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# Fearless Pursuit of Justice

## A Narrative of the Life and Work of Latifah Anum Siregar of Indonesia

By Stelet Kim, Peace Writer

Edited by Emiko Noma



### 2007 Women PeaceMakers Program

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The Women PeaceMakers Program is made possible by the Fred J. Hansen Foundation

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## **ABOUT THE WOMEN PEACEMAKERS PROGRAM**

Made possible through a generous grant from the Fred J. Hansen Foundation, the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice's (IPJ) Women PeaceMakers Program annually hosts four women from around the world who have been involved in human rights and peacemaking efforts in their countries.

Women on the frontline of efforts to end violence and secure a just peace seldom record their experiences, activities and insights – as generally there is no time, or, perhaps, no formal education that would help them record their stories. The Women PeaceMakers Program is a selective program for leaders who want to document, share and build upon their unique peacemaking stories. Selected peacemakers join the IPJ for an eight-week residency.

Women PeaceMakers are paired with a Peace Writer to document in written form their story of living in conflict and building peace in their communities and nations. The peacemakers' stories are also documented on film by the IPJ's partner organization Sun & Moon Vision Productions. While in residence at the institute, Women PeaceMakers give presentations on their work and the situation in their home countries to the university and San Diego communities.

The IPJ believes that women's stories go beyond headlines to capture the nuance of complex situations and expose the realities of gender-based violence, thus providing an understanding of conflict and an avenue to its transformation. The narrative stories of Women PeaceMakers not only provide this understanding, but also show the myriad ways women construct peace in the midst of and after violence and war. For the realization of peace with justice, the voices of women – those severely affected by violent conflict and struggling courageously and creatively to build community from the devastation – must be recorded, disseminated and spotlighted.<sup>1</sup>

**BIOGRAPHY OF A WOMAN PEACEMAKER –  
LATIFAH ANUM SIREGAR**

Latifah Anum Siregar is a human rights lawyer, the chairperson of the Alliance for Democracy in Papua (ALDP) and an expert at the Commission for Law and Human Rights of the parliament in Papua Province, Indonesia. Although her family is from a different island, speaks a different language and practices a different religion, Siregar is a trusted, effective advocate for peace, working within the complex tribal and migrant conflicts of Papua communities. Respected for her and ALDP's call to identify traditional laws, norms and values that could help settle land disputes, she has led the way to articulating these traditions in written law, which the Papuan indigenous people can now use to negotiate with the government and migrants in the search for peaceful solutions to land conflicts. During Siregar's student days in the early 1990s, she was the first woman chairperson of the Muslim Students Association; later in the decade she served as a member of the regional parliament in Papua Province. From 2003 to 2007 she was on the board of directors of Papua Women Solidarity; and from 2007 to 2011 she is serving as general secretary of the Papua Muslim Assembly.

## NARRATIVE STORIES

### It Never Goes Out

They trailed in, one after the other, and some in pairs. Irawan, characteristically, was first, leading his brothers and sisters by example. Second son Johan followed quickly thereafter, taking a seat next to Irawan. Then came Amirhamzah, brother number five, singing a song he was surely creating as he went along. Kori, her mother's helper, entered with 4-year-old Armaya holding her hand. Ferdinand, the sibling between Amirhamzah and Kori in age, came next, poking his mother in the side as he passed. And, as usual, jubilant shouting preceded the arrival of Abdul Rahman and Abdul Rahim, identical twins. Their exclamations – playful or combative – were a constant source of sound throughout the house.<sup>2</sup>

Amir Siregar sat at the far end of the table, as always silent and observant. Today, however, he wore a grand smile on his face instead of the stern expression that customarily accompanied his military uniform. Johana Latuperissa looked around at her family, pleased with the committee she helped form. Every one of her children resembled her husband: handsome, tall, slender, with smart noses, prominent cheekbones, large, kind eyes – and angles. She often teased her children for having octagonal faces – eight sides! So many angles! Johana herself was round. Although she could fool anyone with her perfect Bahasa Indonesian and Sumatran accent – for she had lived with Amir, from the Batak ethnic group, for 15 years on North Sumatra – her features were distinctively Maluku: dark skin and plump figure.<sup>3</sup> And like a traditional Maluku and Batak woman, she had worked very hard to raise thoughtful, conscientious, well-educated children. Irawan, the twins and the others had already surpassed the level of education she and her husband had achieved. Of this she was proud, but of the household democracy that existed in their home she was even prouder. Regardless of age, gender or religion, she taught her children every human being should be respected and his or her voice heard.

And so, as she started to speak, the chattering quickly subsided. “Remember, if they are even, I win. If they are odd, your father wins. Do we agree?” she asked.

The children all agreed, and her husband kept smiling.

Cradling her one-week-old baby girl to her chest, she tossed a handful of rice across the table; 18 hands clamored to count the grains. When they finished, the number was 195.

The smile on Amir's face turned triumphant, and the children's chatter resumed.

“What did you pick, *Ayah* [Father]?”

He replied, “Her name will be Latifah Anum, which is better than Fauzia, hmm? Too many are named Fauzia. Your sister is more special than this.”

“What does it mean, *Ayah*?”

“Latifah means wise and gentle in Arabic, and we will call her Anum. It means fire – like the fire taken by fishermen out to sea during the night when looking for fish for many days. Even when there are terrible storms, it stays bright. It never goes out.”

Johana smiled at her husband’s words. “Latifah Anum” also meant that her husband had just named their daughter after an ex-girlfriend. Kori, knowing this, leaned over and whispered, “*Mama*, aren’t you jealous?”

“No,” Johana replied, “I’m not jealous. I won, too! I have your father – my husband. I have you, I have your brothers and I have a beautiful new daughter. I am not jealous. I am very blessed.”

Anum, the first of the Siregar children born in Papua, would come to exemplify her name. With prudence and resilience, she would enter dangerous waters and light the area for those who tread there. But unlike the fishermen’s fire, she would not facilitate nor tolerate destruction of any kind. Her fire would illuminate injustice and fight for life.

### The Importance of Autonomy

It was in the summer of 1951, two years after the end of Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia, that Amir Siregar was sent from his hometown in Sumatra to Poso, in central Sulawesi. During his military tour of duty, he met young, vibrant Johana Latuperissa, and in the one month they courted, Amir became determined to marry her. He would certainly need determination, as well as persistence. Johana was an only child, raised devoutly Christian by her mother after the death of her father, while Amir had a regimented military background and Muslim upbringing. Their differences surpassed the respective cultures of their islands, and Johana's mother feared for her daughter's safety and well-being.

Amir showed his devotion through frequent visits and even more frequent letters, not only to Johana but to Johana's mother as well. When finally granted permission to marry her, he was told: "I give you my daughter, but you must promise to look after her, give her a good life and give her your heart. Until the end of your lives you must live happily together." Amir gave his word and took both women to North Sumatra Island, where they all lived together – a poor but good life – until his mother-in-law passed away 15 years later.

In 1964, two years after Papua was annexed to Indonesia,<sup>4</sup> Amir was sent to the area and had to leave behind his mother-in-law, his wife and their eight children. He returned to North Sumatra four years later, in 1968, to collect his family and relocate permanently to Papua. On their 2,600-mile journey, Johana was pregnant with a baby girl.



It was in Papua where Anum hid under the covers to read the works of Agatha Christie and Sydney Sheldon, despite her brothers' deriding that she was too young to appreciate the novels' intricacies. Her mother would always say, "If your brothers can do it, you can do it, too." Anum was quick to defend herself: "I can read novels, too! I can go hunting, too! I can make pancakes like Charlie Chaplin, too!"

