



Papua Lobby

Annual Report 2004

Papua Lobby

All-inclusive dialogue with all stakeholders

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Foreword: dialogue as the only way out

Has democracy finally arrived in Indonesia and West Papua? With the wind of reformation at the end of the 1990s, a spark of hope arose in West Papua. Religious and civic society organisations made their voices be heard.

After four decades of total oppression in which any form of opposition had to go underground, in 2000 the Second Papua People's Congress decided to use the new openness in Indonesia and make the political aspirations known to Jakarta through legal, transparent and democratic ways. New organisational structures were established among which the Dewan Papua (Papua Council) which constitutes the Presidium of the Papua Council (PDP) and the Papua Panel, and the Customary Papuan Authority (DAP).

The Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM), the movement that had kept the feeling of self-esteem and pride alive during these decades, decided to go along on this road of peaceful dialogue. Forty years of armed resistance had not resulted in independence and the OPM too dedicated itself to the change in strategy.

Since 2000, the Papuans are asking for an open dialogue with Jakarta to discuss the aspirations and problems in West Papua in a transparent and democratic way.

Special Autonomy

The first result from this open call for an independent West Papua was that the Papuans received Special Autonomy. In October 2001, the Indonesian parliament approved the Special Autonomy Law for Papua (UU21/2001). People who rejected the autonomy law, since it was seen as a surrogate, were accused of separatism - among others for this opinion, PDP-chairman Theys Eluay was assassinated in November 2001. Soon after, however, as it became clear that Jakarta refused to implement the autonomy law to the letter and spirit, the promoters of complete implementation of the autonomy law were accused of state-undermining activities as well.

Division of province illegal

Jakarta is literally and metaphorically very far away from West Papua. There is no mutual trust between the rulers in Jakarta and the Papuans. Inconsistent and confusing signals, laws and regulations from Jakarta have created an atmosphere of insecurity in West Papua.

The division of the province of Papua into three new provinces - a clear attempt by Jakarta to divide and rule - was labelled illegal by the Constitutional Court in Jakarta because the division had not been approved by the - still not installed - Papua People's Council (MRP). However, the Court added that the new province of West Irian Jaya should be accepted because the new administrative structure is functioning.

Illegal Hukum

The human rights in West Papua are still being violated on a large scale. In 2004, a military operation in Puncak Jaya resulted in 15 people dead, gardens, houses and schools destroyed, and more than four thousand people fleeing into the forest.

The ones responsible for the brutal human rights violations in Abepura (December 2000) still have not been brought to court. The court session drags on and has been replaced from Abepura (West Papua) to Makassar (Sulawesi) thus making it impossible for relatives, friends and other Papuans to attend. Prisoners - among whom the members of the Papua Panel in Wamena - have been replaced to prisons in other parts of Indonesia, clearly in defiance of the Indonesian rules and regulations. These examples of arbitrariness are a sign of Indonesian contempt for the citizens in the province of Papua. The Papuans describe this situation as - *illegal hukum* of illegal justice/law.

It is clear that there is no real democracy in West Papua, but the processes that may bring more freedoms, both individual and institutional, are gathering momentum thanks to the work of civic society organisations.

Dialogue

Despite the many and complex problems in West Papua, most Papuan leaders and Papua Lobby see dialogue with all stakeholders as the only way out. The central government in Jakarta is still avoiding an open, all-inclusive dialogue with the Papuans and even refuses to enter into a dialogue about the autonomy law that it adopted itself.

On the other hand, the new, peaceful line of the Papuans does have some impact on the international stage. Thanks to the international lobby, West Papua is back on many agenda's: the European Union and its individual member states, the United States and the Pacific Islands Forum have stated explicitly that the autonomy law for Papua must be implemented fully, including the MRP, the Papuan People's Council with all the competences as adopted in UU21/2001. In 2004, the Dutch parliament submitted eight questions to the government about developments in West Papua, and both minister Bot (Foreign Affairs) and Van Ardenne (Development Cooperation) declared that they follow the developments in West Papua with a critical eye and regularly to bring them forward at meetings with their Indonesian colleagues.

Resilience

Under general Suharto, foreigners did not have free access into West Papua and the world was not freely accessible for the Papuans. The situation has changed. Religious and civic society organisations from West Papua participate at international and regional meetings on human rights, indigenous rights, environment, development or specifically West Papua.

