Peace with the Earth
Documentation of the UEM International Ecumenical Team

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Peace with the Earth

Documentation of the UEM International Ecumenical Team Visits
to Papua and Sumatra, Indonesisa, May 7-13, 2012

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Table of Contents

IV. What to do

Appendix

I. Introduction

Peace with the Earth

Jochen Motte

The UEM Ecumenical Team Visit to Papua and Sumatra in May 2012 was the fifth international UEM programme since 1995 on Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation. Thirty-five representatives of UEM member churches from Namibia, Rwanda, Tanzania, Cameroon, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and Germany, as well as representatives and partners from Brot für die Welt ("bread for the world"), met in Medan, Sumatra. Six international teams were formed, and these teams visited UEM member churches in the region (GKI-TP, GKPA, GKPS, HKBP, HKI, GBKP, GKPPD, and GKPI), where they were exposed to the impact of deforestation, palm oil production, mining, land-grabbing, and urban pollution. On each 3-5 day trip, the participants gained insight into the challenges facing the environment and the social and economic situation of the local people. They had the opportunity to speak with those affected by these developments, members of congregations, and church leaders, and to discuss with them how to respond to the devastating impact of environmental destruction and threats to the livelihood of the local people. After the field visits, the teams met again in Medan, where they shared their experiences and discussed recommendations with church leaders from the region. The programme took place as part of the priority agenda on climate justice and environmental protection that was launched four years ago.

In 2008, UEM representatives met in Batam, Indonesia, where they were exposed to what sort of social and economic impact globalisation can have in a free trade zone in less than 30 years. The participants in 2008 could already observe the devastating environmental consequences of such unsustainable development – they saw the deforestation, water pollution, and destruction of marine life. The participants who met in Batam submitted recommendations to the UEM and its member churches. One of them called upon the churches to take appropriate measures to protect the environment and to mitigate global warming.

Based on this recommendation, in 2008 the UEM General Assembly decided to give special priority to climate justice and environmental protection. The UEM launched an exhibition for congregations and churches in Germany called "Climate Justice", which demonstrated the impact of climate change on vulnerable people in Africa and Asia. The exhibition aimed to raise awareness among people in Germany that the CO_2 emissions caused by Western lifestyles and industry affect people who have not contributed at all to these emissions, but who still have to face the bitter

consequences of increasing droughts and flooding, whose food security and basic social and economic human rights are endangered.

The UEM also joined several networks and platforms to advocate for Germany and the European Union to make significant and binding commitments to decrease their CO_2 emissions. These commitments include limiting the rise of global temperatures to no more than two degrees Celsius and taking strong responsibility to assist countries in the global South in their efforts towards adaptation and mitigation.

Furthermore, the UEM created two climate consultant positions for Asia and Africa in 2010 in order to assist its member churches in the global South. Richard Madete and Longgena Ginting have been appointed to serve in this capacity. Since their appointments, both consultants have worked hard at establishing contacts with UEM members, including them in the planning, monitoring and implementation of climate and environmental projects, and creating platforms at various levels for information sharing, networking and joint action in cooperation with the UEM regional offices in Dar es Salaam and Medan and with other departments.

In the meantime, more and more UEM member churches have taken further steps to address climate and environmental concerns from theological, spiritual, diaconic, and development perspectives. In recent years the UEM has supported more than 12 projects on biogas, solar lamps, reforestation, environmental education, and sustainable energy, just to name a few. The churches and the UEM have also advocated for climate and environmental concerns in a variety of ways.

On 10 December 2011, "International Human Rights Day", the UEM launched a campaign against land-grabbing. The campaign motto is a verse from Leviticus 25:19, "The land will give its fruit, and you will have all you want to eat and will live in safety." In recent years, the commodity of "land" has developed into an object of investment and speculation, highly sought after by states, international and national corporations, banks, and investors. The growth in the global population and the rising demand among industrialised and developing countries for food and biofuels, along with other raw materials, has led to a run on the last huge tracts of land that can still be bought or leased cheaply. As part of the campaign, the UEM informed churchgoers in Germany of the efforts of the Evangelical Protestant Church in Tanah Papua (GKI-TP) to raise awareness among the indigenous peoples of Kaliki, Papua, who face the threat of losing their land because they have been lured with false promises into giving it away to investors, who then convert the forest into plantations. People in Germany do not usually take note of these events. Such stories happen every day, everywhere, in many places, but are not really featured in the Western media. Usually it is up to organisations like the UEM or Brot für die Welt to draw attention to these developments – developments that are endangering the lives of millions of people today.

It may sound cynical, but it is largely true: newspapers in Germany will only pick up such reports if an endangered species like the orang-utan is affected. This

happened in April 2012, for example, when a palm oil company received a concession to establish a plantation in the protected Tripa rain forest in Aceh, the province adjacent to North Sumatra. Of the 6,600 orang-utans that still exist in Sumatra, 250 live in the Tripa forest. The story also demonstrates that even if binding legal agreements on forest protection are in place (one example is the REDD+, a bilateral climate protection agreement between Norway and Indonesia that obliges Indonesia to establish a forest protection moratorium), financial interests and corruption may prevent them from having any impact on the ground.

Coming back to the UEM Batam Consultation of 2008, there is a second recommendation from that consultation that deserves mention and is directly linked to the Ecumenical Team Visits in Sumatra and Papua in May 2012. After a controversial discussion in 2008 between representatives from GKI-TP and churches from Northern Sumatra on the impact of palm oil production, it was recommended that the UEM conduct a study on palm oil plantations and their implications for Papuans and others, as well as look into the issue of trees being cut down for firewood and develop sustainable and ecologically sound alternatives for energy production.

In 2011, following a process of over two years, the UEM and Brot für die Welt published a study and a fact sheet on palm oil in English, German, and Bahasa Indonesia. The study reviews the global developments resulting from the increase in palm oil production but also points out the negative effects, especially for vulnerable groups like the indigenous peoples in Papua, for whom these developments threaten their food security and indeed their entire livelihood.

In May 2012, Brot für die Welt and the UEM published a second fact sheet on jatropha, another biofuel crop that has been promoted for large- and small-scale farming in countries such as Tanzania. The fact sheet shows that jatropha farming may also put people's livelihoods at risk, since it is still questionable whether the promises related to jatropha may be fulfilled. The publication offers an outlook for the present trends and available data on this agricultural crop.

The participation by representatives of Brot für die Welt and civil society organisations from Sumatra (supported by Brot für die Welt) in the Ecumenical Team Visits in Sumatra in May 2012 is part of this process of close collaboration between the UEM and Brot für die Welt. It reflects the common conviction that churches and NGOs should cooperate closely in order to strengthen efforts to protect the environment and to support and protect people whose livelihoods are threatened.