It was in Papua where Anum first gained an interest in law, as her father was a military attorney and would bring papers back from court. Anum listened to him prepare his cases and practice his argumentation. She watched as he read confidential documents; she also heard her mother repeatedly warn him to do not as the military told him, but as he knew was right.

It was in Papua where Anum learned about her family history. Rather than fairytales and bedtime stories, the Siregar tradition was to tell stories about the family. Her father recounted:

When we were young, Grandmother prepared breakfast every morning before we went to school. She would prepare the meal and then prepare each plate exactly the same. The same fried rice, the same tea. Sometimes we would complain and say it was not enough. We were young and active! But grandmother would always say, 'Every plate is the same! Everyone is equal!' Maybe it was really because we were poor and didn't have enough food, but back then, we just saw it as equality.

And Anum’s mother would recite stories of her joy amid poverty, or more tales about family history and Anum’s childhood:

Our family was still living in Sumatra at the time, and your father had gone ahead to Papua. He was working very hard but could not send us very much money. I had to make money for us – myself and your seven brothers and one sister. So we bought bushels after bushels of corn at the markets and boiled them in big pots at home. Then I would take them in baskets to sell. They were very popular at the airports. With your brothers helping me, we could sell 60 at a time! Sometimes while I was boiling the corn at home, I would suddenly hear ‘*dum dum dum dum dum*’ near the house, like drumming, and that was the signal your brothers made to tell me the baskets were empty. When I heard that sound, I was very happy.

You know, there were no girls in the family before Kori. Many, many boys, and then Kori. So by the time she was born, your brothers all had scheduled chores. The boys even did some cooking! They had to cook, go to the garden, gather timber for fire. And after Kori was born, the boys had one more task to add to their schedules: hugging Kori. Kori always had to be held, so Ayah made sure that there was someone to hold Kori every hour of the day, and change her when she needed it. Boy, girl, it didn’t matter: In our family, everyone helps.

Anum, do you remember that day your brother came back from school early? You asked him what happened, and he said that his teacher sent him home for fighting with a friend. You talked to him to find out what happened. He confessed there was a fight, but that the teacher hadn’t allowed them to explain the situation. He asked that you, Anum, come to school to talk with his teacher, and you refused. You told him he could do it by himself, that he must try by himself and then ask for your help again if he was not successful. Even when you were very young, you always encouraged autonomy.

It was in Papua where Anum grew up hearing the native Papuans say to her family, “Why don’t you go back to Sumatra? You are not Papuan.” Typical migrant stereotypes were hurled at them: Javanese, Muslim, military, killer.<sup>5</sup> But her parents always insisted that “wherever you live is your place. And as you live there, you must respect everybody there.” The couple went against tradition and insisted on being laid to rest in Jayapura, the capital of Papua, when they die. “This is our home.”

It would be in Papua where Anum would eventually learn about the “Act of Free Choice,” known as PEPERA, that took place in Indonesia in 1969, a year after her birth, in which 1,025 delegates were chosen and subsequently blackmailed into unanimously voting against Papuan independence. The much-contested referendum would eventually serve as a critical backdrop for much of Anum’s work as a defender of human rights in Papua, as well as a formative influence on her own identity.



### A Rising Sun

In November of 1991, the Soviet Union was separating into independent states following the official end of the Cold War. East Timor, at the time a territory of Indonesia, was trembling from the massacre of over 100 civilians who were mourning the death of a leader and protesting Indonesian rule. President Suharto, in Jakarta, was fighting increased scrutiny over violations of human rights by the military and his dictatorial regime. And at the Faculty of Law of the University of Cenderawasih in Jayapura, Papua, a fourth-year student was again prominently missing from class.

A friend telephoned her in the evening. “Anum, don’t you want to graduate?” he asked. “You only get six years.”

“Yes, of course!” Anum answered. “I’m just very busy.”

And she was. While on the phone, she was packing her books and setting out for the beautiful shores of a Papuan village. The majesty of this place did not diminish despite her monthly visits and extended stays. And neither did the enthusiasm of the village women, who knew nothing of *Pusat Peranserta Masyarakat*, the Center for People Participation<sup>6</sup> – the organization that brought this migrant woman here – but relished the knowledge and spirit Anum brought from the city. Workshops on gender-based violence, income generation and subsistence agriculture greatly enhanced their daily lives without compromising their traditions.

On her previous visit, Anum had come with a nurse and a doctor to explain the nutritional value of various foods and the importance of a healthy diet, especially for children and pregnant mothers. The villagers had been selling their best produce in the markets and eating the spoiled foods at home, resulting in many sicknesses. In the highland villages, women would sell soybeans for mere *rupiahs*,<sup>7</sup> then buy tofu at a very high price, not realizing they could make tofu from their beans. Anum wanted to raise the consciousness of the people at all levels and enable them to live healthfully, earn income and educate their children past the elementary grades.

Nutrition and income lessons, however, were for Anum couched in a greater concern – that of human rights.

“Papuan love pinang [betel nut], this I know,” she told her audience. “You eat pinang in the morning before eating breakfast, again between breakfast and lunch, then after dinner and before going to sleep. *Papuans* love pinang, not migrants. Why are you selling pinang to the migrants?”

“They help us, Anum,” they responded. “When we come onshore and have heavy bags full of pinang, they help us to carry them.”

“Say no!” Anum insisted vehemently. “They are not helping you. They are brokers. They buy pinang from you for 50,000 rupiahs, and sell for 200,000 rupiahs – right back to Papuans! This is not fair to you!”

Perpetually worried that the indigenous people of Papua were being exploited, Anum used her “extra” hours to read, teach and advocate. What she learned about people, about injustice and about inequality she learned outside of the classroom. Her law school teachers eschewed discussions

and ignored questions, and the textbooks were of poor quality. Anum believed she could learn much more and give much more through work in the community.

Extracurricular activities kept her constantly engaged. When she returned from the village a few days later, she had only a few hours to rush to the radio station where she worked part-time as an announcer. Using her strong, clear voice and playful manner, she animatedly read scripts and relayed promotions and events to the listeners of Indonesian Public Radio. And across town at the People's Theatre of the Papuan Art Council, Anum acted in plays about Indonesia's decolonization process, Indonesian heroes and the Papuan struggle. On the final night of the council's annual three-day festival, her troupe won second place for its portrayal of a traditional story about Papuan culture and mediation of tribal war. In front of an audience of over 300 people, Anum won Best Actress of the festival.

She arrived home to the telephone ringing.

"Anum! What about your studies? Your GPA [grade point average] is not good!" her friend cried.

"I don't care about my GPA! It's not important!" she replied.

What was important to Anum was to continue to fight for justice for all people. She graduated from the Faculty of Law in 1993, the same year she became the first female chairperson of the Islamic Student Association of Papua. When her eligibility for candidacy was disputed, as no other female had ever held this high post, she publicly stated, "The sun rises in the east. Change starts in the east."

### Incubation

Anum let herself lean against the counter to ease the weight on her feet and looked at the large clock on the opposite side of the bank. It was a merciless clock face, keeping monotonous rhythm. She arrived at seven in the morning, as she did every day, and would not leave until long past dark. She bemoaned the day the phone rang nine months before, the cheerful voice at the other end offering the position she had forgotten she applied for. She wished they had forgotten, too.

Some days were tolerable, but today was not. There was no site visit to appraise property, no clients to meet to discuss loan options. Worse still, there was no lunch meeting of student activists – her frequent midday escape. Worst of all, today she was working as a cashier, mindlessly handling checks and rupiahs. A customer walked in and Anum counted his deposit to the beat of the tick-tock machine.

It was the last nearly wordless exchange Anum would experience at the bank. That night, arriving home exhausted – from inactivity rather than exertion – she decided to develop a plan to reignite her passion. Anum left the bank, took her license to become a lawyer, and was reborn – as Papua’s youngest senator.



