

Peace Brigades International Indonesia Project

Quarterly Bulletin June 2010



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The Jakarta - Papua dialogue and the implementation of the EU Guidelines for the safety of Human Rights Defenders

The focus of this second Quarterly Bulletin of the PBI Indonesia Project is on two separate initiatives that are being developed within Indonesia.

The preliminary phase of developing the necessary capacities for a dialogue between the two provinces on the island of Papua and the central Government of Indonesia in Jakarta is well underway. This initiative is being supported, promoted and implemented by both civil society organisations and sectors of the Government of Indonesia. PBI client LB3BH (*Lembaga Penelitian, Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Bantuan Hukum*, Institute of Research, Analysis and Development for Legal Aid) has been involved in this process, hosting a recent public consultation that occurred in Merauke.

Meanwhile on the national level a strategy has already been created by the European Union delegation in cooperation with EU member states for the monitoring of Human Rights Defenders and the human rights situation in Indonesia. This will be done through the implementation of the EU Guidelines for the safety of Human Rights Defenders.

This publication gives a broad overview of these two initiatives, which have the potential to positively develop a discourse for the improvement of human rights in Indonesia.

In recognition of the role that PBI has as a non-partisan organisation, opinions, articles and interviews were elicited from a diverse range of individuals closely involved in both of these processes in an attempt to let those involved express their views.

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1976-2010

Emmanuel Goo Journalist and Human Rights Defender

Pease Brigades International Indonesia Project is deeply saddened to inform you that Emmanuel Goo a long time friend and client of PBI in Indonesia died in hospital on Monday 24 May 2010, he was 34 years old.

Emmanuel Goo was most well known for his work as an independent journalist and author based in Nabire, Papua. He wrote for the weekly SPP (Suara Perempuan Papua, Women's Voice Papua) one of the newspapers most critical of district and provincial politics, corrupt practices and illegal extraction of resources. He was also a member of the AJI (Alliansi Journalis Independen, Papua, Alliance of Independent Journalists, Papua). In 2009 he published a book on local indigenous peace culture in Papua.

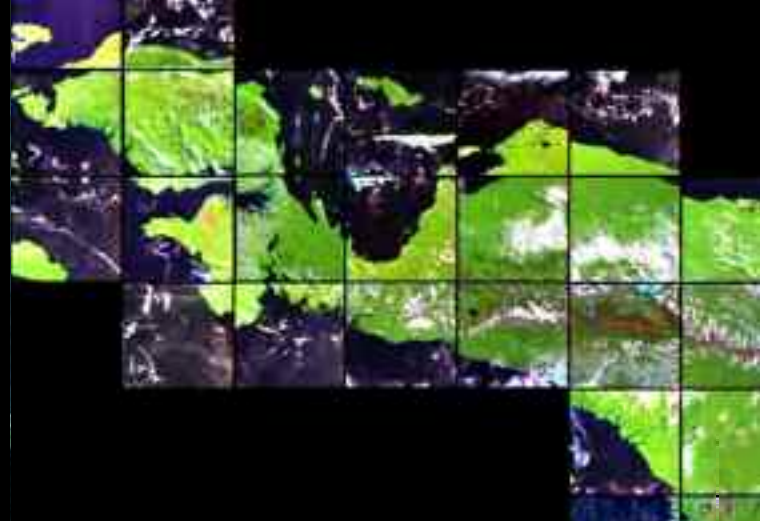
In addition to his work as a journalist, Emmanuel Goo was a strong believer in the development of civil society through social work. He was the founder of a human rights Non Governmental Organisation (NGO), Elpama (Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Papua, Institute for the empowerment of Papuan Society), which focused on using peace and legal education to resolve social issues such as land rights, human rights and civil rights.

As a result of his work Emmanuel Goo became the subject of intimidation and surveillance by security forces over the past five years. The threats and intimidation he received ranged from being directly 'advised' not to investigate a case to increasing interest in his whereabouts and strange text messages and phone calls. It was as a result of these threats to his personal safety that in September 2008 Emmanuel Goo became a PBI client.

All of us whose lives and work have been influenced by Emmanuel Goo will remember a dedicated human rights activist who had time to talk. In the last years of his life he worked prodigiously for the causes that he believed in. He will be sorely missed.



Indonesian Parliament Building, Jakarta



Satellite image of the Western half of the island of Papua

The Jakarta - Papua Dialogue

Dialogue in Indonesia

The effectiveness of dialogue in conflict resolution as a multi-level mediation tool is largely defined by the complexity of the issue that it attempts to resolve combined with the willingness of the various stakeholders to accede to a mediated solution.

In the post Suharto era there have been many attempts to use multi-level dialogue within Indonesia, often combined with offers of financial, legislative, political and administrative reform. The referendum in what became East Timor in 1999 and the signing of the Helsinki peace accords between Aceh and Jakarta in 2005 are two of the

most documented examples.

In the two provinces of Papua and West Papua, which are located on the Eastern most tip of Indonesia, there have been a number of attempts to resolve tensions both locally as well as between the central government in Jakarta and Papua.

The Special Autonomy legislation, passed into law in 2001¹ is one such example. This was the result of dialogue between government and academics in both Jayapura and Jakarta. It was not the first attempt at 'dialogue' and was preceded by FORERI (*Forum Rekonsiliasi Rakyat Irian*, Forum for Reconciliation of Society in Irian), team 100² of West Papuan Communities

and the Second Papua Congress of 2000.

Previous attempts at dialogue have highlighted the many obstacles and problems associated with dialogue. For example in relation to the most recent initiative, Special Autonomy this is partly the result of often contradictory legislation that is passed down from the national legislature and executive to Papua's provinces. In many respects Special Autonomy grants Papua the freedom to pass its own laws, budgets, and customary right. According to Neles Tebay, Perppu (*Peraturan Pengganti Undang-undang*, Regulation in Lieu of Law) No.1/2008 further undermined Autonomy by giving the central government

¹ In 2001 the government in Jakarta implemented a series of legislative and financial reforms aimed at increasing regional autonomy in Aceh. These reforms were unsuccessful and violence continued until the signing of the Helsinki agreement in 2005.

The government in Jakarta implemented similar reforms commonly known in its abbreviated form Otsus (Otonomi Khusus, Special Autonomy) for Papua that was implemented in 2002. These reforms have similarly been viewed as largely unsuccessful. For the full text see: <http://www.papuaweb.org/goi/otsus/files/otsus-en.html>

² The West Papua conflict in Indonesia: actors, issues and approaches, Esther Heidbüchel

the sole power to alter sections of the Autonomy law³. Furthermore, the process of pemekaran (creating new administrative districts through partition of old ones) has created new administrative districts and added further levels of bureaucracy to the two provinces through which development money has to be funnelled.

Developing the Jakarta - Papua dialogue

The last two years in Papua have seen two important debates that, while not new have at least become revitalised. These issues are Special Autonomy and a renewed focus on the ability of dialogue to resolve problems. These debates have been occurring at the academic and political level and have resulted in some concrete initiatives that may well result in a renewed round of dialogue between Jakarta and Papua.

Two key drivers in particular that have played an essential role in promoting and constructing a credible model for identifying and addressing Papuan grievances are LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences), a government think tank and Neles Tebay, a Papuan academic and cleric from STFT Fajar Timur (Philosophical and Theological College). Their models are explored in two books: *the Papua Road Map* (LIPI) and *Dialogue Jakarta - Papua* (Neles Tebay).

These two books are founded upon the presumption that the people of Papua have substantial grievances that previous attempts at mediation have left unaddressed. Both models believe it is necessary not to presuppose what these problems are, but rather seek definition of these grievances through public consultations with all levels of civil society. The initial aims of these public consultations are threefold: to legitimise the process of dialogue, to define the content

of a future dialogue and to identify potential Papuan representatives for a dialogue.

