

peacebrigadesinternational
Promoting nonviolence and protecting
human rights since 1981



Our work in Indonesia 1999–2011



Historical context

When local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in East Timor asked Peace Brigades International (PBI) for support, Indonesia was emerging from decades of autocratic rule under General Suharto. During this period the military were deeply embedded in the political and economic life of the country. Suharto himself had come to power following the coup attempt against Sukarno, the hero of Independence in 1965. Thus two long periods of autocratic rule had shaped Indonesia following its independence from the Dutch in 1949. The territorial power plays that marked the post-independence era set the stage for future self-determination aspirations in East Timor, Aceh and Papua.

In 1961 Indonesia launched a military operation for the 'return' of **Papua**. (In December 1949, the Netherlands had recognised Indonesian sovereignty over the Dutch East Indies with the exception of Papua.) Following international pressure, Indonesia was mandated to administer a UN-supervised referendum on the future of the territory in 1969, the so-called 'Act of Free Choice'. The referendum resulted in a unanimous decision to remain in Indonesia. However, the referendum was limited to a council of 1,026 tribal leaders out of a population of 800,000. Their unanimous decision to remain in Indonesia was tainted by allegations of coercion and intimidation. The sense of injustice and disenfranchisement this decision generated has formed the basis of the grievances of the separatist

movement that has operated in Papua ever since. Other factors that provide the background to the subsequent low-intensity conflict include resource exploitation, social and economic underdevelopment, the transmigration policies that significantly changed the demography of the province, the high military presence and human rights violations.

Portugal abandoned its claim to its colony of **East Timor** in 1974. Fighting between rival political groups created a climate of violence and instability into which Indonesia stepped by annexing and occupying East Timor in 1976. In the same year, in the province of **Aceh**, the armed resistance group Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM-Free Aceh Movement) was created. In the late 1970s, Indonesian authorities conducted mass arrests of GAM members and killed many of its leaders. Following a hiatus GAM re-emerged with broad popular support in the late 1980s, at which time the Indonesian government launched a counter-insurgency campaign. The military oppression and human rights abuses

radicalised many elements of Acehnese society, particularly students. Amnesty International reported that between 1989 and 1992 about 2,000 people were killed by military operations in Aceh.

In the wake of economic crisis and political opposition, Suharto resigned in May 1998 and a process of "reformasi" (reform) was initiated throughout the country.

The Indonesian government held a referendum on the future of East Timor in August 1999. The result showed a clear majority (78.5%) in favour of independence. Pro-Indonesian Timorese militias, with the support of Indonesian soldiers, retaliated with violence. Two hundred thousand refugees were forced into West Timor, where they lived in poor conditions in refugee camps. Immediately following the announcement of the election results, armed militia, supported by the Indonesian military, launched a campaign of killings, property destruction and forced evacuations of townships. It was against this contradictory background of reform and violent suppression that PBI entered Indonesia.



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Introduction

Since 1981, Peace Brigades International (PBI) has supported hundreds of communities and thousands of people in eleven countries. We protect human rights defenders who work tirelessly in pursuit of justice for those who have been denied their basic rights and have experienced threats, violence and displacement. We work only at the request of human rights defenders and in response to their needs. Our unique approach combines on-the-ground expertise and local knowledge with international advocacy, aiming to ensure that human rights defenders are able to carry out their work, contributing to social justice and peace, in relative safety.

PBI withdrew from Indonesia at the end of January 2011 following eleven years of work with human rights defenders and

those working for peace and justice. From its beginnings in East and West Timor to its work in Aceh and in Papua, PBI Indonesia supported local organisations through providing protection, networking and advocacy support and through cooperating with local organisations in peace education and capacity building.

PBI's work in Indonesia spanned the geographical extremes of the archipelago, from Aceh to Papua, from devout Muslims to tribal Christians, from open conflict to heavily militarised yet covert repression. As the political and security context evolved, so did the work of PBI Indonesia. This report outlines PBI's history in Indonesia and provides some reflections, which we hope will be useful for work in the fields of human rights, peacebuilding and justice in Indonesia.