Her 500th day at the office was much like her first. Colleagues in the Regional Parliament of Papua Province (DPRD/DPRP) expressed their distaste that Anum was not a member of the leading Golkar political party at present nor had she been in the past. Neither was she a daughter of a senator or general, nor a prominent donor to the party. She was young, new and politically inexperienced, and thus had to constantly defend her qualifications and aptitude. Her leadership of Muslim students, her community activism and the favor of the military commander due to her father’s service notwithstanding, Anum fought against malicious whispers of bribery, sexual indiscretion and special treatment.

While enduring this hostile environment, Anum also quickly grew frustrated with the formalities and procedures of the political process – spending more time waiting than talking, deciding without discussing. On too many occasions, proposals would come to the table but never be read. One in particular made Anum seethe: A joint development fund between Indonesia and the United Nations had enabled companies to employ many local Papuans in small business endeavors. When one large company went bankrupt, local fishermen and women batik-makers lost their sole means of livelihood, along with their small boats, machinery and other equipment.

Anum asked one of her fellow commission members, “What about the workers’ rights? What about their lives?” But she was cut short by her superior.

“We’ll talk later. I’m very busy.”

So Anum spent much time waiting and little time talking. She found most senators unreliable and inconsistent; some would arrive at 11 a.m., some at 2, coming and going as they pleased. She witnessed deal-brokering with corporations and corruption from all sides. Further, the military domination of the Suharto era meant that one had to be extremely careful in voicing dissent.<sup>8</sup>

Feeling hampered by her inability to act, much like her time at the bank, Anum left the parliament at the end of her two-year term and vowed not to return until the system was better.

### Intimidation

Four years later, in 2004, Anum felt waves of disgust of a very different kind.

But it was still a familiar feeling: a sudden movement in her stomach not unlike one from two months ago. That morning, she had been in this very spot, surveying the damage to her office. Files were strewn about, drawers open, computer gone. She remembered most of all a thick odor – fuel spilled all over the floor, creeping toward her feet. At once relieved for its unemployment and terrified at the alternative, she didn't know whether to start cleaning or flee. Her fight instinct kicked in. She cleaned.

Her floor was clear now, however, save for the visitors. From her office window, she eyed the six men in her waiting room.

“Who did you say they were?” Anum asked her colleague Mira.

“They said they're students,” Mira replied. “From Java.”

Warily, Anum followed Mira out. As they approached, she could see from their weathered faces and fully developed bodies that they were not students. Four men sat silently on one bench, and two opposite them. Mira and Anum evened the rows. The man on Mira's left side spoke.

“Hello. We are students at the university and we were wondering if you would be interested in buying some perfume?”

Anum's skepticism grew. He was at least 30 years old. They carried no materials or bags, and wore serious expressions. Outside, there were two more men beside several motorcycles and two minivans.

“Who are you, again?” she asked.

The leader motioned to a man across from him, and was handed a letter. “Here. We are from OPM.”<sup>9</sup>

Anum scanned the letter quickly for mention of OPM, a separatist group seeking Papua's independence from Indonesia, but none appeared. Clearly these men thought themselves clever, daring to use a name so close to one they most certainly despised. Were they mocking her? As she read, wondering what to do, the man asked casually, “By the way, who is Anum?”

She froze, but answered calmly. “I am.”

“Oh!” he said, motioning to her. “Everyone, this is Anum.”

He smiled slightly then and insisted they move into the meeting room to sample the perfumes. Afraid they were poisoned with opium, if they even existed, Anum again declined and excused herself to take a phone call. Instead, she returned to her office and escaped quietly through a back door.

Making sure she could not be seen from the road where the other men waited, she took a moment to think. People knew her name through frequent newspaper articles and television interviews.<sup>10</sup> Everybody knew of Anum, advocate of the people. They would stop her on buses, at the market on weekends with her sister: “Are you Anum? You helped my people! Thank you!” But these strangers did not need her help. Moreover, they came during an exceedingly rare quiet moment at the ALDP office. The bad feeling signaling her again, Anum knew something was not right. They must have been watching.

Should she have fled to the Dutch or American embassy two months ago, as friends had suggested? They have mechanisms to protect human rights defenders. Should she have been bolder and demanded to know the men’s true affiliation? Earlier that year, she and ALDP had released their report on human rights violations, including military and police torture of civilians.<sup>11</sup> Should she have retracted the report as the *Pangdam*, or military chief, had demanded in a “letter of warning,” claiming the report did not meet the standards of academic research? If she had paid the money and made the public statement, would her office not have been ransacked, these men not come again? But she knew what she and the ALDP published was based on facts.

Recalling the report and the abuses broke her spell of doubt. “How is she so brave?” people had spoken of her. Not brave, she remembered – angry. Angry, she thought, but not foolish. She lifted the flimsy barbed wire fence, which the police had erected to keep student demonstrations controlled, moved past the bushes and made her way to a neighboring NGO office. There she called and asked a friend to join her and Mira at ALDP.

By the time the friend arrived, the men had gone. They would not come again, but soon, daily threats would begin.



Indonesia’s long history of human rights abuses dates back to the colonial past, but the abuse intensified during the 31-year dictatorship of President Suharto. During his reign, the military regularly turned to violence in pursuit of economic interests, especially in the resource-rich region of Papua.

Just before Suharto, a high-ranking military leader, took power after the reign of Sukarno, he oversaw the killing of up to 1 million civilians during a campaign against the Communist party in Indonesia. Many remember this as the beginning of Suharto’s “New Order” regime, during which countless individuals were arrested and imprisoned without trial, and a nationalistic ethic set in. Throughout his presidency, Suharto used the military to squelch civil society, independent institutions and perceived rebellions; meanwhile, corruption at the political and economic levels reigned free in a culture of patronage and impunity.

Suharto’s vice president, B.J. Habibie, took over in 1998, after the economy had crashed and as anti-government sentiments mounted, but he was unable to temper the powerful military. In 1999, Muslim cleric Abdurrahman Wahid was elected president; he was respected by many human rights defenders for his pluralist, humanitarian approach. Unfortunately, his efforts to separate the police and military were condemned by the military, who believed he was far too accommodating to separatist movements in Aceh and Papua.<sup>12</sup> Wahid had established a national *ad hoc* court for state-

controlled investigations of human rights violations, which, while not of international court value, exceeded previous measures to assure safety and justice. When his attempts to disband the Golkar political party and the parliament failed in 2001, however, his vice president, Megawati Soekarnoputri, pushed Wahid out of office.

Under Megawati, human rights abuses escalated to a startling degree. The number of internally displaced persons swelled and journalists quickly became targets. Though some concessions concerning Papua were made in the Special Autonomy Law of 2001,<sup>13</sup> government strategies for dealing with the region became even harsher.

Rather than using direct force, the government – under both Megawati and her successor, current president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono – employs what Anum has experienced as indirect repression through intimidation of human rights defenders working to reclaim rights and power for the people. The occurrences of arbitrary detentions and arrests, abductions, disappearances, seizure of property and razing of houses have increased and even transformed into actual cases of torture and murder of human rights defenders. In late 2004, ALDP and the Office for Justice and Peace of the Diocese of Jayapura contacted the Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM), who neglected to take action on these abuses.<sup>14</sup> After more incidents and complaints, Hina Jilani, the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the situation of human rights defenders, was alerted to the urgency of the crimes. She traveled to Indonesia on an official mission in June 2007 to assess the situation, thereafter issuing a report stating that of the human rights violations in Jakarta, Jayapura and Aceh, the violations in Jayapura were the most pronounced. Despite the establishment of various measures intended to improve the situation of human rights in Indonesia, an institutional culture of apathy and disorganization have disabled agencies, thereby preventing them from eliminating impunity for human rights abuses.