Last year in Kingston, Jamaica, more than 1,000 representatives from churches from all over the world gathered at the International Peace Convocation. The UEM offered a workshop in line with the conference theme, "Peace with the Earth", during which we presented a film. This film featured grassroots environmental initiatives from around the world: by churches here in Sumatra against deforestation, in Java in support of sustainable energy and alternative farming, in Papua to implement solar

lamps and improve the living conditions of people in the highlands, as well as in Germany, where students at a senior high school manufactured solar lamps to send to Papua.

In this globalised world, it is the objective of the UEM and its members to strengthen and support such initiatives and projects; to promote networking at a regional and international level; to join forces for advocacy work, including people of other faiths; to build capacity to address these challenges; and to stand in solidarity with those who have been marginalised by these global and local developments. The Ecumenical Team Visits in conjunction with the "Peace with the Earth" programme have provided an opportunity to continue the process from Jamaica as well as to connect it with concrete experiences at the grassroots level and encounters with church leaders in Sumatra and Papua. This is why the visits were organised in a way such that participants did not spend most of their time together in one place, and why it was decided to not conduct the entire programme as a workshop, but rather to reach out to as many places as possible, addressing different concerns such as mining, deforestation, palm oil, and urban pollution, and to meet as many people at the grassroots and church leadership level as possible.

The UEM is grateful to the churches who welcomed and hosted the Ecumenical Team Visits and worked hard to implement this programme, especially the Karo Batak Church (GBKP), which took the lead in the person of Rev. Matius Barus, and the Communion of Churches in North Sumatra, who were represented by Rev. Jamilin Sirait. Participants were aware of the fact that sometimes it is not easy to open one's doors, to let people come in from outside to observe issues that might be controversial within the respective communities. The encounters during the team visits were inspiring for all and presented an opportunity for mutual ecumenical sharing and learning. New ideas for decisive action were discussed and both the participants and the hosts found encouragement to continue working for climate justice and environmental protection. The Ecumenical Team Visits took place just a few weeks prior to the Rio+20 Summit of the United Nations on Sustainable Development. In view of this conference, the UEM and Brot für die Welt, together with many of their ecumenical partners in the ACT Alliance and the Ecumenical Advocacy Alliance, expressed the need for a radical paradigm change. They stated in a joint declaration that "more of the same is not enough", and that they looked forward to Rio with the expectation that a document would be adopted that included "time-bound, accountable, and solid commitments, which demonstrate a credible path forward to enable sustainable development that guarantees a life in dignity for everyone, based on human rights, equity, respect for the environment, and sustainable use of natural resources".

Rio+20 did not meet these expectations at all, so there continues to be an urgent need for international solidarity and advocacy work that will support and strengthen

grassroots activities for climate and social justice as well as environmental protection. The UEM Ecumenical Team Visit was one small step in this direction. May the results presented in this documentation contribute to strengthening churches and ecumenical partners in their efforts to strive for justice, peace, and the integrity of creation.

Opening prayer

Matius Panji Barus

Genesis 2:15
"The Lord God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take care of it."

The Earth as garden
The place appointed for man's residence was a garden, furnished and adorned by nature, not by skill. The sky was the roof; the earth was his floor. The shadow of the trees was his place of rest. The design and furniture of this garden were the immediate work of God's wisdom and power. The Lord God planted this garden. The situation of this garden was extremely sweet. It was in Eden, which signifies delight and pleasure.

Man was made out of paradise; for, after God had formed him, he put him into the garden: he was made of common clay, not of paradise-dust. He had no birthright to the garden, for he was not born there, nor did he begin with anything but what he received. God, who was the author of his being, was the author of his bliss. He alone, who made us, has the ability to make us happy.

"To work it"
God appointed Adam to work the garden. Paradise itself was not a place of exemption from work. We were none of us sent into the world to be idle. He who made for us these souls and bodies has given us something to work with.

"To take care of it"
At the same time, God appointed Adam to take care of the garden. Man must work the garden for his life and take care of it as well. We should live from nature (the garden), but we should not consume it. He who gave us being has given us business, to serve Him and our generation, and to work for our salvation.

The farmer's calling is an ancient and honourable calling; it was needful even in paradise. It was a calling that gave man the opportunity to admire the Creator. While his hands were upon his land and trees, his heart might be with his God.

Most of the Karonese people are farmers, and retain their agricultural background even when they have another job. No matter what profession they have, they do not feel safe without farmland. I remember when, as a student in Jakarta, I led a group of teenagers on a retreat in Puncak, West Java. We were invited to stay in the Villa

of General Jamin Ginting free of charge. Around this villa there were also some two hectares of land, where they had crops and an orange grove. I was surprised to see the general's wife working the farm with her bare hands. She had enough money to pay workers to do it for her, but she worked by herself. Working the land gave her special satisfaction. This is only one example, but it shows that the Karonese cannot live without land and farming. They love the land. They know that the land is a central element in their lives.

On the other hand, however, they destroy their land and natural surroundings every day by putting chemical fertilisers in their gardens and polluting the air and plants through the overuse of pesticides. It seems that the farmers do not realise they are destroying their own future, the life of their generation.

The Church must play a role in this matter, for God appointed us to take care of his creation. The GBKP should raise the awareness of the people, at least the members of our church, and inspire us to take care of this paradise God put us in to live.

For that purpose, today our fellow Christian from Australia is with us. He will help give us a theological basis for a better relationship between human beings and our natural surroundings, our environment.

Amen.

Background information on environmental and climate concerns in Indonesia

United Evangelical Mission

Map: Peter Philipps/MediaCompany

Indonesia, North Sumatra and Papua in brief

Indonesia

Indonesia is the world's largest archipelagic state, encompassing over 17,000 islands and home to over 240 million inhabitants, which makes it the fourth most populated country in the world. The population has more than doubled since 1970 and is expected to grow to 262 million people by 2020. Indonesia is home to tremendous species diversity in both animal and plant life in its pristine rain forests and its rich coastal and marine areas. Nearly 60 per cent of Indonesia's terrestrial area is forested. The landscape is also mountainous and volcanic, with over 500 volcanoes, of which more than 120 are active.

Indonesia also has rich deposits of petroleum, natural gas, coal, and gold ore. Indonesia's macroeconomic development during the past 30 years has to a large extent

been based on its natural resources. But the exploitation of these resources has been unsustainable, and communities living near formerly resource-rich areas are experiencing increasing levels of poverty. Half of the population lives below the poverty line of US$2 per day, and corruption is a major problem at all levels of society.

