many other places previously and are at their last stage of service. Not surprising that HIV/AIDS is rapidly spreading via this kind of base-camps.

Powerlessness

Often people cannot refuse to be at the service of traders and other connected parties. Especially when the army or police is involved people are scared and feel powerless to stand up for themselves. This situation applies especially to areas where villages are alleged to be connected with the liberation movement (especially the OPM or TPN). The security forces just move into these villages while accusing the villagers arbitrarily of 'separatist activities'. This has been shown again in recent incidents in the highlands around Wamena. The security'people take the attitude that they are always right, leaving no

[5] Among others, companies like PT Freeport Inc, the huge copper and gold mine pay heavily to the army to secure their protection.

[6] In a recent article by Bill Guerin in Asia Times Online, July 6, 2004 we can read: "The National Resilience Institute (Lemhanas), an influential military think-tank, has called on the government to establish an armed task force to combat illegal logging, mining and poaching. Lemhanas estimates the combined losses due to illegal logging, illegal fishing and illegal sand and fuel smuggling come to more than $8 billion a year. This is almost 40% of the expected domestic revenue for the year, and is three times as large as the amount allocated to servicing foreign debt."

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room for discussion or proper investigation, and claiming the right to act according to their will (this can mean detention, beatings, torture and even extra-judicial killings). Speaking about equality before the law it has been a very sad experience over the years that the security forces, especially their commanders, normally get away with their actions, while once in a while offering a lower ranked person to be taken to court and sentenced (not always in measure with the seriousness of the crime). This aspect is normally referred to as "certain parties enjoying impunity before the law".

I have just mentioned a number of areas where respect for human dignity is much at stake; the selection (and a selection it is!) is made referring to Papua and I assume that any participant in this meeting can draw up his/her own picture referring to the respective areas he or she is coming from. Any of the fields mentioned invites us to respond from within our mission *'to give life'*, as in any of these contexts, life is damaged and even being destroyed.

3. OFFICE FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE[7]

Since 1998 we have started a small office to respond to developments in Papua, especially focused on the human rights violations, and at a later stage slowly switching to more 'solution oriented' activities, towards peace building and reconciliation. The main fields of activities are:

1. *Documentation & advocacy* : reporting on incidents, dealing with human rights violations, as well as advocacy and trying to open up the truth. The first eye-opening official report on human rights violations has been published in 1995 under the responsibility of the Bishop of Jayapura[8].
2. *Dissemination of information* : although we are mainly involved with the community of the victims, we have found that an important part of the work should include other parties to understand what is really going on and what is behind the protests of the people. We are looking for understanding in non-Papuan circles and eventually their sympathy or readiness to listen as we are aware of the fact that no solution will be found without

[7] See website: www.hampapua.org
[8] For more information see List of Publicationson the website

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involving other parties. We use local and national newspapers for this and try to publish every year a short analysis about developments over the past year.

3. *Human rights education:* we offer training to the local community; these trainings deal with human rights issues, but above all are meant to help the local community to understand themselves, and to discover that it is possible for them to handle their own situation. After the course we hope that a number of the participants get organised and can act as a kind of 'counterpart' of our office. To them to pick up the local issues or problems and they can be sure that they will find support through our office and access to the people'they like to address.
4. *Inter-religion awareness and action*: we develop a regular dialogue with the leaders of various religions about the situation in Papua and facilitate their joint actions in response to the developments.

Through the various fields of activities we hope to create openings to mutual understanding as well as a willingness to dialogue, as for us moving to a dialogue is the main option in order to solve the problems, including the political ones.

Central theme: building a culture of peace

Related to the main '*fields of attention*' as we mention above, over the last two years we have tried to develop and socialise an articulated 'peace concept'; 'peace' is not just a matter of absence of war but touches to various aspects of daily life.

Creating "Papua, a land of peace" is one means towards the goal of liberation from oppression. It is also a precursor to the resolution of problems without the use of violence. Therefore, the concept of "Papua, a land of peace" is a ***'social condition'***, not a geographical area free of violence within a war zone.

Nine components

As a framework for the development of the concept for "building a culture of peace", we can identify a number of components that determine the existence of a "sense of peace". These components are outlined below.

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Brief explanation:

When it comes to "peace", there are a number of elements that we desire as part of our daily reality and shared principles of the community: we want to feel secure, we want to be respected as a person irrespective of difference; we want to have enough to eat and for other basic needs to be fulfilled, we want to be treated fairly and justly; we want to be recognized as an individual and as an ethnic group; we want to live without dependence on anyone and with control over our own lives; we want our voices to be heard and taken into account; and finally, we want to live in harmony with nature, with a sense of unity, wholeness and holiness[9].

All the components above are important and can serve as principles in formulating activities and policies in our efforts to "develop a culture of peace". Many of these components are "politically loaded", or require action that accords with this.

[9] A more detailed description is given in: Theo van den Broek ofm & Rudolf Kambayong ofm, " Membangun Budaya Damai dan Rekonsiliasi", dasar menangani konflik di Papua, 2004, ISBN: 979-9381-44-4

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4. CHURCH'S INVOLVEMENT

Although our office is an integral part of the Catholic Church in Papua, from the very beginning we have looked for a dialogue with the Protestant Churches in our efforts to respond to developments. The leaders of the three main churches in Papua, and even over the last three years all the religious leaders sign all our human rights reports. We believe that it is very important to take a stand together, as the churches are an important institution in our area and often the only place people can rely on. The trust people have in churches demands from the churches to act accordingly.

In this context of co-operation I would like to mention a number of elements, which might be worthwhile to be discussed:

1. First of all I feel that within church-circles 'work for conflict transformation' or 'develop a culture of peace' is not yet looked upon as a very integral part of the church-mission. Churches (including my own) appreciate and even support the activities but value them also as something 'special'; or in other words this field of activity is not valued as an element of mission that should be a normal key element in any pastoral activity. Shouldn't it be at the very heart of the church-mission nowadays?
2. Related to remark above, the question still becomes more relevant when we realise that a number of churches/denominations we are working with rely completely on 'outside' NGO's for any activity related to human rights, or conflict transformation work/peace building.
3. The attitude shown in the two previous remarks might be directly related to a kind of globally used argument that the "church should stay away from politics". All parties eagerly use the argument: (a) by the church to stay away from a sensitive field of action (especially when the church is socially in a minority position), as well as (b) by the government or security-forces (in order to keep a potential critical institution –which has the trust of the people-, silent).
4. Connected with the argument above, it might be questioned whether there is any room for neutrality / impartiality? when a church or religious denomination takes its mission serious to establish peace, to create a new

