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The Secretary Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee Parliament House Canberra ACT 2600

21 October 2002

Dear Sir,

Attached is the submission by the Australia West Papua Association, Sydney, to the Inquiry into "A Review of Australia's relationship with Indonesia".

This submission was originally sent to the Australian Senate Inquiry into 'Australia's relationship with PNG and other Pacific island countries'.

However, we believe our original submission is also very relevant to the present inquiry and have changed the main focus to that of West Papua itself as opposed to the West Papuan refugees in PNG. We are also including an addendum to the main submission covering recent events in West Papua and Indonesia generally.

Yours sincerely,

Joe Collins

Secretary AWPA, Sydney



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#### Addendum to main submission

The following recent events are covered in this update.

1) Freeport incident

2) Zone of Peace

3) Operation Adil Matoa

4) The Indonesian military

5) Bali incident

6) HIV/AIDS

#### 1) Freeport incident

On the 31 August 2002, two Americans and one Indonesian were killed and eleven others injured when the cars they were traveling in were ambushed near the giant Freeport copper and gold mine near Timika in West Papua.

The Indonesian military have tried to blame the killings on the OPM - the Free Papua Movement. However, The human rights group ELSHAM (Institute for Human Rights Study and Advocacy) who has investigated the incident indicate OPM members were not involved in the shooting of the Freeport employees and in fact their final findings point to the involvement of the Indonesian military in the attack. Because of their investigation into the killings at Freeport the human rights workers have been intimidated and have received death threats ;

During the investigation members of ELSHAM were followed by military intelligence.

One staff member was almost killed in an incident provoked by two intelligence members and a military officer.

The office of the ELSHAM secretariat has received daily visits from unknown people posing as trade people including food and clothing sellers, shoe repairers etc. while other

people gathered around the office in what appeared to be an attempt to keep ELSHAM members in constant fear of ongoing harassment and to create an atmosphere of intimidation.

Those Indonesian police who were investigating the incident have also received death threats.

This harassment of both human rights defenders and police investigating the killings point to the involvement of the military in the killings.

#### 2) Zone of Peace

The human rights group ELSHAM (Institute for Human Rights Study and Advocacy) has been facilitating meetings between various civil society organisations both Papuan and Non Papuan on how to turn Papua into a zone of peace. These meetings which include talks on reconciliation between all parties involved in trying to solve the problems in the province, are being held against a background of increased concern about what the intentions of the military are in Papua.

As part of the facilitation process, representatives from Elsham are meeting not only with various civil society organisations but also with members of the OPM to explain the concept of the Zone of Peace and also urging them not to be provoked by the military.

There has been a build up of military personal including Kopassus special force troops in West Papua recently and it is believed they are hoping to provoke action from those they describe as separatists into action so they can use it as an excuse to crackdown not only on the OPM but on any organisation that they perceive to be separatists.

Elsham has been visiting various areas including Biak and Nabire urging groups not to be provoked by the military and police and explaining to the various groups on the importance of peaceful dialogue as a way of solving problems in the province. Elsham has informed the chief of police as to the aims and benefits of this facilitation process for all of the people of Papua.

Unfortunately a recent statement by the newly installed Indonesian Military (TNI) Chief Gen. Endriartono Sutarto is cause for concern. In June the general issued a strong warning to secessionist movements saying that efforts to separate from the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia would be crushed with military operations. This implies the military has no interest in dialogue and raises concerns the military may still be conducting its secret operation to destabilize any progress towards peaceful dialogue and the targeting of various organisations including human rights groups, the Papuan Presidium Council (PDP) as separatists. (This secret operation is reported on in the main submission)

The chief of police for West Papua recently stated that there are many questions about the Papuan Presidium Council (PDP) - a lawful organisation.

"What is it, is it lawful or not, is it a legitimate organisation? If it is not legal then what should be done? Should it be allowed to remain in existence or should it be banned'

indicates that they authorities are looking for excuses to crackdown on any on groups in the province.

#### 3) Operation Adil Matoa

It would appear that the function of the police operation code-named Operasi Adil Matoa is to target any Papuan organisations which may seem to be supporting independence. The aim appears to be to gain the conviction and imprisonment of the leaders of these organisations and also their disbandment.

The official documents of this police operation has been leaked and was made available to TAPOL (the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign) based in the UK.

TAPOLs summary of the contents of this document follows.

The documents consist of Instruction No 3 / VII / 2002, signed by the police chief of Papua, Inspector General Drs Made M. Pastika, and dated 17 July 2002, together with a number of diagrams and lists of tasks, problems and conclusions. The Instruction states that the basic task of the police force in Papua is to uphold the law within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) and to uphold the territorial integrity and the unity of the nation.