Similar to ALDP's findings on violations in five Papuan regencies between 1995 and 2001,<sup>15</sup> Jilani's report indicated that it is often the aim of police, the military and other security and intelligence agencies to harass and intimidate defenders or "to restrict their access to victims and to sites of human rights violations."<sup>16</sup> When defenders themselves have lodged complaints of harassment or intimidation, they are denied and further threatened. Jilani also noted that "when defenders expose abuse of authority or other forms of human rights violations committed by the security apparatus, they are labeled as separatists in order to undermine their credibility."<sup>17</sup>



After the incident at her office in 2004, long before Jilani's mission and report, Anum's friends and colleagues continued to urge her to leave Papua or seek refuge at a Dutch or American embassy where she would have protection. She resolutely declined: Who then would work to protect the rights of the Papuan people?

Days later she received a text message on her mobile phone from an unknown number. It read: "The person who reads this message will be killed without interference of the court." The phone, originally intended to facilitate the reporting of human rights abuses by allowing citizens direct contact with a human rights defender, was now a hijacked vehicle through which to terrorize Anum and her fellow colleagues.

Anum was a known advocate for the promotion of Papuan customary law (as an alternative to Dutch colonial law or Indonesian law) and the people's right to a Papuan national flag and song. Although the "Morning Star" flag was briefly allowed to fly in 1999 under the presidency of Wahid, both the flag and song were considered by the government to be symbols of the separatist movement. Anyone who flew the flag or advocated on behalf of those who did were deemed traitorous separatists, worthy of "removal." Messages to Anum's phone demonstrated this position: "Anum, we know you. Everybody knows you. The government knows you. The military knows you. You're OPM. You're a separatist." They researched her background and attempted to manipulate her religious beliefs: "As a Muslim you are obliged to observe Ramadan. What of your obligation to your government?"

The daily messages continued to grow increasingly personal in nature. Messages were sent to Anum's friends accusing her of bribing the police and other unscrupulous behavior. They read, "If you go to [such-and-such] hotel now, you can find Anum making love with ..." with names inserted of various human rights defenders. Anum and her colleagues would often discuss a plan of action, but disagree on the best course. Most would retaliate with combative messages, only receiving more as a result. Anum insisted that ignoring the provocation was the only way to continue both work and life. "If you stop working, they win," she told them. "They try to kill your character, your personality, your integrity. But don't let them control your activity." Fear, she realized, would only enable the instigators and ensure their success. Instead, she used anger as her catalyst. Her and her colleagues' compromised safety and the unethical intimidation methods used by the government only propelled her to work harder to fight human rights violations.



## Torture

Blunt trauma, suspension, prolonged constraint, electric shock, asphyxiation, drowning, sexual violence, crushing, stabbing. Wires under the nails, gasoline in wounds, cigarette burns, scalding liquids, toxic doses of pharmaceuticals, stretching limbs apart, breaking or extracting of teeth. Deprivation of sensory stimulation and restriction of sleep, food, water, toilet facilitations, bathing and medical care. Loss of contact with the outside world, humiliation, threats of death, harm to family, attack by dogs, rats or scorpions, forced violation of taboos, behavioral coercion, forced witness of torture on others.

Each of these actions is considered torture under the United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. The official U.N. definition of torture is “intentional infliction of severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental ... when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity.”<sup>18</sup> Despite numerous international laws and conventions against it, torture by police and military of both criminal suspects and innocent civilians is common in Indonesia. Though the country is a member of the U.N. Human Rights Council and has ratified the Convention Against Torture, torture is not a punishable offense under the Indonesian Penal Code, and perpetrators of abuse are rarely brought to trial. This deficiency in the legal system facilitates the indifference and negligence with regard to acts of torture and other cruel treatment by police, judicial officers and the national government. The cases that are reported and investigated rarely lead to disciplinary action.

In 2003, nine men were accused of attacking a military base in Wamena, Papua, killing two military officers and stealing a cache of weapons. When police could not find the suspects, nine men were arrested at random and taken to Sulawesi in 2005, thousands of miles from where the incident occurred and where the case was to be held. Anum, who represented the wrongfully accused, was not notified of the men’s removal from the island. Angered at the underhanded actions, Anum flew to Jakarta to demand the prisoners’ return. Prolonged negotiations were unfruitful, and Anum flew back to Jayapura to work on the case. In 2007, two long years later, three of the nine men were allowed to return to Papua.

In August of that same year, one of Anum’s clients, still in the Sulawesi prison, fell suddenly ill. Anum made the two-day trip to meet with the prison doctor, who told her only that her client was in grave health. She found him barely conscious, hooked up to a maze of intravenous tubes and oxygen. During Anum’s return trip to Jayapura to talk to the human rights commission about his condition, her client died. Outraged that he had suffered to the point of death without the assistance of legal counsel or care from family members, Anum spent the next three sleepless days conducting her own investigation and making reports to the commission. Unable to obtain any further information from the prison doctors, she did the only thing she could to help: take her client’s body back to his hometown of Wamena, returning him to his family.

Back in Papua, Anum and the commission made a stream of public statements in the newspaper and on television about the conditions in jail and the likelihood of torture. The immediate action of removing prisoners from familiar surroundings and people, such as taking indigenous Papuans to distant south Sulawesi where there are no other Papuans, serves to sever communication and often causes deep psychological trauma and illness. The relentless statements

and demands granted Anum a meeting with the head of prisons in Sulawesi, who agreed to work with the Department of Law in Jakarta. After months of investigation, the department determined that the removal of the prisoners to Sulawesi was without grounds, and made a formal recommendation that those remaining be sent back to Papua. Revealing descriptions and photographs of the wretched prison conditions also led to an overhaul of many facilities. But for Anum's client, the negotiations took too long and it was too late to prove that he was tortured. When the letter from the department arrived in Papua, Anum was returning from the burial ceremony in Wamena.



The prevalence of human rights violations in Indonesia has begun to enter the public sphere, thanks to international nongovernmental and media organizations, and the tireless work of local organizations like ALDP. On Nov. 12, 2007, the ALDP and its national partner, the Institute for Policy Research and Advocacy (ELSAM), held a round-table event in Jakarta on the implementation of the U.N. Convention Against Torture and the ratification of the Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture,<sup>19</sup> on the occasion of the visit to Indonesia of the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Torture, Manfred Nowak.<sup>20</sup>

ALDP, for its part, is involved in periodic training of trainers for assisting survivors of torture. They teach locals in the villages to become counselors and have created a database for documenting torture in areas of high violence as well as oft-targeted student dormitories. ALDP is also a member of the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims (IRCT) network, which represents an international movement against torture and for victims.

## Theys

She could see the wreckage from hundreds of yards away. The car was crushed to nearly half its length. As Anum neared, she saw a motionless body in the vehicle. She knew it was Theys.

Policemen, soldiers and government officials – all-too-familiar faces – stood by. They gave her no resistance as she walked straight through their huddles to the car. The driver was slumped over the steering wheel, outstretched arms swallowed by the dashboard. Theys' sizeable body was upright but twisted, as if he could not decide to go left or right. His arms were strangely positioned behind his back. His tongue hung out of his mouth. Anum turned away, grieving – and livid.

Before long, riots began in the migrant markets and spread around the city, preventing Theys' wife and son from getting to the hospital. Fires and tempers raged at the apparent murder of a beloved local leader. Theys' family called Anum to ask her to sign the necessary papers at the hospital and permit the autopsy, and she consented – not as a lawyer, but as a friend too. Having on multiple occasions visited an injured or ill Theys, Anum signed, thinking at least it would be the last day her friend would spend inside a stark hospital room.

