

REFLECTION FRAMEWORK
ON SOCIO-POLITICAL PROBLEMS
AND
PROCESS TOWARDS RECONCILIATION

SEKRETARIAT KEADILAN & PERDAMAIAN

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AND

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Introduction

(The introduction may cover the following elements; conforming to local condition)

- Faced with social problems we frequently feel overwhelmed, perhaps because we do not understand perfectly well what is really happening. We even feel that a lot has taken place without being able to manage them. We feel helpless, as if everything should be accepted as they are.
- Maybe we feel that there are certain forces that manage our lives. It seems that those in power act as they please. However, it is also possible that we feel that those in power do not know any longer what to do, so that everything becomes more confusing and uncertain.
- It is also possible that we feel that in the past we are all equals: we had the same ethnic group, the same religion, the same interest, equally poor and equally rich. Now our society consists of different kinds of groups and it appears that each group has their own attention, their own interest, their own struggle. This difference frequently gives rise to tension and it even becomes a source of inter-group and inter-individual conflicts.
- All-uncertain situation makes us restless or even scared of the future. Moreover, it appears that there are external developments that greatly influence the life in our respective places. Certain practices that used to be our guidance have lost their powers, as if they are no longer valid. Likewise those values that used to be the pride and the life guidance of our ancestors. This is the consequence of "globalization", people say. It means

that our world has been open as wide as possible to be the play ground of whomever, without a clear rule of the game.

Process of joint reflection

(it would be advisable to describe the main lines of the whole process of reflection at the beginning of this exercise, so that the participants know: where we are going to. This description should be presented again from time to time during the course of the process, so that the participants continue to know where they are in the ongoing process, and whether some progress has been achieved).

During the process of joint reflection we will take the following steps:

Step one: *what has happened factually?*

We are trying to see our history by finding out what has happened during the last decades. In this framework we try to find a number of quite decisive historical events as far as we know and we feel. It means a number of historical facts that make us have the present situation as it is today. In essence: what has happened during the course of our history as a community in Papua, or in Kalimantan, or in Flores, etc. These historical facts could be further distinguished with regard to local/regional historical facts and to national historical facts (or even international ones, for example the colonial period), which greatly influence our presence today.

Step two: *what has changed? Is the change good or bad?*

After seeing what has happened in the past (our history), we try to evaluate a little further, how far the number of developments during the course of history bring conflicts or problems to our present lives, or do they even bring additional welfare? We can arrange a little the initial evaluation by using different angles of opinion. For

example, we can evaluate developments during the course of our history from the angle of:

- a change in our culture;
- a change in the existence of our economy;
- a change in our social life style;
- a change in the way of our belief/religion; and
- a change in our political participation.

While making such evaluation a number of "problem/conflict areas" may become clear, and we should try to mention them one by one.

Step three: *which problems disturb us most?*

After seeing the list of the "problem/conflict area", now let us try to see which problem or conflict that is most difficult to deal with. Which conflict, according to what we feel, gives most color to our daily life, and why?

Step four: *what is the content and impact of our main problem?*

At one point we have somewhat agreed about which conflicts are most decisive in our daily life; now we had better try to concretize the content of such conflict by trying to formulate, to show where and how the conflict becomes clearer. How is the conflict revealed? What is its form? What is its content? How this conflict disturb the realization of justice and truth among our society? In short: what is the impact of such conflict?

Step five: *where does the root of our problem lie?*

If we have had a clear description on the conflicts we are facing, we should ask back: where does such conflict actually come from? Why does such conflict emerge? Or in other words: where is the root of our conflict? (in the process of finding the root of such conflict we are assisted once again by the elaboration of our history referred to above, because perhaps it is there that we can see when and how such conflict emerges).

Step six: *summary of temporary conclusion*

A summary of our understanding about the main conflict(s) is prepared jointly by using: what, by whom, why, and consequences (known as its Indonesian acronym APOSKA). It is important that whatever has been produced up till now is summarized into something that is easier to understand, while seeing that many elements are inter-related. The understanding about the atmosphere of our society is very helpful to feel calmer and to take further steps, by asking: OK, that being the case, what can we do, so that tension may disappear?