The Instruction identifies as the targets of the Operation 'individuals and social organisations whose vision and mission are to separate the Province of Papua from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, who are a threat to the unity of the nation and who violate the laws of the Unitary State of Republic of Indonesia' (para 3a), and 'individuals and social organisations who oppose the policy of the government by using violations of human rights as a cover and who engage in other activities that can undermine the authority of the government and the state' (para 3b).

The Operation's Set-up consists of defending Papua as a Zone of Peace and an integral part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (para 4a), 'undertaking investigations and interrogation of organisations whose activities fall within the terms of articles 106 and 107 of the Criminal Code and Law No 27, 1999 regarding crimes against the security of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia'.

[Article 106 makes it a crime to engage in acts of rebellion to separate part or all of the territory of Indonesia, with a maximum penalty of life or twenty years. Article 107 relates to acts of rebellion to overthrow the government with a maximum penalty of fifteen years or in the case of the leaders, a maximum penalty of twenty years.]

The methods to the used during the Operation are:

1. To gather material and statements from the community or from social organisations which point to activities of incitement or provocation with the aim of achieving a sovereign, Independent West Papua outside the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

2. To look for and seize letters, bulletins and other things that can be used as evidence of incitement or provocation to oppose the lawful Government of the Republic of Indonesia within the frame of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

3) To draw up Interrogation Reports (Berita Acara Pemeriksaan - BAP) for the purpose of conducting investigations within the Criiminal Justice System to pave the way for submission to a court of law, in order to secure a legally binding decision.

The Operation will last for sixty days from the starting date (Hari H), to be determined by the chief of police of Papua.

One of the supporting documents lists nine organisations which are already 'mobilising their forces'. They are:

Dewan Majelis Masyarakat Adat Koteka - DEMMAK (the Penis Gourd Traditional Council) Dewan Adat Suku Sentani - DASS (Traditional Council of the Sentani Tribe) Dewan Adat Papua - PAP (Papuan Traditional Council) Pemerintahan Adat Papua - DAP (Papuan Traditional Government) Satuan Tugas Papua - SP (Papuan Task Force) Polisi Adat - PA (Traditional Police) Tentara Pembebasan Nasional / Organisasi Papua Merdeka (National Liberation Army/Free Papua Organisation) Tahanan Politik/Political Convicts - Tapol/Napol (Political Prisoners and Political Convicts) Students, Women's, Youth and Religious Groups

These organisations are considered as being a 'challenge to the NKRI government' because they do not support Special Autonomy. They also make use of global issues such as human rights or the handling of the Theys case in order to achieve an independent West Papua.

One diagram bearing the title How to Handle (the targets) is composed of arrows and circles directing these organisations towards interrogation by the police and thereafter passing the results to the prosecutor for indictment under Article 106 resulting in a prison sentence.

Another supporting document lists what should happen during the Operation, namely that a court verdict for rebellion should lead to the dissolution of the organisation in question.

#### 4) The Indonesian military

It is in the interest of the military to provoke and prolong conflict in West Papua as well as in other areas throughout the archipelago in order to prove that they are needed to maintain law and order and control so called separatists groups. In fact the main aim of the military in Indonesia appears to be revenue raising. The Indonesian military receive only 30% of their budget from the government and must raise the other 70% themselves. Most of this is done through illegal means such as illegal logging, mining and offering to provide so called security to international companies such as the Freeport copper and gold mine.

A recent report by the international crises group in Brussels entitled 'Indonesia: Resources and Conflict in Papua' states

"Injustices in the management of natural resources under Indonesian rule have contributed significantly to the conflict. The state has often given concessions to resource companies in disregard of the customary rights of indigenous Papuan communities, while troops and police guarding these concessions have frequently committed murders and other human rights abuses against civilians. Provisions in the special autonomy law require resource companies to pay greater heed to adat claims to land ownership, but they do not apply retroactively to the many companies already in Papua.

Indonesian security forces have a financial interest in resource extraction in Papua, through direct involvement in logging and other activities and protection fees paid by resource companies. Numerous serving and retired officers, senior state officials and others close to government are thought to have logging concessions or other business interests. Alongside the substantial tax and royalties accrued by the state, these interests are a powerful reason for the Indonesian state and its agencies to keep control of Papua".

To sum up many of the problems in West Papua should be seen in the context of it being in the interest of the military to prolong conflict. There has been a build up of military personal including Kopassus special force troops in West Papua recently and it is believed they are hoping to provoke what they term to be separatists into action so they can use it as an excuse to crackdown not only on the OPM but on any organisation that they perceive to be separatists. (The killings at the Freeport mine should be seen in this context).