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world? Shouldn't working on justice and peace assume that we opt for the weak party, the powerless, and the oppressed? If the church likes to be faithful to its mission, I assume that only little room can be reserved for impartiality,

5. To enable its commitment as a religious denomination or church with peace-building activities, a re-evaluation is necessary as to the initial impact of the missionary work done in the past. Too often, referring to the situation in Papua, missions have robbed the local community of its most dearest property: tradition and local values, and with it has robbed the Papuan of its identity as a person or people. We better be honest on what has happened in the past in order to create the real room for peace building which bases itself first of all on respect of the own identity of the people, and the recognition of its undeniable dignity as human being. Without that respect there is no way for conflict transformation, I guess.
6. While mentioned elements of discussion are mainly related to various churches, it must be said that up till today we all have been very cautious in creating a constructive relation between the churches and the Islam-community. As churches in Papua are very emotionally related to the local population and even part of the people's new identity, the increasing influence of Islam has often been looked at as dangerous. Almost a natural reaction. Looking at the activities in my own office it can be said that only over the last years we have constructively sought the support by the Islam-community. The time we planned to launch an peace-appeal against the increasing violence (by any party), the Islamic leader was eager to join in with the other religious leaders in Papua. It is a very first start of a needed and constructive co-operation.

Religious institutions in Papua have a huge opportunity to serve the people by getting involved in conflict transformation work, as the conflict is at the moment felt by all, even in the most remote part of the inland. People look at the church with trust; up to the church to respond and prove herself trustworthy.

Thank you very much for your patience and readiness to listen.

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Table of pattern of violations of civil and political rights in West Papua, 1998-2004

No.	Cases	Description	Type of violation(s)	Status
1.	The shooting at Steven Suripatty, 4 July 1998	During a student protest in Abepura, Steven Suripatty, an UNCEN student, was shot dead by TNI.	- Summary execution - Violation of freedom of opinion and expression	No prosecution. The Military Prosecutors promised to undertake an investigation into this case but there was no progress at all.
2.	The shooting at the protesters in Biak, 6 Juli 1998	The Biak people raised the Morning Star flag to express their political aspirations of independence as well as protest against injustices and gross human rights violations. The military and the police opened fire at the people, arbitrarily arrested, detained, and tortured them. Many people disappeared.	- Arbitrary arrest and detention -Summary execution -Torture -Enforced disappearances	No prosecution. Komnas HAM promised to to undertake an investigation into this case but there was no progress at all.
3.	Human rights violations in Pegunungan Bintang (Oksibil-Okbibab), in the late 1990s	The military has stigmatised the people who live in this area as separatists and rebels. Since the 1980s, the military has deployed various troops, including the Special Forces of the Army (Kopassus). These troops committed various types of intimidation and terror, including killings, death threats to local leaders, arbitrary arrest and detention of any blacklisted people, torture, violence against women and children, distributing a fake list of the members of OPM.	- Arbitrary arrest and detention -Summary execution -Torture - Violence against women - Violence against children - death threats	In 1999, the Territorial Commander of the army sent a team to investigate the cases and found numerous testimonies from the local people that confirmed the allegations of human rights violations. This team frankly apologised to the people.
4.	The Police operation to lower the Morning Star flag in Timika, December 1999	The police used excessive force to lower the flag that led to a clash with the people. The Police fired at the people causing casualties among the civilians.	- Violation of the right to freedom of opinion and expression - Violation of the right to freedom of peaceful assembly	Even though the Chief of Police of Papua promised to prosecute his personnel who used excessive power, there was no legal action taken.
5.	The Police operation to lower the Morning Star flag in Merauke, February 2000	The police used excessive force to lower the flag killing one person and leaving 22 people injured.	- Summary execution - Harassment - Violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	No prosecution
6.	The Nabire incident, February-March 2000	The Chief of Police of Papua announced the alert status for Nabire as a response to the increase of the activities of the Papuan militias (Satgas Papua). In the beginning of February 2000, having released a list of the Satgas Papua's track record, the police conducted a sweeping operation leaving 2 people shot dead and dozens of people injured. This operation also incited a horizontal conflict between Papuans and non-Papuans.	- Arbitrary arrest and detention -Summary execution -Torture - Violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	No prosecution

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7.	The shooting at civilians in Sorong, 27 July 2000	Within the context of the influx of displaced people from Ambon to Sorong, the local people feared that Maluku's conflict would incite a similar conflict in Papua. Therefore, the people refused to accept these internal displaced people and publicly expressed their concern. However, this attitude met a repressive action by the police. The police fired at the protesters killing 5 people, and arbitrarily arrested and detained dozens of people.	- Violation of the right to freedom of opinion and ex pression - Harassment - Arbitrary arrest and detention - Violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	No prosecution
8.	The Police operation to lower the Morning Star flag in Sorong, August 2000	The police lowered the Morning Star flag using excessive force, leaving 3 people killed and 8 injured	- Summary execu tion - Harassment - Violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	No prosecution
9.	The Police operation to lower the Morning Star flag in Wamena, 6 October 2000	The police launched an operation to lower the Morning Star flag in Wamena using excessive power inciting a horizontal conflict between the Papuans and non-Papuans. This clash caused 34 killed and 88 injured and scores of internally displaced people.	- Summary execu tion - Harassment - Arbitrary arrest and detention - Violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	No investigation. 22 civilians were brought to trials as "scapegoats" and sentenced to jail.
10.	The Police operation to lower the Morning Star flag in Merauke, November 2000	The police launched an operation to lower the Morning Star flag using excessive force, causing 5 shot dead and 18 injured. This incident also caused a horizontal conflict between the Papuans and non-Papuans.	- Summary execu tion - Harassment - Arbitrary arrest and detention - Violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	No prosecution
11.	Papuan students were arrested and detained following their protest in Jakarta, December 2000	A group of Papuan students publicly expressed their protest and complaint at the front of the US Embassy in Jakarta to mark the Papuan historical day of 1 December. The Police arbitrarily arrested, detained and then prosecuted four students with a charge of disrupting the public order.	- Violation of free dom of opinion and expression - Arbitrary arrest and detention - Violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	No prosecution except the criminalisation of the students.
12.	The Police operation to lower the Morning Star	To commemorate the Papuan historical day of December 1st, people raised the Morn-	- Summary execu tion	No prosecution