Problems to overcome

The geography of Papua itself⁴ has proven one of the most difficult obstacles to overcome in the initial stages of developing a consensus within Papua on the terms of dialogue. Papua's unique geography has resulted in a region that is one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse in the whole of Indonesia.⁵

The impacts of internal migration patterns within Indonesia on Papua further complicate geographically born cultural complexities with those of ethnicity. Comprising an estimated 42%⁶ of the population of the Western half of the Papuan island, transmigrants have altered the social, economic, religious and political face of Papua.⁷ What is more, Indonesian migrants to Papua are predominantly based in urban areas.⁸

³ The Minister of Home Affairs recently challenged the application of the Otsus regulation which states that every Bupati, Wakil bupati, Walikota, wakil walikota (Governor, Deputy Governor, Mayor, Deputy Mayor) in Papua has to be an indigenous Papuan. This regulation is seen as discriminative by the Minister but is widely supported by the Papuan community. Attempts to change the regulation led to a large demonstration in the city of Jayapura in opposition to the proposal. (Cenderawasih Pos May 18th 2010)

⁴ To access Papua, especially the highlands air, transport is often the only feasible way. Accessing the coastal regions is still possible by boat though more time consuming. This has resulted in two loose groupings being formed of 'highland' and 'coastal' Papuans with often conflicting problems and political views.

⁵ New Guinea is perhaps the most linguistically diverse region in the world, Guns Germs and Steel, Jared Diamond

⁶ Dialogue Jakarta - Papua, Neles Tebay

⁷ Plans to develop a 1.6 million hectare Integrated Food and Energy Estate in Merauke with an expected population increase from 175,000 to approximately 800,000 people will see a continuation of this trend.

⁸ This urban - rural divide is important for not only are state services and infrastructure generally of a higher quality in urban locations but human rights abuses occurring disproportionately in remote areas of Papua.



Creating a unified discourse for such a politically and socially fragmented society is extremely complex. While there are a number of issues such as the lack of state services⁹ that can be seen as universal problems effecting the population of the region, other factors are more divisive. Given the high levels of militarisation¹⁰ and social discord, finding an agreement between Jakarta and Papua upon the content for dialogue will be extremely difficult.¹¹

It is some of the divisive issues, such as a referendum for the two provinces of Papua for example, that combine cultural and political grievances which may split not only the indigenous and migrant population of Papua, but the willingness of Jakarta to contemplate any form of dialogue. Furthermore support from Jakarta for this initiative is far from guaranteed. The model for dialogue that has been proposed by both LIPI and Neles Tebay does not seek to restrict the issues to be

discussed within the dialogue. As such, the conceptual framework and content of the dialogue remains largely abstract. Few in the Jakarta political elite however can be expected to openly endorse a dialogue while its content remains undefined, especially given the differing historical perspectives between Jakarta and Papua on how the two provinces were integrated into Indonesia.¹²

The way forward

At the time of writing, the pre-dialogue consultations of the Papua Peace Network have almost been completed. As previously stated, one of the main outputs of these public consultations should be that Papuans reach a common understanding of what dialogue with Jakarta means for the population of the two provinces.

As can be seen from some of the following articles and

interviews, there is still much uncertainty regarding when the proposed dialogue between the two sides should start. With no guarantee of support from Jakarta and as yet no agreement within Papua on who should be the elected representatives of the two provinces, such uncertainty is understandable.

Ultimately what may well define the success or failure of the Jakarta – Papua dialogue is what legacy President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono wishes to leave behind. During his first term in office with Joseph Kalla as his Vice President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono successfully presided over the Helsinki peace accords which finally resulted in what appears to be a lasting peace for Aceh. Now in his second term he has the opportunity to endorse a dialogue that could have similar benefits for the two provinces on the island of Papua. The coming months should do much to clarify if such support will be forthcoming.

⁹ Millennium Development Goals Progress Report Indonesia (2007), UNDP

¹⁰There are plans being considered for the creation of a new Kodam (Komando Daerah Militer, Regional Military Command) for the province of West Papua which would result in an increase in military personnel deployed to the province.

<http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/nusa/2010/01/18/brk,20100118-219755,id.html>

¹¹A recent World Bank project called Violent Conflict in Indonesia Study collected data from local and national newspapers in an attempt to track violence in various forms throughout Indonesia. The study identified the province of Papua as having the highest rates of violence in Indonesia.

¹²The government view is that conflict with the Dutch over the decolonisation of Papua lasted until the Act of Free Choice in 1969 and was the last chapter in Indonesia's struggle against colonialism. <http://muridan-papua.blogspot.com/>

Muridan S. Widjojo, a LIPI perspective

One of the key individuals involved in the development of a dialogue is Muridan S. Widjojo a middle ranking civil servant of Javanese descent working for LIPI (*Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia*, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences). Together with Neles Tebay a Papuan academic cleric he is the face of the Papua Peace Network (*Jaringan Damai Papua*), a loose association of individuals supportive of the development of a coherent strategy for a dialogue between Jakarta and Papua.

PBI volunteers Michael Mori and Nico Prins interviewed Muridan to gain his views on how the Jakarta - Papua dialogue is progressing and what he sees for the future of this initiative. Muridan quickly got into the topic, animatedly explaining the issue that LIPI is helping to develop.

To start with Muridan explained the outline for a dialogue as LIPI envisions it. The process is comprised of three key preliminary stages:

1. Advocate and promote dialogue as a viable tool for conflict resolution at the level of central government, especially focusing upon the Presidential and Ministerial levels.



Muridan S. Widjojo

2. Encourage the elites and the leaders of Papua to prepare for dialogue with Jakarta.

3. Design a public consultation program that ensures a legitimate dialogue where Papuan leaders, grass root organisations and members of the general public can input and support the process of developing a dialogue.

Muridan explained how by using its unique position as a government institution and think tank LIPI can promote the idea of a Jakarta - Papua dialogue both in Jakarta and in Papua. With institutional support LIPI, can safely foster the seeds of a dialogue with Government ministries and

the Indonesian Parliament without being stigmatised as a body working for Papuan independence.

Fostering dialogue in Jakarta

The process of promoting a dialogue with central government bodies will be complex. LIPI has to help develop both institutionalised as well as direct ministerial support from Indonesian Government Departments. Ultimately if the endeavor is to really succeed full presidential support will be necessary. Though such support is not yet

forthcoming significant inroads have been made.

One of the main proponents of a Jakarta - Papua dialogue, and an institution that continues to be supportive, is the Office of the Vice President. Ex-Vice President Muhammed Jusuf Kalla, widely known for his involvement in the Aceh peace process, was an early convert. Though known more as an administrative reformer, support for the endeavour from the Vice Presidents' Office has continued under the tutelage of Boediono. A reason for this may not be continued support from Boediono but rather that a number of deputies have remained in office following the presidential elections.

On the ministerial level individuals such as the Minister of Transport and Communication Freddy Numberi and the Ex Minister of Defence Juwono Sudarsono have recognised the importance of dialogue. The Minister for Transport and Communication actively lobbied President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono writing him a personal letter stating the need for a dignified process of dialogue for the people of Papua.

On the governmental level many members of Commission One of the Indonesian Parliament, if not openly supportive of dialogue, are open to the concept. Support from members of Commission One may become a key factor in developing this process as the Indonesian Parliament is mandated to

determine issues relating to National Unity. A topic that will further be explored later in this document.

Support has also been offered from bodies such as the National Resilience Council, a think tank composed predominantly of former high ranking Military and Police officials. This is a very positive development considering the conservative stance often taken by the Indonesian Army and security sector.

While some quietly back dialogue, no government department or prominent politician has yet publicly endorsed the process. With the issue of a referendum and international mediation being discussed in the Papuan consultations, an endorsement for dialogue at this stage could be tantamount to political suicide. Though Muridan did not mention it a parallel could be drawn to the abrupt end of Bacharrudin Jusuf Habibie's political career following his endorsement of a referendum in East Timor.

It is this issue of sovereignty with its nationalistic overtones that may make or break the initiative for dialogue. Both the Home Office and the various state intelligence agencies are strongly opposed to the idea for these very reasons. The policies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in restricting international access to Papua seem to be reflective of these fears. Furthermore a dialogue that desires a review of recent Papuan history such as the 1969 act of Free Choice is a veritable Pandora's box for the political elite both in Jakarta

and Papua.

It is for this reason of sovereignty combined with nationalism that LIPI has been focusing on these issues when discussing dialogue in Jakarta. There is a need to reduce the fears of central government institutions. In meetings with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and BIN (*Badan Intelijen Negara*, State Intelligence Agency), LIPI has repeated its position that dialogue should be an Indonesian initiative. Muridan explained at length how Indonesian control over the process is vital for ensuring support. "This is fundamentally a nationalistic issue and it needs to be resolved within the Indonesian political space." Yet the LIPI facilitators have to walk a fine line reconciling the differing demands of the central government with those of Indonesia's two eastern most provinces.