#### 5) Bali incident

The tragic circumstances around the bombings at Bali may encourage the Australian Government to support a resumption of aid to the Indonesian military. AWPA believes this would be counter productive as it would be used to oppress not only the people of West Papua and Aceh but the people of Indonesia itself.

Hamish McDonald in the Sydney Morning Herald (Jakarta has played with fire of Islamic extremism 17/10/02), points out '

"There is a long history of political manipulators within the Indonesian armed forces, or TNI, playing with the fire of Islamic extremism and staging incidents of terrorism".

"The TNI's image is also tarnished by the evident backing of its Strategic Reserve Command and other elements for the Laskar Jihad, a force of several thousand young Islamic fanatics set against the Christian communities in the Moluccan islands and in the coastal towns of Papua"

"The promptness with which the Laskar Jihad announced on Tuesday it was disbanding and withdrawing from Ambon only serves to illustrate the degree to which it was inspired from above".

(Note: Although the Laskar Jihad has said it was disbanding, AWPA believes the Laskar Jihad will re-emerge with a new name to be used by the military as a proxy style militia group to target any West Papuan organisation seeking self -determination or its members will join similar militia style groups).

#### 6) HIV/AIDS

In our main submission AWPA raised concern about the spread of HIV/AIDS in West Papua and recommended that the Australian government fund HIV/AIDs awareness programs as Australia has much expertise in this field. This has become more imperative in light of the information that appeared in an article in the Jakarta Post (Spread of AIDS in Papua at alarming level October 2, 2002)

Chris W. Green, an aids Activist who had visited West Papua has raised concerns that

"An African-style AIDS epidemic in Papua is not outside the bounds of probability. And yes, I am talking about the Indonesian half of the island, previously called Irian Jaya".

Some of the major points raised by Chris Green in the article are below.

"Papua is a huge province with a very small population -- a little over two million, of whom half are migrants from other parts of Indonesia. The indigenous people are members of a large number of tribes, most with their own language and customs. Literacy is low, as is ability to communicate in Bahasa Indonesia".

"We had been aware that the epidemic in Papua is more developed than in other parts of Indonesia. There have been more than 1000 cases of HIV infection reported in the province, and the reported prevalence of AIDS is almost 30 times the national average. And we had heard that surveys among sex workers in Merauke, thought to be the worst affected place, had shown that one in four are infected with HIV".

"However, we were not prepared for the scale of the problems surrounding the epidemic in Papua. Clearly poverty contributes -- even though Papua is by no means the poorest province in Indonesia. Attitudes towards sex among the indigenous population also impact -- as in Africa, most HIV infections in Papua are sexually transmitted. Alcohol use also must bear some of the responsibility".

"But if these factors tend to drive the epidemic, it must be said that efforts to stem its spread are sporadic at best. As is so often the case, political factors intervene. There is a common belief among local leaders that AIDS was introduced to the province in a deliberate effort to decimate the indigenous population. This hinders any reasonable discussion about ways of addressing the spread of infection'.

"Many of those who are responsible to coordinate the response -- officials who are exofficio members of AIDS Control Commissions at province and district levels -- openly admitted to knowing little about AIDS. Much of what they do know is incorrect. Yet there has yet to be a determined effort to educate decision and policy makers, or community and religious leaders".

In light of this information we believe the Australian government working through NGO and church groups in West Papua should offer aid not only to combat the Aids epidemic but also to train local West Papuan health workers and nurses in the field of general health and support infrastructure for these health workers to reach the more remote areas of the province.

We have recently been reliably informed that the resources including pay and training for health workers, transport of equipment and medication and any kind of reliable documentation is extraordinarily low by any standards. Recent medical events in Bali (already much better resourced than West Papua) confirm this.

#### Post script

AWPA supports the spontaneous expression of Australians including some politicians to develop ties with Indonesia and in our region following the tragedy on Bali. We would like to stress however that these ties should be in the service of democratisation of all peoples of Indonesia and not an intensification of the status quo which would mean continuing to turn a blind eye to the many atrocities perpetuated by the darker forces of the Indonesian military

<u>Attachment A</u>: AWPA Submission to Senate Inquiry 'Australia's Relationship with PNG and other Pacific Island Countries'

Attachment B: 'West Papua - Ongoing Human Rights Abuses in West Papua', September 2001

Original submission into 'Australia's relationship with PNG and other Pacific island countries'.

# This submission by the Australia West Papua Association, Sydney, looks at three areas of concern.

#### 1. West Papuan refugees in Papua New Guinea

It gives a brief historical overview, the present situation and gives reasons why we believe they will be more refugees fleeing to PNG in the future

#### 2. West Papua

As the West Papuan refugees in PNG cannot be looked at in isolation. AWPA also gives and update on the present situation in West Papua. We believe as a result of military policy, we can expect future flows of refugees fleeing persecution not only to PNG but possibility also to Australia.