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Local human rights defenders at a PBI security training workshop in Papua, 2007



Our history in Indonesia

East and West Timor 1999-2002

In the late 1990s, PBI received two urgent requests to establish an international presence in East Timor, where human rights defenders were facing great difficulties carrying out their work in a climate of intimidation and violence.

PBI's original intention had been to establish a team in East Timor immediately after the August 1999 referendum. However, the escalation of violence forced the evacuation of all international non-governmental organisation (INGO) observers, making this impossible. PBI decided to set up a team in West Timor in November 1999, with the aim of working across West Timor and with refugees from East Timor. In addition to protective work, the West Timor team responded to some of the many requests they received for conflict resolution training.

PBI provided a protective presence for Indonesian human rights and humanitarian workers in West Timor until three UNHCR staff were killed on 6 September 2000, following which all foreigners were evacuated. PBI volunteers maintained daily telephone contact from Jakarta with local NGOs, providing moral encouragement and monitoring the security situation. In November 2001, PBI was among the first INGOs to return with a security assessment team. However, in light of the findings (that there was a decreased threat to our partner groups) PBI formally closed the programme in May 2002.

A team had been established in Jakarta in September 2001 to monitor events, help coordinate and support field teams, and maintain relations with the Indonesian government, foreign embassies and international and local NGOs. Later, this team would also provide protective services for local organisations in Jakarta.

Aceh 2001-2008

During 2000 PBI received requests for protective accompaniment from NGOs in Aceh where human rights abuses were rife. There was very little international presence, which meant that the emerging civil society movement seeking a nonviolent solution to the conflict was extremely vulnerable. PBI established a team in Banda Aceh in March 2001 and provided protective accompaniment to local NGOs on a regular basis, including on field trips outside the main cities where the security situation was much graver. At this time PBI was one of only three INGOs in Aceh. In December 2002, PBI established a second team in Lhokseumawe, North Aceh.

PBI developed good relations with the authorities in Aceh, a significant achievement for an international organisation given the political climate. The human rights defenders we supported felt our regular contact with the local authorities contributed to transparency and lessened suspicion.

PBI's work in Aceh was curtailed as the political situation deteriorated and the government declared martial law in May 2003. PBI teams re-located to the neighbouring province of Medan where they monitored the situation by telephone and met with human rights defenders whenever they were able to travel outside Aceh. PBI also conducted conflict transformation workshops at the request of local



Workshop for women with partner FORPWAT (Forum for Women's empowerment Central Aceh)



Workshop with partner CMC (Children's Media Centre) in Aceh, 2006

organisations in Medan during this period.

When martial law was downgraded to a civil emergency on 19 May, 2004, the Aceh team was still unable to gain re-entry and re-located to Jakarta in November 2004. However, on 26 December 2004, Indonesia, and particularly Aceh, was badly hit by earthquakes and a tsunami that resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of people including some of PBI's Indonesian colleagues. In post-

tsunami Aceh protective accompaniment was no longer a priority; however, PBI received requests to return to support training on peacebuilding-related topics. A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed between the Indonesian government and GAM (Free Aceh Movement) on 15 August 2005, ending the armed conflict.

PBI worked in Aceh until 2008 when our presence was no longer needed because local organisations were capable of carrying out peace education themselves and had ample access to international networks. The Jakarta team continued to monitor the situation in Aceh and conducted an evaluation field trip at the time of increased tensions in the run up to the elections in April 2009.

Papua 2004-2010

In 2003, PBI began receiving requests to work in Papua. The Free Papua Movement (OPM) had been engaged in low-intensity warfare with government forces. This provided the Indonesian government with a convenient way to de-legitimise groups and individuals working for social justice and human rights, who were dismissed as separatists. Following assessment, a team was established in Jayapura in March 2004.

After nine months in Jayapura, on the advice of human rights defenders, PBI decided to explore the possibility of working in the highlands, where human rights abuses and intimidation against civil society were conducted with impunity. PBI established a presence in Wamena in July 2005.

The improved security situation in

the capital meant that there were fewer requests for protective services from Jakarta-based organisations. In Papua, however, the situation for human rights defenders remained grave: threats were frequent, impunity undiminished and there was a desire on the part of the government to carefully control access to the province for international observers. As there were very few international organisations present in Papua, PBI's on-the-ground monitoring and reporting played a key role and was highly valued by concerned members of the international community.

