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PEACEBUILDING

to make Papua "a land of peace"

SENTANI, 25 – 30 NOVEMBER 2002

Introduction

We have all become familiar with the idea a creating a "zone of peace" in Papua. This concept emerged within an atmosphere rife with tension; the kind of atmosphere that has come to characterize community life in Papua in recent times. For the past 4 years, Papuan people have sought to "liberate themselves"; struggling to break free from fear and inferiority, and striving to be able to again stand proud with the kind of self-respect that has long been deserved. Different elements of the community have responded to this struggle in different ways: Papuans are <u>relieved</u> to finally break free from their silence and voice their aspirations; non-Papuan communities in Papua however, have watched these developments with <u>concern.</u> As for the authorities, they <u>feel uneasy</u> and <u>on guard</u> as they regard the new awareness of the Papuan community as an act of opposition, and therefore akin to "separatism."

There are differing perceptions of the struggle for "self-liberation"; both among Papuans themselves and "outside observers." But what is apparent to all is that there is an atmosphere in the community that is causing and will cause a kind of tension that could have serious consequences if it is not handled wisely. It is also clear that the increasingly strained social situation cannot be addressed through violence; this would only aggravate

tensions that have accumulated over the course of Papuan history. Amid this context emerged the idea of a "zone of peace" as a way to create conditions conducive to peace, in which all parties concerned could find a way to live together and people could stay calm as they work to resolve the conflicts born of efforts toward self-liberation.

Variety of Conflict Sources

The tensions that characterize the current social situation have emerged because of decades of oppression and a suppressed "collective memory" of abuse (*memoria passionis)*. These tensions are also caused by factors that could easily trigger conflict. Future conflicts could have various sources; some of which are described below:[1]

[1] Differing Political Aspirations
There are differing political aspirations among the community, particularly concerning the issue of Papua's integration into the unitary state of Indonesia. These different aspirations are yet to be properly reconciled. Meanwhile, the Special Autonomy reform package has not been an adequate response to the aspirations of Papuan communities. In fact, Special Autonomy also has the potential to cause tensions between Papuans themselves.

[2] Misuse of Official Status and Authority
The contest for (government) positions amid initiatives giving priority to Papuans in recruitment practices could easily become a source of conflict. In addition, the national 'diseases' of corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN), as well as a "project mentality", have spread easily in Papua.

[3] Diffuse governance
While there is a desire to see governance in Papua placed increasingly under civilian authority, TNI continues to assume a prominent role in governance – and this role becomes more entrenched everyday. TNI appears to operate in a way removed from civilian authority. It is also clear that the authority of TNI is not exclusive of economic interests and often has its own agenda. TNI is clearly a source of conflict and tension in the community.

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

[5] Suspicion between different religious groups

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

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

[6] Socio-economic disparity
One of the main potential sources of conflict is the imbalance in levels of socio-economic welfare among different social strata. While some have a lot – perhaps even much more than they need; others have little or live in continuous poverty. The gap between rich and poor is a form of injustice (a result of some defending their existence without compromise) and this causes disharmony in the relations between people. This imbalance is a potential source of conflict that threatens and destroys the prospects for peace.