#### **3. Pacific Islands Forum**

Reasons why we believe the Australian Government should support West Papua being granted observer status at the Forum.

Recommendations in relation to all three areas are given at the end of the submission.

#### 1. West Papuan Refugees in Papua New Guinea

During the Dutch administration of what was known as West New Guinea, or West Irian, there were no border problems with the state of Papua New Guinea, administered by Australia. Border crossing occurred frequently by Papuan people largely unaware of artificial boundaries, practicing traditional activities. Following the Indonesian takeover of the administration of West Papua in 1963 a steady flow of refugees fled over the border into PNG to escape political persecution.

The number grew following the UN referendum, the so-called "Act of Free Choice" in 1969, in which 1025 voters chosen by the Indonesian authorities voted unanimously on behalf of 800,000 indigenous West Papuans to integrate with the Republic of Indonesia. Opponents to Indonesian occupation, including members of the Free Papua Movement (OPM - Organisasi Papua Merdeka), began seeking political asylum. The largest exodus took place in 1984, when over 11,000 West Papuans fleeing Indonesian persecution sought asylum in PNG. Although figures vary slightly approximately 11,600 remain in PNG today. The majority of these are living in unofficial camps along the West Papuan and Papua New Guinea border.

Another 3000 resided at an official refugee camp, East Awin, near Kuinga in the Western Province. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Papua New Guinea government recognised those in East Awin as official refugees and they have been granted "permissive residency". Those granted permissive residency, could either continue to reside in East Awin or relocate to other areas of the country. At the end of 2000 about 1,000 still resided at East Awin. The PNG government has said that those refugees

granted permissive residency could apply for naturalization after eight years. Since the PNG government started granting "permissive residency" status in 1999, 2,457 residence permits have been granted and another 400 have been approved.

The more than 11,600 living in border camps are not recognised as refugees and have not being granted residence. They also receive no assistance for educational or medical purposes. The only outside help is from the Kiunga Catholic mission and some Australian non-government organisations. Most of these refugees are fearful of returning to Indonesian-controlled territory, and although the PNG government and the UNHCR have a policy encouraging voluntary repatriation to West Papua, few of the refugees have accepted the offer of repatriation.

#### **Recent Refugees**

Shortly after the 1st December 2000, more refugees fled across the border into PNG. These latest refugees fled as a result of the Indonesian military cracking down on the West Papuan people who were celebrating their national flag day. (The 1st December is West Papua's national flag day and the flag, the 'Morning Star" was first flown in 1961) The people refused to lower their flags when ordered to by the military and as a result of the crackdown that followed, people were killed and over 400 refugees (the majority of whom are women and children) fled across the border into PNG.

In the Postcourier of the 16 May 2002 it was reported that these 400 border crossers camped near Vanimo might be considered for refugee status and permanently settled in Papua New Guinea. These may be the 400 referred to by the UNHCR above who have been granted "permissive residency" The article from the Postcourier is below as we believe it refers to some important points.

1. The Refugees had refused to return to West Papua saying they feared for their lives.

2. That refugee status was been granted 'because there was no other solution'.

3. Funding from the UNHCR and the PNG Government was canceled late last year. (As one of its recommendations AWPA, Sydney urges the Australian government to offer aid to those organisations and church groups trying to assist the border crossers particularly in the fields of health and education).

#### **'Post Courier 16 May 2002**

#### Solution for crossers

MORE than 400 West Papuan border crossers camped near Vanimo may be considered for refugee status and permanently settled in Papua New Guinea. Highly placed sources said the PNG Government and the United Nation High Commission For Refugees (UNHCR) had agreed to a compromise over the fate of the 400 border crossers who crossed into Vanimo in December 2000, and had refused to go back to their homes, saying they feared for their lives. Sources in Vanimo said the compromise had been reached because there was no other solution. The Vanimo Catholic Diocese has taken full responsibility for the care of the border crossers, spending almost K100,000 from its own funds. Funding from the UNHCR and the PNG Government was cancelled late last year. Some level of funding was also received from donor agencies'

#### **Future refugees**

Unfortunately due to the internal situation in West Papua itself. AWPA believes that it should be expected that there will be future refugees fleeing to PNG and possibly to Australia. Reasons for this are giving in the briefing paper on West Papua.

#### **Refugees relationship with PNG citizens.**

West Papuan refugees are accepted well by the people of PNG who sympathies with their struggle for self determination. However, there are some concerns over land and compensation remains a tense issue between some local landowners and refugees. Each of the border camps have a different informal arrangement with the local 'big man' which works very well but there are tensions developing, particularly over the use of sago trees.