North Sumatra

The province of North Sumatra is one of the 33 provinces in Indonesia. It stretches across the island of Sumatra between the Indian Ocean and the Strait of Malacca. It borders the province of Aceh to the northwest and the provinces of Riau and West Sumatra to the southeast. It has an area of 70,787 km². The province capital, Medan, is located on a broad, low plain along the Strait of Malacca. In the south and west, the land rises to form the mountain range that runs the length of Sumatra; the mountains here are dominated by Lake Toba, formed from the caldera of an ancient volcano. Several large islands in the Indian Ocean off the coast of Sumatra are part of North Sumatra, most notably Nias and the Batu Islands. North Sumatra registered a population of 12,985,075 in the 2010 national census.

Agriculture based on rotating crop cultivation is a major component of the economy of North Sumatra and produces rice, cassava, tobacco, rubber, palm oil, tea, coffee, pepper, and fruits and vegetables. The province's manufacturing sector produces processed foods, beverages, and tobacco, as well as aluminium, textiles, carved wood, leather and rubber goods. The population of North Sumatra consists of various tribes such as the Acehnese, Batak, Malays, and Javanese. Residents of Chinese and South Asian descent together constitute a small but significant minority.

Medan houses the government offices and business centres and is Indonesia's third largest city after Jakarta and Surabaya, making it the largest city in Indonesia not located on the island of Java. The population of Medan is around 1.8 million as of 2010.

Eight UEM member churches originated in North Sumatra and are based there, but their congregations extend throughout almost all of Indonesia. These are the HKBP (in the town of Pearaja), GKPA (in the town of Padang Sidempuan), HKI, GKPI, GKPS (in the town of Pematang Siantar), GBKP (in the town of Kabanjahe), BNKP (in the city of Gunung Sitoli), and GPKB (with its head office in Jakarta).

Papua

Papua is the largest and easternmost province of Indonesia. Papua comprises most of the western half of the island of New Guinea and its nearby islands. The capital of Papua is Jayapura. The province originally covered the entire western half of New Guinea. In 2003, the Indonesian government declared the westernmost part of the island, around Bird's Head Peninsula, as the separate province of West Papua.

Papua's forests are characterised by their extremely high biodiversity. In fact, they

account for almost 50 per cent of the biodiversity that places Indonesia among the world's most biodiverse countries. The seas surrounding Papua are part of a global centre of marine biodiversity that is one of the world's top priorities for marine conservation. The region is predominantly dense forest where numerous indigenous peoples live, although most of the population is located in or near coastal areas. Papua is home to the last frontier forest in Southeast Asia and for decades has been threatened by mining operations, the logging industry, and the expansion of oil palm plantations. According to Sawit Watch, a national NGO monitoring palm oil issues in Indonesia, in June 2011 Papua had 97,000 hectares of oil palm plantations, with a projected expansion of 5,000,000 more hectares by 2020. Papua has also recently become an area in which climate and forest schemes are being developed and practised. These include various REDD initiatives (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation) and other carbon-trading schemes.

Population growth has been relatively rapid over the past three decades. Papua had less than 1 million people in 1971 and now has about 2.7 million people. During roughly the same period, however, the proportion of indigenous people has fallen from 96 per cent to about 66 per cent of the population. The transmigration programme has made a very significant contribution to this change.

Self-supported immigration has continued, although it very likely slowed after the fall of Suharto's New Order government, and it has recently increased again.

A Human Rights Watch report from 2009 confirms that justice in Papua has lagged behind the times, despite positive developments on some fronts and dozens of Indonesian government statements pledging a new approach in Papua. Security forces, including special Mobile Brigade police units, continue to engage in abuses in remote highland regions with virtual impunity.

Missions and churches have played an extremely large part in the opening up and development of Papua and remain very important as service providers in education and health, especially in the remotest areas. Churches and their missions remain crucial contributors to Papuan development. They have not only been pioneers in opening up all parts of the Papuan interior by building airstrips and serving them with small planes, but they also continue to be of key importance in maintaining regular services to a host of communities in the interior. The UEM has a member in Papua, namely the Evangelical Christian Church in Tanah Papua (GKI-TP), which has its head office in Jayapura and counts more than 1,200 congregations throughout Papua and West Papua.

Key environmental issues in Indonesia

Deforestation

Indonesia has the world's third-largest tropical rainforest (after Brazil and Congo), covering almost two-thirds of the country's land area, and containing globally significant biodiversity. Over the past 50 years, Indonesia has lost over 40 per cent of its total forest cover. The deforestation rate remains very high (1.8 per cent of the area disappears every year).

According to Global Forest Watch, Indonesia was still densely forested as recently as 1950. Forty percent of the forests existing in 1950 were cleared in the following 50 years. In round numbers, forest cover fell from 162 million hectares to 98 million hectares. The speed at which forests are disappearing is increasing. An average of about 1 million hectares per year were cleared in the 1980s, rising to about 1.7 million hectares per year in the first part of the 1990s. Since 1996, the rate of deforestation appears to have accelerated to an average of 2 million hectares per year.

This is alarming because the forest sector provides important ecosystem services (regulating climate and precipitation, providing material for fuel and medicine, etc.), significantly supports the country's economic development, and contributes to people's livelihoods, particularly of the indigenous peoples and rural poor.

The Indonesian forests are threatened by unsustainable and destructive logging that results in deforestation. In addition, forests and land fires, illegal logging, illegal mining, large-scale mining and the development of roads are putting more pressure on the country's forest resources. Not only is there a demand for wood for use as fuel, global energy demands pose a future threat as well: an increase in the production of biofuels has the potential to adversely affect land use and forest cover by creating incentives to convert forest into plantation land to be used for monoculture, rather than simply planting in already degraded areas.

Large-scale mining

Indonesia is one of the world's largest producers of tin (ranked second, after China), coal (ranked third in thermal coal exports, after Australia and South Africa), and copper (ranked third, after the United States and Chile). The country also produces significant quantities of gold and nickel. Minerals and related products represent 19 per cent of Indonesia's total exports, with gold as the largest revenue earner. Indonesia is also a producer of bauxite, phosphates, and iron sand and has potential for alluvial diamond production as well.

The mining sector makes a huge contribution to the Indonesian economy, accounting for 11.54 per cent of GDP. As one of the biggest mining sectors in the world, Indonesia's mining sector has faced extreme pressure from environmental groups about the negative impact of mining activities. Large-scale mining requiring

extensive road construction and other development is a driver of deforestation. This is evident in the case of Freeport, in Papua, where large urban and road developments have stimulated the opening up of surrounding areas to oil palm developers, logging, and industrial timber plantations. The dramatic security issues associated with such development illustrate some of the local-level political risks confronting mining companies.