A week passed before Anum was called in for the autopsy. When she arrived, the place was in chaos. Lawyers, doctors, nurses and police were milling about, cameras were clicking and clacking – and Theys' heart was missing.

Anum was not surprised. Newspapers reported that the heart was taken to a special laboratory in Jakarta to determine the cause of death, but the head doctor at the local hospital was frantic, confused, afraid. The night before, Theys' wife had dreamed that Theys was calling to her, begging, “Don't take my heart ...”



The story of Papua cannot be told without telling of Papuan leader Theys Hiyo Eluay. Admirers called him a hero, enemies a traitor. He was a mysterious figure until the day of his death – even the circumstances of his murder remain shrouded in mystery.

Theys came into the public eye as leader of the Sentani tribe, one of the roughly 260 tribes of Papua. The government sought his help in the Sentani region, where the state was not well-regarded because of a history of violence perpetrated by the Indonesian army. In the early 1960s, over 15,000 people were killed in attempts to suppress pro-Dutch or anti-Indonesian sentiments. Thereafter, Theys was chosen as a delegate in the 1969 Act of Free Choice that established Indonesian integration over Papuan independence. He, along with 1,024 others, unanimously voted in favor of Papua becoming part of Indonesia. But after 15 years in the provincial parliament, he began to support the Papuan movement for independence, fearlessly critiquing government policies and demanding sovereignty for Papua and its people.

Decades of violence related to the suppression of the Papuan movement led to the formation of the Forum for the Reconciliation of the Irian Jaya Society (FORERI) in 1998. FORERI was made up of *adat*, or customary, leaders, representatives of women's organizations, activists, students, religious leaders and intellectuals who vowed to pursue an autonomous state

through peaceful means and insisted that Papuans be included in political processes. Heeding FORERI's request, Papuans, provincial government officials, parliament members and staff of the State Secretariat in Jakarta held months of meetings to discuss Papua's status, including the "Great Debate" of February 2000, held to explore the future of Papua and strategies for gaining independence. Theys was a prominent figure at these meetings.

Following up on issues raised during the February meeting, the highly anticipated Second Papuan Congress took place from May 29 to June 1, 2000,<sup>21</sup> and received support and financial backing from President Wahid. The congress formally established the Papuan Presidium Council (PDP), and chose Theys to lead them. The congress also produced resolutions denouncing the 1962 New York Agreement, rejecting the Act of Free Choice and demanding that Indonesia, the Netherlands, the United States and the United Nations recognize the political rights and sovereignty of Papua. These foreign and international bodies were asked to revisit the process by which Indonesia annexed West Papua and to convey their findings on Dec. 1, 2000, the anniversary of the original declaration of Papuan independence in 1961.

Following the meeting, the central government in Jakarta condemned the congress and its actions and many criticized President Wahid, who during his administration had allowed the region's name change from Irian Jaya to Papua and permitted the raising of the Morning Star flag. Despite Wahid's efforts, police continued to slaughter unarmed civilians at these events and terrorize Papuans in their own homes. Two thousand mobile police brigades arrived in the territory after the congress, and on Nov. 28, 2000, six Papuan Congress organizers were detained on treason charges: PDP Secretary General Thaha Alhamid, members Don Flassy, John Mambor and Father Herman Awom, and leader Theys H. Eluay.



Anum visited Theys and the other men in jail every day for almost four months. As Christmas neared, the hopes of the prisoners dared to rise. When Theys asked Anum to tell his wife to bring a Christmas tree, the head of the jail said, "Oh, don't worry, by Christmas you'll be in your own house!" Father Awom's wife called Anum, begging, "Oh, Anum, please help us. Why are they still in jail? We must have Christmas together, hold hands and pray together, but my husband only gives me his hand through the bars in silence. Please bring him home." Christmas came and went, and the men remained in detention despite Anum's repeated requests for their release.

President Wahid's request to Coordinating Minister for Political, Social and Security Affairs Yudhoyono<sup>22</sup> and Papua Police Chief Brigadier General Sylvanus Wenas to immediately release leaders of the PDP was also rejected. President Wahid announced he would arrive in Jayapura, which lies two hours ahead of Java, on December 31 to see the first sunrise of the new century. He beseeched Theys to recognize Indonesia and he would release him. Through Anum, Theys replied that he would no longer bargain with the government. Sending his apologies to the people, he said he would cease to make the mistakes of his past.

Five months later, before the court proceedings were to begin on May 14, 2001, Theys was transferred to house arrest, but the case dragged on through the year.



President Wahid was forced out of office in July 2001 and replaced with his vice president, Megawati. She oversaw the passage of controversial legislation concerning Papua: The Special Autonomy law passed in November 2001 was an effort to right many wrongs regarding Papua. The law established the Papuan People's Assembly (*Majelis Rakyat Papua*, or MRP), composed of religious, adat and women's leaders, to be consulted regarding the division of the province and the review of candidates for governor and vice governor. The law also called for an increased share of revenues from Papua's natural resources to be returned to the province, and that a truth, justice and reconciliation process be established. Papuans, however, were skeptical of the law, equating it with 1969's Act of Free Choice; many, including Theys, argued that Papuans were not struggling for autonomy, but for full independence. He and other executive members of the PDP firmly rejected the law when it was ratified in Jakarta on Oct. 20, 2001. They would no longer compromise.



On the evening of Nov. 9, 2001, Col. Hartomo, leader of the local contingent of Kopassus, or the Indonesian Special Forces, went to Theys' home, along with members of Kopassus. As usual, Theys' wife prepared an array of delicious dishes to serve her guests. Col. Hartomo extended a personal invitation to Theys to attend a party the following evening at the Kopassus base, in honor of Indonesian Heroes' Day. Before leaving Theys' house, the colonel also gave Theys a white shirt.

The next evening after a meeting of the PDP, Aristoteles Masoka, known as Ari, drove Theys to the Kopassus base. When they left the party around dusk, a black van and several motorcycles followed. The van collided into Theys' car, trying to run it off the road. Two men grabbed Ari by the shirt and pushed him to the ground. One took the driver's seat, and the other climbed in the back. Ari clung to the steering wheel as the driver sped off, and was dragged 50 meters before his grip gave way. He watched from the ground as the vehicle carrying Theys became smaller and smaller in the distance, motorcycles and cars following in its dust.

Back at the Kopassus base and the party, the young Ari limped into the kitchen, bloodied and crying. He called Theys' wife to inform her of the kidnapping. Witnesses say they saw soldiers take him away as he screamed, "Why did you kill my boss? Why did you kill Theys?" Since then, no one has seen Ari, Theys' faithful 23-year-old assistant.

On November 11, ALDP, along with several newspapers, published a story that members of Kopassus had killed Theys. Col. Hartomo, in a press conference, declared he had no knowledge of or involvement whatsoever in Theys' death. Several full investigations were promptly launched, while thousands mourned the death of a leader.

The autopsy concluded that Theys' death was "unnatural" and that he died by strangulation. A prominent human rights organization in Papua, the Institute for Human Rights and Advocacy (ELSHAM), for their part, uncovered an elaborate scheme by Indonesian political and security forces to kidnap and kill Theys Eluay. According to their report, the government mounted a night curfew several weeks before the abduction, in villages between Jayapura and the murder site, sent out military patrols and kept people indoors in the week before Heroes' Day, while giving uncontested passage through military and police posts for the abductors the night of November 10.