There are also cases of bribery and co-option. Muridan recently received a report that individuals had attempted to bribe leaders of the Papuan community to gain their support for dialogue in a different format. These offers were refused, and yet they highlight the many obstacles that a dialogue will have to overcome if it is to be successful.

Developing dialogue within Papua

Papua Peace Network (PPN) in which LIPI collaborates with Papuan facilitators under Father Neles Tebay leadership

faces the complex task of fostering the development of a cognisant body that can accurately represent Papua in a dialogue with Jakarta. The complexity of this task reflects the difficulty of creating a unified voice for 'Papuan aspirations', a phrase that glosses over the near impossible task of uniting a Papuan society divided by religion, culture, language and ethnicity.

The public consultations have joint aims which are not only developing a body to represent Papua but also to develop an understanding of what a dialogue can offer the people of Papua. In cooperation with local civil society groups, LIPI is hosting public consultations for indigenous Papuans throughout the two provinces. Consultations will also occur with members of the Papuan elite followed by a parallel set of consultations for the immigrant population residing in Papua.

Like a mantra Muridan emphasised the importance of legitimacy in the eyes of Papuans for these consultations. "If this process isn't seen to be legitimate then it will fail before it starts". The process needs to be transparent at both the local and provincial level if there is any hope of succeeding nationally.

PPN's aim is that the series of public hearings will raise awareness within the region of the differences in opinion on what should be under discussion in a future dialogue between Jakarta and Papua. This awareness is needed to

incrementally build realistic expectations of dialogue, and will help in the formulation of a realistic content for dialogue that is representative of Papua's political, cultural and ethnic diversity.

There are already signs that this approach is succeeding in Papua. Muridan gave the example of how KNPB (*Komite Nasional Papua Barat*, West Papua National Committee), until recently a Papuan opponent of PPN has become supportive of the role that the institute is playing in promoting dialogue. He explained how he had been told that there is a text message circulating in Papua (from KNPB) that says "we should respect each other and not fight even if we have differences in opinion. Our objective is the same".

Looking to the future

By the end of 2010 PPN plans to end the process of consultations within Indonesia but if there are demands from Papua to extend the consultations, PPN facilitators would comply with them. Meanwhile Muridan believes that it will be necessary to have developed a coherent content for the dialogue by this stage. "If there is no unity from Papuans then there are some in Jakarta who question why Papua deserves to have a dialogue". In 2011 PPN facilitators will still be available for local consultations on demand, such as occurred recently in Yogyakarta with members of the Papuan student in

Indonesia.

Following the public consultations in Indonesia PPN wants to host consultations with the global Papuan Diaspora. There are many prominent Papuan political figures living in exile such as Benny Wenda, whose opinions Muridan believes need to be included before initiating a dialogue. PPN is in the early stages of developing proposals for such consultations and it is here that Muridan sees the potential for the involvement of an international third party, preferably a Non Governmental Organisation (NGO), both in organising and hosting such an event.

PPN also plans to launch a large Indonesia wide public campaign in support of the Jakarta - Papua dialogue. They aim to get the backing of prominent popular figures such as musicians and television celebrities. It is through such a program that overt public support could result in more open political support.

At the end of it all, Muridan remains optimistic but pragmatic. "I am amazed at how far we have gone in two years", but he is the first to acknowledge the many hurdles yet to be faced.

By Nico Prins
PBI Volunteer

An Interview with Neles Tebay

Father Dr. Neles Tebay, studied Theology at Fajar Timur in Abepura, Papua, and, after his ordination in 1992, obtained a Masters Degree in Manila and a Ph.D. at the Urbana University of Rome. He worked at the Diocesan Office of Jayapura for *Justitia et Pax* where he has published a large number of articles and brochures. He regularly writes for local and national Indonesian newspapers and has published the books *Papua, its problems and possibilities for a peaceful solution* in September 2008 and *Dialogue Jakarta-Papua, A Papuan perspective* in March 2009. Together with Muridan from LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, Indonesian Institute of Sciences) he is the co-founder of the Papua Peace Network which strives to facilitate peace talks between Jakarta and Papua.



PBI Volunteer Hallina Schmidt interviewing Neles Tebay, Jayapura May 2010

Father Neles, how did you become involved in the preparation of the dialogue together with Muridan?

I started writing articles on the dialogue and on non-violence in 2002/2003. Many of them were published in national and local newspapers such as the Jakarta Post or Bintang Papua. The idea for a Jakarta - Papua dialogue is not a new one and I knew that LIPI supported the idea of a dialogue. Muridan and I have known each other

for quite a while and our close personal relationship combined with a common interest in the dialogue led to us working together on this initiative. Following the publication of LIPI's Papua Road Map, the work on a dialogue became more concrete.

What is the current state of the preparations for public consultations in Papua?

The public consultations, as

part of the of the pre-dialogue phase, are completed. These consultations were organised as a result of a planning meeting that was held in the beginning of January, 2010. The goal was to bring Papuan stakeholders and communities together, to get an idea of their understanding of dialogue and create unity. Nine consultation sessions in different regencies have been held since then and we are ready to have more if this is requested. On the 20th/21st of May we will start the evaluation of these sessions and assess what steps will be taken during the next six months.

Do you perceive Otsus (Otonomi Khusus, Special Autonomy) to have succeeded? If not how can the Jakarta - Papua dialogue rectify these grievances?

During the public consultation sessions Otsus was not discussed, but only the dialogue itself. The failure of Otsus is one of the reasons why a dialogue is needed and it could be one of the issues



that will be discussed during the dialogue. However, the agenda is not yet set; this will be done during the initial meetings when the two parties finally come together. This is also the case for any other issue that is under discussion for incorporation into the dialogue: anything the two parties accept as valid for discussion can be put on the agenda.

Speaking of other topics and considering past human rights violations in Papua, how will a dialogue without reconciliation be possible?

One precondition will be that both parties, as well as the wider Papuan society, are very well prepared. This is what we are trying to achieve during the pre-dialogue phase. Reconciliation can be one of the topics that will be discussed during the dialogue, and maybe an agreement on reconciliation can be found through dialogue.

What are the major challenges of the Jakarta – Papua dialogue?

Mistrust from both sides is one of the major challenges. The Papuan people have lost trust in the Indonesian government. At the same time, the Indonesian government is suspicious towards the aspirations of Papuans. These perceptions, combined with differing hopes and expectations for the dialogue, present a challenge to the organisation of a Jakarta-Papua dialogue. The Papuan people are hoping for independence, whereas the Indonesian government wants to sustain the unity of the nation as one country. The two sides each have their 'positions' which have to be respected and acknowledged. The 'positions' [of the two sides] are not under discussion, but there are many small issues related to these two positions that can and will be discussed during the

dialogue. The demand of the Papuan people for independence will not be discussed, but the reasons why they want independence should be. The question is not about independence, but why do Papuan people want independence.

Papua has a highly diverse population with a wide range of aspirations. What steps have been taken to ensure the dialogue will actually represent the wishes of all the Papuan people?

Papua has about 250 different ethnic groups, many different religious groups and persuasions. Furthermore, OPM (*Organisasi Papua Merdeka*, the Organisation for Papuan Independence) is not united but has many different factions. Papua is a very fragmented region and that is why we face the challenge of finding people who can represent all Papuan people in the dialogue. We have already

discussed this during the public consultation sessions and made people aware that it is necessary that we can show the world that we are ready for the dialogue and that we can agree on representatives.

Why do you believe that the Jakarta - Papua dialogue is important for Papuans?

The dialogue is very important for the people of Papua because it will create space to discuss how to develop public services in order to improve the relationship between the central government and the people of the two provinces of Papua.

The dialogue is an opportunity to improve development in Papua and bring together various stakeholders to overcome obstacles. The dialogue is a means for the Papuan people together with the Indonesian government to identify what hinders the development process and improvement of the living conditions in Papua and find alternative solutions.

In your opinion, how strong is support for dialogue within Papua?

The further the process develops, the greater the support. Already, during the public consultation sessions, we were able to clarify and explain a lot to the Papuan people. A better understanding of the process and its aims will contribute to a greater level of support among Papuan people. There are still parties who do not support dialogue, and whose understanding is

still different, so it is also important to hear and understand their opinions. There are always opponents and supporters, but in general, support is strong and it is vital that people everywhere talk about the dialogue. It is important that all opinions are discussed.