Indonesia is the world's seventh-largest gold producer. Over 70 per cent of Indonesia's production is generated as a by-product of copper mining at Grasberg and Batu Hijau. The Grasberg mine is situated at Tembagapura, Papua, owned by Freeport McMoran. The Batu Hijau is located on the island of Sumbawa owned by Newmont corporation.

The mining industry is relatively new in North Sumatra and is dominated by gold mining operations. The biggest mining companies in North Sumatra are Sorikmas Mining (SMM) in Madina, Newmont Horas Nauli (PTNHN) in Batang Toru, and Dairi Prima Mineral (DPM) in Parongil. The UEM Ecumenical Team visited one of these sites as part of the Medan Consultation. The team could see by its own how dangerous the practice of gold mining is (see report of the Mining Team 2).

Palm oil

The government of Indonesia has aggressively promoted the oil palm plantations and the palm oil industry. The area of oil palm cultivation has increased remarkably, from about 100 thousand hectares in 1967 to more than nine million hectares in 2010. This expansion has made Indonesia the world's largest producer of palm oil. Today, Indonesia produces 21 million tons of palm oil annually and plans to double this quantity by 2020.

While the oil palm can provide the local people with a steady cash income, it has an adverse effect on their food security. Once most of the land has been taken over for monoculture crops, there is limited land left that is suitable for food cultivation. The way local communities produce their food has changed because the land available to grow the food has decreased significantly.

Palm oil production in Indonesia originated with Dutch colonial plantations in North Sumatra in 1875. Large scale palm oil cultivation was established by Adrian Hallet in 1911 in Sungai Liput (on the eastern coast of Aceh) and Pulo Raja (in Asahan). By 1914, the area of palm oil cultivation had reached 3,250 hectares. Today North Sumatra has 1,300,000 hectares of palm oil plantations, with plans to increase this by another 1,319,600 hectares in the future (Sawit Watch, 2009). In recent years, Indonesia has successfully encouraged expansion of the crop to more remote locations on the islands of Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi, and Papua.

The increase in the number of oil palm plantations has threatened the land available for food cultivation, reduced the area of forest available for gathering food, and

increased the competition for arable land. Many cases have shown that communities located near new oil palm plantations change from self-subsistent farmers to a more cash-dependent economy. At the same time, the cash generated from work on the plantation is not sufficient to buy the food that those workers used to grow for themselves. Some UEM member churches do count oil plantations among their sources of income and support for their worship services.

It is estimated that 1.8 - 2.5 million men and women work on oil palm plantations in Indonesia. Reports show evidence of substandard working conditions on oil palm plantations, including underpayment, excessive working hours, forced labour, and child labour. Women in particular are exposed to dangerous working conditions when spraying, fertilising, weeding, etc. Major causes of such conditions are poor enforcement of existing labour legislation and limited market interest to facilitate decent working conditions.

Many of the social consequences of palm oil production are being addressed by the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO), a multi-stakeholder initiative established in 2003 to promote global standards for sustainable palm oil. RSPO governs the complex sustainability issues in the palm oil production chain. In order to live up to its potential with regard to affected communities, smallholders, and labourers, however, the RSPO still has a few challenges ahead. In addition to implementation, social auditing, and uptake in the market, these include the participation and empowerment of social stakeholders, monitoring and evaluation of progress, and interaction with regulatory frameworks.

Urban pollution

Air pollution has become a major environmental problem in urban areas. The transportation sector contributes the most (80 per cent of all air pollution), followed by emissions from industry, forest fires and domestic activities. The large number of vehicles, together with a lack of infrastructure, results in major traffic congestion (mainly in urban centres), which generates high levels of air-polluting substances that have a significant negative impact on public health.

Garbage is also a big problem in a large city like Medan, with heaps of rubbish on many urban streets. Waste management in Medan still uses the old paradigm: the collection of waste. Source reduction or waste prevention (rubbish reduction that starts at the source) has not been successful, nor has the sorting of rubbish. Efforts at composting and recycling are still limited and have not been sustainable. Approximately 4,000 tonnes of waste are produced daily in Medan from domestic sources, industry, hotels, and restaurants. Some of the rubbish gets dumped at waste disposal points, while some is dumped into waste holes, or rivers, or is burned. Medan is currently seeing rapid growth in specific wastes, such as electronics waste, agricultural biomass waste, and waste plastics. These specific wastes require proper management and recycling.

Medan has an industrial area operated by the state-run company PT Kawasan Industri Medan (KIM), which also operates an industrial park and provides commercial and industrial area development services. PT KIM has a waste treatment facility that can accommodate industrial waste at a capacity of 3,600 m^3/day in Phase 1, with a capacity of 18,000 m^3/day planned for Phase II. KIM is equipped with laboratory facilities and various equipment for processing wastewater.

Climate change in Indonesia

Indonesia is highly vulnerable to climate change. Climate change will further aggravate the above-mentioned issues, particularly the risks of catastrophe. The IPCC has reported that since 1990, the temperature in Indonesia has increased by 0.3˚ Celsius, and it is expected to increase in the range of 1.5-3.7˚ Celsius by 2100, with a mean increase across models of 2.5˚ Celsius. It is difficult to generalise about changes in precipitation, but some studies indicate that the trend of increasing precipitation in northern Indonesia and decreasing precipitation in southern Indonesia will continue in the future. The changing climate is already affecting the timing of the seasons in Indonesia, and it is expected that climate change will bring a longer dry season and more intense wet season over much of Indonesia.

Since Indonesia is an archipelago, the country and its population are extremely vulnerable to a rise in the sea level, with the 42 million people who live less than 10m above sea level particularly at risk. A 1m rise in the sea level could cause flooding on 405,000 hectares of land and reduce Indonesia's territory by inundating the low-lying islands that mark its borders. Climate change in Indonesia has meant that millions of fishermen are also facing harsher weather conditions, even as dwindling fish stocks affect their income. Indonesia's 40 million poor, including farmers and fishermen, will be the worst affected by threats that include rising sea levels, prolonged droughts, and tropical cyclones.

The impacts of climate change will be felt across many different sectors. Agricultural production will be disrupted by changing rainfall patterns, increased drought, inundation of productive coastal areas, and an increase in the incidence and range of pests due to higher temperatures. Indonesia's rich biodiversity is also at risk. This may in turn lead to harmful effects on agriculture, fishery, and forestry, resulting in threats to food security and livelihoods.

Indonesia: Rule of law and human rights

Theodor Rathgeber

The human rights situation in Indonesia provides an ambiguous picture. Indonesia has undergone a transfer from a dictatorial regime to a government based on democratic procedures. The government and its institution are nominally bound by the constitution and by principles of democracy, human rights, rule of law, good governance, and international law.[1] Indonesia is a republic with a presidential system and a centralised and unitary state. Power is concentrated in the central government, and the highest representative body at the national level is the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). The MPR comprises two houses: the People's Representative Council (DPR), with 560 members, and the Regional Representative Council (DPD), with 132 members. Reforms since 1998 have increased the DPR's role in national governance. Nevertheless, there is a mentality that still exists after over 30 years of authoritarian rule by President Suharto, and this legacy has continued as an increasing centralisation of power in the person of the president and through the military.