The right to self-determination begins with the right to represent oneself. With the rise and empowerment of civic society organisations in West Papua, solidarity groups outside West Papua don't need any longer to figure out by themselves how, where and when West Papua should be put on the agenda. Through the Papua People's Congress in 2000, the Papuans showed that they possess an amazing resilience. Despite the many years of oppression the Papuans not only dream of, but actively work towards the realisation of their right to self-determination, development and dignity.

Papua Lobby determines its lobby goals in close consultation with civic society organisations in West Papua and aims at having representatives of these organisations participating at meetings with European policy makers and at international conferences.

Papua Lobby also explores opportunities for the staff of organisations in West Papua, regarding education and trainings (human rights, leadership, writing project proposals, [financial] reporting, etc).

This annual report gives an impression of our efforts in the past year.

We like to call upon you to support us.

Your support matters greatly for the Papuans. Can you make the difference?

Board and staff Papua Lobby

Who is who at Papua Lobby

Viktor Kaisiëpo, executive director Papua Lobby

Viktor Kaisiëpo was born in 1948 in Korido, West Papua.

Following the New York Agreement in August 1962 and because of his father's resistance to the Indonesian take-over, the family came to live in the Netherlands (October 1962).

Viktor Kaisiëpo continues the work of his father for his people's right to self-determination, since 1984 fulltime.

In June 2000, he was one of the keynote speakers at the already historical Second Papua People's Congress in Jayapura where he was nominated to be the representative in Europe for the Presidium Dewan Papua (PDP - Presidium of the Papua Council). He is active in Dutch, European and international networks and engages in dialogue with several governments. In February 2001, he attended the foundation in Jayapura of the Dewan Adat Papua (DAP - Papua Indigenous Council). His many years of commitment and experience concerning the international discussion among and about indigenous peoples, have contributed a lot to the foundation of the DAP. As ambassador for the indigenous Papuan peoples he is actively involved in the international discussions about the right of indigenous peoples and in the discussions within the United Nations.

Evelien van den Broek, office manager Papua Lobby

Evelien van den Broek is a graduate from the Agricultural University in Wageningen. She became active for Papuan self-determination in 1984. In 1991 she was co-founder of the Study & Information Centre Papua Peoples (PaVo), an organisation she supervised for two periods (1991-1994 and 1999-2001). She is one of the driving forces behind the organisational and structural design of Papua Lobby.

Martha Meijer, Chairperson Papua Lobby (profession: director Humanist Committee on Human Rights - HOM)

Kees van de Meiracker, Board member Papua Lobby (profession: curator World Museum Rotterdam)

Bert Ernste, Secretary / treasurer Papua Lobby (profession: journalist)

Papua Lobby

Vision

In order to be structural solutions should be based on permanent changes on a political level. Papua Lobby departs from the conviction that any successful development must originate from the participation of the people themselves, their own convictions, own cultural values and “oddities”. In West Papua, durable political changes can only be achieved by professional, transparent local organisations that are not connected to the (corrupt) government of the state. Civic society organisations are indispensable in the establishment, functioning and defence of a democracy. In a mature democracy, the interests of citizens and groups are not only protected and promoted by the law and by parliament, but also by a labour union, consumer groups, women organisations, etc.

In West Papua people do not feel protected by Indonesian laws. Human rights violations, dispossession of land and intimidation are still widespread. Moreover, impunity is still rife, especially high ranking officers from the military and police are often immuned from prosecution for human rights violations, illegal trade or other punishable deeds.

The Papuans do not feel represented by the national parliament in Jakarta. From the 220 million inhabitants of Indonesia, only 1.2 million are Papuan which is just a small minority.

After Suharto’s fall in 1998, the Papuans grabbed the new openness to express themselves and get organised. They have organised discussions and congresses, new organisations have been established and the people are finally making plans again for the future (training, business, democracy). Of course, after many years of isolation and oppression, this process is accompanied by ups and downs.

Papua Lobby supports the establishment and empowerment of a civic society. Firstly, as a goal in itself: civic society organisations are indispensable for the defence of the people’s interests. Secondly, as the means to achieve durable changes on a political, social and cultural level.

Papua Lobby determines its lobby goals in close consultation with civic society organisations in West Papua and aims at having representatives of these organisations participating at meetings with European policy makers, international conferences and capacity trainings. Papua Lobby is also looking for organisations that can establish a collaboration with organisations in West Papua, among others in the field exchange of experiences and capacities.