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	Desember 2000	ing Star flag in many places backed up by a gentleman agreement between the Papuan Presidium Council and the government. However, the police used excessive force to lower the flag leaving 7 people shot dead, 2 people heavily beaten up, 3 seriously injured.	- Arbitrary arrest and detention - Violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	
13.	The Police raided student dormitories and the highlanders' resettlements in Abepura, 7 December 2000	Following the attack to the Police station in Abepura by an unidentified group, the police raided student dormitories and the highlanders' resettlement around Abepura. The police arbitrarily arrested, detained and tortured 105 people, shot dead one person. Of the detainees, 2 died in the Jayapura police custody due to the torture. A Swiss journalist who was in the same custody witnessed this incident. This incident caused a stream of refugees to PNG.	- Arbitrary arrest and detention - Summary execu tion - Torture - Violation of the right to own property - violence against women - violence against children - enforced displace ment	Under Law no. 26/2000 on Human Rights Court, the inquiry commisssion on human violations of Abepura found evidence that the police of Papua committed crimes against humanity and listed 25 police officers who were responsible for such crimes. However, it took three years before the Permanent Human Rights court convened its trial to prosecute only two suspects, that is Brigadir Gen. Johny Wainal and Commissioner Daud Sihombing.
14.	Influx of refugees to PNG, December 2000-Desember 2002	Due to political instability, many Papuans fled to Vanimo, Papua New Guinea, for safety. 324 people have been living in refugees camps in a critical condition since there was no recognition as refugees from both governments. These people have also been stigmatised as rebels or separatists.	-violation of the right to the status of refu gee	Although these people are de facto refugees, both Indonesian and PNG goverments do not recognise them as refugees. Both of them used the term "border crossers", instead. The only agency that provides some humanitarian aids is the Catholic Diocese of Vanimo in conjunction with the Catholic Diocese of Jayapura.
15.	The Sweeping police operation in Wasior, June 2001-October 2002	Due to serious environmental damage caused by logging industry in Wasior as well as the dispute over the payment of the landrights, the local people complained these issues to the company. However, the company backed by the Mobilce Brigade Police ignored this protest causing anger and frustration among the people. Some people then attacked and killed three logging employees on 31 March 2001. Another attack occured on 13 June 2001 leaving 5 members of the Mobile brigade dead. Claiming that the Free Papua Movement committed this attack, the police deployed 3 platoons of the Mobile police brigade to launch a sweeping operation. The police	- Arbitrary arrest and detention - Summary execu tion - Torture - Violation of the right to own property - internally displaced people - Violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	There was no proper investigation and prosecution. The police simply labelled 27 people as criminals. The inquiry commission on human rights violations of Wasior started its investigation in February 2004 (still in progress) under the mandate of Komnas HAM.

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		arbitrarily arrested, detained and tortured 140 people. 2 people were shot dead and 7 people disappeared, 55 houses were burnt down, public facilities and some churches were destroyed. Hundreds of people took refuge into the jungle.		
16.	Killings in Asike-Muting, Sept 2001	An OPM leaders, Willem Onde, and his assistant, John Tumin Kandam, were found dead in a suspicious condition.	- Violation of the right to life - Violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	The police did not investigate the case leaving rumours and assumptions spread out among the people.
17.	The Kimaam incident, November 2001	Due to the conflict of natural resources, the indigenous people protested the government which issued licences to some fishing companies operating in Kimaam water. On 28 November 2001, these people gathered in Maskura to express their public protest. The police then shot dead two people and seriously injured 2 others.	- Violation of the right of indigenous people over natural re sources - Summary execution - Harassment - Violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	No prosecution
18.	Kidnappingand assasination of Theys Hiyo Eluay, November 2001	The Chair of the Papuan Presidium Council was kidnapped and assasinated by the Special Armed Forces after attending the commemoration of the National Hero Day, 10 November 2001, in the Special Armed Forces headquarters in Hamadi, Jayapura. On the following day, he was found dead and his driver, Aristoteles Masoka, disappeared.	- Summary execution -Enforced disappear ance - Violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	Despite the strong opposition of most elements of the society in Papua which demanded an independent investigation team, the government set up the National Investigation Commission(Komisi Penyelidik Nasional/ KPN). This commission found evidence that the Special Armed Forces killed the victim. However, the prosecution was done through the military court rather than the human right court. 7 personnel were found guilty and sentenced 12 - 42 months. No investigation at all into the disappeared driver.
19.	The shootings at 2 American teachers and 1 Indonesian teacher in Tembagapura, 30 August 2002	2 American and 1 Indonesian teachers were shot dead in an ambush in Tembagapura.	Violation of the right to life	The Chief of Police of Papua conducted a preliminary investigation into the case and indicated that the military personnel migh have been involved in the attack. The military then joint the investigation team of

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				the police. Due to the strong pressure of the survivors and the victims' family in the US, FBI got involved in this investigation. On 26 June 2004, the US Attorney General announced that Antonius Wamang was the perpetrator.
20.	The Wamena incident, 4 April 2003	On 4 April 2003, an unidentified group stole weapons from the military arsenal in Wamena, including 14 guns and 3500 bullets, and killed 2 military personnel. The military shot dead one of the attackers on the spot. Following the incident, the military launched a sweeping operation to some 15 villages around Wamena and Kwiyawage causing 4 people shot dead, 48 people arbitrarily arrested and tortured, houses and churchers burnt down, Kwiyawage people fled to the other areas for safety.	- Arbitrary arrest and detention - Summary execu tion - Torture - Violation of the right to own property - Involuntary dis placement	The religous leaders in Papua commissioned a coalition of Jayapura-based NGOs to undertake an investigation into this case. There were strong allegations that the military committed gross human rights violations. This coalition then submitted the report to Komnas HAM that undertook an official investigation into this case.
21.	Timika incident, Agustus 2003	The Chair of the Local Parliament of the Regency of Mimika declared the establishment of the Province of Central Irian Jaya. This decision was followed by a clash between the supporters and the opponents as this decision breached the Special Autonomy Law. This clash caused 5 people killed, 5 women raped and 4 people injured.	- Violence against women - Harassment - Violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	There was no prosecution. The central government postponed the implementation of this decision.
22.	Killings in Sugapa, 3 November 2003	6 carpenters were found dead at a construction place	- Violation of the right to life - Violation of the rigth to know - Violation of the right to justice	No investigation.
23.	Killings in Yalengga, Bolakme, 5 November 2003	The army shot dead 9 civilians, stigmatised as members of the Free Papua Movement (Organisasi Papua Merdeka/ OPM), and arbitrarily arrested and detained 2 civilians. Of 9 victims, there were keywitnesses of the Wamena incident of 4 April 2003.	- Summary execu tion - arbitrary arrest and detention - violation of the right to know - Violation of the right to justice	No prosecution of the incident. 2 civilians were brought to trial with a charge of subversion.
24.	The legal proceedings of the Bolakme case of 5 November 2003 held in Wamena, per May 2004	The judges dismissed the request of the legal team for medical treatment for Jigi Jigibalom who had been paralysed and had been suffering from chronic cataract.	- Violation of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners	