Rumors were spread via the daily newspaper of a “Dracula” figure appearing in Jayapura at night, a ploy used to incite fear among the population.<sup>23</sup>

The investigation of suspected Kopassus officers, however, ended in general impunity. A judge maintained that no evidence of national-level involvement or political conspiracy was found, though two members of the investigating commission claimed that Theys’ abductors were paid. The suspects, including Col. Hartomo, who were tried in a military tribunal rather than a civilian court, were all but proclaimed innocent. The murder was labeled an “incident” rather than a state crime or crime against humanity, and the Kopassus soldiers were charged only with insubordination and murder. Col. Hartomo was sentenced to three-and-a-half years in jail for his role in the killing.

One week after Theys’ burial, Thaha Alhamid and Father Herman Awom (both arrested with Theys in 2000<sup>24</sup>), Theys’ son Boy Eluay and witnesses to Theys’ murder began receiving death threats by phone and were followed by members of Kopassus. As these intimidation tactics and harassment continued, Anum, as legal counsel in Theys’ case, repeatedly advocated for greater protection for political activists. Little came.



Anum remembers colors flying through the air, the scent of all the flowers. She looked on in wonder at the line stretching at least 10 kilometers long. From the first man at 9 in the morning to the final few at sunset, mourners carried flowers, sweets and tokens of remembrance while they marched for miles in honor of Theys. Theys, who had spent his days among the people. He used to walk through towns and villages and be greeted by all – both migrants and Papuan merchants in the local markets, who were being pushed from place to place as the government built newer, bigger, more exclusive and distant markets. Students would approach him in the street or even visit him at home. “Father,” one would say, “I would like to go to Jakarta for a student conference.” He was known to take students by motorcycle to the airport, pay their way and demand that they be put at the top of the waiting list. “This is important!” he’d bellow. “The students are our future!” He would empty his pockets while talking to low-level policemen who protected the people, to men walking miles in the streets unable to afford a taxi, to human rights defenders who had not had lunch. Thanks to Theys, the Papuan people reclaimed a common identity despite being of ethnically and linguistically diverse tribes. Using prayer rather than weapons, the people became more united under Theys’ leadership.

But as Theys’ lifeless body was driven through the streets, the police captain paced, fearful mass violence would erupt. But the people walked in silence, and in peace. Anum watched as Theys’ followers threw flowers onto the car, creating streaming rainbows in the sky.

### Protest

As soon as she received the phone call, Anum hurriedly left the courtroom and headed to the center of Jayapura. “There is trouble,” said her colleague Iwan. “They’re coming.”

She looked at her watch as she hailed a taxi: noon, Aug. 17, 2004. Here we go again.

Speeding past the bank, the military barracks, DPRD offices and the markets, Anum could just make out the blurs through the spaces between structures. As on August 1 and August 12, bulldozers, trucks and soldiers were standing at attention, ready to cross the bridge on command. She could also make out the mass of people gathered on the other side of the river. Asking the driver to hurry, she kept swallowing the knots of dread in her throat.

Primarily from the island of Sulawesi, the migrant community now camped on the south side of the Anafre River was frantic with fear and confusion. Anum entered a house where she found the young people incensed – after months of unified resistance and two successful nonviolence protests, there had been a betrayal by the elders of their community. Upon government invitation, the elders had gone to the mayoral office and conceded what was left of their rights: their land. Anum had tried to warn the elders that the government had promised new markets and new homes decades before, but instead constructed corporate buildings and rental properties for the business elite. The newer population frequented stores in new malls, not traditional outdoor markets. And the largely uneducated Sulawesi migrants were considered a nuisance in the geographically desirable and quickly developing region. Day after day they were kicked out of the thriving areas on the north side. They were threatened with guns and blasted with fire hoses as if a menacing or repellent presence. Dizzied by blueprint designs of a four-story market and complicated contractual language, the elders were easily coaxed into concessions Anum warned them not to make.

But now she was worried: The hundreds of women and children protesting in front of their homes were determined to show physical and symbolic resistance to flawed Indonesian law. During months of discussion with the migrant groups, she had answered questions of the young and emboldened and tried to counsel the old and weary, explaining that a bargaining position should only be taken when both sides have roughly equal positions, lest the stronger side take advantage. Anum had also reminded them that the military could shoot and many people would die. In the end, just prior to the August 1 government-imposed deadline to evacuate the area, the community had decided that their women and children would stand against the move. They succeeded two times; today would mark the third.

And so these hundreds of women and children remained in front of their homes, hand in hand. They felt the rumblings of the vehicles beginning their mission across the river. They watched the two bulldozers pass behind the buildings in the city, then two trucks full of troops, then two trucks full of police. They heard the clank of rifles against metal marching across the bridge. As the troops approached, Anum suddenly became aware of all the eyes: from the sidelines, from across the river, stopping on their motorcycles, watching from atop the mountains. The people paused in the midst of their daily routines looked to Anum like a movie scene, this climax their entertainment. Though twice before the bulldozers retreated, this time the human barricade was stripped – by its own people – of its only leverage: the land. Thousands of spectators heard the screams as the steel yellow claws lowered, showing no sign of mercy.



When the Dutch arrived in Indonesia in the 17th century, rather than take ownership of the land, they initially rented from the indigenous land owners. After colonization ended and Indonesians came to Papua, they proceeded to take over every building, dormitory and airport, believing the land had been purchased by the Dutch. Today, many indigenous people of Papua and those in the migrant community are clients involved in land rights cases, which organizations like Anum's defend.

In the case of the land south of the Anafre River, Anum and her colleagues represented the migrant community in 2004. They approached the government to seek proof of land ownership, showing them a map from the Dutch colonial era that demonstrated the land's history, as well as official contracts migrants had received when they purchased or rented land from the indigenous people in the 1970s. The government was not able to produce any such proof, instead showing letters that stated: "This land belongs to ..." without legitimizing any transaction between the government and indigenous people. Months later, they produced what appeared to be documentation of a transaction, which upon further inspection were falsified.

Despite the fact that Anum and ALDP had all papers necessary to prosecute the state, the court ruled in favor of the government on grounds of insufficient evidence.



The migrant community had been ill-treated and misguided in the years preceding the evacuation and ultimate destruction of their homes. Anum saw the injustice of the migrants' situation and was dismayed at the mistreatment. They posed no harm in the markets or problems in their living environs. They paid their electric and water bills on time every month and met their obligations to the government as respectful citizens. The government, however, did not meet its obligation to the people. It was not a Papuan versus migrant conflict, as many believed and as the government tried to manipulate it, but a simple matter of justice.

Some of the elders have returned to the city to sell textiles in the markets in the years since the evacuation and destruction of their homes, and Anum often sees them on the steps of buildings or crouching in street corners. The old men avoid eye contact, ashamed to have bargained away their homes and put the lives of their families in danger – the wives, daughters, sisters and grandchildren who still see a giant screeching yellow claw in their sleep.



### Rules of War and *Para Para Adat*

Papua's largest tribe, the Biak, resides on the island's lush northern coast, harboring a rich culture of customary traditions. Ethnically and linguistically distinct from each of the other 260 indigenous tribes in Papua, the Biak divide their rule according to function: one family might be in charge of economic affairs, another ecosystems, law, mediation or war.

The rule of war is guarded closely and is much honored by opposing sides. Conflicts that occur do not begin with outright attack, but rather with discussion. A spokesman from each side helps negotiate the time, place, weapon choice, number of participants, logistics. When plans have been agreed upon, the sides return to their respective villages.

Dancing marks the start of war. Dancers run in a large circle, chanting and wailing, often carrying bows and arrows and displaying their prowess to the spirits of war. If, however, the circle is made up of women, the war cannot begin. Instead of provocation, their dance is protest.