Step seven: *which way is open towards the settlement of our problem?*

What next? What can we do? In this step we will see what can be done so that the climate of our society could be better controlled by three key elements, namely:

- (1) truth,
- (2) (social) justice, and
- (3) peace.

(for the most part, the content of the seventh step actually has been covered in other modules that should be done: from conflict transformation to peace).

PART I

REFLECTION ON SOCIO-POLITICAL PROBLEMS

FURTHER DETAILS: A NUMBER OF DIRECTIVES

It was found out that in the process of "finding socio-political problem", 10 sessions are needed (or around 3 days!).

Step one: what has happened factually?

(recommended: one session in group followed by one session in plenary meeting)

objectives:

- finding and understanding historical developments influencing social life;
and
- developing a common understanding so as to establish common view on the history of our society.

In groups

Participants are required to answer two questions:

- *Which events or developments during the last 50 years are decisive to our life in our territory? Mention at least 3 events or developments (more is allowed).*
- *Are there still any, as long as you remember, event or development outside our territory that greatly influenced our life (for example development occurring at national and international levels)?*

In this reflection phase we should try to limit ourselves to uncovering of facts only; it is not advisable to give an evaluation on whether the developments to be mentioned are good or bad. Evaluations belong to the next steps.

In plenary meeting

The results of group reflection are collected, explained and completed by the participants through a limited discussion. Finally the description so obtained is summarized in a "list of important factual events/developments".

Step two: what has changed? Is the change good or not?

(recommended: one session in group followed by one session in plenary meeting).

Objectives:

- finding and understanding how historical developments have impacts on daily social lives;
understanding which changes have really happened in our life.
- increasing a common understanding through evaluation of developments that have been experienced.
- finding problematic areas.

In groups

Participants are required to answer three questions:

- In your opinion, do different developments in our history bring about changes in your life? Changes referring to cultural, economic, social, religious and political aspects?
- Are those changes are thought to be positive (bring benefit) or negative (bring damage/suffering) in your opinion? Why?
- In your opinion, which problems emerge as a result of all developments and changes referred to above? Mention three problems (or problem areas) that are most important in your opinion.

In this reflection phase, we should try to reveal how we experience personally different kinds of changes and pressures at present. In the group, each personal feeling should be shared and meeting points should be found, if any, in a number of feelings, common feelings and evaluation.

In plenary meeting

Results of group reflections are collected, explained and completed by the participants through limited discussion. Later, whenever possible, this discussion is completed with inputs by a resource person who is in charge of (1) completing important factual historical data; and (2) opening the participants' insight so that most objective possible evaluation may be obtained. It is very important that input from this resource person starts from what that has been reached by the participants themselves.

Finally, results from the participants together with inputs from the resource person are combined and described in an actual "socio-political map" of the community concerned.

Step three: which problems disturb us most?

(recommended: one session in plenary meeting).

In plenary meeting

Reflection results from the second step consist of a list of problems re-presented and used as joint discussion materials through three stages:

- In that discussion the participants are asked to take 10 minutes to decide which problem is actually most important in their respective judgment. Each participant is asked to write down personally two problems he/she considered most important, and the reasons.

- After 10 minutes of individual work, the discussion is opened and each participant is given a chance to express his/her choice (or to support points that have been submitted by other participants who share the same opinion).
- After the discussion a list of priority is made together, and finally the participants are asked to have common agreement on one (or maximum two) subjects to be used as material of further discussion.

By so doing, further discussion in this training course will be limited to one (or two) subject jointly chosen, so that all discussions could be more directed and help to deepen their understanding.

In order that further elaboration becomes more concrete, we take as a starting point the protest movement as it is conducted by Papuan community today. The core problem behind this protest is that Papuan community thinks its existence is not recognized properly by other Indonesian population, so that it does not feel free and appreciated.

Step four: what is the content and impact of our main problem?

(recommended: one session in group followed by one session in plenary meeting)

objectives:

- (1) understanding the problem and all its detailed appearance
- (2) understanding the consequence of this problem in daily life, in the way of expressing it as well as the attitude towards it.

In group

Participants are required to answer four questions:

- Can you give three (may be more) concrete examples where Papuan community experiences that its existence and freedom is not appreciated?