Documented by the Office for Justice and Peace of Jayapura, July 2004

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Notes:

1. **The right to know** "is not simply the right of any individual victim or closely related persons to know what happened, a right to the truth. The right to know is also a collective right, drawing upon history to prevent violations from recurring in the future. Its collorary is a 'duty to remember', which the State must assume, in order to guard against the perversion of history that go under the names of revisionism or negationism; the knowledge of the oppression it has lived through is part of a people's national heritage and as such must be preserved". (Sub-Commission on Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1997/20/Rev.1, para. 17).
2. **The right to justice** means that "all victims shall have the opportunity to assert their right and receive fair and effective remedy, ensuring that their oppressors stand trial and that they obtain reparations. The right to justice entails obligations for the State: to investigate violations, to prosecute the perpetrators and, if their guilt is established, to punish them". (Sub-Commission on Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1997/20/Rev.1, paras. 26 and 27).

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Unity in diversity, a peacefull walk held by various religious leaders in September 20, 2005

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4 INTERFAITH COMMUNION TO MAKE PAPUA A LAND OF PEACE[1]

Most Rev. Leo L. Ladjar, OFM

INDIGENOUS people in Papua (Indonesia) have a custom of using drama to portray the encounter between their ancestors and the first missionaries. This year on February 5th, when we celebrated 150th Anniversary of Evangelization in Papua, they gave a theatrical presentation of the arrival of missionaries Ottow and Geissler in Mansinam, Manokwari. Commemorated in this presentation was how the people made a transition from darkness into light. The darkness represented their situation before encountering the Gospel when there was war and enmity among the tribes. The light symbolized the state of peace that they experienced with the coming of the Gospel proclamators. The missionaries broke their arrows, bows and other weapons of war, and replaced them with adzes to cut wood and hoes to cultivate the land. In this way, the words of Prophet Isaiah concerning the promise of God for lasting peace were realized. "They will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks" (Is 2:4).

"Live in peace" is the message of the Gospel that Papuan people accepted with great enthusiasm, quite simply because this is what they longed for. But the seed of peace does not grow immediately into a tree of peace. It only grows painfully together with the weeds (Mat.13:24-30).

Since 2002, religious leaders in Jayapura, the provincial capital of Papua, have been united in their shared commitment to make Papua a Land of Peace. This is our religious mission and it corresponds with the longing of the people.

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[1] This article is prepared for discussion and interfaith consultation on the occasion of the 61st Session of UN Commission on Human Rigths in Geneva, March 30th - April 4th 2005

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We are working to build communion among us and to walk with our people in a joint effort to end conflicts and transform potential conflict into peace - as only in peace can each person grow and develop in dignity as a human being.

1. Ethnic and religious plurality and the potential for conflict

1.1. Indigenous tribes who live in Papua number around 250. Each tribe has its own language and particular characteristics. Those who dwell in the highlands are different in many aspects from those who dwell in the lowlands, coastal areas and smaller islands. Migration and communication have helped to bring geographically disparate communities closer together. Nevertheless, the tendency for primordialism based on ethnic and clan identity remains relatively strong. In elections, as well as in the selection and promotion of personnel for civil service positions, primordial allegiances are often a strong determinant of people's choices. How is it possible to build peace in this kind of situation? This is one of our questions and challenges.

1.2. Statistics issued by the provincial administration indicate that the degree of plurality within Papuan society today is even more complex, both in terms of ethnic and religious identities. As of the end of 2002:

- Total Population of Papua : 2.387.427 people
  - Indigenous Papuans : 1.241.462 (52%)
  - Non Papuans : 1.145.965 (48%)

- Religions adherents:
  - Protestants : 1.235.670
  - Catholics : 543.030
  - Muslims : 498.329
  - Hindus : 7.249
  - Buddhists : 4.123

The majority of Papuans are small farmers. Non-Papuans who came to Papua as transmigrants are also small farmers. Market places and the business sectors in towns are dominated by non-Papuans, especially people of Bugis-

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Makassar origin who are Muslim. In general, this complex plurality does not cause significant problems in community life. There are particular cases in which small incidents between individuals have escalated to involve other people, and subsequently, create tension and even riots along ethnic and religious lines.

In the last several years, there have been open conflicts in various regions in Indonesia (like Moluccas, Kalimantan and Poso). Even if there is no hostility between members of different communities, certain elements with particular political or power interests can easily manipulate differences in identity to orchestrate violent ethnic-religious conflicts.

So we, the religious leaders of Papua, are called upon to work to promote good relations, communion and brotherhood among all people. We are convinced that only if our people are united in fraternal spirit and mutual respect they will not be easily provoked to destroy each other.

1.3. The missionaries brought and proclaimed the Gospel of peace. They founded their own churches or Christian denominations among Papuan people who accepted their evangelization. These churches or denominations have long histories in Europe or the USA and these histories are marked not only by peaceful dialogue but also long-standing conflict and rivalry. Unfortunately, the dark side of church history is also imported to Papua, and to date, we are yet to completely overcome this. Faced with this situation, and beginning with the church leaders in Jayapura, we continue to encourage all the Christian churches to overcome negative sentiments and urge them to build bridges among churches and communion among Christians.

2. Politics and the potential for conflict

2.1. The political reform era that began with the fall of Suharto in 1998, has produced an atmosphere of freedom. People feel free to speak their minds and express their feelings. Many Papuans have begun to speak openly about the identity and history of Papuan people. Demonstrations for indepen-

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dence in Jayapura and Biak in July 1998 became bloody incidents after confrontation with the security forces. In subsequent years, the violence has subsided. The Papuan independence movement decided to employ peaceful means to campaign for political independence. They sent delegates to meet (then) President Habibie in Jakarta for a "dialogue" and they organized the second Papuan Congress in 2000 with the support of (then) President Abdurahman Wahid. One of the declarations of the Congress was a commitment to work for the separation of Papua from the Republic of Indonesia.

Society is divided in this difficult situation. Aside from those who want independence, there are those who want autonomy or a federation (with the supposition the Indonesian Republic adopts a federal system). At the same time, nationally within Indonesia, there is a movement for decentralization, therefore compelling the central government to give greater autonomy to regencies and provinces. For Papua, special autonomy status represents a political compromise between those who want total separation or independence, and the determination of the state to maintain territorial integrity.