Administrative hindrances to the work of INGOs increased in 2009 with many INGOs, and also embassy staff, facing difficulties in gaining access to Papua. When the authorities refused to grant travel permits to PBI members in January 2010 (necessary to be able to work or travel in most areas outside Jayapura), PBI had to close operations in Wamena.

Increased restrictions on movement in Papua and some internal challenges led PBI to carry out a strategic review of the organisation's work in Indonesia. As a result, in early November 2010 PBI took the difficult decision to close operations. Before withdrawal, PBI worked with contacts inside the NGO, INGO and diplomatic communities to provide some continuity of support to the human rights defenders we had been working with. PBI Indonesia closed officially on 28 January 2011, although a minimal presence was maintained for the rest of the year to provide support and play a bridging role to other organisations inside and outside the country.

Conscious of the continued gravity of the human rights situation in Papua, and in commitment to those with whom we have worked, PBI is exploring the possibility of returning to Indonesia. At the time of writing, however, the options for future work in Indonesia are limited.



in Aceh, 2007

Timeline



PBI meeting with police officers in Kalimantan, 2007

JANUARY 2000

PBI West Timor team established, working across West Timor and with refugees from East Timor



PBI training of trainers workshop in Sulawesi, 2005

MAY 2003

PBI allowed to stay until July

FEBRUARY – MARCH 2004

PBI carries out peace education training for the Directorate General of Human Rights Protection and other high level Government of Indonesia staff

MAY 2004

PBI establishes a team in Jayapura, Papua

MAY 2000

PBI receives requests to work in Aceh

MARCH 2001

PBI team in Banda Aceh established - PBI is one of only three international NGOs in Aceh and carries out protective services and peace education activities

“Peace Brigades International plays a leading and commendable part in peace building in trouble spots such as Aceh.”

Fabrice Etienne, First Secretary, Embassy of France in Indonesia

NOVEMBER 2004

Aceh teams relocate to Jakarta to begin concerted effort for re-entry

“Because of their accompaniment and peace education work, PBI is well respected by the church and NGO groups who work for peace and social justice in Timor.”

Thobias A. Messakh, Moderator, Protestant Evangelical Church in Timor

AUGUST 2000

PBI presence in Jakarta established to monitor events, help coordinate and support field teams and provide advocacy support

MAY 2002

PBI formally ends presence in West Timor

JULY – AUGUST 2003

Aceh teams relocated to Medan

DECEMBER 2004

Following requests from local Papuan organisations, PBI carries out an assessment in the Papuan highlands

AUGUST 1999

PBI East Timor team established

AUGUST 1998

PBI receives requests to work in East Timor

SEPTEMBER 1999

PBI East Timor team evacuated

SEPTEMBER 2000

Evacuation of the West Timor Team

NOVEMBER 2001

West Timor team returns and carries out in-depth security assessment

DECEMBER 2002

PBI establishes a second team in Lhok-seumawe, North Aceh

OCTOBER – NOVEMBER 2003

PBI receives requests to work in Papua

1998

1999

2000

2001

2002

2003

2004

30 AUGUST 1998

Referendum on future of East Timor

SEPTEMBER 1999

Widespread violence following East Timor referendum forced the evacuation of all NGO observers

SEPTEMBER 2000

Three UNHCR personnel killed in West Timor

18 MAY 2003

President Megawati declares martial law in Aceh. All International NGOs forced to leave Aceh due to imposition of military rule

19 MAY 2004

Martial law ends in Aceh

“PBI is the most reliable source of information on Aceh.”