- In your opinion which one of the measures against Papuan community that makes its culture deteriorates, that makes its wellbeing less advanced, that makes Papuans feel marginalized and is not given their proper place?
- What is your reaction to all measures formulated above? What is the Papuans' attitude?
- In your opinion, what do "outside groups" think about Papuans and about their protests?

In this reflection stage it is expected that a background of the problem is produced as well as a concrete description about the experience of a community that feels itself to be victimized because of being treated unfairly. The discussion in this group can be utilized to give an opportunity to each participant to express his/her emotions, frustrations and expectations.

In plenary meeting

The results of group reflections are collected, explained and completed by the participants through a limited discussion. Finally, it is expected that a quite objective description about suffering could be obtained supported by concrete facts. The description so produced could serve as "instruction" material to be offered to whomever wanting to know what is the problem in Papuan Land today.

Step five: where does the root of our problem lie?

(recommended: one session in groups followed by one session in plenary meeting).

Objectives:

- (1) Re-connecting the present experience with what has happened in the history of Papuan community until today.

(2) Understanding more precisely where the root problem lies.

In groups

The participants are required to answer two questions:

- While seeing the present difficulties, in your opinion, when those difficulties began to be felt? Why precisely at that time?
- In your opinion, where do our difficulties lie? Where do our difficulties come from? And why, in your opinion, have the conflict sources never been "exhaustive", so that our problems are unending?

In plenary meeting

The results of group reflection are collected, explained and completed by the participants through a limited discussion. If a resource person is still available to help, it would be better for him/her to give a response on the results of the groups. Subsequently, his/her response could be used as an additional discussion material, so that quite objective common understanding could be reached.

Step six: summary of preliminary conclusion

(recommended: one session in plenary meeting)

objectives:

- (1) summarizing the results of the reflections that have been achieved so far;
- (2) examining whether the participants have come to a common perception about key problems they are experiencing;
- (3) giving a chance to the participants to evaluate whether reflections that have been made are useful and helpful;
- (4) preparing a basis to begin the next part of the process, namely: finding a way-out of the problems they are experiencing.

In plenary meeting

A summary of our understanding about the main conflict should be prepared jointly. In this summary it must be clear *what* actually the content of our problem is, *who* are the actors/play a role for the perpetuation of this problem, *why* they play such a role, and what are the *consequences* on the daily life of Papuan community. We just call elements of elaboration that should be paid attention to with an Indonesian acronym **APOSKA** (random usage).

As a starting point for the description of this summary, practically speaking the results of step four can be utilized where a number of 'content elements' (**what**) have been formulated. Starting from that point, each content element is completed by asking questions: "**who conduct/make them?**", "**why do they make them?**" and "**what are the consequences on the life of Papuan community?**". By filling in these four elements systematically and carefully, finally we have a suitable "socio-political map" to start further process to find a way-out. While preparing this "socio-political map", it is expected that it would be clearer for the participants how all these elements are inter-related, which in the end show a power pattern. An understanding about power pattern and social climate resulting therefrom is very helpful to take further steps by asking: OK, that being the case, what can we do so that this conflict tension disappears?

----- END OF PROCESS TO FIND SOCIO-POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Step seven: *which way is open towards the resolution of our problems?*

What next? What can we do? In this step we will see what we can do so that our social climate is better controlled by the following three key elements:

- (1) truth

(2) (social) justice, and

(3) peace.

This step is made a separate process, which can be called: **the Process towards Reconciliation.**

PART II

PROCESS TOWARDS RECONCILIATION

Introduction

- In this process it is necessary for us to find a method so that what we have experienced as a very disturbing conflict could be changed, while creating a reviving new climate. How can we get out of a situation of helplessness towards a new situation full of self-confidence and expectations? How can we get out of a situation of "impasse" towards a new situation that opens itself towards the future?
- We need not start from zero, because in our tradition/culture there must be a number of directives on how a conflict could be overcome. Our social life has been familiar with all kinds of problems; social problems are, indeed, not something new, only perhaps in our impression the current problems are more complex and difficult, and thus we are not ready to answer them.