2.2. The special autonomy law was approved at the end of 2001 and with implementation intended to begin at the start of 2002. But the implementation has not been smooth. High-placed Papuan bureaucrats and intellectuals accepted the law as a chance to develop their own land and people. But they have had to convince the radical leaders of the Papuan Presidium Council about the benefits of this law. And until now, some groups still reject special autonomy. The people are divided.

The central government exacerbated this situation when, at the beginning of 2003, (then) President Megawati issued a decree to establish two new provinces in Papua. This decision was not in accordance with special autonomy law, which gave authority to the Papuan people to determine such policies through their representative bodies. The division of Papua caused chaos. Conflict erupted in Timika in the middle of 2003 between support-

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ers and opponents of the establishment of a new province of Central Irian Jaya.

At this time, there was growing suspicion that the central government under the Megawati administration viewed special autonomy law as a dangerous weapon that Papuans could use to make the transition to independence. This suspicion was strengthened when the central government postponed the establishment of the MRP, the Papuan People's Council, which will have authority over policy related to any plans to divide Papua into new provinces.

3. Autonomy and "local wisdom"

Confronted with this situation, the Communion of Churches in Papua (PGGP) and other religious institution face a difficult question: what is the meaning of special autonomy status for Papua and what demands does it make of the churches from the perspective of our mission for peace? We offer an outline in this chapter of our attempts to address this question.

3.1. The political reform movement in Indonesia is centered on efforts to transform from a centralized and authoritarian system of government to a decentralized and democratic system. Papua, the easternmost Province with majority Christians, and Aceh the westernmost province with a predominantly Muslim population, have been given "special autonomy" status as part of this reform process. The objective of these reforms is very positive. With decentralization and autonomy, the local people will have a chance to manage their region for the good of the local people. In Papua, special autonomy status bestows authority and responsibility to govern the region and optimize the use of natural resources for the welfare of Papuan people. It also affords responsibility to protect and to develop the cultural heritage of Papua. This will be exercised especially by and through MRP, the Papuan People's Council.

Yet, alas, it seems that many politicians understand decentralization and autonomy only as power sharing. And because power tends to be corrupt,

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corruption is also decentralized to the province and regencies. In the rivalry for power, corruption is a financial resource used to sustain "money-politics."

3.2. There is another meaning to autonomy that we hope can be further developed through the role of MRP; that is, support to indigenous capacities to address community problems. Indigenous people in every region have social and cultural values that determine how they can manage social problems. These values and methods of decision-making are precious "local wisdom." But this wisdom has been lost as nearly everything is decided and regulated by the central government. The regions are coerced to simply imitate the center. One important meaning of autonomy for us is to promote "local wisdom" in order to build the self-esteem and dignity of local people. The benefits of this are not only local, but also contribute to the nation as a whole.

As Christian Papuans, who are very proud of the Gospel as the beginning of their liberation from the darkness, the local wisdom that we want to promote is peace - peace in the sense of fostering communion with all people. This is the theological paradigm that serves as a background to the praxis of churches in collaboration. We want to work together and walk together because our mission is to build peace and communion among all people. This value is not only a Christian value, but the desire of all people.

The proposed composition of the MRP will include representatives of religious communities. Our paradigm of communion has a particular contribution to make to this. The paradigm of communion has a special role in promoting and strengthening harmony in the life of people of all religions. Papuans must be protected, and this is the role of cultural and women representatives in the MRP. As Christians, they are called not to live for themselves but to be open to others and live in peace with others. Thus the local wisdom that we want to promote is the building of peaceful communion with all cultural, ethnic and religious groups and with various political currents. Experience tells us, political, ethnic and religions interests

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can very easily divide us and provoke conflict. The pursuit of communion and peace will help our people to overcome that danger.

4. Other Crucial Problems

Political developments associated with the relationship between central government and Papua create confusion, chaos and sometimes riots. Special autonomy law - given that it was a political compromise - in fact, does not solve all problems in Papua. This is not simply because this compromise is not welcomes by all Papuans, but also because there are many other problems in our home province itself.

We continually face crucial problems that often relate to the lack of opportunity for people to realize their basic rights. Funds intended for development in the province end up being corrupted. The health of majority people is very poor. We have PUSKESMAS (government health clinics), which are essential for people's health and these are located even in remote districts. But many health officials do not stay in the districts to staff the clinics. Once they get their salaries, they head off to the towns to do their own business. HIV-AIDS is a very serious danger. We do our best to convince people to adopt a healthier life style, but the pace at which this virus spreads is faster than we can work to change the sexual behavior of people.

Education is recognized as vital for development and welfare. The provincial government has made it the first priority in their program. But the state of the education sector is getting worse, especially in the highlands and hinterlands. Many teachers, who are civil servant and paid by the state, do not stay in their positions. In recent years, many new regencies and districts have been established all over Papua. Many teachers have taken up positions in the new regencies and district administration, or enter the regency parliaments. There are more and more schools that do not function well because of the shortage of teachers.

In this social context, we perform our mission to build peace as a necessary condition where all people can grow and realize him/herself to the full as a human being. The communion of church leaders and interfaith collabora-

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tion must take a concrete form in terms of efforts to address these crucial problems, even if more often than not we find ourselves helpless.

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To conclude, I want to share one of our experiences with the military commander in Jayapura. In 1998, when the demonstrations for independence resulted in direct confrontation with the military, we could not but speak loudly against the violation of human rights by the military. One day, the military commander at that time invited all Christian leaders for a "hearing." On that occasion he outlined the military's analysis of recent developments in Papua. According to this analysis, some groups in Papua, including the churches, are seeking to enact the following sequence of moves:

- Demand Suharto to step down
- Criticize the military
- Accuse the military of human right violations
- Demand autonomy
- Demand independence/separation from the Republic of Indonesia.

This analysis is quite accurate in the case of Timor Leste. And we cannot deny the fact that some groups in Papua are moving in this direction. However, with respect to the role of the churches, we are voicing our concern for human rights and working to build peace as a necessary condition for people to realize their basic rights. We want to reaffirm that this is a mission inherent in our faith and not motivated by a political goal. While politics divides people, the Gospel unites people. One thing that we desire is to live with dignity as human beings. To realize this, we aim to create an atmosphere of peace and justice, which will enable the growth of the common good and welfare of our people.

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Creating Papua as a peacefull land, from peacefull walk September 20, 2005

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5 PROMOTING PEACE IN THE MIDST OF VIOLENCE:

The Role of the Churches and other Religious Institutions in Papua[1]

Rev. Herman Saud

THIS paper aims to illustrate how the churches and other religious institutions in Papua, Indonesia, have been promoting peace in the midst of violence. The first part of the paper will offer a historical overview of the violence Papuans have been subjected to under Indonesian rule. The second part will describe the struggles of the churches and religious organisations in working for peace. The third and final part will put forward some proposals on what needs to be done in order to make Papua a Land of Peace (PLP).