As a Papuan yourself what would you like to see discussed in a dialogue between Jakarta and Papua?

The two parties involved in the dialogue will decide later what will be discussed. I am glad that the dialogue will happen and that I can contribute to it and work hard for it.

Can you clarify the role of Papuan people living abroad, the diaspora?

Everybody has to be involved and everyone's opinion has to be heard. No matter if Papuans living abroad support or oppose the dialogue, they have to be consulted and they have to be able to express their opinion, even if they are critics. If they have advice or worries, these have to be taken into account. Most of the Papuans living abroad do so because of the conflict, thus they are affected by the conflict and are still a part of Papua.

How do you see the role of the international community? Is there any possibility for their involvement in the dialogue?

The international community can support the dialogue in

many different ways. Their role will change according to the different stages of the dialogue. At the moment, the international community is needed to show support and maintain interest in the dialogue. In this way, they can help to make sure the process continues to move forward. Later, if the parties find agreement, they will have to implement what they have agreed upon. As such, the role of the international community might change. It has yet to be decided by the two parties if the international community can act as a mediator once the dialogue has started. Any such involvement will have to be in accordance with the needs of the parties.

How will you continue to be involved in the development of the Jakarta - Papua dialogue? Is there a clear timeline already?

The dialogue is divided into three phases, the pre-dialogue, the dialogue itself and the post-dialogue. At the moment we are still in the pre-dialogue phase and are preparing the dialogue itself. The timeline is not yet clear. I will be involved in the preparations until representatives are elected and until the Papuan society is ready. The better we prepare the people now, the better the dialogue will be later.

By Hallina Schmidt
PBI Volunteer
Indonesia Project



*An interview with
Matius Murib*

Komnas HAM Papua

The process of fostering a dialogue between Jakarta and Papua has already started. The article below which has been written by Matius Murib from Komnas HAM Papua (Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia Papua, National Commission for Human Rights Papua) gives an overview of developments that have occurred in the process of developing a dialogue between Jakarta and Papua from three perspectives. One of these perspectives relates to Komnas HAM and its role as an institution. It gives information regarding activities Komnas HAM is involved in/ has implemented at both the central (Jakarta) and regional (Papua) level. The article also elaborates upon the potential role that Joseph Kalla could play in a Jakarta - Papua dialogue. The final piece in the article gives some personal observations and views from Matius Murib.

A possible mediator?

As a potential mediator in the process Jusuf Kalla had planned to

meet Papuan leaders who are promoting the initiative for dialogue. With the exception of Neles Tebay none of those

Komnas HAM meets Kalla

In the meeting Komnas HAM was asked to take on the role of negotiator, and find answers to the following 5 questions:

1. How many firearms are in the possession of OPM?
2. Can they hold a meeting with the leader of OPM?
3. Does OPM have a unified opinion and position concerning the dialogue?
4. Identify if all native Papuans have a shared view concerning the content of a future dialogue.
5. Can a dialogue be implemented without discussing the option of Papuan independence from Indonesia?



Matius Murib

In 2009 Peace Brigades International Indonesia signed a Memorandum of Understanding with Komnas HAM Papua.

As part of its mandate to promote dialogue between different sections of society and in an effort to help in the development of a dialogue the Indonesia Project will be sending Matius Murid, the author of this article on a speaking tour to Europe.

asked to attend had any objections to joining the meeting.

When asked by the Komnas HAM team to attend the meeting with Kalla on Feb. 19, 2010, Father Neles Tebay stressed, that Kalla had to first be officially appointed by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono before he would see him since Kalla no longer held an official position with the Government of Indonesia.

Developing a strategy

The dialogue between Jakarta and Papua has entered the first phase, marked by three meetings between Komnas HAM and Jusuf Kalla. These meetings were convened to ask for his

Jusuf Kalla's Hopes

1. The history of Papua [and its integration in the Republic of Indonesia following the 1969 act of free choice] is consistent with its future [in the Republic]
2. Reparations to Papuan society of 3-6 trillion rupiah.
3. An MOU, revising the Special Autonomy legislation to be made a Papuan Government Law
4. The start of a formal process of dialogue within a period of six months.

advice on developing a dialogue and to see if he was willing to participate as a mediator in the proposed dialogue because of his previous experiences in Aceh.

As a starting point and in support the Jakarta - Papua dialogue, the Secretary General of Komnas HAM issued a decree for Komnas HAM commissioners to work with a special team focusing upon helping to develop the necessary tools and identify actors to make any future dialogue between Jakarta and Papua viable.

In order for this to be effective it will be necessary to establish if the more radical, extreme and militant sectors of OPM hold the same perspective as the more moderate sectors of the organisation.

Several activities that [Komnas HAM perceives] are a prerequisite for dialogue have already been undertaken.

A large part of the process for developing the ground work for dialogue in Papua is being implemented by a team [which is] undertaking public consultations in Wamena, Timika, Manokwari, Biak, Paniai, etc.

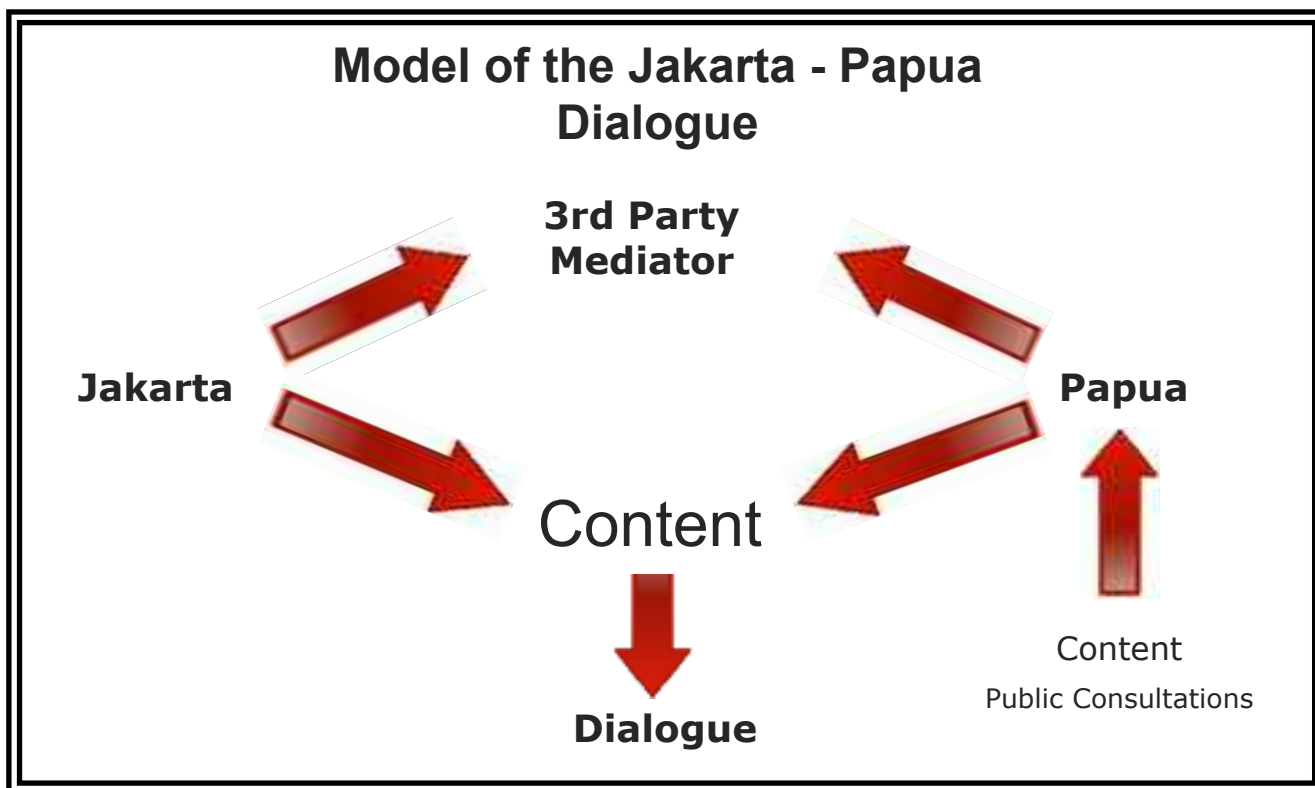
By doing this it is hoped that a consensed view from all of the different elements involved in dialogue will be reached in Papua so that Papuans will be prepared once the time of the actual dialogue arrives.