If war commences, the previously determined rules are followed. Breaks can be had for lunch or rest, with women preparing meals for all. The war cannot end until the number of victims is equal on each side. If it is not, the sides have another option: give one woman to their rivals in exchange for one of the dead. In this way, the woman is then revered with the status of peacemaker. Once joined with the other tribe, the woman marries into the new tribe, bears children, and thus creates the next generation of peaceful coexistence.



Before – or instead of – war, many tribes used to make use of *para para adat*, or a customary talking room. Sometimes called a *honei* or a *baik*, these rooms had but one purpose: talking. A compass point sat in the center, with four large holes in the ground for fires at the north, south, east and west orientations. The fires brought the spirits for fruitful discussion. One individual representing each tribe sat in a circle on the floor and talked, sometimes for days, until an agreement was reached.

The concept of *para para adat* has been adapted in the modern day, with many organizations and even the national government holding *para para adat* meetings in hotels and conference venues to discuss policy and legal matters. Indigenous Papuans who live in the highlands, however, far in both distance and customs from modern civilization, live by their own rule of law.

Anum and ALDP have for several years been working to codify customary law. Taking lengthy trips into seven villages, sometimes accompanied by anthropologists, customary leaders, experts in customary law and always local volunteers, ALDP has compiled hundreds of pages of original documentation of indigenous practices. From different names for different types of marriages, to burglary committed during the day or during the night, to important gestures,<sup>25</sup> the codification process seeks to capture the expressiveness and richness of oral and gestural Papuan culture. ALDP has just completed the first drafts of two volumes: *Criminal Customary Law* and *Private Customary Law*, which Anum hopes will not only be valuable in its preservation of indigenous cultures, but also useful as teaching tools for understanding the frequently marginalized and manipulated populations.



When Anum returned to one of the highland villages one afternoon with her team, she was greeted with an elaborate presentation of song, dance and food. At the center of the long, hand-carved wooden table sat a large roasted pig, ornately decorated with colorful fruits and vegetables. The celebration stopped short when the tribal leader realized his mistake. Anum and her friends, all Muslim, would not be able to partake in the generous offerings. The leader was greatly ashamed, and quickly arranged the seating so that only one side of the table would have pork. Saying a gracious and beautiful prayer welcoming Anum and her friends, the leader blessed everyone before they ate. Anum, having gained their trust over many years – through dependability, kindness and tribal gestures – was their guest of honor.

### Ninth but First

In 1962, Indonesia was under Communist party rule, and many citizens suffered greatly. Kori Siregar, Anum's older sister, was born that year. Her father would walk for hours to buy milk, and then wait for several more in endless lines, only to reach a sold-out stand. At home, Johanna and Amir made do by boiling rice to produce a milky liquid called *tajen*, add some sugar and feed it to baby Kori. By the time Anum was born six years later, the Communist party had been ousted and outlawed, and the Siregar family was able to provide for their many children. Anum almost strictly drank milk – for nearly seven years.

Anum often hears her mother's voice. Not having received formal education herself, Johanna would listen to the radio and watch the news all day long, trailing Anum to inform her of the latest in politics and world affairs as she prepared for school or ironed her clothes. She would accompany Anum to her poetry exhibitions, watching and listening intently, offering motherly critiques at the end: "Speak more softly!" "You must remember to smile!" She was mother and grandmother to nearly two dozen children. When she passed, the 12 Siregar children continued in her tradition. Now almost all married and spread among some of Indonesia's 15,000 islands, they call each other frequently to check in on one another, and still gather once a year.

Anum, the ninth in the birth order, likes to say that she is number one – "because," she states simply, "nine is the biggest number. After nine is 10, and 10 is just a one and a zero!" Anum is beloved in the family: Her sister named her own daughter Latifah, and her nephew gave his daughter the name Anum.

But she is not only beloved at home. In the markets and in buses, strangers recognize Anum and show their gratitude for her work: "Hey, you're Anum! You advocate for my people. Would you like some papayas? Take some lemons! Please don't travel alone. You must be safe. God bless you. Thank you!"

In 2003, an elite Indonesian women's magazine selected Anum as one of 10 Executive Women of the Year. She flew to Jakarta to meet the other women, one the daughter of the prime minister, another the CEO of a large corporation, another the public relations chief of Freeport-McMoRan Copper and Gold Inc.,<sup>26</sup> one an ambassador at the United Kingdom embassy, another a news anchor. She was one of the only women who lived and worked domestically, and was the only human rights worker.



Anum wakes at six o'clock every morning, cleans the house and practices yoga. Depending on the day, she will go to work at the ALDP office, report to the Commission of Human Rights or attend meetings as the new secretary general of the Papuan Muslim Assembly – if not all three. The commission built an office next to ALDP so as to facilitate and secure Anum's participation.

Her days are filled with providing trainings; speaking at forums or radio stations; holding meetings with religious leaders, journalists and donors; doing research; writing proposals; visiting clients in hospitals and jails; advocating for them in court. Returning home at 9 o'clock, she has just enough energy left to telephone colleagues, do more research, edit reports, write more proposals or

read – these days, poetry more than mystery. She attributes her strength – with a wink – to early nutrition: seven years of drinking milk. At 5 feet tall, Anum is strong, walks quickly, stays up until 3 in the morning and sleeps no more than three hours a night. Her eyes shine like the ocean under streaming sunlight – perhaps to light the way in case of a storm.

**BIOGRAPHY OF A PEACE WRITER –**  
**STELET KIM**

Stelet Kim was raised in a multicultural and multilingual home, which infused the notion of a global community into her studies, work and everyday life. She has been involved in grassroots resource development and community mobilization through volunteer service in California, taught English in South Korea and Esperanto at the University of California, Berkeley, and assisted in the production of a documentary film on U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Ever a student of the world, she received a graduate degree in International Comparative Education at Stanford University and undergraduate degrees in English and Spanish literature at UC Berkeley. She has written on such topics as post-colonial language planning, anti-prostitution and sex-trafficking policies, and issues of HIV/AIDS-related stigma, discrimination and gender inequality.

## **JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE**

The mission of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) is to foster peace, cultivate justice and create a safer world. Through education, research and peacemaking activities, the IPJ offers programs that advance scholarship and practice in conflict resolution and human rights. The institute, a unit of the University of San Diego's Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, draws on Catholic social teaching that sees peace as inseparable from justice and acts to prevent and resolve conflicts that threaten local, national and international peace.

The IPJ was established in 2000 through a generous gift from the late Joan B. Kroc to the University of San Diego to create an institute for the study and practice of peace and justice. Programming began in early 2001 and the building was dedicated in December 2001 with a conference, "Peacemaking with Justice: Policy for the 21st Century."

The institute strives, in Joan B. Kroc's words, to "not only talk about peace, but make peace." The IPJ offers its services to parties in conflict to provide mediation and facilitation, assessments, training and consultations. It advances peace with justice through work with members of civil society in zones of conflict and has a focus on mainstreaming women in peace processes.

In addition to the Women PeaceMakers Program, the institute has several ongoing programs. The Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series is a forum for high-level national and international leaders and policymakers to share their knowledge and perspective on issues related to peace and justice.

WorldLink, a year-round educational program for middle school and high school students from San Diego and Baja California, connects youth to global affairs.

Country programs, such as the Nepal Project, offer wide-ranging conflict assessments, mediation and conflict resolution training workshops.

Community outreach includes speakers, films, art and opportunities for discussion between community members, academics and practitioners on issues of peace and social justice, as well as dialogue with national and international leaders in government, nongovernmental organizations and the military.

In addition to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies includes the Trans-Border Institute, which promotes border-related scholarship and an active role for the university in the cross-border community, and a master's program in Peace and Justice Studies to train future leaders in the field.