1. Papuans under Indonesian rule: History of Memoria passionis

Violence against Papuans had already begun when Papua came under the rule of the United Nations Temporary Administration (UNTEA) in August 1962. In this period, which lasted until May 1963, the Indonesian military and police had already begun infiltrating Papua, and launched a campaign of violence, including intimidation, sexual abuse of Papuan women, and extra-judicial killings. The UNTEA did not take action to stop the violence.

After the territory of Papua came under Indonesian rule in 1963, violence against the Papuans was conducted systematically through extra-judicial killing, torture, arbitrary detention, intimidation and sexual abuse. These crimes

[1] This article is prepared for discussion and interfaith consultation on the occasion of the 61st Session of UN Commission on Human Rigths in Geneva, March 30th - April 4th 2005

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were committed by Indonesian government as part of a series of military operations conducted between 1963-1969, such as Operasi Sadar or Operation Consciousness (1965-1967), Operasi Brathayudha (1967-1969), Operasi Wibawa or Operation Authority (1969).

In 1969, under United Nations' supervision, the Indonesian government conducted the so-called Act of Free Choice (AFC). The AFC was conducted in a way that denied Papuans their freedom of speech, movement and assembly. This was authorised by Presidential Decree No.8/1963,[2] which enforced the Presidential Decree No. 11/1963, and served as the legal basis for: anti-subversion measures; the conduct of massive military operations; the rejection of direct voting in favour of the Indonesian method of musyawarah (reaching a consensus); the selection of "representatives" without the presence of UN officials; intimidation of the hand-picked "representatives" to coerce them to vote in favour of Papua's accession to the Indonesian Republic; implementation of the Act of "Free" Choice through oral declaration and therefore, without an actual process of voting.[3] It was not surprising, then, that the result of this process was a unanimous declaration to join Indonesia.[4] The Papuans say that this supposed popular consultation was an "Act of No Choice."

The AFC did not bring an end to violence in Papua. The Papuans continued to become victims of all forms of human rights violations committed in the name of eradicating separatism. In seeking to assert authority over Papua, the Indonesian government applied a "security approach" that took the form of massive military operations, including operations in Jayawijaya district in (1977-1982); Operasi Sapu Bersih I dan II or Operation Clean Sweep I and II (1981); Operasi Galang I dan II or Operation Reinforcement I and II (1982); Operasi Tumpas or Operation Annihilation (1983-1984); and Operasi Sapu Bersih or Operation Clean Sweep (1985).[5] The security approach intensified when Papua was officially placed under military operation zone status (Daerah Operasi Militer/DOM) until 1998. All Papuans were under suspicion of being

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[2] Presidential Decree No, 8/1963 states: "In the region of West Irian, it shall for the time being, be prohibited to undertake political activity in the form of rallies, meetings, demonstrations or the printing, publication, announcement, issuance, dissemination, trading or public display of articles, pictures or photographs without permission of the governor or an official appointed by him".

[3] Cf. SALTFORD,J., The United Nations and the Indonesian Takeover of West Papua, 1962-1969: The anatomy of betrayal, RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2003, 158. Henceforth simply The United Nations and the Indonesian takeover of West Papua.

[4] For a description of how the Indonesian government held the Act of Free Choice, Cf. The United Nations and the Indonesian takeover of West Papua, 160-165.

[5] For detailed information about the military operations conducted in West Papua, Cf. CARMEL BUDIARDJO and LIEM SOEI LIONG, West Papua: The Obliteration of a People, London: Tapol, 1988. Henceforth simply West Papua.

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either members or supporters of the Free Papua Movement (OPM). A Papuan could easily be killed anytime, anywhere, for no reason and without fear of legal sanction.

Today, DOM status in Papua, but military operations still continue. Papuans have been victims of crimes against humanity and continue suffer under Indonesian rule. The heavy presence of Indonesian troops in Papua has generated insecurity, as well as an atmosphere of fear and anxiety among Papuans.

The continued violence and conflicting policies of the Indonesian government have created horizontal conflict, as well as generated suspicions and divisions in society on the basis of ethnic group, race, and religion. The extensive practice of legal and illegal logging has destroyed large tracts of forest and wildlife habitats that have a high degree of bio-diversity. The socio-economic and cultural rights of the Papuans have been and continue to be neglected, despite the approval of the Special Autonomy Law of 2001. Papuans have been marginalized and made strangers in their own land. Under Indonesian rule, 80% of the population have been categorised as "poor," despite the vast amount of profitable natural resources. The traditional cultures are disrespected. Protests and opinions put forward by Papuans, but they are reglected by the government.

Facing many forms of violence, Papuans come to the conclusion that under Indonesian rule Papuans have never been treated as human beings, and respected as Indonesian citizens. Papuans have been seeking to challenge the continued violence through violent and peaceful resistance.

2. The Role of the Churches/religious organisations in Promoting Peace

2.1. Promoting a non-violent approach of conflict resolution

The Gospel has been proclaimed in Papua since 1855. It is still being proclaimed today, and will continue to be proclaimed in the future. The Gospel cannot be proclaimed in isolation fromthe state of injustice in Papua. Therefore, the churches have been playing prophetic role by seeking action to address proven cases of human rights violations, rejecting violence as way to resolve the situation in Papua, promoting non-violent ways to

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struggle for justice, human dignity and rights, peace, and the integrity of creation. The churches have been jointly demanding that victims' grievances be addressed by upholding the supremacy of law and addressing the problems in Papua through peaceful means, such as dialogue. In 1998, the churches also established a forum, FORERI, to promote peace and reconciliation.

The churches' involvement in efforts to address injustice is not politically motivated, but solely based on Gospel values, such as justice, peace, human dignity and rights, and a non-violent way of conflict resolution. Although there is a suspicion from some parties about the involvement of the churches in working for justice, human rights, and peace, the churches have a calling and commitment to continue to play a prophetic role for the sake of God-given human dignity in collaboration with all people of goodwill.

2.2. Promoting Papua as a Land of Peace (PLP)

2.2.1. The Signs of Hope

In the midst of the continued violence, the churches have begun promoting Papua as a Land of Peace (PLP). The idea of the PLP emerged at a consultation in 2000 facilitated by the United Evangelical Mission (UEM) in Biak on the proclamation of the Gospel, including work for peace. On 25 - 30 November 2002, church leaders met with other stakeholders in Papua in Sentani (Jayapura) to explore and define the concept of Papua, Land of Peace, as a common platform for all Papuans and non-Papuans.