Pre-requisites for the implementation of a successful dialogue as perceived by Komnas HAM

1. Developing support and reaching a common understanding of what dialogue would entail for the central government in Jakarta.
2. Developing support and reaching a common understanding of dialogue for all members of the population of the two provinces of Papua.
3. [Informal dialogue between] Jakarta and Papua
4. [Informal dialogue between] Papua and Jakarta

How Komnas HAM proposes to aid the development of a future dialogue

1. Creating a Geo-demographic map of the population of the two provinces on the island of Papua.
2. A mapping of Papuan strategic groups (Papua Customary Council, religious groups, student groups, Papua People's Assembly, women organisations, etc.)
3. Identifying the position of the various different factions of OPM in relation to the idea of dialogue.



Additionally, a process of public consultations has been started abroad with the Papuan diaspora community to elicit their views on dialogue, such as a meeting in Singapore several months earlier. It is through developing such systems that Komnas HAM can help to ensure that the dialogue will be honest, open and democratic. Not a process that is under the shadow of military and civil forces.

It is within this context that Komnas HAM acting as a mediator has decided to actively monitor the process of dialogue until the initiation of formal discussions.

The position of Matius Murib

I fear that the Jakarta - Papua dialogue, if not attended by the international community with an interest in human rights,

will only become a sharing forum for the victims [of violence and exploitation]. The actors most responsible for many of the problems that the people of Papua have will not be held accountable. Without a responsible resolution which seeks to address the root causes of violence and social conflict then there is little hope of real progress.

An example of a cause of social conflict in Papua is the operations of extractive industries. In the past there have been allegations that not only have local land rights not been respected, but that indigenous lands have been expropriated. These feelings of injustice have resulted in significant social tensions. It could be assumed that if local land rights are respected and companies operate in a socially responsible manner this has the potential to significantly reduce local tensions. The benefits of such operating

practices are significant. This has the potential to reduce social tensions in Papua which by default results in a more stable and secure environment for businesses to operate in. Such initiatives as these would not only be beneficial for Papua, but also for Indonesia as a whole.

Another of the pressing issues that the dialogue needs to consider addressing relates to iconography, specifically the future of the use of the Morning Star and the Indonesian flags in the two provinces.

I hope that from the dialogue, we will discover the true desire of the Papuans, their political stance, whether they still want to be integrated with Indonesia or stand independently as a free country.

Dialogue: an early process to mend the wounds of the Papuans

Deacon Pastor John Djonga is a former PBI client. He works as a Catholic priest in Waris District, Keerom Regency. Originally from Flores, Pastor John has lived in Papua for twenty-two years. As a priest, Pastor John provided pastoral care to the communities in the Waris District and following his recent promotion to Deacon, he acts as coordinator for the five parishes in the Keerom Regency.

Pastor John has attracted a great deal of attention locally, nationally and internationally as a human rights activist. Lately in December 2009 he even received the prestigious Yap Thiam Hien Award for his dedication to upholding human rights. He describes himself as working for the local community and indigenous Papuans in Waris and Keerom where no human rights NGOs or INGOs have a consistent presence.



Deacon John Djonga

The development of Papuan society has not been smooth. There are too many unsolved social problems that have yet to be resolved, and these are increasing and piling up. It feels like the water is rising around the people's neck, nearly causing them to drown in the vast ocean.

In the last presidential election in 2009, almost 90 percent of the Papuans voted for Susilo

Bambang Yudhoyono. With such overwhelming support the Papuans sent a clear message to the President. The Papuans are expecting a leader that will help develop Papua since the Papuans are truly in dire need of improvements in the provision of services, justice, law enforcement and security for their ancestral land.

Access to justice and improved law enforcement is more than

ever a priority because of the culture of impunity in Papua. Human rights violations are inflicted by the state apparatus, government, army, police, traders, immigrants, and many others. There are repeated human rights violations in every part of Papua without a fair resolution that benefits the victims.

Furthermore immigration trends are resulting in significant changes in the population of Papua, soon the majority of the population will be non indigenous. This will result in increased marginalisation for the native people. This sense of marginalisation is increased further when combined with discrimination that affects all aspects of life among the peoples of Papua.

In Papua changes in cultural land ownership can and has coincided with intimidation and terror. The Papuans once had a food supply that was as large as their forests, but it's gone

now since the forests are being transformed into oil palm plantations and is being affected by illegal settlements. As a result of these trends forest degradation and destruction continues and because of the culture of impunity the ones who are responsible are rarely held accountable. All of these changes are making the peoples of Papua more dependent on the poor people's rice (locally known as raskin).

All the while the problems of underdevelopment in Papua remain largely unaddressed. Development projects that have been implemented are often undertaken sporadically and largely to the benefit of certain parties. If we focus on poverty, education and health issues in Papua, we can understand that most resolutions result in projects. However as development projects are disproportionately focused upon urban areas and not remote rural regions immigrants reap the benefit.

The alignment of the native Papua peoples based on the special autonomy law is not seriously implemented. The maternal and infant mortality death rate is increasing in cities and isolated villages across Papua. Low nutrition is spreading evenly in a land rich with gold, silver, oil, gas, etc. These rich natural resources don't create prosperity for the peoples of Papua. They are becoming yet poorer, suffering and becoming even more powerless. The government—in this case, it's the Coordinating Minister of People's Welfare, Coordinating

Minister of Politics, Law and Security—must find an appropriate new approach fast. If this is not found the problems of stereotyping will only be reinforced with Papuans being stigmatised as being stupid, lazy and often drunk while the peoples of Papua argue that the central government only wants to take the natural resources but neglects the human resources. There is still much room for optimism, and repeated efforts have been made by the Papuans (Governor/regent, legislative level, Non-Government Organisations (NGO), religious, customary and youth groups) and people in Jakarta for change.

It seems that many in Jakarta see, hear and speak no evil. By refusing to deal with the issues in Papua and recognising the complexity and the seriousness of the issues they are only entrenching resentment and causing more problems for the future. The peoples of Papua understand that the social defect and human rights issues happening on their land have yet to be resolved. For example when the special autonomy was being discussed and developed human rights issues in Papua were escalating. This was combined with decreases in life expectancy and general welfare standards for the people in Papua since the cost of food, beverages and services were increasing.

In a prayer by one of the chiefs of the Baliem tribe in Wamena during the inauguration of four new members of the Papua customary council on January

24th, 2010, he said, "*Dear God, You know that your children, the people of Papua, have been growing miserably. We're desolate, we suffer, we're hungry, we're ill and finally death takes us away. One by one, we're dying because of bullets, diseases, alcohol and our own people. Our lands have been taken by strangers. Gold, gas, silver, and oil have been drained by the greedy immigrants and businessmen. Dear God, you see us, don't you? We are the Papuans whom you've created. We are now in tears because we're hungry, sick and we can't send our children to school. Yet, our children have made themselves regents and Members of Parliament (MP) have taken the Otsus (special autonomy) money for themselves. They don't want to acknowledge us; they're hiding behind their tinted glass. It's difficult for us to move forward and it's even harder to step back. The Papuan high-ranking officials have shut their doors and hearts so we can't talk with them anymore. God, it's painful to see our children's behaviour, children that were born from us! Oh God, when will your children's difficulties in Papua be resolved? We worked on the land, planted our yams, yet nothing came out of it. We took care of our pigs but it gave us nothing, making us spiritless. God please open heaven's door and come help us, the people of Papua. Amen.*"

This prayer reveals several aspects of the condition of Papuan society. The prayer representing more or less 5,000 customary people was a

reflection of the situation they believed they faced. They were disappointed by a government that has failed to provide. The natural resources are starting to run out. The communication is closed and there is no space for the Papuans to discuss their problems with the government. Furthermore every activity in the community is always under suspicion as if those people wanted to disintegrate the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). This is obviously an exaggerated anxiety of certain institutions. The National Intelligence Agency (BIN), Indonesian Army, and Indonesian Police always perceive the Papuans as separatists. If such avenues of discourse are closed then how can the Indonesian state hope to address these issues.