There is also some fear from local villagers that the presence of West Papuan refugees near the border might result in Indonesian raids across the border targeting what the TNI believe to be OPM. Although the possibility of 'hot pursuits' after refugees fleeing across the border will depend on how much the internal security situation deteriorates in West Papua itself.

#### 2. Briefing paper on West Papua

In 1883 the island of New Guinea was partitioned by three Western powers, the Dutch claiming the western half, while the Germans and British divided the eastern half into German New Guinea in the north and British Papua in the south.

The Republic of Indonesia was created in 1949 when The Indonesian people won their struggle for independence against their former colonial masters, The Dutch. West New Guinea however, due to its distinct Melanesian population and cultural characteristics, was retained as a colony by the Dutch and during the 1950s the Dutch government prepared the territory for independence. President Sukarno meanwhile consistently maintained Indonesia's claim to all former territory of the Dutch, and when his demands were not met armed conflict ensued from 1962.

Under pressure from the United States to come to terms with Indonesia, the Dutch agreed to secret negotiations. In August 1962 an agreement was concluded in New York between the Netherlands and Indonesia, under which the Dutch were to leave West New Guinea and transfer sovereignty to UNTEA (the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority), for a period of six years until a national vote was to be conducted to determine Papuan preference for independence, or integration with Indonesia.

Almost immediately however, Indonesia took over the administration from UNTEA, and the oppression of the West Papuan people intensified. A sham referendum was held in 1969, and the UN sanctioned a vote by 1025 hand-picked electors, coerced into unanimously choosing to "remain with Indonesia".

The UN Representative sent to observe the election process produced a report which outlined various and serious violations of the New York Agreement. In spite of the "duly noted" report and in spite also of testimonials from the press, the opposition of fifteen countries and the cries of help and justice from the Papuans themselves, West Irian was handed over to Indonesia in November 1969. The inhabitants of Papua New Guinea, across the border, achieved full independence in 1975.

It should also be noted that Chakravarthy Narasimhan, a retired UN undersecretary-general who handled the takeover said last year,

"Nobody gave a thought to the fact that there were a million people there who had their fundamental human rights trampled,"..... and "It was just a whitewash. The mood at the United Nations was to get rid of this problem as quickly as possible," (AP Report. Published in an article by Slobodan Lekic in the Sydney Morning Herald, 23/11/01 "Historic Vote was a Sham: Ex-UN Chiefs Admit")

#### **Resistance to Indonesian rule.**

Once Indonesian took over responsibility for administration of the province, they brutally repressed any West Papuan not accepting the takeover. Uprisings began to take place against their brutal rule in various areas such as Biak Island and in the Central Mountains. The Indonesian military responded by exterminating entire villages. There is no exact figure on the number of West Papuans killed in the resistance, but it is believed to exceed 200,000.

#### **Recent events**

After Soeharto was forced to resign in 1998, the next two presidents of Indonesia, President Habibie and President Wahid both tried to initiate reforms in Indonesia and West Papua. During this short period of political openness, the West Papuan people for the first time since the Indonesian takeover were relatively free to express their opinion. In February 1999 100 leading Papuan leaders met with President Habibie to initiate a "National dialogue" on Papuan concerns. They basically told the president they wanted independence from Indonesia. This demand for independence shocked the President and the Indonesian government and was to lead to an end of the 'National Dialogue" with the Habibie Government.

When President Wahid came to power in October 1999, he also started reforms, allowing greater freedom of expression and permitting the flying of the previously banned West Papuan 'Morning Star' Flag. Much was achieved by the West Papuans under President Wahids period of reform. The West Papuan people organised a new leadership structure and held two large important meetings. The first in February 2000, the Musyawarah Besar Papua 2000 (Papuan Mass Consultation) and the 2nd Papuan Congress in May-June 2000. Delegations from all areas of West Papua attended the Congress and formulated policy. President Wahid also helped fund the Congress.

Unfortunately President Wahids opponents used his sympathetic approach to separatist movements against him. There was little support for the presidents policy in the Indonesian parliament, particularly to any policy that might endanger the unitary state of Indonesia. The MPR (People's Consultative Assembly) rejected the presidents proposal of allowing the Morning Star flag to fly and changing the province's name from Irian Jaya to Papua. It was the banning of the Morning Star flag which is of great symbolic importance to the West Papuan people, that was to lead to a series of incidents which led to scores of West Papuans losing their lives and a return to suppression as a way of solving the problems in the province.

The West Papuan people raise their flag as an act of protest and also of celebration. Incidents where violence and loss of life have occurred include Jayapura, Sorong, Merauke, Wamena, Abepura, Manokwari and Nabire. These incidents occurred at a time of confusion about the flying of the flag, with orders to lower the flag, by the police and military while seemingly receiving permission from President Wahid to fly it. AWPA will not go into the incidents here but will supply a separate report entitled "Ongoing Human Rights abuses in West Papua including photographs of victims of arbitrary arrest, torture and death" which covers some of the above incidents.