With this method of working, Papua Lobby aims at durable changes, not small short-term successes but structural improvements that will provide the people in West Papua with a guaranteed foundation of justice, democracy and progress.

It is a long way but to our conviction a way that finally will bring the best prospects.

Objective

The overall objective of Papua Lobby is the creation of conditionalities for the indigenous peoples of West Papua to redirect their future and destiny on the principle of the right to self-determination. In this process the Papuan people should establish their ownership of civic, political, economic and social rights within the national and international legal framework. The intermediate objective is to enforce the voice of the people in West Papua and their organisations and let it be heard at international forums.

Through its activities, Papua Lobby wants to contribute to the recognition of the people of West Papua as active and autonomous actors in the developments concerning West Papua.

Organisation

The foundation Papua Lobby was established in 2002 in the framework of the activities of Viktor Kaisiëpo and his functions within the Presidium Dewan Papua (PDP) and the Dewan Adat Papua (DAP).

The board consists of three persons: a chairperson, a secretary, a treasurer, and one or more members. For the current composition of the board see page 5.

In the first two years, the activities of Papua Lobby were limited to the activities of Viktor Kaisiëpo who is the only person with a salary (employed by the foundation since September 2002) and responsible for the communication and coordination with the partners in West Papua. His major task is consultation, lobby and representation (see below).

The bookkeeping and administration of the foundation are done on a voluntary basis by Evelien van den Broek.

Plans

In 2005, Papua Lobby will expand its activities. On request of the partners in West Papua, Papua Lobby is developing plans for the establishment of a Papua Resource Centre, a centre that will harbour historical and contemporary documents. The Resource Centre will produce analyses and up-dates on the developments and will organise seminars. The target group comprises students, scientists and journalists in West Papua and in European countries. This expansion of activities will also mean that we have to find ways to strengthen the financial base of Papua Lobby. In the coming months, Papua Lobby will pay more attention to securing funds and finding more donors.

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1. RIGHT OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES – DEWAN ADAT PAPUA (DAP)

In February 2002 in Jayapura, the *Dewan Adat Papua* (Papuan Customary Authority) was founded as a consequence of a resolution by the Papuan People's Congress in May-June 2000 [Commission IV – Indigenous Rights]. From his many years of involvement and expertise with the international discussion on indigenous rights, Viktor Kasiëpo had an instrumental role in the foundation and the present activities of DAP. He participated at the founding conference and from then on he participates in international conferences as representative of DAP, carrying the title Ambassador of the Papua Indigenous Nations.

a. United Nations

Since 1987, Viktor Kasiëpo is active with the United Nations in the field of the rights of indigenous peoples. The UN has two mechanisms that explicitly deal with the rights of indigenous peoples: the *Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues* (UNPFII) that has its annual session of two weeks in New York, and the *Working Group Indigenous Populations* (UNWGIP) that has its annual session of two weeks in Geneva. In 2004, Viktor Kasiëpo participated (again) in both sessions, in New York he was accompanied by two representatives from West Papua and in Geneva by one representative from West Papua.

For the second year in line, Viktor Kasiëpo presented, following the session of the UNWGIP, a lecture for the indigenous participants of the Unitar-training (UN-Training and Research) on the rights of indigenous peoples.

b. World Bank

In May 2003, Viktor Kasiëpo became the (founding) president of the interim-board of the de "World Bank Grant Facility for Indigenous Peoples" (WBGFIP) to which indigenous communities can apply directly - without interference of the national government - for subsidies for small-scale projects. It is a new fund that on the short term should operate independently from the World Bank. The board of the fund consists of indigenous leaders. In 2004, the board had two meetings, one in Washington and one in Geneva.

At the end of 2004, the Indonesian government demanded that Kasiëpo should be removed from the function of president on the ground that members of the board should be residing in their own country. The World Bank has honoured this demand.

As president of the interim-board of WBGFIP, Viktor Kasiëpo has attended the annual meeting of the *Assembly Fondo Indigena*, that took place in Santiago de Chile in Chilli, and the *Pacific Basin Consultation on the UNPFII* in Suva in Fiji. Both travels were paid for by the World Bank and Kasiëpo informed the participating indigenous organisations about the objectives and procedures of the Grant facility for Indigenous Peoples.

c. Miscellaneous

In January 2004, Viktor Kasiëpo presented a lecture on indigenous rights for the Amnesty-International group of the Catholic University in Nijmegen.