According to the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) in the book *Papua Road Map*, they concluded that the conflict sources in Papua can be categorised in four sections:

1. The marginalisation and discrimination the local people of Papua faced due to economic and political developments and the mass migration to Papua since 1970.
2. The failure of development, especially the development of education, health and the provision of appropriate skills to enable indigenous Papuans to enter the market economy.
3. The different perceptions of history political identity constructed between the local people of Papua and

Indonesian government.

4. The issue of political violence, mainly used as a tool by the state apparatus which is allegedly violating human rights.

This is not an extensive list of the problems that are faced. For there are also other issues like the expropriation of land, the impacts of HIV/AIDS, alcohol abuse, rapid deforestation and the absence of protection for local Papuans as written in Otsus No. 21/2001.

Another disturbing issue for the Papuans is the high level of militarisation of the province. There are too many Indonesian military and intelligence personnel on the ground. The central (Jakarta) government treats Papua as if the region is extremely politically unstable. This situation has been caused by incorrect reporting of intelligence according to former head of BIN General Hendro Priyono in an interview with Metro TV. I very much agree with the General who stated that there are a large number of intelligence personnel in the field who were walking around drunk, who are involved in business among other things. Intelligence operations in Papua are necessary but they must be done properly and the government should not send personnel that are ignorant of the local cultures.

What the government has done in the past nine years regarding the implementation of special autonomy has not yet had a major impact upon

the majority of the local people in Papua. The implementation of Otsus has only highlighted the complexity of the problems and the difficulty of finding a resolution for Papua. After the implementation of the special autonomy, the Papuans have grown poorer and their children still do not have access to sufficient education.

The Church has been focusing upon how it can be involved in helping to resolve some of these cross cutting issues faced by the native Papuan population. In 2008, there was a big conference between the church and its people. Jayapura Bishop Dr. Leo Laba Ladjar OFM asked the central, provincial or regency government in Papua to limit the number of immigrants. He wanted the immigrants not to trade in villages. This was in accordance to what was written in Otsus.

Looking at the multitude of issues faced by Papuans the proposal for a dialogue between Jakarta and Papua as elaborated by one of the best sons of Papua—Dr. Nelis Tebay Pr—in his book *Jakarta - Papua Dialog: A Papuan Perspective*. Within this book he explains that a dialogue is important and urgent if Indonesia is to avoid violence. For violence does not close the gap between Jakarta - Papua, on the contrary it will reinforce the divide. The government's inconsistency in implementing Otsus has created distrust among the public because the government failed in its pledge of welfare for the people. An equal and respectful dialogue between fellow citizens could do much to reduce these



tensions and resolve some of the longstanding grievances. Neles Tebay reminds us that the dialogue is not about Papua's independence but discussing issues relating to Papua which have not been discussed or fairly resolved. For the Papuans, a dialogue is their chance to ask the Indonesian government what systems can be put in place to help develop democracy, an opportunity to reinforce the message of the need for universal human rights.

It is important to recognise that dialogue will be useless if the conflicted parties (Indonesian government and Papua) don't admit to the present gap between them. Without reflecting upon these facts and acknowledging them there can be little hope of success and reconciliation. The Papuans also need to reflect on the other victims of their violence. Despite the "Papua, Land of Peace" proclamation by the Papuans, customary council, religious organisations, NGO and the regional government, Papuans have been involved in sustaining the conflict. Therefore, one of the most significant goals of the dialogue should be to avoid creating more victims of violence in Papua. The dialogue if successful will be a mark of a mature nation, for when one nation can control

the emotional being of its disparate parts with a cool heart and head then it can truly be said to have developed.

If it is done for a greater good, for peace, then I think that the dialogue should have support from all components of the nation (military, police, NGO, religious groups, legislative, bureaucracy, and intelligence). The dialogue is an opening, the chance to develop an appropriate solution, a solution that reflects the nation's pride and dignity.

The problems in Papua are no less important than other issues occurring in the Middle East. However, it's strange that President SBY appears to be far more interested in resolving distant conflicts while the issues in Papua are neglected and left unresolved. A chief from the Amungme tribe, Dominikus Katagame, once said, "The Indonesian government came like an army. The immigrants came to Papua like an army. Religious leaders also behaved like military personnel, ojek driver, office staff, they are all the same. We don't know where we can go since everyone that came to Papua acted like a military officer who can kill us, Papuans, anytime they want." The dialogue will be important as a means of understanding these feelings, finding a way of

resolving the problems of Papua as a fellow citizen.

I guess a way to end this article is to convey my expectations. I do think that the Jakarta - Papua dialogue is absolutely necessary because it is related to the nation's pride and dignity. I think that the conflicts in Papua have been neglected too long by the central government. President SBY has yet to state anything significant during his past two terms in office in resolving the problems of Papua.

Many Papuans have died in the conflict. Amnesty International stated that more or less 100,000 Papuans have died as a result of conflict. 90 percent of Papuans who elected SBY have shown their clear desire to end this injustice. Papua has given 70 percent of its natural resources to support Indonesia and other countries in the world. Papua is like a lost heaven full of natural resources (gold, gas, copper, oil, forest, land, fish, nickel, etc.). I think Jakarta must move forwards on the offer of a dialogue with Papua. The Papuans are brave enough to participate in the dialogue with their fellow Indonesians; surely Jakarta can do the same.

By Deacon John Djonga
Diocese Jayapura, Papua

EU guidelines for Human Rights Defenders

An Indonesian approach



The protection of human rights at home and abroad is a major priority for the European Union. This is reflected in the substantial resources devoted to human rights projects: €1.1 billion for a seven-year period under the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) alone. It is also demonstrated by the high-level political engagement undertaken by the EU with many countries, exemplified in Indonesia by the launch of the EU-Indonesia Human Rights Dialogue last November. What is of equal importance, however, is the degree to which the EU succeeds in forging effective collaboration with grassroots human rights defenders.

At a global level the adoption of the EU policy guidelines on Human Rights Defenders in 2004 sought to put that relationship with civil society activists on a firmer and more structured footing. The new policy underscored the EU's commitment to taking action to protect the interests of defenders through the UN and other global bodies, through sustained financial assistance and through action at the local

level by EU Delegations and EU Member State embassies. In addition to political representations to authorities in countries where human rights defenders have faced prosecution, and supportive activities such as trial observation, the EU is funding a network of 11 international organisations which are tasked with responding quickly where a human rights defender is in peril.

The EU has taken several other steps to translate the EU policy guidelines into concrete action. EU missions across the world have been charged with the formulation of local strategies to support human rights defenders. An integral part of that process has been consultation with civil society itself: here in Jakarta, the EU Delegation held a meeting in April with a diverse cross-section of NGO activists in order to gain first-hand information on the legal, political and social environment for human rights defenders in Indonesia. This consultation is only the first stage in our efforts to build structured engagement on human rights with civil society. In addition to regular routine

meetings, such exchanges will be of particular importance ahead of the annual sessions of the EU-Indonesia Human Rights Dialogue. EU missions have also been asked to appoint contact points for human rights defenders from amongst their staff: the undersigned is the contact point for the EU Delegation.

The feedback received from civil society is helpful in several respects. First, it helps to fine-tune the partnership on human rights that the EU and Indonesia are cultivating, bearing in mind that this is a country which has not only emerged as a successful democracy but which is adopting a leadership position regionally on human rights. Our shared commitment to human rights is well-illustrated by the prominent position that such concerns occupy in the EU-Indonesia Partnership and Co-operation Agreement (PCA) signed in November 2009. Second, it contributes to the establishment of local priorities for the regular calls for proposals launched to support human rights micro-projects in Indonesia. Third, it ensures that the EU Delegation and EU Member States

represented in Jakarta can draw on the rich expertise to be found within civil society on key issues of global concern to the EU, including the death penalty and the International Criminal Court.

Here in Indonesia, the development of co-operation on human rights with all relevant actors – in government and civil society – is an integral part of EU policy. That is not to ignore the different roles played by such actors and it is important to bear in mind that the EU fully expects to be held to account by civil society for how well – or otherwise – it is succeeding in implementing its human rights pledges both here and in the rest of the world. As such, we see our developing dialogue with human rights defenders as both an opportunity to learn from each other and to engage in honest and frank discussions about the EU's role in human rights.