This growing mood within West Papuan society for independence plus the success of the two West Papuan congresses, was so disturbing to certain members of the Indonesian government, police and military intelligence agencies that they conspired to launch a counter-intelligence operation to undermine and destroy all pro independence activities in West Papua. The plan was put into operation in June 2000, initially for a six-month period, to be following by a second phase. Much that has happened in West Papua especially since October 2000 should be seen in the context of this secret intelligence operation.

The plan for this intelligence operation is set forth in a set of documents marked 'Sangat Rahasia' - Top Secret - which was leaked to human rights activists in Jayapura.

Below are some of the concerns that came from a meeting of interested parties (Indonesian intelligent organisations etc) to counter the growing support for independence, which was reported in the leaked document.

"• that social/political conditions in Papua following the Papuan Congress had become very volatile and that agreement had been reached to take speedy, concrete actions to anticipate ever-growing support in Irian Jaya and more generally throughout Indonesia;

• the population right down to the villages were in a state of euphonria over the question of Independence, that a conspiracy of those in favor of Independence was becoming very solid and that efforts were underway to spread the results of the Papuan Congress to all corners of the territory, to the whole of Indonesia and even to the wider world.

• that agreement had therefore been reached to set up a special taskforce with a Work Program designed to handle political developments in Irian Jaya (Papua);

• that the work program of the taskforce should take careful account of the special characteristics of society in Irian Jaya - tribal and religious elements - in designing an overt and covert (clandestine) program of work".

the document continues....

The response must be threefold, to change the state of affairs in the whole territory, to set up a network of communications and to carry out diplomatic activity as a counter to the proindependence forces. The first objective aims to create more conducive conditions in Irian Jaya, improve the functioning of local government so as to win the hearts and minds of the people in favor of remaining within the Unitary Republic of Indonesia and creating a situation that is attractive to investors.

The communications network should direct its attention towards people who are in a position to influence public opinion; this should be done within the territory as well as outside Irian Jaya to deal with efforts to win support elsewhere. The targets are identified as being traditional leaders, tribal chiefs, religious leaders, intellectuals, youth and students. Diplomatic activity is aimed at winning the support of the international community in favor of Indonesia's continued sovereignty over Irian Jaya. (The results of these efforts can be

seen in the international pressure that was brought to bear on Nauru to refuse to allow Presidium Council representatives to attend the Pacific Islands Forum held in August this year, a complete reversal of the position adopted last year when PPC representatives were granted observer status.)

Agencies taking part in the operation include the departments of foreign affairs, of defense and security and of the interior, the police force, the armed forces, the Bakin and BAIS intelligence agencies and the regional government. The mass media must also be involved, along with Papuan community and religious leaders and local NGOs that support the Indonesian Government. The operation will be conducted at two levels, open or overt activities involving the general public and covert or clandestine activities involving intelligence operations and efforts to co-opt the services of certain individuals in positions of leadership in the community." (In a Reuters report of 28 November, Indonesia's Minister of the Interior, Hari Sabarno, admitted that such an operation did indeed exist). The assassination of the West Papuan leader, Theys Eluay by Kopassus troops is believed to be part of this secret operation.

#### Laskar Jihad a new concern.

Recent reports now indicate that large numbers of members of the Laskar Jihad are moving into West Papua (reports indicate that there are at least 3000 Jihad members in Papua). This is of great concern as the Laskar Jihad is blamed for the conflict between the Muslim and Christian communities in the eastern islands of Maluku, where large numbers from both sides have been killed. The presence of the Laskar Jihad in Papua has raised fears amongst West Papuans that the group may try to incite religious conflict in the province where previously all communities have lived in religious harmony. The Laskar Jihad could not operate in West Papua without the knowledge and approval of the Indonesian Government and military. We believe the military are using the Laskar Jihad in West Papua to counter the West Papuan people in their peaceful struggle for self determination.

To this end, the Laskar Jihad have been,

distributing pamphlets and videos depicting sectarian fighting in Maluku.

have set up military training camps, training people in combat skills (for pro Jakarta militias).

have intimidated human rights activists

distributing home-made guns and bombs

The Laskar Jihad has also been conducting religious activities in various areas of West Papua including, Sorong, Fak Fak and Manokwari, areas which have large populations of Muslim migrants from other provinces. As the Jihad militias view Papuan Christians as pro independence, it is believed they are trying to spark hatred between Muslims and non-Muslims which could have grave consequence for both communities in the province.