Building a culture of peace

Aware of the many sources of conflict (as outlined above), an increasing number of people and organizations have come to believe that the potential for conflict can only be contained if we agree to live together in peace and a spirit of acceptance. What is needed is a "culture of peace", as an alternative to the resolution of conflicts through the use of violence.
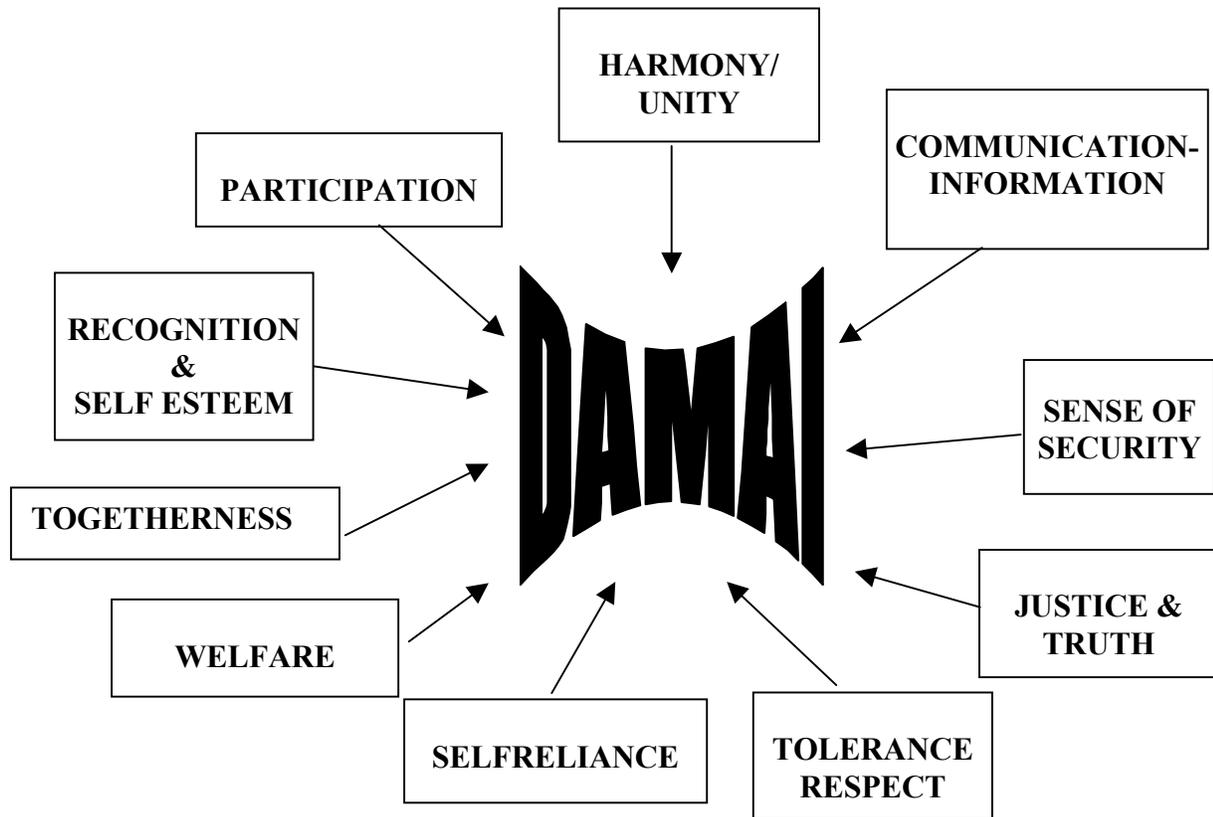
A culture of peace can not be built through talking; it needs concrete action. Moreover, 'peacebuilding' requires extensive effort and political will to address the problems we currently face. These problems are very complex; they relate to socio-cultural, economic and political aspects of life. Yet ultimately, all these issues have a common foundation, the desire of the Papuan people "to liberate themselves from all forms of oppression".

Making Papua a "land of peace"[2] is a component of the goal of liberation from oppression. It is an **absolute** set of conditions that enables people to resolve problems without the use of violence. Therefore, the concept of a "land of peace" is a 'social condition', not a geographical area free of violence within a war zone. It should be stressed that the military's understanding of a "peace zone" is not what was envisaged or hoped for when the idea was first floated.

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[2] We prefer to use the terminology "Papua, Land of Peace" as the concept relates to a social-political condition in all of Papua, and not just to a special geographical zone.

Various Components of "culture of peace building"

As a framework to develop the concept of "culture of peace building", we can put forward a number of components that determine whether or not a "sense of peace" exists. Below, we will note a number of these components – as far as we imagine them at this moment:.

HARMONY/
UNITY

PARTICIPATION

COMMUNICATION-
INFORMATION

RECOGNITION
&
SELF ESTEEM

DAMAI

SENSE OF
SECURITY

TOGETHERNESS

JUSTICE &
TRUTH

WELFARE

SELFRELIANCE

TOLERANCE
RESPECT

Brief Explanation:
When thinking about "peace", there are a number of elements that we expect will be part of the daily reality: we want to feel secure, we want to be respected as a person irrespective of difference; we want to have enough to eat and for other basic needs to be fulfilled, we want to be treated fairly and justly, we want to be recognized as a member of humankind as well as our group (tribal community), we want to live without dependence on anyone and with control over our own lives, and finally we want to live in harmony with nature and all within it with a sense of unity and wholeness.