Since peace is a deepest desire of all human beings without exception, the idea of PLP was welcomed by the indigenous Papuans. It has been further endorsed by the declaration in Serui by Yusuf Tanawani and Tom Beanal as the Vice Chairperson of the Papuan Presidium Council on December 1, 2002.

On September 21, 2003, the religious leaders led a peace march in Jayapura. People of all religions participated the march, which was marked by prayers for peace that started at the Office of the Papuan Legislative Council and ended at the provincial headquarters of the police.

On 5 February 2004, the leaders of all religions prayed together and expressed their commitment for peace. The provincial police chief, the

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military commander, the governor, the head of Provincial Legislative Council, and Papuan tribal leaders demonstrated their support for this commitment through their presence at the event and by holding candles during the prayer for peace.

Efforts to promote PLP is now being supported by all religious leaders in Jayapura, the provincial government and legislative council, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), the provincial police authorities, and Papuan tribal leaders.

The goal of PLP is not only to end violence committed by the Indonesian military and police, but also to create an atmosphere where everyone living in Papua can enjoy a harmonious relationship with God, oneself, others, and the entirety of creation. The concept of PLP is continuously being advanced so that every one can live in peace and work for peace in Papua.

2.2.2. The Challenges

In promoting Papua as a land of peace, we find some challenges, as follows:

- Suspicion and divisions on the basis of ethnic group, race, religion, and political aspirations and interests;
- The heavy presence and arrogance of the Indonesian military, as well as their involvement, both directly and indirectly, in commercial activities in Papua;
- Orchestration of violence to justify military intervention;
- The lack of mutual trust between the Papuans and the Indonesian government;
- The conflicting policies on Papua produced by the Indonesian government;
- The culture of impunity protecting the perpetrators of human rights violations.

3. What needs to be done in the future?

3.1. Regional level

It is the territory of Papua that is the focus of our campaign for peace. The

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majority of people, if not all, living in Papua should be involved in making the PLP a common desire and mission. This requires efforts to campaign for the concept of land of peace among peoples in Papua. The main focus of the campaign is respect for the dignity of the human person and social diversity .

In order to get as many people as possible in Papua involved in the PLP campaign, it is necessary to:

- Celebrate international day of peace (21 September) and the Papuan day of Peace (5 February) by conducting peace prayers and other activities;
- To set up a commission for justice and peace in each denomination;
- Set up a joint secretariat that can coordinate all activities aimed at preventing conflict and promoting peace in Papua. The joint secretariat should include religious leaders, tribal leaders, NGOs, universities and colleges;
- Encourage religious leaders in each district (kabupaten) to set up inter-faith collaboration among religious leaders to work for peace;
- Strengthening civil society in Papua;
- Conduct education for justice, peace, human rights, and integrity of creation for all peoples in Papua;
- Facilitate inter-ethnic, inter-racial, and inter-religious meetings in Papua;
- Support any activity aimed at preventing conflict and promoting peace;
- Improve the quality of education and health care service, and the standard of living for Papuan people.

3.2. National level

The campaign of the PLP also needs to be conducted in villages, towns and cities in Indonesia. The goal is to get support from Indonesian peoples of all religions and professions to make Papua a land of peace.

In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to:

- Establish networks with individual scholars, universities, NGOs, and politicians, in Jakarta and all provinces in Indonesia;
- Collaborate with religious leaders from all provinces in Indonesia;
- Launch an effective media campaign for peace, in collaboration with local and national journalists.

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3.3. International level

International support for making Papua a land of peace is also necessary. Therefore, a campaign for PLP needs to be launched at the international level. The goal of this campaign is to get support from the international community including governments, inter-governmental organisations, NGOs, religious leaders, and all peace loving peoples. This campaign for PLP is not identical with the campaign for political independence of West Papua. The main aim of the PLP campaign is to ensure that peace prevails in the Papua of land - irrespective of whether Papua remains as an Indone sian province or becomes an independent state. The peace campaign is totally distinct from the campaign for political independence.

In order to get international support to promote the PLP, it is necessary:

- For the religious leaders in Papua to appoint a team to coordinate the PLP campaign at the international level in collaboration with the already established Interfaith Network for Papua;
- For the Interfaith Network for Papua to support peace-related programs initiated by civil society in Papua and in Indonesia;
- To pray for peace in Papua on 5 February and 21 September;
- For foreign governments to support any conflict prevention program initiated by the Government of Indonesia in Papua.

There will be no peace in Papua if the campaign for Papua as a land of peace is conducted only at the regional level, or at the national or international levels. It requires the involvement of all people in Papua, as well as national and international support. The struggle to create the PLP will be a long and difficult journey. It requires strong commitment and sacrifice, of the kind we learn from Jesus Christ.

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Religions as peace promoter in Papua Land, from a workshop of religious leaders in Papua , September 2005

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6 JOINT STATEMENT BY PAPUAN RELIGIOUS LEADERS

15 September 2005

1. **WE**, 87 religious leaders from all parts of Papua (comprising 20 Protestants, 23 Catholics, 22 Muslim, 11 Hindus and 11 Buddhists), regard this workshop of the International Day of Peace, held in Jayapura from 11 to 15 September, as a remarkable and valuable experience. We have enjoyed a sense of togetherness and solidarity throughout the workshop. We have been enriched by the series of reflections, the sharing of opinions and experiences, and the many discussions that have been held over these four days. This workshop - with theme "Religions as Agents of Justice and Peace" - has helped us to improve ourknowledge with the various issues of concern in Papua today, and given us hope in our efforts to make Papua a land of peace.

ISSUES OF COMMON CONCERN

In order to make Papua a land of peace, there are number of concerns those must be addressed. As religious leaders of Papua, we highlight these point below:

2. We are concerned about the suspicion between people of different faiths. There is a lack of religious understanding and sincerity of faith within our religious communities. People also have poor knowledge of religions other

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than their own. There is a lack of communication and coordination within and between faiths. We note with concern the tendency to exploit religion for political purposes, theological conflict within religions, in particular the current conflict triggered by the Joint Ministerial Decrees (Surat Keputusan Bersama/ SKB 2 menteri) that is not in the spirit of rights to religious freedom afforded by the Indonesian Constitution of 1945 Article 29. We are concerned about discrimination in the provision of public services to religious minorities in some regional areas, and the lack of recognition for those faiths that represent a majority of the population in some other areas.