#### **Connection with Al Qaedah organization!**

The following is part of a report from the Elsham News Service

"Elsham News Service reported on the 14 May that close to 50 Laskar Jihad members (Muslim Jihad Militias) jammed Sorong regency Immigration Office on Tuesday, 14 May 2002, in their bid to defend their 8 Pakistani comrades who have been proved violating immigration procedures. Intimidating Laskar Jihad members arrived at Sorong immigration office demanding that the case should be handled with ease, playing down the legal aspects the case. Reports of fire arms possession and warfare trainings to local Aimas residents involving the 8 Pakistanis are surfacing. Luis Wanggai, a Sorong immigration officer, had requested to the Head of Sorong police (Kapolres) for their arrest. So far the Pakistanis are still free and now reported to be in Katapop district, about 70 kilometers south of Sorong. Pakistani origins constitute a great amount of memberships within Osamah bin Laden led Al Qaedah organization". (Elsham News Service)

#### Autonomy package

President Megawati and the Indonesian Government approved this year a special Autonomy package for West Papua as well as allowing a name change for the province to "Papua". It was hoped this autonomy package would dampen support for independence. Although the package appears generous in that the central government would return up to 70% of the province's revenue, it has been rejected by the West Papuan people. This refusal at what appears to be a very generous package has surprised the central government (as did the result of the referendum in East Timor when the people voted for independence) who seem to have great difficulty believing the fact the West Papuan people want their independence/freedom.

This is unacceptable to the Indonesian Government (and military) at the present time. The West Papuan demand for their freedom will not go away and if no progress can be seen in this direction in the coming years we can expect more vigorous protest from the West Papuan people for it. Unfortunately there is also the danger we will also see more oppression by the Indonesian military including the use of pro Jakarta militias (already in place), the use of the Lasakar Jihad, massacres and assasinations similar to the assassination of the West Papuan leader Theys Eluay earlier this year. Such oppression would also guarantee refugees not only fleeing to PNG but possibly also to Australia. Australia can do much to help avoid such a worst case scenario by promoting peaceful dialogue between all parties involved. AWPA has also outlined recommendations at the end of the submission that we believe could be helpful to avoid this.

#### **3.Pacific Island Forum**

The Pacific Islands Forum represents Heads of Government of all the independent and self-governing Pacific Island countries including Australia. It provides member nations with the opportunity to express their joint political views and to cooperate in areas of political and economic concern The Forum meets each year at Head of Government level. Immediately after this, the post-Forum dialogue is conducted at Ministerial level with Forum dialogue partners which include countries such as China, Japan, Philippines, the European Union etc. Indonesia was admitted last year as a post Forum dialogue partner. New Caledonia (Kanaky) has observer status at the Forum.

The criteria for observer status agreed by Forum Leaders is - "a Pacific Island territory on a clear path to achieving self-government or independence may be eligible for observer status at the forum, subject to the approval of Forum Leaders". We believe this criteria fits an autonomous West Papua. As Indonesia is now a post Forum dialogue partner, we believe if West Papua was granted observer status, it would be an excellent arena for the West Papuan leadership and Indonesia representatives to discuss peaceful ways forward for the province. Below are the Forum Communique's from the last two Forum meetings in relation to West Papua.

Thirty-second Pacific Islands Forum. Republic of Nauru16 - 18 August 2001 Forum Communique

20. Forum Leaders expressed continuing concern about violence and loss of life in the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya (West Papua). They encouraged the Indonesian Government, the sovereign authority, to ensure that the voices of all parties in the province are heard in order to achieve a peaceful resolution of their differences. Forum Leaders welcomed the recent presentation of special autonomy proposals to Indonesia's Parliament. They also urged all parties to protect and uphold the human rights of all residents in Irian Jaya (West Papua). Forum Leaders agreed to follow closely developments in the province.

Thirty -first Pacific Islands Forum Republic of Kiribati 27-30 October 2000 Forum Communique

17. Forum Leaders expressed deep concern about past and recent violence and loss of life in the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya (West Papua). They called on the Indonesian Government, the sovereign authority, and secessionist groups to resolve their differences peacefully through dialogue and consultation. They also urged all parties to protect and uphold the human rights of all residents of Irian Jaya (West Papua).

18. Leaders would welcome closer dialogue with the Government of Indonesia on issues of common concern.

It should be noted that West Papua has always been considered a part of the Pacific Community and was a former member of the South Pacific Commission (SPC). A West Papuan leader Mr. Marcus Kaisiepo attended the first SPC Conference held in Fiji in 1950 and West Papuans continued to participate in the SPC meetings until the Dutch ceded its authority to the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) in 1962. Nauru and Vanuatu have also raised the issue at the United Nations.