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

PARTICIPATION

As members of a community, we all have the right to take part in building the world around us. As in the past – when communities were organized along the lines of local traditions/customs (adat) and everyone had a clear role – today, all people in the community are expected to take an active role in taking care of community affairs. This participation can be realized through indigenous institutions, the MRP (the Papuan Peoples' Assembly), or other types of organisations. It can also happen simply through expressing one's opinion, or through active monitoring of government policies, and so forth. Participation means being open to opportunities to work together with others.

Participation has particular importance now given its significance in relation to governance in Papua. The voices of the people, their concrete aspirations and needs, must be raised so that they can be incorporated in the process of government policy making. This kind of popular participation in decision making rarely occurred in the past and as a result, Papuans have been inert "objects" to patterns of development determined by the government. Government policy has been executed simply as the government pleased, and not based on the demands and actual needs of the community.

In this era of Special Autonomy, which locates extensive authority with the Papuan Provincial Government, oversight of government and popular participation in political affairs is vital. What will happen if the massive amount of funds available to the government under Special Autonomy is allowed to simply perpetuate old patterns of governance and corruption? It is time that Papuans take charge in **determining their own history,** and no longer allow themselves to be simply **victims of history!**

SOLIDARITY/SENSE OF TOGETHERNESS OR COMMUNITY

For the most part, participation depends on a sense of solidarity among members of the community: to what extent people see things as "my concern" or "our concern." The degree to which people have a sense of solidarity is reflected in these simple expressions. But what we often hear is the reverse of this: "It has nothing to do with me" or "That is your problem, not mine", and other variations of this kind of sentiment. The strength, or weakness, of one's sense of solidarity is evident in the extent to which a person feels "I want to be involved", or "I want to be a part."

It is worth asking what it is that creates a sense of solidarity or common purpose. It is apparent that very often solidarity is determined by blood ties or place of origin. But another factor that can bind people together in solidarity is a shared history. Moreover, a shared sense of responsibility regarding the fate of a nation can also encourage participation that is active and meaningful.

On the issue of solidarity, there are two key questions that need to be approached to understand the current reality in Papua. The first question relates to relations between indigenous Papuans and non-Papuans. This is a question that must be addressed, particularly given the kind of diversity that exists in our communities in Papua. The second question relates the degree of solidarity among Papuans themselves. If there have been any signs of solidarity among Papuans over the past four years, this has generally been associated with the movement for independence; but this alone has not been enough to bring about real solidarity among the community. We often hear people identify themselves in terms of their origin from coastal or inland areas. Additionally, people are identified according to their religious denomination. There is also a narrow sense of primordialism that is determined by tribal origin and this is rife within the bureaucracy. We know of several incidents in Papuan politics in the era of Special Autonomy and Papuanisation (of the civil service) in which the problems relating to succession of government officials has actually led mass unrest among Papuans.

COMMUNICATION / INFORMATION

Participation assumes that we have information and access to information sources and are free to communicate about the information we receive. Communication/information is fundamental to any kind participation in today's world. Incorrect information can only mislead people. Correct information helps people to decide where the truth lies. Any attempt to censor or blur the truth negates efforts to build peace. Obviously, the mass media play a key role when it comes to information and communication in the community.

Information/communication can take various forms and can be undertaken by anyone. Information/communication can be oral or written, and be transmitted through the many means of communication technology available to us today. All that is needed is our ability and creativity to utilize forms of communication to convey our message. On one hand, there is a significant responsibility with the writer in deciding what kind of information should be conveyed. On the other hand, there is also a responsibility of recipients of the information to view it critically and analyze the extent to which the information is true. It is also important to take into account the sender of the information and any particular agenda the sender may have in distributing that information.

The importance of such considerations is reflected in the fact that the kind of dynamism that exists in towns and cities in Papua can become a cause for instability in the context of inland, remote and coastal communities. Information received by these communities is often not complete or simply incorrect. This can have significant consequences, with many inland communities, for example, becoming "dreamers" who give up on the tasks required for their continued daily existence and instead wait for a "new beginning" that some community leaders have led them to believe will come and solve their problems. This causes parents to neglect the educational and other future requirements of their children, and wait for all needs to be met by the "new beginning".