Hans Doctor, First Secretary, Governance and Human Rights, Royal Netherlands Embassy in Indonesia

26 DECEMBER 2004

Tsunami hits Aceh

KEY

TIMOR

ACEH

JAKARTA

PAPUA

ALL



PBI providing protective accompaniment for JAPH&HAM (Advocacy Network for Upholding Law and Human Rights) in Papua, 2009

JANUARY 2005
Aceh Assessment Team travels to Banda Aceh, to determine how PBI can provide protection and trauma counselling

JANUARY 2006
Participatory Peace Education team established in Aceh

FEBRUARY 2005
Aceh team reopens an office in Banda Aceh

“I don’t speak English. I don’t speak Indonesian. But I am able to think and I know that my people have been abused, shot, tortured and hit. So everyday all I can do is pray about this. I have come here today to say a big thank you to PBI.”
 Dauke Mabel, head of the Indigenous Nations (LMA) for the Papuan Middle Highlands

FEBRUARY 2008
Two Participatory Peace Education summits held in Aceh to support strategy development and networking between local NGOs in advance of PBI withdrawal from the province

JULY 2005
PBI establishes a new team in Wamena, in the Papuan highlands

MAY 2006
Participatory Peace Education team established in Papua

JUNE 2008
PBI formally ends presence in Aceh

JANUARY 2009
PBI Jakarta team assesses situation in Aceh during run up to national elections

JANUARY 2010
PBI team in Wamena leaves due to inability to obtain travel permits

AUGUST–OCTOBER 2010
A Strategic Review of PBI Indonesia is carried out with the participation of current and former staff and volunteers from Indonesia and across PBI

OCTOBER 2010
Round table event bringing Papuan NGO representatives to Jakarta to meet with international contacts, Indonesian authorities and national NGOs in preparation for PBI’s withdrawal

JANUARY 2011
PBI formally ends presence in Indonesia

JANUARY–DECEMBER 2011
PBI maintains a person in Indonesia to provide follow up support to NGOs

MAY–DECEMBER 2011
PBI conducts research to establish the feasibility of returning to Indonesia. At the time of writing, the options for future PBI work in the country are limited.

2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011

15 AUGUST 2005
Peace agreement between Indonesian Government and GAM (Free Aceh Movement)

10 DECEMBER 2006
Elections in Aceh bring former GAM leader to power

“Because of my work as a human rights activist, I have been intimidated, terrorised and detained. I had to be evacuated in a freight plane and even thought I had to leave the country. Since PBI protects me, I feel a lot safer. I can work more self-confidently and openly, I don’t have to hide anymore.”
Matius Murib, Kontras Papua

MID-2009
National legislative and presidential elections held

“I want to thank my friends with PBI for supporting me for so long. I could not have done this important workshop raising awareness of Human Rights and Law with the Police if you were not here supporting me. Thank you.”
Theo Hesezem, JAPH&HAM (Advocacy Network for Upholding Law and Human Rights)

How we worked:

International Protective Accompaniment

PBI seeks to provide protection and support to those who defend human rights and promote peace and social justice in areas of repression and conflict, when conditions allow and we have been asked to do so by human rights defenders themselves. We advocate at all levels – from the soldier at a local checkpoint to national governments and international bodies such as the UN – for international human rights accountability.

Our aim is to support threatened human rights defenders by encouraging appropriate responses from governments, raising international awareness of the context in which defenders carry out their vital work, and building bridges between them and the outside world. We withdraw when our presence is no longer needed. Our work is based on requests and tailored to the specific local context. In Indonesia, this included developing a range of peacebuilding activities termed “participatory peace education (PPE)”,

described overleaf (pages 10 and 11), as well as the protection work described on these pages.

PBI’s signature activity is international protective accompaniment, in which trained international volunteers provide protection through physical accompaniment to threatened organisations and individuals, backed up by global advocacy. PBI field volunteers are the physical embodiment of a global movement that believes in upholding universal human rights. They send a powerful message that the world is watching and prepared to act to prevent human rights violations and hold perpetrators accountable.

Physical Accompaniment

Physical accompaniment ranges from an around-the-clock presence in offices and homes to observing key meetings, trials and demonstrations, to accompanying defenders to remote areas to meet with

“Frankly, we feel more comfortable if there is accompaniment from PBI. We really need PBI on these trips.”

Khairani Arifin, Coordinator RPuK (Women’s Volunteer Team for Humanity), Aceh

victims and collect testimonies. In Aceh, between January 2001 and May 2003, a period of violent conflict and suppression of human rights, there was intense demand for physical accompaniment. PBI also provided accompaniment to defenders in Papua – in the capital Jayapura, in Wamena in the highlands and on trips to more remote areas of the province. Physical accompaniment was also provided in Jakarta.