3. In relation to law and human rights perspectives, we see how the law is "sold off" to the highest bidder, the human rights of Papuans have been neglected, customary rights have not been upheld and those in positions of power enjoy impunity from prosecution.

4. In relation to economic affairs, we are concerned with the fact that theft and destruction of natural resources is rife, and there was no real commitment to promote development in Papua. We see that a people-centered economy had not been developed and the majority poor community have been economically disempowered. The provision of economic facilities and infrastructure is not fair.

5. In relation to the state of education in Papua, we are concerned by the prevalence of fake degrees and qualifications. There has been insufficient effort to develop a school curriculum relevant to local cultures. The welfare of teachers are poor, and there is a low standard of teacher training and skills. School textbooks are not properly distributed to village areas and there is a low level of support from the government to education foundations that run education sector in Papua.

6. With respect to the health sector, we are concerned about the poor availability of drugs, particularly in remote areas, and the lack of medical personnel in villages. We are concerned about the poor terms and conditions for medical personnel, low standards of service, the lack of health equip-

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ment and facilities, as well as the insufficient funding for the community health sector. We are also worried about the poor awareness among the community of health issues, the high child and maternal death rates, the spread of HIV/AIDS, and the low level of family welfare.

7. We are concerned about the fact that social problems, including alcohol abuse, domestic violence and child neglect, have not been given the serious attention they require. We are concerned by the lack of tolerance for difference among the community. Social facilities and infrastructure are also inadequate.

8. With respect to politics and the state of governance in Papua, we are concerned about the misunderstanding of the community that regards politics as corrupt. We see how the law is compromised to serve the interests of particular people or groups. There is a tendency for politics to create divisions within the community, a prevalence of money politics, and the weakness of democracy given the failure to fully involve the people in decision-making. The culture of corruption is also of concern. We see that good and clean governance has not been achieved. Customary communities, faith communities and women have not been given a place in the development process. We have witnessed ourselves how Special Autonomy has failed to improve the plight of Papuan communities.

SHARED HOPES

Faced with these concerns, we also find many sources of hope with respect to efforts to make Papua a Land of Peace:

9. In interfaith relations, we recognise the good relations among faith leaders. We appreciate the contribution of interfaith communication and prayers, forums for communication among faith leaders, as well as dialogue between religious leaders and joint prayers to prevent conflict. We recognise the independence of each of our respective religions, the support of religious communities for their leaders, and solid leadership.

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10. With respect to the law and human rights, faith leaders support efforts to uphold the rule of law. We undertake human rights education within the community and support all efforts to promote respect for human dignity. We work together to speak out on issues of justice and peace.

11. In relation to the economy, we recognise that there are promising natural resources and undertake education for community-based economic empowerment. We strive to ensure that the people are made the actors in the process of development, work to strengthen the bargaining position of the community-based economy; and prepare people to be actively involved in economic activities.

12. In the educational sector, religions have long been pioneers in education and providers of human resources in Papua. Religions have established many schools, particularly in remote areas, have developed and maintained a dormitory system that is cross-cultural. We have undertaken education based on traditional culture, sought to promote greater participation in education among the community and undertaken education for character building.

13. In the health sector, religions initiate, build and promote services - and prayers - to improve health for the community. Religions help improve the nutritional intake of mothers and children, promote "pro-life", conduct health clinics, educate communities about HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases, and campaign for healthy lifestyles.

14. In the social sphere, religions inform of the richness inherent in our social diversity, stress the interdependence of people for community well-being, promote social welfare (through orphanages and skills development for youth), seek to address social ailments, and build resettlements.

15. In relation to politics and governance, religions have a particular bargain ing position. Religions act as a "safety belt" and build unity. We stress the importance of ethics in decision making, as well as the importance of employing peaceful means and upholding human dignity in addressing

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problems.

OUR JOINT COMMITMENT AND APPEAL

16. As religious leaders, we are committed to make Papua a Land of Peace:
    - Based on awareness and respect for plurality, justice, unity, harmony, solidarity, togetherness and sincere fraternity,
    - By speaking out about injustice and all forms of oppression experienced by the community, particularly that of indigenous Papuans,
    - Through efforts to increase the effectiveness of cooperation and communication among faith leaders, and by faiths with customary leaders, youth leaders, women leaders, governmental and non-governmental organisations, and all people of good will,
    - Through efforts to prevent all plans and actions that contravene the underlying values of the concept of "Papua, Land of Peace", and
    - By exploring resources for peace within local cultures.

17. We invite and encourage all people in the land of Papua to:
    - Become actively involved in activities for peace,
    - To love one another as an expression of their faith,
    - Recognise and accept ethnic, religious and cultural diversity as gifts from God,
    - Place priority on dialogue as a way to resolve problems,
    - Maintain harmonious relations with God, fellow members of the community and nature,
    - Take an active role in monitoring governance and development activities, and
    - Resist provocation and not be influenced by conflicts taking place outside of Papua or those created by the government.

18. We support and encourage the central and regional governments to:
    - Build good and clean government,
    - Engage in dialogue with the people through the regional assembly regarding the implementation of Special Autonomy Law (No. 21/2001),
    - Uphold the supremacy of the rule of law by bringing to justice all those

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responsible for human rights violations, corruption, theft of natural resources, lawless actions and all forms of violence, and without impunity,
- Develop Papua with respect for the environment and culture,
- Undertake sound fiscal management,
- Ban the distribution of hard liquor, all types of nightclubs and all forms of gambling,
- Take serious action in cooperation with non-governmental organisations to address the spread of HIV/AIDS through the adequate provision of health services and efforts to address the root causes of its proliferation,
- Engage with communities (including customary, religious, youth communities and women) in the planning, decision-making, implementation and evaluation of development programmes,
- Respect and support the activities of religious organisations,
- Employ dialogue to be the first course of action in addressing problems in Papua,
- Guarantee the right to life of all people living in the land of Papua,
- Uphold justice by addressing gross violations of human rights in Papua without impunity,
- Give Papuans the opportunity to take their rightful place as the primary actors in the process of development and the use of natural resources, and
- Utilise natural resources for the welfare and prosperity of the Papuan people.

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15 September 2005
Signed by 87 Papuan Religious Leaders

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For the past four years, Papuan people have sought to "liberate themselves", struggling to break free from fear and inferiority, and striving to be able to again stand proud as people deserving of recognition

This book documents some efforts to build Papua as a land of peace, after decades of conflict and social tension within the region. Some articles in this book clearly show that peace is a difficult and hard way, but it must be done, with collaboration by different groups in Papua. Religious leaders in Papua are a group of which join hand in hand to bring peace in the eastern part of Indonesia.

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