## **UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO**

Chartered in 1949, the University of San Diego (USD) is a Roman Catholic institution of higher learning located on 180 acres overlooking San Diego's Mission Bay. The University of San Diego is committed to promoting academic excellence, expanding liberal and professional knowledge, creating a diverse community and preparing leaders dedicated to ethical and compassionate service.

The university is steadfast in its dedication to the examination of the Catholic tradition as the basis of a continuing search for meaning in contemporary life. Global peace and development and the application of ethics and values are examined through campus centers and institutes such as the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, the Values Institute, the Trans-Border Institute, the Center for Public Interest Law, the Institute for Law and Philosophy and the International Center for Character Education. Furthermore, through special campus events such as the Social Issues Conference, the James Bond Stockdale Leadership and Ethics Symposium and the Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series, we invite the community to join us in further exploration of these values.

The USD campus, considered one of the most architecturally unique in the nation, is known as Alcalá Park. Like the city of San Diego, the campus takes its name from San Diego de Alcalá, a Franciscan brother who served as the infirmarian at Alcalá de Henares, a monastery near Madrid, Spain. The Spanish Renaissance architecture that characterizes the five-century-old University of Alcalá serves as the inspiration for the buildings on the USD campus. The architecture was intended by the founders, Bishop Charles Francis Buddy and Mother Rosalie Hill, to enhance the search for truth through beauty and harmony. Recent additions, such as the state-of-the-art Donald P. Shiley Center for Science and Technology and the new School of Leadership and Education Sciences building carry on that tradition.

A member of the prestigious Phi Beta Kappa, USD is ranked among the nation's top 100 universities. The university offers its 7,500 undergraduate, graduate and law students rigorous academic programs in more than 60 fields of study through six academic divisions, including the College of Arts and Sciences and the schools of Business Administration, Leadership and Education Sciences, Law, and Nursing and Health Science. The Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies opened in Fall 2007.

**LIST OF ACRONYMS**

ALDP	Alliance of Democracy for Papua
DPRD	Regional Parliament of Papua Province
ELSAM	Institute for Policy Research and Advocacy
ELSHAM	Institute for Human Rights and Advocacy
FORERI	Forum for the Reconciliation of the Irian Jaya Society
GPA	Grade Point Average
IRCT	International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims
Komnas HAM	Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights
MRP	Papuan People’s Assembly
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
OPCAT	Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture
OPM	Free Papua Movement
PDP	Papuan Presidium Council
PEPERA	Act of Free Choice



## ENDNOTES

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<sup>1</sup> A version of this paragraph first appeared in the article “‘Women Cannot Cry Anymore’: Global Voices Transforming Violent Conflict,” by Emiko Noma in *Critical Half* Vol. 5, No. 2 (2007). Copyright 2007 Women for Women International.

<sup>2</sup> Several siblings were also born in Jayapura after Anum: Willem Nasrun, Baginda and Rahmat.

<sup>3</sup> The Maluku ethnic group comes from the Maluku Islands, which are located west of Papua and east of Sulawesi in Indonesia. Bahasa Indonesian is the official language of Indonesia; Sumatra is in the far west and is the largest Indonesian island. Amir was of Batak ethnicity, and he, Johana and their children lived in the region for 15 years prior to moving to Jayapura.

<sup>4</sup> When Indonesia gained its independence in 1949, the Dutch retained Papua, or Dutch New Guinea. The Dutch agreed to eventual Papuan independence, and on Dec. 1, 1961, Papuans raised their flag, the “Morning Star,” and sang their anthem, “*Hai Tanahku Papua*” for the first time, in the presence of the governor and other political leaders, though the region was actually handed over to the United Nations. Soon, the United States, the Netherlands and Indonesia, under the auspices of the United Nations, started secret negotiations regarding the Papuan region, without any involvement of local leaders. In August 1962, the New York Agreement was signed, officially transferring Papua to Indonesia. The area has been known throughout its history as West New Guinea, West Irian and Irian Jaya. It will be referred to throughout the narrative by its current name, Papua.

<sup>5</sup> Many soldiers and security forces from other areas of Indonesia, particularly from the island of Java, were sent to Papua in the 1960s when the area was first integrated into the country.

<sup>6</sup> Anum volunteered with this nongovernmental organization (NGO) from 1989 to 1992.

<sup>7</sup> Rupiahs are the form of currency in Indonesia.

<sup>8</sup> President Suharto ruled Indonesia from 1967 to 1998.

<sup>9</sup> The OPM, or the Free Papua Movement, was established in 1965.

<sup>10</sup> After her time in the DPRD, Anum chose to make human rights advocacy her career. In 2000, she co-founded *Aliansi Demokrasi untuk Papua*, or the Alliance of Democracy for Papua (ALDP), a human rights NGO.

<sup>11</sup> The report was titled “Mapping Conflict of Human Rights Violations in Three Districts: Demta, Wares, and Wamena.”

<sup>12</sup> Aceh is a territory located on the northern tip of Sumatra. There have been movements for an independent Aceh since Indonesian independence in 1949.

<sup>13</sup> This refers to controversial legislation that granted increased autonomy to Papua. The law is discussed further in the narrative section entitled “Theys.”

<sup>14</sup> Komnas HAM was established by the Indonesian government in 1993, but has often been criticized for being merely a symbolic organization; all leaders were handpicked by the government.

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<sup>15</sup> ALDP's research found that the military, police and other government agencies were directly responsible for most violations of human rights.

<sup>16</sup> United Nations Communications Office. "Press Statement of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders, Ms. Hina Jilani, concluding her visit to Indonesia." [www.un.or.id/press.asp?Act=1&FileID=20070612-1&lang=en](http://www.un.or.id/press.asp?Act=1&FileID=20070612-1&lang=en)

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. Available at [www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/h\\_cat39.htm](http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/h_cat39.htm)

<sup>19</sup> The Optional Protocol, also known as OPCAT, aims to "establish a system of regular visits undertaken by independent international and national bodies to places where people are deprived of their liberty, in order to prevent torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." Article 17 of OPCAT says that each state ratifying the OPCAT is responsible for creating or maintaining an independent national mechanism for torture prevention at the domestic level. As of late 2007, Indonesia had not ratified the protocol.

<sup>20</sup> Nowak visited Indonesia from Nov. 10 to 25, 2007, at the invitation of the government.

<sup>21</sup> The First Papuan Congress was held in 1961 when local leaders declared independence from Dutch colonial rule.

<sup>22</sup> Yudhoyono is Indonesia's current president.

<sup>23</sup> "Preliminary Report: The Abduction and Assassination of Theys Hiyo Eluay was Premeditated and Politically Motivated." ELSHAM Institute for Human Rights Study and Advocacy, West Papua. Dec. 13, 2001. Jayapura, Indonesia. Available at [www.freewestpapua.org/docs/theys.htm](http://www.freewestpapua.org/docs/theys.htm).

<sup>24</sup> On March 4, 2002, Theys (posthumously) and the other PDP leaders were cleared on all charges of subversion.

<sup>25</sup> For example, in the indigenous culture, there is a gesture for "I know how you're feeling," which involves two people placing hands on each other's shoulders and then bringing the hands lengthwise down the arms until the two people are holding hands. For "We are close friends," a person takes his/her pointer finger and middle finger and snaps them with the other person's pointer finger and middle finger, making a loud popping sound.

<sup>26</sup> Freeport-McMoRan is the world's largest publicly traded copper company and has operated in Papua since 1967. The company has been implicated in widespread human rights and environmental abuses, and has paid over \$20 million to Indonesian military and police officials between 1998 and 2004. See "Indonesia Admits 'Support' by U.S. Gold Company to the Military." *New York Times*. 30 Dec. 2005. Available at: [www.nytimes.com/2005/12/30/international/asia/30indo.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2005/12/30/international/asia/30indo.html).