Another aspect of information – and a bitter reality experienced by many Papuans – relates to ownership of natural resources. It is not uncommon for Papuans to face a situation in which a company one day arrives on their traditional land – complete with staff and heavy equipment – seeking to exploit local forestry or mineral resources, on the justification that they have approval for the operation from the government in Jakarta. These communities as the traditional owners of this land have never been informed, or never have been asked for their permission regarding the company's activities on their land.

TOLERANCE – RESPECT

Our society is plural in terms of the tribal, religious and cultural backgrounds of its members. A precursor to peace is our willingness to respect each other's uniqueness. It is not only just a matter of tolerance – accepting different cultural backgrounds - but also actively respecting the wealth represented in the differences among us and promoting a sense of unity among all human beings with equal dignity. This assumes an attitude of tolerance; moreover, an attitude of respect for beliefs and views that might be different from our own. We must be open to external values without abandoning our own inherited values.

Today, a willingness to allow the growth of actual differences will be essential to developing conditions of peace. The Papuan bureaucracy is heading toward a kind of "Papuanisation" that is narrowly defined, in which people place priority on tribal identity, or origin from inland or coastal communities in recruiting candidates. This has the potential of becoming a fatal source of conflict among Papuans themselves.

An attitude of tolerance combined with a critical attitude can greatly assist in properly understanding developments we see today in terms of issues relating to identities of race, ethnicity, religion or interest (SARA), in particular the emergence of certain groups formed around religious or ideological identities; such as Laskar Jihad, Laskar Kristen, Barisan Merah Putih, Satgas Papua, Soranda and other sectarian groups that have the potential to create conflict.

WELFARE

We all need to eat, and it is not right that some people should be rich while others suffer from hunger and poverty. Among the Dani people, the duty of a leader is focused on "ensuring fertility", which means that all members of the community should be given the opportunity to develop and have equal access to collective forms of wealth, such as land or other economic opportunities. Similarly, each member of the community deserves the equal right to be healthy and educated. Without equitable community welfare, there will be no peace. The issue of welfare is closely tied to the state of politics and governance in Papua today.

We need a concerted effort to fight dire problems facing Papuan communities today, such as: poverty, a high death rate, the prevalence of many deadly diseases such as HIV/AIDS, TB, dysentery, malaria, and low levels of education.

The policies of the Papuan Provincial Government, which in the era of Special Autonomy is receiving a massive influx of money, must be monitored well so that its programs can bring about a positive impact in improving the welfare of Papuan communities. In particular, the role of various companies must be reviewed and controlled to ensure they become actively and creatively supportive for the improvement of the welfare of local communities.

SECURITY
All members of the community have the right to a sense of security, without feeling threatened or facing the risk of arbitrary treatment by any given authority. To this end, law enforcement is crucial and there must be respect for people's basic rights. Achieving a sense of security assumes there is a "collective political will" to create peace. As long as there are parties lacking in their desire for peaceful situation because of fear of losing their opportunities for economic profit or because of "their own agenda", people will never feel safe.

JUSTICE and TRUTH
These two values are basic to all aspects of our social life. We are all aware that there are many things still to be fought for, in particular considering there are many among us who still suffer deeply because they have been victims of an "ideology" or a power game (national and international). The human costs of this have already been too high. There are various strategic and practical steps can be taken to promote justice and truth, including advocacy, research, efforts to uncover the truth, mediation and negotiation, and so forth.

Besides fighting for justice and truth on issues that are influenced by factors beyond our control or from outside our environment, we have also to be aware of realities within our own indigenous culture that violates these two values; for example, we need to change traditional systems that do not respect the rights of women and create space for women's rights to develop along side those of men.

SELFRELIANCE
We all want to feel in charge of our own affairs so that we are not merely an object of others' agenda or interests. A "project mentality" and dependency on others' "generosity" undermine our capacity for selfreliance. Many members of the community have lost their self-esteem as they have been used as a pretext for some kind project. Moreover, when this kind of practice becomes entrenched, the community starts seeing themselves as "poor" and therefore "in continuous need of help". Selfreliance, as a principle, encourages us to take the initiative, and to work creatively using the kind of resources and capabilities available to us.