#### **Recommendations**

#### In relation to refugees in PNG

The Australia West Papua Association, Sydney, calls on the Australian Government to,

1. offer aid to those organisations and church groups trying to assist the border crossers particularly in the fields of health and education.

2. encourage the PNG Government to treat all West Papuan border crossers as genuine refugees fleeing persecution (as is their right under UN Convention) and to grant "permissive residency" to those refugees living in the border area as has been granted to the refugees living in East Awin.

#### In relation to West Papua

3. use its good offices to communicate to the Indonesian Government the Australian Government's concern about the Human Rights abuses which are presently occurring in West Papua. 4. urge the Indonesian government to take up the issues of peaceful dialogue again and as an expression of this (and to promote trust in the West Papuan people), release all political, prisoners.

5. recall the thousands of extra troops sent to the province and ensure that ongoing local troops be returned to barracks as a way of easing tensions in the province.

6. urge the Indonesian government to do all in its power to protect human rights defenders in the province.

7. urge the Indonesian Government to control its military in West Papua.

8. to use its good offices to communicate to the Indonesian Government the Australian Government's concern about the dangers the Laskar Jihad pose for stability as stability and mutual trust are essential to promote peaceful dialogue between all parties wishing to solve the problems in the province.

9. to send a fact finding mission to the province to investigate the human rights situation in West Papua.

10. offer aid directly to local and overseas NGO groups working in West Papua for capacity-building programs to manage the increased revenues under Special Autonomy, including English language programs as many capacity-building programs are offered in various English speaking Pacific Island countries.

11. also there is concern about the spread of HIV/AIDS in West Papua. Australia has much expertise in this field and we encourage the Australian government to fund HIV/AIDs awareness programs in West Papua.

#### In relation to the Pacific Islands Forum

12. Urge the Australian Government to support West Papua being granted observer status with the Forum and

13. encourage the Indonesian government to use the forum as a venue where peaceful dialogue with the West Papuan leadership can be conducted to help solve the many issues of concern in the province.

# West Papua

# Ongoing Human Rights abuses in West Papua including photographs of victims of arbitrary arrest, torture and death.



September 2001

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### Summary

The following report covers some of the major incidents of human rights abuses in West Papua between August 2000 and September 2001. It includes photographs of victims of arbitrary arrest, torture and death which were supplied by ELSHAM (the Institute for Human Rights Study and Advocacy in Jaypura). The report includes urgent actions by both ELSHAM and Amnesty International (sent out at the time of the incidents) which are subsequently related to the photographs immediately following, as well as giving background to the incidents.

Another major concern at the present time is the harassment of human rights defenders. The human rights defenders who operate within Indonesian law are being threatened by the Indonesian military because of their work investigating human rights abuses in the province. The human rights workers are for the main part from ELSHAM which is a human rights organisation that deals with the promotion and protection of human rights of all the peoples in West Papua.

There is also an ongoing military operation 'comb and destroy' in the Wasior district where a large number of human rights abuses have been committed by the Indonesian military. Specific abuses indicate 94 arbitrary detained and 11 killed. These abuses have been confirmed by human rights organisations and church groups. The area has been closed to humanitarian and international aid workers causing untold problems for the local population.

#### About ELSHAM

As a human rights group ELSHAM is an independent organisation and does not have any association with any kind of political organisations (inside or outside West Papua). ELSHAM respects the rights of everyone to exercise his or her right to politics, including the Papuans right to discuss self-determination. ELSHAM is a non-violent group that believes in dialogue to resolve the problems in the province.

As a human rights organisation ELSHAM works closely with different institutions that deal with human rights including, the UN Human Rights Commission, Parliaments, Non-Governmental Organisations such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the Indonesia National Human Rights Commission - Komnas HAM and churches and other organisations concerned with human rights.

The objectives of ELSHAM include, working towards demilitarizing the province and empowering the people in West Papua by informing them about the issues of human rights and democracy.

#### Recommendations

The Australia West Papua Association, Sydney, calls on the Australian Government to,

use its good offices to communicate to the Indonesian Government the Australian Government's concern about the Human Rights abuses which are presently occurring in West Papua.

urge the Indonesian government to take up the issues of peaceful dialogue again and as an

expression of this (and to promote trust in the West Papuan people), release all political, prisoners,

recall the thousands of extra troops sent to the province and ensure that ongoing local troops be returned to barracks as a way of easing tensions in the province.

urge the Indonesian government to do all in its power to protect human rights defenders in the province

urge the Indonesian Government to control its military in West Papua

urge the Indonesian Government to open the blockaded regions, including the border between Fak Fak and Nabire, as well as Wasior, and allow humanitarian and human rights workers to enter the areas so they can assist the civilian population in the regions.

For further information contact

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