This article was submitted by Charles Whitely the First Secretary and Head of Political, Press and Information Section for the EU delegations in Indonesia.

PBI recommendations for the implementation of the EU Guidelines on the security of HRD in Indonesia.

In April 2009 PBI together with other human rights organisations, British parliamentarians and the British Foreign & Commonwealth Office held a conference in London on the security of HRD and the implementation of the EU Guidelines for the security of HRD. The main outcome of the conference resulting from inputs received from HRD, government staff and PBI was the development of recommendations which have been adapted to the Indonesian context. The Indonesian Project of PBI is committed to assist the EU delegates and local civil society to fulfil these recommendations.

- 1) European embassies and the EU delegation should strive to be fully aware of and make as much use of the diverse mechanisms and actions suggested to them in the guidelines.
- 2) In addition to reactive measures and preventive measures mechanisms for affirmative actions should be established and local partners clearly informed about means and requirements for inputting into these.
- 3) Local activists should get the opportunity to input on the implementation of localised plans and mechanisms which should then in turn be shared with the local community.
- 4) The EU Guidelines for HRD should be proactively disseminated in Indonesia.
- 5) Special attention should be paid to accessing and monitoring the activities of HRD in remote areas in spite of logistical problems and restrictions.
- 6) Gender issues should be taken into account throughout the process.
- 7) PBI encourages EU Embassies to work together on human rights and act as a group to increase their effectiveness and minimise possible negative impact on bilateral relations.
- 8) Existing national human rights mechanisms and reform processes should be taken into account and supported to strengthen national capacity to uphold human rights.

The implementation of the European Union Guidelines for Human Rights Defenders in Indonesia, an opportunity and a challenge!

The fact that it is not always safe to fight for the implementation of human rights is a sad fact that is well known to many people in Indonesia. Ready to risk their well-being and even their lives, many people took up the call to challenge the suppressive Suharto regime in the 1990s leading to the end of the "New Order Regime," and an era of democratic reform and increased space for civil society to operate and grow. New laws laid the groundwork for stronger protection of Human Rights (HR), the work of a National Commission for Human Rights (Komnas HAM) and the legal prosecution of human rights violators.

Reform and democratisation are a slow processes and the move towards democratisation does not ensure an end to HR violations. Many civil society actors in Indonesia continue their fight to uphold basic rights, oppose corruption, impunity and the misuse of state authority. In this work they touch on sensitive issues for those in powerful positions: in the armed forces, the government and the business sector. As a result of this work they might experience threats, violence and intimidation. In search for protection they turn to different sides: firstly their own government, their courts

and police, but when they feel that they can't find assistance there - or even see themselves threatened by these same institutions - they look elsewhere for support: to the international community, represented by international organisations like PBI and international actors like the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU). Such institutions have committed themselves to the universal validity of human rights and to supporting grassroots Human Rights Defenders (HRD).

The EU Guidelines call upon EU embassies and missions to actively support HR activists in developing countries and contribute to their protection through a variety of possible actions and mechanisms. Furthermore, it underlines the continued need for international support and protection of activists in Indonesia.

With the continuous rotation of embassy staff, it has been hard for local organisations to build trust and lasting personal relationships with the European diplomatic corps. Though a number of European embassies have funding programmes and long standing relationships with local Non Governmental Organisations (NGO) and

individuals working on HR, some EU countries do not place a big focus on HR, for example due to a lack of resources. The result is that few Indonesian organisations seem to be aware of the EU Guidelines, and even fewer appear to attach a practical use to them. At this point in time, the Guidelines are rarely perceived as actionable. It is for this reason that issues such as structure, implementation and monitoring of the EU Guidelines are perceived to lack continuity, transparency and clarity. This being the case, local NGOs typically collaborate with established contacts without referring to European regulations. The result of these factors is that there is an opinion held by many local NGOs focusing on HR that "European" support is at best fragmented and an EU stance is lacking.

This reality should be perceived as a missed opportunity for action. The EU Guidelines should be an effective tool for Indonesian HRDs. By focusing upon the EU Guidelines as an instrument to support HRD and working in cooperation EU Embassies will be able to address such criticisms and respond more effectively on cases and issues. Furthermore, joint actions



might bring together a bigger pool of resources as well as increasing access to remote areas. This offers opportunities for small embassies to act upon HR issues without having to sacrifice too many of their limited resources.

With the establishment of the post of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and a move towards greater cooperation in the field of foreign affairs in the EU, the general picture has begun to change.

The empowerment of the EU delegation as well as the establishment of a HR working group among the European embassies is beneficial. Combined with the awaited launch of the Indonesia-EU HR dialogue this has resulted in a renewed European interest in HR in Indonesia. With the implementation of the EU Guidelines, EU embassies in partnership with the Indonesian Government are in the position to help maintain

and sustain the development of HR in Indonesia.

In April local NGOs, the European delegation and a number of European embassies came together to discuss the situation of HRD in Indonesia and possible forms of cooperation. PBI welcomes this event as a first step towards better cooperation between Indonesian civil society and the European diplomatic corps on the security of HRD.

It was felt that one consultation cannot be enough to establish cooperation and coordination nor to ensure clarity on the content and mechanisms of the EU Guidelines. It can therefore only be hoped that both sides will continue to coordinate. The Guidelines are a valuable tool if implemented and used in an efficient and transparent way. The EU delegation has made the first steps towards bringing civil society together and informing the participants of the April consultation about

further steps to be taken. It will be a challenge for local and international actors to follow up on the implementation of the guidelines and work together to assess threats to HRD. They must put preventive measures into place and regularly evaluate the effectiveness of supporting mechanisms as well as further opportunities for coordination.

Clear and sustained communication is essential to understanding the needs, limitations and responsibilities of both sides. This is even more important as internal regulations mean that the full text of the guidelines will not be released. If the EU is unwilling to release the implementation strategy for the EU Guidelines, then it will be even harder to create an inclusive and efficient form of cooperation.

By Bente Hansen
PBI volunteer
Indonesia Project

A former volunteer returns *An interview with Gerrit Meyer by Nico Prins (PBI)*

When were you a volunteer with the IP? Where did you live and work?

I have been a volunteer with the IP from September 2007 to December 2008, working for almost one year in Jakarta and another four months in Jayapura.

What made you decide to join PBI initially?

I have studied Political Science and History, for me a central focus of both subjects has been the questions: How does war and peace develop? How can organised violence be transformed into peace?

At the end of 2005 I was searching for NGOs with whom I could volunteer in conflict areas abroad. At first I was planning to head for African countries like Sudan. Then I got into contact with PBI in Germany and was fascinated by its concept of strengthening civil society in conflict areas.

Can you recall any particular high points, where you really felt that the work you were doing was making a difference and having a positive impact?

I remember many moments where I felt the positive impact one can have while volunteering with PBI. For example travelling from Jakarta to Biak where I did a Protective Accompaniment together with a colleague from the Jayapura team.



There I witnessed the foundation of one of our client organisation BUK (*Bersatu Untuk Kebenaran, United for Truth*).

That week was my first time in Papua, when I walked through the little town on the first day there I felt as if I had left Asia and entered a place very different from Java or Sumatra.

During my time in Jayapura we organised a fieldtrip to Manokwari to renew the contract with client organisation LP3BH (*Lembaga Penelitian, Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Bantuan Hukum, Institute of Research, Analysis and Development for Legal Aid*). We spent a week there meeting with our clients, other NGOs and authorities. Half a year later I accompanied Yan Christian Warinussy of LP3BH when PBI invited him to Europe. The dedication and effective work of LP3BH really impressed me and it made me very happy as a PBI volunteer to play a little role in strengthening their work and providing security.

The contact with Suciwati and her friends in Jakarta was another example where I felt PBI had a very positive impact, especially when we were able to invite her to Europe at a very important stage in the Munir case.

What are some of the important lessons you took away from

working with PBI in Indonesia?