In September 2004, Viktor Kasiëpo performed the official opening at the Palais de Nations in Geneva (UN-building) of the a photo-exhibition of portraits of indigenous persons.

On the invitation of Marcos Terena, a prominent indigenous leader in Brazil, Kaisiëpo attended the Indigenous Games for the Brazilian indigenous peoples, organised by the *Comité Inter Tribal* in Porto Seguro in Brazil.

In December 2004, Viktor Kaisiëpo was one of the *keynote speakers* at the congress Speaking4Earth that was organised by the Dutch Centre for Indigenous Peoples (NCIV) and took place in the Peace Palace in The Hague. He replaced Tom Beanal, the chairman of DAP, who could not be present because of visa problems. Together with Mrs Els Wolff, he performed the formal opening of the cultural evening Speaking4Earth.

2. POLITICAL DIALOGUE – PRESIDIU DEWAN PAPUA (PDP)

In May-June 2000, the Second Papuan People's Congress took place in Jayapura - the First Papuan People's Congress, October 1961, officially confirmed that the people of West Papua wanted to establish an independent state and decided that the Morning-star would be the national flag of a future independent West Papua. Viktor Kaisiëpo was one of the speakers at the Second People's Congress that was attended by more than five thousand people from all corners of West Papua and representing all indigenous groups and sectors. Kaisiëpo was appointed member of the new leadership (*Presidium Dewan Papua* – Presidium of the Papua Council - PDP) and PDP-representative for Europe.

One of the main decisions of the Second Papuan People's Congress was to pursue the realisation of the right to self-determination of the Papuans through peaceful means. One of the instruments is a political dialogue with the government in Jakarta. As early as December 2001, PDP sent Jakarta the Terms of Reference for the dialogue. The fact that the Indonesian government never responded to these proposals is a sign of the (reciprocal) distrust that exists between the Indonesian rulers and the Papuans.

PDP is actively looking for diplomatic openings that may lead to a political dialogue between the central government in Jakarta and the representatives of the Papuans.

In this context, regular consultations are held with high-level civil servants and politicians in Jakarta, governments of the European countries (both at the bureaucratic and the political level), with the European Union, with relevant non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and with Indonesian diplomatic missions in Europe.

In 2004, Viktor Kaisiëpo has had more than 20 consultations with government representatives aimed at promoting an open dialogue with 'Jakarta'. These consultations are fruitful on a personal level where respect for the wishes and ambitions of the Papuans appears to be increasing. However, at higher levels and with the actual policy makers, the attention appears to be focussed on the national economic interest and on good relations with the Indonesian government, which is appreciated because of the so-called war on terrorism.

In 2004 a joined mission, consisting of representatives from PDP (dialogue), Elsham (human rights), OPM (decolonisation) and the Reconciliation Group (reconciliation), held talks with the governments of Ireland, United Kingdom, Finland, the Netherlands and the European Union. This mission was a good reflection of the growing cooperation and division of tasks between the different political and civic society organisations in West Papua. This cooperation is very important and forms part of the empowering civic society in West Papua.

3. CIVIC SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

Papua Lobby has regular contact with several civic society organisations in the Netherlands and in other countries to get West Papua on the agenda, to keep it on the agenda and to promote the agenda points of PDP, DAP and other organisations in West Papua:

- Development organisations that are active in West Papua (Novib, ICCO, Cordaid);
- Institute for Dutch History that on the request of the Dutch government is doing a historical research into the period of the transfer of West Papua to Indonesia;
- World Museum in Rotterdam that is preparing for a big project “Power of Papua”, to be held from April 2007 till February 2008 in Rotterdam;
- Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation (UNPO) of which the Papuans are a member;
- Indonesia Consultation: a regular consultation of a dozen Dutch civic society organisations that are involved in developments in Indonesia;
- Dutch Centre for Indigenous Peoples (NCIV).
- International Working Group Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), Denmark
- Incomindios (Switzerland)
- Gesellschaft fur Bedrohte Volker (Germany/ Switzerland)
- Vereinte Evangelische Mission (Germany)
- Land is Life (USA)
- Cultural Survival (USA)
- Several other Environmental and Human Rights NGO’s
- Etcetera