In June 2005, PBI accompanied PBHI (Indonesian Legal Aid and Human Rights Association) for the final verdict of the first non-ad hoc Human Rights Court in Makassar, South Sulawesi, following a trial concerning the Abepura Case. On

7 December 2000, police raided several student and local residences after an attack on the police station in Abepura, Jayapura district (Papua). The raid resulted in seven deaths and around 100 injured civilians. Although the accused were cleared, PBI’s



support gave LBH Papua (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Papua, Legal Aid Foundation Papua) and PBHI (members of the NGO coalition representing the Abepura victims) confidence and increased security as they represented witnesses.

“In one incident in Aceh, a defender was taken in by the police. On searching his wallet they found a PBI business card. They questioned him about knowing PBI then let him go. He was convinced that this saved him from – at the very least – being beaten up. There were incidents when members of accompanied organisations had been arrested and their friends and family were unable to find where they were being held. PBI was able to locate them diplomatically and had them released.”

Lin Padgham, former PBI Indonesia Committee Member

Protective Presence

In addition to physical accompaniment, the presence of international observers can contribute to a deterrent strategy. In West Timor, regular visits to local offices of NGOs, together with dialogue with local authorities and reporting on the situation to the international community, provided protective presence for communities. In Wamena, in the highlands of Papua, the setting up of a field team, with the attendant establishment and maintenance of contacts with local authorities, provided a more general deterrent effect. In this relatively isolated environment, civil society had been cowed by a history of violence and a pervasive sense of danger and threat, which dissuaded organisation and activity.

Statistics show that the highest percentage of direct human rights violations occur in remote areas of Papua, where there are virtually no national or international observers. While, due to

resource constraints, it was not possible to have a permanent presence in such areas, field trips were one way to spread the deterrent effect of PBI's work by ensuring visibility, increasing the confidence of local defenders and providing connections to the international community. Field trips

generally lasted one to three weeks and involved PBI visiting local or regional authorities with local partner organisations, networking with other local organisations and gathering up-to-date information for analysis and advocacy purposes.



PBI providing protective presence for partner KontrasS Papua (Commission for Disappearances and Victims of Violence) at a demonstration in Freeport, Papua 2005

Advocacy, networking and bridging

PBI Indonesia maintained ongoing contact with civil and military authorities as well as providing in-depth information to a wide range of members of the international community. This kind of advocacy is a vital element of PBI's protective strategy, without which physical accompaniment would be far less effective.

PBI was able to gather on-the-ground information that, due to highly restricted access to conflict areas, was impossible for others to obtain. PBI reports contained political analysis and tracked the development of key issues, as well as detailing elements of PBI's field presence and providing recommendations for action. Quarterly bulletins provided perspectives from local and international experts on relevant issues, such as the Jakarta-Papua dialogue, forest degradation and large-scale agro-projects in Papua. These advocacy materials were disseminated widely through PBI's network of country groups and

international contacts.

PBI also organised awareness-raising and advocacy-focused events including round-tables with authorities and NGOs in Jakarta and Papua and speaking tours with Indonesian human rights defenders in Europe, in close collaboration with PBI country groups.

A key element of PBI's work involved

networking and bridging activities to link defenders with political supporters, national NGOs, INGOs and other human rights advocates, both in-country and internationally. These activities were an important way of introducing local grassroots organisations to others who could respond to their protection, advocacy and development needs.

“Each time we speak with the authorities in the field, they associate RATA with PBI. This makes us feel very safe in doing our work.”

Nurdin, Director of RATA (Rehabilitation Action for Torture Victims in Aceh), Aceh

In 2008, the Canadian Embassy in Jakarta asked PBI to coordinate a delegation to Wamena. PBI Indonesia facilitated contact between the Canadian Embassy and YSBA (Space for Local Culture Foundation). YSBA organised a traditional feast and facilitated a meeting with local community organisations. PBI's linking of the Canadian Embassy to local organisations opened up support opportunities for these organisations.

How we worked:

Participatory Peace Education

PBI Indonesia's response to the many requests for peace education received was characterised by commitment to a participatory approach that valued local expertise. PBI's methodology was elicitive, drawing out local knowledge and experience, and enabling the development of skills through collaborative planning and facilitation of events.