SELF-ESTEEM & RECOGNITION
It is clear that the **self-esteem** of Papuans has been too often stifled or destroyed. As a consequence, people start to see themselves as "inferior" and "primitive". This attitude is born from practices of discrimination that have become ingrained over the decades. It is time to stand up and show what we are capable of; the capabilities inherent in our world-

view and culture, while also respecting the capacities of others with a different cultural background. There are many aspects of traditional belief systems that we can turn to as strong principles to support or help restore self-confidence as we also face the realities of the "new world". Once lost, self-esteem can be restored in a number of ways, including through the struggle to uphold human rights.

We ourselves should consider how our self-esteem is tied to the ways we conduct ourselves in our daily life. For instance, we have to ask ourselves the difficult question of how we expect people respect us if we adopt a dubious lifestyle, including drunkenness, the frequenting of bars, laziness at work, reluctance to work in the fields, and so forth. Our self-esteem is dependent on our life habits: ridding ourselves of bad habits, strengthening good ones. In short, self-esteem is very closely related to how we approach and conduct ourselves in our daily life.

Recognition: Not only do we all deserve to have our dignity and existence recognized**, w**e are also required to recognize the dignity of others. In everything we do, including peacebuilding, we must start from recognition of the existence of others. Mutual recognition means that we must be open to the realities of the new world we are living in, where there is a place for all people from different ethnic groups, religions, cultures, and so forth, and where there is no place for anyone who thinks he/she is better than others. In the eyes of God, we are all of equal value and dignity!

WHOLENESS / HARMONY
We are all part of a realm of existence that is greater than we are. This universe is our "home"; a philosophy that very much respected, instilled and maintained in our traditional belief systems. Today, people feel removed from their environment: their land, its fauna, and so forth. Respect for the wholeness of our larger realm of existence must be reflected in "management of natural resources", as well as policies to protect and preserve our environment .

Development practices pursued in Papua in the past have become synonymous with exploitation of the environment. This has meant that land has been taken from its original owners and forests denigrated. This has taken place through transmigration, mining, exploitation of forestry resources, river and ocean pollution as a consequence of profit seeking activities. These practices cannot be separated from the struggle for human rights in Papua. Future patterns of sustainable development will determine the fate of future generations and development policies in Papua must reflect the importance of sustainability.

The environment is clearly under threat given that the focus of development in this era of autonomy (or Special Autonomy) is directed toward maximizing profit by exploiting natural resources through large-capital projects. We should bring to mind the desperate fate of the Amungme and Kamoro communities in the area of PT Freeport; the fate of traditional communities in Sorong, Merauke, Wasior-Manokwari, coastal Jayapura and other areas where natural forest land has been depleted once the forestry concession to this land were sold; the possibly similar fate and disempowerment of marginalised

communities in the isolated area of Teluk Bintuni given the development of the Tangguh LNG facility. Perhaps it is useful for us to reflect together on what can be done to develop a culture of peace, which at the same time will enable the emancipation of Papuans from the many forms of exploitation they face.

GENERAL OBJECTIVES OF THE WORKSHOP

Against this background, it is imperative we look for constructive ways to build a better future. The objectives of the workshop planned to be hold 25 – 30 November 2002 are as follows:

1. To bring together 'activators/actors' who are thought to be willing to commit themselves to a program of peace building.
2. To establish among participants a deep understanding of the operational components of "culture of peace building" as a common base.
3. To develop a framework for division of responsibilities and arrangements for partnership in respect to each operational component of peace building.
4. To formulate an initial operational programme related to each component of peacebuilding.

To achieve these objectives, the processes during the workshop will be structured in three main phases:

Phase I : completing the array of peacebuilding components and determining the contents - core elements - of each component.

Phase II : linking each component to the institutions / persons able to play a role in peacebuilding and who are expected would be willing to commit themselves to this process.

Phase III : all actors commit to promote one of the components of peacebuilding work together to formulate an initial operational programme of activities to promote this component.

The process can be summarized in the following graphic:

PHASE I

PHASE II

Core elements

COMPONENT

Participation

Core elements

Institutional actors /
Individuals

Partnership

COMPONENT
Justice
&
Truth

CULTURE
OF PEACE

Operational Working
Programmes

PHASE III