A phased process

(1) *Phase one: ways of traditional settlement*

A reflection on the style of problem settlement in the past. In this part we will try to elaborate which traditional methods are available to overcome a conflict. Are there key elements in the pattern of traditional settlements that are still relevant in our modern time? Which elements are they?

(2) *Phase two: methods of settlement through "truth and reconciliation channels"*

A reflection on what is the settlement style as lately offered through the so-called "truth and reconciliation channel"? What are the key elements in this approach? And are those key elements relevant in our efforts to overcome problems we are facing now?

(3) *Phase three: deciding the present appropriate settlement pattern for us*

This is the decision on the "settlement style" to be applied as the main guidance in the efforts to solve our problems. It is necessary to decide clearly which elements should be given full attention to. It is also necessary to decide clearly what end result to be achieved.

(4) *Phase four: putting settlement pattern into strategies*

This is to manage our further approach into a concrete strategy. This concrete strategy should be related to respective key elements that have been agreed upon. For example, there are measures/strategies related to 'truth' element, some of them to 'justice'

element, some others to 'mercy' element, and still some others to 'peace' and other elements that have been agreed upon jointly.

(5) Phase five: deciding the work program

This reflection process is ended by deciding jointly a work program and how this work program is to be implemented and the results be monitored periodically.

FURTHER DETAILS: A NUMBER OF DIRECTIVES

(the reflection in this part will take around 3 days; 10 sessions)

(1) Phase one: *methods of traditional settlement*

(recommended: one session in groups followed by one session of plenary meeting)

objectives:

- (1) finding a number of conflict resolution patterns as they are found in the tradition/custom/culture of Papuan community
- (2) understanding decisive key elements of conflict resolution in traditional way.

In groups

The participants are required to answer two questions:

- Can you take two (may be more) examples of conflict resolution in traditional way? For example: how a murder of some body is resolved in traditional way? Or how an inter-ethnic group conflict is settled?
- Upon hearing those stories, what in your opinion are the key elements in the resolution of a conflict in traditional way?

In plenary meeting

The results of reflection in different groups are collected, explained and completed by the participants through a limited discussion. The end result to be achieved is to understand jointly which elements are considered very important (very decisive) in the settlement method, and what actually is the objectives of this resolution pattern?

(3) Phase two: *settlement method through "truth and reconciliation channels"*

(recommended: one session in plenary meeting followed by one mixed individual/plenary session)

objectives

- (1) reaching common understanding about what is meant by the "truth and reconciliation channel".
- (2) finding key elements in the approach of the so-called "truth and reconciliation channel".

In plenary meeting

The participants are given a chance to understand the meaning and purpose of "reconciliation process". For that purpose a resource person or a short article should be prepared about the content and the meaning of 'reconciliation'. After an input is presented, an opportunity is given in the plenary meeting to ask further clarification or to share understanding among the participants.

(We are presenting below an example of such writing).

UNDERSTANDING ABOUT "RECONCILIATION" IN GENERAL¹

(Part of a lecture entitled "Reconciliation, what does it mean?", by Theo van den Broek ofm,
Jayapura, December 28, 1999)

"RECONCILIATION" concept is a very concise one. In a simple way it can be described as: the achievement of an agreement between the victim and the perpetrator to settle their conflict, to make peace, to shake hands, to apologize while giving 'compensation'. This formulation is very simple, indeed, but its process appears to be far more complex, as it involves mental values such as accepting what is there (the fact not rejected by the victim as well as by the guilty perpetrator), mundane values (such as compensation), as well as spiritual values (such as repentance or integration). Another short formation is "forgive but don't forget". It means that we can step forward, but never forget the history of our humanitarian tragedy (our common memory: *memoria passionis*), so that what has happened would not be repeated. Another important aspect is the relation between reconciliation at individual level and reconciliation at social order in general; or in other words, between its impact on individuals and the one on social and power structures.

A reconciliation process is intended to restore a social climate where one with another, the victim and the perpetrator/oppressor, could meet again and "advance together". Thus, a reconciliation process is intended to repair and to help every body (especially the victims) to process their bitter experience so that they would not pose a heavy burden any longer to arrange their lives into the future.