Conflict Transformation

In the early years, PBI Indonesia carried out conflict transformation workshops in West Timor and in several locations on the island of Flores. Workshops were also carried out in Aceh, where peace education became the focus of PBI activity following the tsunami. Conflict analysis skills were introduced, conflict handling techniques based on local customs were explored and models of mediation appropriate to the local context were developed through the workshops. Later, training of trainers was developed in collaboration with Indonesian partner

PBI began its Participatory Peace Education (PPE) programme in Aceh in 2005, soon after its re-entry into the province. The final major PPE activity took place in February 2008 in the form of two peace education summits. These summits were organised to bring PBI partners and other local organisations from throughout Aceh together, to share experiences, skills, and knowledge. In addition to building bridges and support structures between local peace educators, PBI also introduced local peace educators to key international contacts, including donor organisations.

organisations in, for example, Sulawesi. In Papua the role of adat (local custom) formed an important part of conflict transformation training. Other events, such as the Peace Youth Camp in Aceh and the annual Peace Day celebration events in Papua, provided opportunities for PBI partners to develop skills and experience through planning and facilitating activities.

Other Participatory Peace Education Activities

In addition to the more intensive workshop approach, PBI also developed a series of small-scale activities in both Aceh and Papua:

Monthly discussions in which participants proposed a theme and local organisations and members of civil society were invited to participate. The facilitated discussions, which would sometimes include a local guest speaker, proved to be empowering and community building, as they provided a safe space to talk about civil society issues and initiatives. Themes suggested by participants included inter-group conflict and traditional methods of conflict resolution, women's empowerment, regional development and its impact on the environment.



PBI peace education summit in Aceh, 2008

“In Papua, just gathering people in a workshop was an important act as people were afraid, isolated and disempowered. A safe protected space to talk was a big added factor. The regular discussions and film screenings that PBI organised in Papua were rather successful and well attended and appreciated. They provided a useful space for reflection and inspiration.”

Esther Cann, former volunteer

Film screenings were a way to introduce relevant, and sometimes sensitive, topics and stimulate discussion, with local activists sometimes facilitating the discussions. Being able to travel out to more remote areas for film screenings was also a way of providing protection through the visibility of PBI. Meeting with local authorities to inform them of planned activities strengthened this protective effect.

Peace libraries were established in Aceh, Jayapura and Wamena. These provided places for human rights defenders to meet, as well as offering access for local communities to a range of materials in English and Indonesian. In Wamena, the local library staff gained capacity by gradually developing and carrying out small-scale activities.

“In the Papuan highlands I witnessed PBI at its best, using protection and peace education in mutually reinforcing ways. I remember how PBI volunteers worked effortlessly to empower a group of local facilitators, encouraging them to take ownership of PBI’s first workshop on conflict transformation in the area. While the volunteers literally created space for peace during the workshop by holding off intruders from intimidating the participants, one of the local facilitators proudly conducted his own session on the use of traditional culture as a tool for conflict transformation. Using PBI’s participatory methodology, he showed the participants their own potential as peacebuilders and concluded that they wouldn’t need outsiders to solve their own problems.”

Huibert Oldenhuis, former volunteer and later PPE Coordinator



PBI peace library in Wamena, Papua 2008

Reflections

PBI provided protection and support to twenty-four organisations and individuals in Indonesia, many of whom had little or no other international support, and worked with a wide range of other local organisations to develop conflict resolution and peacebuilding skills. These organisations and individuals in turn supported thousands of women, men and children who had been denied their basic rights – from being forced to flee their homes, to suffering violence and torture, to being persecuted for belonging to an indigenous community.

In working for more than eleven years within different and evolving geo-political contexts, PBI had to learn to adapt and experiment in order to respond to the diverse needs of human rights defenders. We hope some of the reflections presented here will be useful for future work in the fields of human rights, peace and justice in Indonesia.