Indonesia has achieved rapid economic development, with average GDP growth of over 6.5 per cent per annum. Indonesia is member of the G20 group of major economies. This has led to improved economic well-being at all levels of society, but it has come at the expense of the environment. Exploitative policies on natural resource management have been established, and natural resource management policies have been liberalised. Indonesia's macroeconomic development during the past 30 years has been based on its natural resources.

The 1945 Constitution has been amended four times to include provisions on human rights. In 1999, the government adopted Law No. 39 on Human Rights, and in 2000 adopted Law No. 26 on Human Rights Courts, which established a system of claims and remedies for human rights violations. Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution (amended 2002) guarantees a list of human rights, namely the right to freedom of assembly, the right to life, the right to establish a family, the right to personal development, the right to equal treatment before the law, the right to work and the right to employment, the right to religion and freedom of expression, the right to information, the right to freedom from torture and inhuman and degrading treatment, the right to a healthy environment, and the right to freedom from discrimination.

1 See also Art. 2 of the ASEAN Charter of 2007, which calls for adherence to democratic values and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms (ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations).

However, the Human Rights Court only has jurisdiction over gross violations of human rights, such as genocide and crimes against humanity, and does not have jurisdiction over lesser rights violations. Hence the State cannot be held legally accountable for failures to respect, protect, or fulfil its obligations with regard to these rights. Such a procedural deficit establishes a situation of legal ambiguity. Indonesia adopted and ratified the two core international human rights treaties in October 2005, during the presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).

The Constitutional Court monitors the government's adherence to those aims, while administrative courts control governance in daily life. In addition, courts of auditors supervise the enactment of government activities to ensure that these are legal and correct. As far as institution building is concerned, we can see a clear tendency towards a constitutional state together with all of the pertinent provisions and protection systems for citizens. It is therefore not surprising that Freedom House has noted a fundamental change in Indonesia from a "*Not Free Country"* (NF) to a "*Partly Free Country*" (PF) as of 1998-99, and finally has labelled it a "*Free Country*" (F) since 2006.[2] Among the member states of ASEAN, Indonesia is currently the only one in Category F (i.e. *free country*), and the government has indeed articulated its willingness to properly address human rights issues.

The reality in the country, however, shows quite a discrepancy from its norms and institutional settings. Impunity is still the rule when it comes to the killings and massacres committed during Suharto's dictatorship, as well as with respect to the enforced disappearances, incidences of torture, and extrajudicial killings that have continued, particularly in relation to West Papua. This includes the unresolved murder of Munir Said Thalib; the threats to religious communities different from the Muslim mainstream, i.e. the Ahmadiyyah or Ahmadi Muslims; and the transformation that is changing the natural environment and livelihood of ordinary people into a green desert of oil palm trees. Yet in April 2011, Indonesia's President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono promoted General Lieutenant Sjafrie Sjamsoeddin to Vice Minister of Defence, despite solid allegations that the general was involved in the crackdown on rebellions in 1998 that resulted in a number of severe human rights violations. Freedom of expression is frequently a right in name only, such as when high-ranking politicians or Islam are criticised, or when West Papua is mentioned. Peaceful protests against environmental destruction are crushed by police. The judiciary faces corruption and pressure from political sources, and the Constitutional Court is increasingly applying a conservative interpretation of

2 See Freedom House, *Freedom in the World*, Country Ratings 1972-2011; http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=439.

crucial human-rights norms to give priority to the state's concerns and continuing Suharto's shady legacy.[3]

All in all, the Indonesian government defines political stability predominantly in terms of national security and the war against terror or drugs, such that public order is maintained through an ironclad regulatory policy. Rule of law is understood as maintaining power rather than preserving the rights of citizens from infringement by the state. Under this paradigm, the term "human rights" is widely perceived as a hindrance to this kind of regulatory policy. It is through civil society's involvement and commitment that a substantial contribution has been made, namely that at least the aforementioned institutions have been created, and human rights has nominally been recognised as a standard.[4]

What human rights obligations does Indonesia have? The following explanation uses the term "obligation" to denote a binding agreement – such as a treaty, covenant or convention – that is governed by international law and enacted as Indonesian law; e.g. Law No. 24 of 2000,[5] which has recently regulated the creation and ratification of international treaties. The below text emphasises the international aspect, with only some of the national legal obligations mentioned. Some of the international declarations related to human rights are listed as well; these are not legally binding under international law, but may constitute an ethically and politically binding instrument.

Human rights standards and instruments in Indonesia

Of the relevant international human rights instruments, we will consider the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1966), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, 1966), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD, 1965), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979), the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT, 1984), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989), the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW, 1990), the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CPD, 2006), and the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (CED, 2006).[6] The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

3 See e.g. FIDH / Imparsial / KontraS (eds.) (2011): *Shadows and Clouds: Human Rights in Indonesia –Shady Legacy, Uncertain Future*, or the International Crisis Group and its assessment of the new and controversial intelligence bill in July 2011.

4 Ibid.

5 Act No. 24 provides that treaties relating to national security, human rights, and the environment must be ratified by an act of Parliament, while others may be ratified by presidential decree.

6 See the status of ratification at http://treaties.un.org/Pages/Treaties.aspx?id=4&subid=A&lang=en.

(1948) has not become a binding instrument in the same sense as a treaty, but is binding as international customary law.

National human rights instruments in Indonesia worth mentioning include Law No. 68/1958 on the ratification of the Convention of Women's Political Rights, Law No. 7/1984 on the ratification of CEDAW, Presidential Decree No. 36/1990 on the ratification of CRC, Law No. 5/1998 on the ratification of CAT, Law No. 9/1998 on Freedom of Speech, Law No. 29/1999 on the ratification of ICERD, Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights, Law No. 26/2000 on the Human Rights Court, and Law No. 21/2000 on Labour Unions.

The Indonesian National Commission for Human Rights (Komnas-HAM) received "A" status accreditation in 2001 and was confirmed in March 2007. Nevertheless, a number of UN Committees – CAT in 2001, CRC in 2004, and CERD in 2007 – have expressed concerns regarding the insufficient impartiality and independence of Komnas-HAM. The Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on the situation of human rights defenders was concerned by the ineffectiveness of Komnas-HAM's power of inquiry and its lack of a mandate to investigate common human rights violations.