This reconciliation process is, indeed, highly needed, and is already urgent. In Papuan Land (and not only on this land) there is a compatriot suffering (*memoria passionis*). This history of suffering gives rise to (physical and spiritual) suffering to

¹ To clarify the concept of 'reconciliation' in general, we are citing a working paper on "Truth and Reconciliation Commission" prepared jointly by Martin Patay, Budi Hermawan and Theo van den

those experiencing it. There are feelings of revenge and hatred in the hearts of those people who experience it against those parties that committed violations physically as well as through policies. There is a feeling of fear that eventually gives rise to mental disturbance (trauma), mental instability (lack of confidence) in those people who experience human rights violations. In addition to individual level, this traumatic suffering situation has also influences at collective level.

Based on these facts, it becomes clear to us all that we would remain powerless as long as we stick to the interests of each group. The problem we are facing is no longer a group problem, no longer a national problem, but a problem of humanity. Therefore a great step is needed that demand the sincerity of all parties to handle the problem together.

Reconciliation aspects (at a glance)

Considering that the problem is very serious, indeed, the reconciliation process to be brought about is certainly not an ordinary process. It becomes clear if we try to specify some aspects to be scrutinized, such as:

1. The victims should be given a chance to reveal their sufferings openly, without any threat, and are given a chance to understand the background of the problem that gave rise to human rights violations against them;
2. The victims should be invited to talk so that they may feel relieved and at the same time they could start a process of healing "mental injury" individually;
3. The healing of "mental injury" of each victim frequently can not be separated from tangible measures against the perpetrators/the cause of such injuries, by means of compensation or other measures.

4. The actors of all acts of torture should also be invited to undergo the same process as the victims; the actors are given a chance to explain (to themselves and to the general public) what they have done and why they have done it; they also need to free themselves from a heavy burden, towards the same healing process with the victims.
5. A reconciliation process needs to create a climate where both sides feel "appreciated" and consequently - for example, punishment risk - should be determined clearly and precisely beforehand (including amnesty, etc.).
6. From the process of "opening widely bitter history", it is expected that not only a healing impact would occur in individuals (victim as well as perpetrator), but also an "improvement of social order" in general so that what has happened in the past would not be repeated.
7. The results of reconciliation process should be made "public property", so it is necessary to publish them in a comprehensive report without hiding anything. Such a report would be very important as it contributes meaningfully to the healing process, because of three main reasons, namely: (1) the history of sufferings at individual level as well as at social level would finally be revealed, and this is very important for the victims (finally they are heard!); (2) with this public report, the society which "hitherto has been onlookers only" is given a chance to understand the history of the victims; and (3) by supporting the availability of a public report, the ruler recognizes that many things have been managed wrongly by itself in the past.

In plenary

The participants are required to take 20 minutes for a personal reflection. The reflection should be centered on two questions:

- In your opinion, which elements are most decisive in the approach of truth and reconciliation?
- In your impression, is truth and reconciliation approach suitable for us, when we are trying to find a way to overcome problems we are facing? Why?

The results of reflection should be noted personally. In the following part, the reflection results are distributed and finally a common decision is taken how far elements in the truth and reconciliation approach are to be applied to resolve our problems?

(3) Phase three: *decision on appropriate settlement pattern for us today*

(recommended: one session in plenary meeting)

objectives:

- (1) deciding settlement pattern of the problems
- (2) finding most relevant pattern by paying attention to both the riches of cultural inheritance and the riches of the new approach: "truth and reconciliation channel".

In plenary session

The results of the first and second phases are presented concisely; especially on key elements of both sources deemed to be highly relevant by the participants. Then discussion follows to decide which pattern finally will be applied. It is quite possible that the "compensation" element (fine, etc.) will be given prominence as an element that needs full attention, in view of the fact that in Papuan culture there is almost no single settlement without 'payment'.

It is expected that the results of this plenary session will serve as a directive/framework to develop an appropriate strategy pattern.

(3) Phase four: *translation of settlement patterns into strategies*

(recommended: two sessions in each group followed by one plenary session)

objectives:

- (1) developing a pattern of reconciliation process;
- (2) providing an "agenda of measures" to enable the reconciliation process;
- (3) developing an open attitude so that the participants are more ready to get involved in the reconciliation process, at the same time a strategy is necessary to develop a 'spirituality'.