Adapting to complex conflict contexts

PBI had to find flexible, pragmatic and creative ways to adapt to a complex conflict context in which the perceptions and actions of the Indonesian government are influenced by historical experience, cultural expectation and global political and economic status. In the economically important and politically sensitive area of Papua particularly, direct international political pressure can prove ineffective, or even counterproductive. This was clearly illustrated in 2009 when the International Committee of the Red Cross was prevented from operating in Papua despite political protests.

Realistic analyses of the geo-political situation and a frank and open exchange with political contacts are important for PBI's work to have the desired impact of deterring attacks against human rights defenders and opening space for peace. In every country in which PBI

works, PBI has to assess the degree of political will and room for manoeuvre that exists. The willingness of political allies to act is crucial to the effectiveness of protection mechanisms, and the most effective pressure, in terms of origin and type, must be explored. Changing power dynamics, economically and politically, at the regional and international level, may call for a re-assessment of the focus and means of leverage. Analysis of such factors contributed to our assessment that a PBI presence in Indonesia was no longer tenable, leading to the decision to leave.

Relationships with authorities

Establishing relationships with the authorities, based on regular communication and transparency, is an important part of PBI's work. In Indonesia, while we enjoyed constructive relationships with a number of local and regional contacts, we found it more difficult to access national level contacts, especially in the latter years of the project. Many other INGOs faced similar difficulties. The level of suspicion towards international observers in Papua, and the consequent control of access, frustrated PBI's efforts and eventually made our work impossible.

Relationship-building requires cultural awareness, continuity and investment of time and energy. In the Indonesian context, this could usefully have been broadened to include networks of influential national allies who appreciated the valuable contribution that human rights defenders can make to the country's development and who understood the constructive role that PBI could play in enabling this.

Advocacy and support networks

The complexity of the conflict context in Indonesia meant PBI had to strike a delicate balance: to find a way to advocate for the protection needs of human rights defenders without jeopardising the

access that itself provided protection to them. This became increasingly difficult and placed some strains on advocacy efforts, particularly during the period in Papua. Papuan NGOs had limited capacity for documenting and reporting alleged human rights violations, which presented challenges for our advocacy efforts. The global economic and political status of Indonesia also raised questions about Western governments' willingness to challenge human rights violations robustly (although there are also valid concerns about the effectiveness of direct and public challenges, as mentioned above). The effectiveness of aligning broader advocacy themes with PBI as a whole was recognised and developed in the latter years of our work. Ultimately, though, developing an effective advocacy strategy remained a key challenge for PBI – as was also the case for other INGOs trying to work in Papua – and proved difficult in the face of internal and external developments.

Innovation

PBI worked in several different areas of the geographically vast and culturally diverse country that is Indonesia. The nature of the threats posed to human rights defenders, and the capacity of civil society to respond to these, varied in each context. Adapting to these diverse and changing contexts can only effectively happen on the ground and requires time. The appropriate mix of strategies for a particular situation, or a particular group, needs to be developed within a framework that recognises the limits of the organisation's capabilities, remains true to the principles that guide the work, but leaves room for creativity and innovation. PBI developed two key complementary approaches in Indonesia, which increased the project's flexibility and responsiveness to local needs with some success.

As needs changed in West Timor and Aceh due to political developments,



PBI peace education workshop in Sentani, Papua 2005

PBI was able to respond to these, emphasising protective services or participatory peace education as appropriate. In Flores and elsewhere, conflict transformation and prevention workshops played an important role, given the number of inter-group conflicts (ethnic and religious) that flared following the fall of Suharto.

It was in the Papuan context, particularly in Wamena, that PBI integrated protective and peacebuilding elements to the greatest extent. Carrying out peace education activities in the villages was a way to help partners build

their skills in planning and facilitation, encouraging participants to reflect on the cultural resources they could draw on for handling conflict. These activities provided a protective presence by demonstrating the international links of human rights defenders, underlined by the visits to local authorities to inform them of planned events, as well as being key opportunities for information gathering.

Where there are dual approaches within a project, in this case protective services and participatory peace education, there must be clarity in the goals and strategies of each approach

and each must be explicitly recognised as mutually reinforcing. There was still much potential for development in this direction when PBI's work had to be abandoned due to administrative restrictions on movement in Papua.