National legislation on governance includes Law No. 20/1982, on the basic principles of the National Defence and Security of the Republic of Indonesia; Law No. 1/1998, on the amendment of Law No. 20/1982 concerning basic principles of the National Defence and Security of the Republic of Indonesia, Law No. 2/1988 on the Indonesian Armed Forces, Law No. 26/1997 on the discipline of the Indonesian Armed Forces, Law No. 22/1999 on local governments, Law No. 14/2008 on the transparency of public information (Freedom of Information Act). The right of access to information is further guaranteed by Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights (Article 14), Law No. 23/1997 on Environmental Management (Article 5 and 10 (h)).[7] Inversely, Law 15/2003 on anti-terrorism severely impairs human rights activities.[8]

Resource management legislation includes the following legal instruments that relate to a rule-of-law approach: Law No. 5/1960 on basic principles of the agrarian sector, Law No. 21/1964 on the courts on Land Reform, Law No. 11/1967 on basic principles of mining, Law No. 22/1974 concerning irrigation matters, Law No. 23/1997 on management of the environment, Law No. 41/1999 on forestry, Law No. 25/2000 on the National Development Programme, Law No. 22/2001 on oil and gas, Law No. 25/1999 on the balancing of the financial budget between the central and local governments, and Law No. 2/2002 on the Indonesian National Police.[9]

7 See http://dte.gn.apc.org/ilaw.pdf.
8 Ibid.
9 See http://www.hampapua.org/skp/legislation.html.

Indonesia's international human rights obligations

The Indonesian Constitution incorporates the main principles of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights: the declaration's Preamble, Article 26, Article 271 paragraph 1 and 2, Article 28, Article 29 paragraph 2, and Article 31 paragraph 1. The Declaration has also influenced the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) Decree No. XVII/MPR/1998 on Human Rights (with annex 2 on the Universal Declaration). Indonesia has also ratified most of the relevant international conventions on human rights (the so-called core treaties).

Nevertheless, the Indonesian government took its time in ratifying the ICESCR (Law No. 11) and the ICCPR (Law No. 12), neither of which was ratified until October 2005. Indonesia lodged a reservation to Article 1 in both Covenants concerning the right to self-determination, arguing that the right did not apply to peoples within a sovereign nation-state, e.g. the Moluccas, Aceh or West Papua. Indonesia has not ratified the so-called Optional Protocols of either convention. Optional Protocols 1 and 2 of the ICCPR establish mechanisms for complaints by individual victims of abuse.

What might be the practical meaning of such a ratification? On 4 July 2011, the *Jakarta Globe* newspaper ran the headline, "Decline in poverty rate raises questions over government's definition". The Central Statistics Agency of Indonesia (BPS) had stated that, based on the one-dollar-a-day poverty line, there were about a million fewer poor Indonesians in 2011. Poor people in Indonesia now constituted 12.5 per cent of Indonesia's population, down from 13.3 per cent in 2010. There is no need for further detail on the statistics, but a debate emerged over how to adequately define poverty. The General Comments to the ICESCR by the relevant UN Committee provide indicators of how to best calibrate the "minimum" income that people in a country like Indonesia would need in order to satisfy basic human needs in those specific circumstances.

The right to freedom of religion or belief has also been frequently addressed in Indonesia, with reference to the frequent clashes between fundamentalist Muslims and other religious communities. The country has a proliferation of laws limiting the rights of religious minorities and there is widespread failure to prosecute attacks on religious minorities or other infringements of their right to freedom of religion. Christians, Buddhists, and the minority Ahmadi Muslims have faced increasing discrimination and violent attacks. According to the Communion of Churches in Indonesia, there have been 430 attacks against churches over the past six years. Ahmadi Muslims have documented 183 attacks against their villages, mosques, and houses since President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono issued a decree in June 2008 banning Ahmadi activities.[10]

10 See Andreas Harsono in *The Jakarta Globe* (June 27, 2011): "On Faith, Indonesia Still Unenlightened". Harsono is a researcher for the Asia division of Human Rights Watch. See also the latest urgent

The UN Human Rights Committee has also expressed its concern about the legal distinctions made between different religions. Men and women of different religions still face difficulties in registering their marriages, and their children are not provided with birth certificates. The government has been taking religious community leaders into custody under the pretext of protection and later charging them with blasphemy.[11] Attacks and threats against Ahmadiyyah are even stipulated in existing law. These incidents reflect a pattern of religious discrimination and the complicity of state institutions in acts of religious persecution.

Indonesia has lodged the following reservation to the ICERD in relation to Article 22: "The Government of the Republic of Indonesia does not consider itself bound by the provision of Article 22 and takes the position that disputes relating to the interpretation and application of the [Convention] which cannot be settled through the channel provided for in the said article, may be referred to the International Court of Justice only with the consent of all the parties to the dispute."[12] The Indonesian government did not submit its first report to the UN Committee on the ICERD (known as CERD) until 2006, though the report was due in 2000. Independent reports were also submitted in parallel, including one by eleven non-governmental organisations (NGOs). These reports dealt with issues such as the threat that oil palm plantations proposed by the government posed to the survival of indigenous peoples in Kalimantan.[13] CERD expressed concern about this very issue in its concluding observations.[14] In March 2009, as part of its "Early Warning Procedure", CERD conveyed its concerns to the Indonesian government that the draft regulations on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) would be incompatible with the rights of indigenous peoples.[15]

Another reservation has been lodged by Indonesia concerning Article 29 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against

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action alert by Amnesty International on the congregation of the Taman Yasmin Indonesian Christian Church (Gereja Kristen Indonesia, GKI) in Bogor, West Java; UA: 212/11 Index: ASA 21/017/2011 Indonesia of July 2011.

11 See document No. A/HRC/WG.6/1/IDN/2.

12 Article 22 states: "Any dispute between two or more States Parties with respect to the interpretation or application of this Convention, which is not settled by negotiation or by the procedures expressly provided for in this Convention, shall, at the request of any of the parties to the dispute, be referred to the International Court of Justice for decision, unless the disputants agree to another mode of settlement." See http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-2&chapter=4&lang=en.

13 See *Indonesian NGO Alternative Report_ICERD: Breaking the Smoke-Screen of Racial Discrimination and Impunity in Indonesia*, at http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/docs/ngos/NGO-Indonesia.pdf.

14 See CERD, *Concluding Observations*, document no. CERD/C/IDN/CO/3, 15 August 2007, at http://www.bayefsky.com/pdf/indonesia_t4_cerd_71.pdf.

15 See http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/docs/early_warning/Indonesia130309.pdf.

Women (CEDAW), relating to the interpretation and application of the Convention. The CEDAW committee has expressed concern about Indonesia's draft law on gender equality and about discriminatory provisions in the Marriage Act of 1974, and has also called for the removal of family and spousal consent requirements in the areas of women's employment and health.