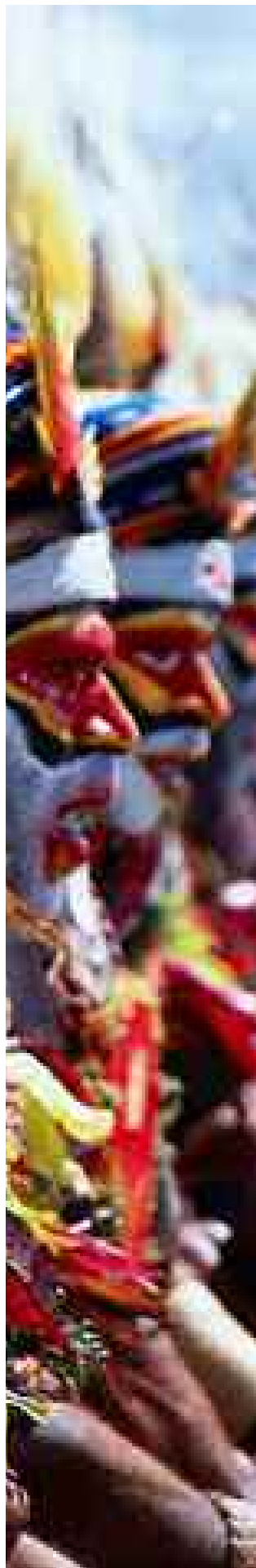
One important lesson would be that it takes a strong resilience when working under Papuan conditions or seeking a strategy which can further the work of a PBI project. Above all I learned how strong a team can be and have a positive impact even under often very challenging conditions. In the different teams I was working on I experienced conflict, but far more often the development of a true and strong team spirit. It was a time where I learned to really trust my teammates and to have that trust rewarded.

The fact that my time with PBI was the first time I lived and worked in an Asian country provided me with the experience of coping with working in the context of different cultures, be it in Jakarta or Papua and also Aceh. It was a step into the unknown and I felt very much at home everywhere in Indonesia.

You came back to the IP at the end of April as a returning volunteer. What were you doing since completing your first contract with the IP?

I continued working for PBI in Germany, first as a member of staff then as a volunteer. My areas of work with the country group were advocacy with German parliamentarians and government officials and trips to Brussels.

I also took part in the education program of the German country group, where former volunteers go to schools and give presentations and workshops on the work of PBI projects, often combined with issues like resource conflicts, horizontal conflict and the HR situation in project countries and in Germany. With another ex-IP volunteer I developed and gave



presentations about topics like HR and resource conflict in Papua or center-periphery conflicts in post-Suharto Indonesia.

Did you ever consider working for a PBI project in a different country?

When I had been introduced to PBI and its work I considered going as a volunteer either to Indonesia or Nepal, but after I chose Indonesia I stuck with this project. During several preparation weekends before I left for Indonesia and after my return I met with many volunteers and ex-volunteers from other PBI projects and we had many fascinating exchanges about experiences, cases and the culture of the various PBI projects.

How did you feel about coming back to the IP, and how much do you think that the situation has changed since you were last working in Indonesia?

I was a bit worried that the project will be in troubled waters when I arrived, but I am also enjoying living and working in Indonesia again. I hope that I will be able to contribute to the current work of the project through my past experience and what I learned about the stance of German government and civil society and EU officials on human rights in Indonesia and especially Papua.

I think the situation on the national level has improved because of the re-election of SBY, hopefully this will result in more more liberal politics than would have occurred with other possible candidates. On the other hand I am very concerned about developments in Papua and I hope that PBI will be able to have a positive impact there in the future.



Interview with Diane Hedrick

Before you came to work for the Indonesia Project you were working in Austria as a lecturer. What made you decide that you wanted to work in Indonesia?

Actually I was working freelance as a consultant, trainer and researcher in conflict transformation which means that I did some lecturing on university courses, supervision of students, etc. but also worked on international projects having to do with conflict in one way or another (Israel-Palestine, Albania) and also a lot of training work with professionals from (I)NGOs, IGOs and local institutions such as the Austrian police. Although freelance work provides variety and flexibility I missed being able to work in a sustained way in a stable team on a single project. As I studied the Buddhist countries of S.E. Asia (with research and voluntary work in Thailand), and have studied Islam, I was interested to experience a Muslim S. E. Asian

country.

You have had a long relationship with PBI over the years. What first attracted you to PBI?

Back when I was young, working as a secretary and doing my peace activism and study of non-violence in my spare time, my bosses and I used to have discussions about non-violence, justice and faith and I was always challenged with questions like "what would you do about Hitler?" or "what would you do if your family was being attacked?" I always had to respond, "I believe this and this but I don't know how I really would react". It was these questions that led me to study about the Buddhist resistance to the Vietnam War as an example of people facing terrible violence from all sides and nevertheless holding to an ideal of non-violence. In this way I could prove, it is at least possible. The question remained, however, could I do the same. Years later

when I had systematically built up my knowledge and experience in the peace and development field I heard about PBI while working in Thailand and the combination of the commitment to non-violence and the non-interventionist approach (making space for peace) really caught my imagination. I felt this was worthwhile work that would also challenge my commitment to non-violence in the midst of great injustice and violence in Sri Lanka.

How do you perceive working for the IP compares to your previous experience of working for PBI?

PBI as a whole seems to have changed a lot over the years that I have been away. I always understood PBI to be a peace organisation now it often presents itself as a human rights organisation and I am only now beginning to understand the implications of this. Also the organisation has developed a great deal in terms of procedures and policies and that is to be welcomed. In the case of the IP I am in a role in the organisation that I have not had before. I have been volunteer, trainer, chair of a project committee but never a staff person and this brings a fresh perspective. Also the conflicts in Indonesia, for all their violent episodes, could be characterised as low intensity conflict. The conflict in Sri Lanka between government related forces and a radical Singalese group, the JVP, was intense and large-scale.

Has this new position as Volunteer Coordinator fulfilled the expectations that you had coming into the job?

I would say that it has and then some! The biggest difference to how I expected the work environment to be is the degree of uncertainty that affects so many aspects of, and people in, the project due to many external and internal factors. However, I find this challenge valuable as I am able to practise being adaptable – something that I believe is a key skill in any peace work and I identified as an area where I would need to develop more.

What has been the highlight of your time working with the IP?

Visiting the teams and getting to know volunteers personally.

How would you hope to help develop the IP as Volunteer Coordinator for the Indonesia Project?

It is my wish to make volunteering with PBI Indonesia, not only a useful service for clients and partners but also a valuable learning experience for individuals in which they gain knowledge about peacebuilding, Indonesia and themselves and develop and grow in terms of their skills and degree of (self-)awareness.

In May there was a new recruitment drive of volunteers for the IP. What would you say to people thinking about applying to the IP at the next training?

I will say they need to be open and adaptable, to be willing to serve and eager to learn but not within a fixed set of expectations as the project is in a process of change and an uncertain environment.

Peace Brigades International

making space for peace

Indonesia Project



Peace Brigades International, founded in 1981 in Canada, is an international NGO inspired by Gandhi and non-violent traditions. PBI uses protective accompaniment through international presence and non-violent action to deter politically motivated violence and expand space for human rights and peace activism in areas of civil conflict and repression. On invitation of local organisations, PBI sends teams of trained volunteers into areas of conflict to provide international presence and protective accompaniment. Currently, PBI works in five countries: Colombia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Mexico and Nepal.

Vision

PBI envisions a world in which people address conflicts non violently, where human rights are universally upheld and social justice and intercultural respect have become a reality.

Mission

PBI works to open a space for peace in which conflicts can be dealt with non-violently. We use a strategy of international presence and concern that supports local initiatives and contributes to developing a culture of peace and justice. We act on request of local non-violent groups working for human rights and social change in regions where there is oppression and conflict.

The aim of PBI's international presence is to accompany both political and social processes through a joint strategy of deterring violence and promoting active non-violence. Our international teams of volunteers use methods such as protective accompaniment, peace education, independent observation and analysis of the conflict situation. In addition, PBI learns about, develops, and models forms of nonviolent intervention. Where possible, we initiate contacts with all the parties to a conflict in order to inform of our presence.

PBI supports this work through a broad international network of organizations and individuals. Our identity is built upon non-hierarchical structures and consensual processes.

IP Mandate

To contribute to positive peace-building and the improvement of the human rights situation in Indonesia through a proactive international presence, committed to the principles of non-violence and non-partisanship.

Jakarta Sub Team
T/F +62 21 391 3734
jast@pbi-indonesia.org

Papua Sub Team
T/F +62 967 589191
past@pbi-indonesia.org

Coordination Office
T/F +62 969 32816
coordinator@pbi-indonesia.org

The views expressed by third-parties are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of PBI.