Our volunteers and supporters

Without hundreds of dedicated individuals and organisations, who supported PBI with their time, energy and financial contributions, our human rights work in Indonesia would not have been possible.

Thank you for your commitment to PBI.

Volunteers and staff

PBI would like to wholeheartedly acknowledge the valuable contribution of the hundreds of volunteers and staff who carried out the work of PBI Indonesia in the field and across the world between 1999 and 2011.

PBI field volunteers came to Indonesia from many different countries including: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Russia, Switzerland, the UK and the USA.

Supporters

PBI would like to thank the many organisations and individuals who supported the work of PBI in Indonesia in many and varied ways including the many local NGOs in Indonesia and INGOs who provided advice and support; PBI country groups and members of their networks including elected officials, civil servants, lawyers, judges, academics, NGOs, community groups and individuals. We are grateful to the staff from various embassies in Jakarta, particularly the British, Canadian, Dutch, German and Swiss embassies, for the commitment to the defence of human rights they demonstrated through their support of PBI's work.

Individuals, trusts, foundations and religious groups as well as governments and multilateral funders provided financial support for our work providing protection, support and capacity building for human rights defenders and others working for peace and justice in Indonesia over eleven years.

Much of our income was raised by PBI country groups who worked closely with committed donors in a range of countries, including Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the UK and the USA.

We would like to thank the many organisations and individuals who made generous contributions to our work in Indonesia, including:

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"I know there is a genuine need for PBI in Papua and it saddens me greatly that we are no longer working there, as the Papuan NGO community is extremely isolated both geographically and politically, and PBI had a unique approach to supporting their work"

Ruth Veal, Former Volunteer and PBI Indonesia Training Coordinator

The organisations and individuals we worked with



Human rights defenders at a PBI roundtable event in Jakarta, 2010

Human rights defenders – courageous people who stand up for the rights and dignity of their communities because they believe in peace and justice for all – are at the heart of all we do at PBI. This report is dedicated to all the brave and committed people we worked with over eleven years, many of whom continue to work for human rights, justice and peace in Indonesia.

Organisations and individuals we worked with included:

East and West Timor

LAP Timoris (Timorese Organization for Advocacy and Research)
LAK MAS (Advocacy Institute on Civil and Societal Violence)
PIAR (Centre of People's Information Advocacy)
Truk-F (Flores Volunteers for Humanity)

Jakarta

PBHI (Indonesian Legal Aid and Human Rights Association)
Suciwati Munir
Sunspirit for Justice and Peace
Walhi (Indonesian Forum for the Environment)

Aceh

AI (Aceh Institute)
ALS (Aceh Leeh Sagoe)
APG (Aceh Peace Generation)
AMDA (Association of Medical Doctors of Asia)
CMC (Children's Media Center)
Darussalam Institute
Flower Aceh
FORPWAT (Forum for Women's Empowerment Central Aceh)
Koalisi NGO HAM (Coalition for Human Rights NGOs)
La Kaspia institute
LBH (Legal Aid Foundation)
LBH APIK (Legal Aid Foundation– Association of Indonesian Women for Justice)
LPL-HA (Aceh Institute for Defending the Environment and Human Rights).
PB HAM (Human Rights and Legal Aid Post)
PP HAM (Human Rights Monitoring Association)
RATA (Rehabilitation Action for Torture Victims in Aceh)
RPuK (Women's Volunteer Team for Humanity)
SPKP East Aceh (Fellowship for Solidarity with Human Rights Abuse Victims)
SPKP-HAM (Association of Victims of Human Rights Abuse)

Papua

BPP (Agency for Women's Empowerment)
BUK (United for Truth)
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FPPT (Forum of Central Highlands Women)
GKI (Evangelical Christian Church of Papua)
Humi Inane (Women's Voice)
JAPH&HAM (Advocacy Network for Upholding Law and Human Rights)
JPM (Mimika Women's Network)
KontraS Papua (Commission for Disappearances and Victims of Violence)
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YBAW (Walesi Indigenous Community Development Foundation)
YSBA (Space for Local Culture Foundation)

Flores

Yayasan Mitra Swadaya



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COVER PHOTO

PBI volunteer with partners in
Wamena on peace day, 2009.
Photo courtesy of Carole Reckinger.