Indonesia ratified CAT back in 1988, but the government has yet to identify indicators in its penal code for making the offence clear and thus labelling torture as a crime. The Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP) still does not define "torture" and only recognises the term "ill-treatment", meaning that torture as a term has not yet been criminalised. The UN Committee against Torture (CAT) has expressed concern about the large number of allegations of torture and ill-treatment committed by police forces, especially with respect to mobile police units (Brimob), army and paramilitary groups reportedly linked to authorities, and areas of armed conflict. The Optional Protocol to CAT provides for a "preventive system of regular visits to places of detention" but has not been ratified by Indonesia.

Each of these conventions includes a States Parties obligation to submit to the relevant UN Committee regular progress reports by independent experts that describe how the rights are being implemented. States must send an initial report within two years of accepting the Convention and every five years thereafter. Indonesia has delivered most of these reports, albeit with delays.

Indonesia has also ratified ILO Conventions No. 29 on Forced or Compulsory Labour, No. 87 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, No. 98 on the Application of the Principles of the Right to Organize and to Bargain Collectively, No. 100 on Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value, and No. 105 on the Abolition of Forced Labour through Indonesian Law No. 19/1999, ILO Convention No. 138 on the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment through Law No. 20/1999, ILO Convention No. 111 on Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation through Law No. 21/1999, and ILO Convention No. 182 on the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour. The ILO commended the Indonesian government on its decision to ratify the eight key labour conventions, making Indonesia the first country in the Asia-Pacific region to have done so. The ILO key standards are: elimination of forced and compulsory labour (Conventions 29 and 105), abolition of child labour (Conventions 138 and 182), elimination of discrimination in employment and occupation (Conventions 100 and 111), and freedom of association and protection of the right to collective bargaining (Conventions 87 and 98).[16]

Among the relevant international human rights instruments, Indonesia has not

16 See http://www.oecd.org/document/20/0,3343,en_39048427_39049464_42744852_1_1_1_1,00.html; also document No. A/HRC/WG.6/1/IDN/2.

ratified the Rome Statutes of the International Criminal Court. Although Indonesia voted in favour of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted in 2007 by the UN General Assembly, the government noted that the rights in this Declaration did not apply in the context of Indonesia. Neither has the country ratified ILO Convention No. 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples.

Of special relevance in the Indonesian context is the UN Declaration on Human Rights Defenders adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 1998.[17] Although this declaration is not a binding document, it generated high expectations of States Parties' performance, and the corresponding mandate of the Special Procedures awarded powers to compel the Indonesian government to investigate allegations of violations and to strengthen protections. Nevertheless, the list of violations against human rights defenders remains long and all-encompassing, including extrajudicial, summary, and arbitrary executions; enforced disappearances; torture; ill-treatment; instances of excessive use of force; arbitrary detentions; restrictions on freedom of expression, assembly, association and movement; and the labelling of defenders as separatists. Law enforcement authorities will frequently harass defenders or restrict their access to victims and sites of human rights violations. There is an absolute lack of accountability in the police, military, and intelligence services.[18]

Indonesia did not issue a so-called standing invitation in response to the mandates of the UN special procedures.[19] Although some mandate-holders of the special procedures were able to visit the country and report to the UN Human Rights Council on the situation of human rights defenders (2008),[20] on torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment (2008),[21] on the human rights of migrants (2007),[22] and on the independence of judges and lawyers (2003),[23] others were not. In addition, the Special Rapporteur on torture noted that his fact-finding will only be fully effective if he enjoyed unrestricted freedom of inquiry, including the ability to visit places of detention without prior notice and to interview detainees in private. He noted with regret in his report that in a number of instances his unimpeded access to places of detention – including his ability to carry out private interviews with detainees – had been compromised, in contravention of his terms of reference.

The ASEAN Charter and other instruments at the international regional level also deserve consideration. As mentioned at the beginning of this report, Article 2 of the ASEAN Charter of 2007 calls for adherence to democratic values, respect for

17 See General Assembly Resolution A/RES/53/144.
18 See FIDH / Imparsial / KontraS (2011); op. cit.
19 On Special Procedures see http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/chr/special/index.htm.
20 See document No. A/HRC/7/28/Add.2.
21 See document No. A/HRC/7/3/Add.7.
22 See document No. A/HRC/4/24/Add.3.
23 See document No. E/CN.4/2003/65/Add.2.

human rights and fundamental freedoms, and adherence to international law. Indonesia ratified this charter in October 2008. The agreements included in Article 14 of the ASEAN Charter also set out the terms of reference for an ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights. Until the ASEAN Charter, the only Asian regional instrument referring to human rights had been the ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers. Article 14 and the terms of reference signified a new step in regional institution building on human rights, although NGOs such as the Asian Legal Resource Centre, Forum Asia, Indonesia's NGO Coalition for International Human Rights Advocacy (HRWG), Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch criticised the terms of reference for failing to give sufficient emphasis to the protection of human rights on the one hand and for their emphasis on consensus and the regional principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states on the other.

In the years of ASEAN agreements that followed, the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) was created in October 2009, and the Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC) emerged in April 2010. AICHR is to support ASEAN members in ratifying and implementing the human rights conventions. AICHR is also involved in providing guidelines for the future working group, which will draft an ASEAN declaration on human rights. ACWC is to deal specifically with the human rights of women and children.

While a final assessment of AICHR would be premature, some critical remarks are necessary, similar to the assessment on the intergovernmental commission. The terms of reference for AICHR do not provide any mechanism to follow up on its own conclusions or even to punish human rights violators. Neither does AICHR have the competence to carry out an investigation on its own. The creation of these new institutions represents progress compared to the earlier incarnation of ASEAN and its underdeveloped institution-building on human rights, and AICHR may end up fostering human rights in Indonesia too. At the very least, the new framework of ASEAN induced about 130 civil society organisations and movements from Southeast Asian countries to meet in Jakarta in May 2011 in reference to the study on Corporate Social Responsibility to be conducted by AICHR. The meeting participants discussed current performance and the corresponding guidelines on mining activities in the region.

Conclusions

Overall, the recent institution-building by Indonesia shows an encouraging tendency to move government policies emphatically into the area of supporting rule of law and democratic procedures. The next institutional challenge will be to adapt the administration, its doctrine, culture, and curriculum to be consistent with the requirements

of the rule of law and, in particular, with human rights standards. An additional effort is also needed to prepare administrative candidates appropriately, especially those in security or civil services.