In Group 1

The participants are required to think which step should be taken in order to reveal **truth**, to realize **justice** - including compensation -, and to bring about **reconciliation**.

=We only mention these three key elements; maybe on the basis of the results of phase three it would be necessary also to give special attention to other elements.= As discussion guide, a framework of questions could be presented as follows:

- **TRUTH:** What is necessary to reveal? Who will reveal it? To whom the expression of truth should be addressed? In what form? *'Memoria passionis'* documentation, memory of fellow-nation's sufferings? Case documentation? Background article? Instruction material (especially in order to reach 'outside groups')?
- **JUSTICE:** which events should be completed with a legal settlement? How to invite/encourage related agencies? What should be done with the victims? What method to apply with regard to compensation?
- **RECONCILIATION:** with whom we need to seek reconciliation? How should crime actors be involved in the reconciliation process? How should

we help the victims and ourselves to perceive what has happened, and to open ourselves with full - real! - hope for the future?

It is necessary to realize that these three parts are very concise and complex, so quite a lot of time is needed and it would be good to make available a reliable group facilitator.

In plenary session 1

The results of group work is seen together and all materials are arranged systematically, until formulating as concretely as possible which steps should be taken to achieve the objectives related to each of those key elements.

In Group 2

Prior reflections in Group-sessions for the most part are directed to the content of activity to be conducted. In the session that follows more attention is directed to the **attitude** element of the actors who play a role in the reconciliation process, in the creation of a **climate** supporting the reconciliation process, and in the decision on a number of **means** that may help. In particular, it is also necessary to see how far **the victims could** be assisted in order overcome all bitter experience and open themselves to the future.

Thus, the participants are invited to think about four points, as follows:

- **ATTITUDE:** what the reconciliation process demand from ourselves? What change of attitude should be demanded, and how can we cultivate the needed attitude? How can we help other people (for example crime actors) to open themselves for the sake of the desired reconciliation process?

- **CLIMATE:** how can we create a climate that invites other people to take part in this all-difficult and all-emotional process? In particular, how can we create a climate that may help the victims to open their hearts? So that they may be able to relate their stories?
- **MEANS:** what means can we provide so that the climate referred to above could be created? Which means could help so that the victims in particular could be really assisted in their struggle with the past?

As a 'supporting material' (only in order to encourage reflection) we can give a little input of some ideas, as follows:

Four important elements or four initial-step elements in the "reconciliation service":

- (1) Accompanying people in their struggle/efforts with all calmness, patience and concern; restoring their confidence; confidence in other people.
- (2) Creating a climate where people can feel calm, familiar; hospitable.
- (3) Reestablish contact with people by him/herself and his/her 'community'.
- (4) Giving an assignment (an assignment is entrusted, giving confidence), a target in his/her life.

In plenary session 2

The results of group reflection are discussed jointly and completed, then systemized to be a number of concrete measures in relation to the three main elements mentioned above.

(5) Phase five: *decision on work program*

(this phase is recommended to be done in one plenary session only)

The results of phase four are reviewed together and included in a very clear work program by providing:

- **The content of each step** (what needs to be done)
- **Who will do it** (to be responsible for its implementation, if possible mention should also be made about who can be involved to help its implementation);
- **Where the activity will be conducted** (in order to concretize our work program it would be good to question this problem by considering the available de facto means);
- **When it will be implemented until its completion** (date of commencement and completion must be clear).
- **What result is expected of this step** (as far as possible these results should be formulated quantitatively as well as qualitatively so that our evaluation has clear yardsticks); and finally
- **When and by whom an evaluation or review would be made** (this measure is absolutely necessary because the whole activities are a process that has its own dynamic that can not always be predicted, so that a periodical adjustment is highly needed).

The results of the plenary discussion are entrusted to a small group (of 2 or maximum 3 persons) to be formulated clearly. The result of the formulating team is presented once again to the plenary meeting for common "endorsement" to be its work program and the basis for common commitments.

Jayapura, April 28, 2000

Theo van den Broek, ofm