The general population also needs to continue learning to engage with rule of law and human rights as issues. The recent book by Christian Gerlach on *Extremely Violent Societies: Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century*, especially the chapter on the Indonesian executions in 1965 and 1966 of all who then had been identified and labelled as "Communists", has shown the indispensable need to draw attention to the social and cultural environment of mass murder and to raise awareness accordingly.[24] It took a committed civil society movement to overcome dictatorship in Indonesia and to demand democracy, human rights, and adherence to the rule of law. Now this must continue, as only an active civil society presents enough of a challenge to the inertia of selfish interests, government institutions, and Suharto's shady legacy.

24 See Christian Gerlach (2010): *Extremely Violent Societies: Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century.* Cambridge University Press.

II. Environmental case studies

“And the investor brought the light”

Christina Felschen

Matius recently got a mobile – and a bad conscience, too. Together with four other clan chiefs, the Papuan has leased a large part of his community land to the Rajawali sugar cane company. Or perhaps he has sold it; they don’t know exactly. In the end it was already dark on that March evening when they succumbed to the pressure from the firm.

Four thousand kilometres to the west, on the Indonesian island of Sumatra, Hotlan stretches his fist skyward: “Hidup Petami!” Long live the farmers! His hand is missing a thumb. And no one in his village has been a farmer for a long time. Hotlan was never asked whether he wished to sell his land – PTPN IV palm oil company, which belongs to the presidential candidate Aburizal Bakrie, simply took it. Soon afterward, his house was set on fire by anonymous attackers, who also killed various villagers and left many critically injured. Yet the villagers remain here – where else would they go?

Land-grabbing has many faces. In Indonesia, as in other countries in the global South, entire villages have been uprooted and exiled in order to make room for plans by domestic and foreign investors. Thirty-five delegates from German, Asian, and African churches and NGOs learned what this means for individuals when they visited Papua and Sumatra from 2 to 13 May. The workshop, entitled “Peace with the Earth”, was organised at the invitation of the United Evangelical Mission (UEM) with participation from Brot für die Welt and partner organisations (Lentera, Bakumsu, KSPPM).

Indonesia possesses one of the world’s largest rainforests, with one of the greatest varieties of species. But half the area of this rainforest has already been destroyed; forecasts from the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) indicate that if the clear-cutting continues at its present rate, 98 per cent of the rainforests will have vanished or been degraded by 2022. Sonny Keraf, the former environmental minister of Indonesia, met with the delegates and left no doubt as to whom he holds responsible, criticising the government for “kissing the feet” of foreign investors. “It’s always the same story: political leaders need money for their next election campaign, business leaders help them out, and the politicians repay their generosity with land concessions.”

During his time in office (1999-2001), Keraf made a name for himself by introducing the “Law on Environmental Protection and Environmental Management”.

He planned for environmental protection to be the first priority in any decision on investment – an action that was unique in the world. But local procedures are very different: "The state of Indonesian legislation is very good, but the local enforcement and implementation leave a lot to be desired" he claimed. Keraf's Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) is currently the opposition.

In various groups, the workshop participants toured destroyed forests and a cellulose factory, palm oil plantations and local communities, encountered pit-diggers and a mining company. It became clear to them how the dense tangle of sociopolitical interests leads to the creation of monopolies and monocultures. The question of land ownership is already highly contested in Indonesia. From the point of view of the government, the land belongs to the state – unless someone can prove through a lease that they are the legal owner. But this practically never happens, since such documents were hardly ever issued in the past, and today the land authorities usually refuse to issue common-law leases retroactively. This way the government can lease the land to the highest-bidding investor at its own discretion. Such procedures are actually subject to the UN Declaration on the Protection of Indigenous Peoples, which stipulates that the "free, prior and informed consent" (FPIC) of indigenous peoples be obtained before their land is sold. The government simply does not acknowledge the native inhabitants of Indonesia as indigenous. But since local and regional laws can deviate from the Jakarta doctrine, many investors will conclude additional contracts with the local residents.

"I cannot understand how you could sell your land!" Namibian Pastor Petrus Khariseb, one of the UEM delegates, has jumped to his feet and is looking around the circle, shaking his head. Fifty Papuan men in tatty shirts and sandals, smoking. One of them looked like his father, says Khariseb later. "We in Namibia have been fighting for 100 years to get our land back. And you are simply giving it away. Land is the mother of life! You are giving away your land – and that of your children!" Khariseb grew up during apartheid; his parents were always working on other people's farms for a pittance and could never save anything. For a moment the men look upset, regretting their decision. But the village secretary takes the floor: "We leased our land because we want a better life. The government has abandoned us; we never saw the money from the Special Autonomy Law." He pauses: "But there is a new happiness in our life. Before 2010, we lived in the dark, but Rajawali brought us light." And a villager who introduces himself as the CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) Manager for Rajawali adds that "Rajawali is like Moses."

A tough blow for the resident church, with its years of effort on behalf of the village. "The churches should beat the firms to it and offer the congregations an economic alternative" suggests the Papua team in its concluding report, giving the example that a pastor could open the first congregant plantation or the first kiosk before a firm does.

Matius's village is only the beginning. Kristina Neubauer, the former coordinator of the West Papua Network (WPN) and the Faith-Based Network on West Papua (FBN) and the current advisor on partnerships for the UEM, estimates that in 10 to 20 years, Papua will be devastated as Sumatra. In August 2010, the Indonesian agricultural ministry started the agricultural mega-project of MIFEE (Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate), which is intended to transform 1.2 million hectares of land around the South Papua area of Merauke into mega-plantations. By 2011, 36 investors had already received concessions to cultivate wood, sugar cane, maize, and soybeans.

Most villages are left to their own devices when making the decision, unprepared for the tricks of corporations. "The churches should make it clear to their congregations how the firms operate" suggests the Papua team. Again and again, in both Papua and Sumatra, the UEM delegates observed the same pattern, regardless of whether there were mining corporations, agricultural concerns, or paper factories involved: the company would address targeted, influential members of the congregation and use them to convince the rest. A Batak Christian from Sumatra recounted how they had promised him an expensive car if he could be persuaded. And under the mantle of "corporate social responsibility" (CSR), Rajawali paid a Papuan villager to convince his own people of the advantages of selling their land.

The corporations are also trying to win over the churches, for example by making donations to the congregation or gifts to individual church leaders. One pastor was not willing to meet with one of the UEM groups because he had already taken the side of a mining company. The corporations say nothing about the negative consequences of agribusiness. They often make themselves popular by taking up cultural traditions. For example, the leader of a mining company adopted a child from a neighbouring village in Sumatra, and Rajawali donated a complete Christmas feast to a Papuan village before the village chief agreed to the contract.

The decisions often demand too much of the villages, who have neither experience with land contracts nor an idea of how the plantation economy will completely transform their lives and their land. The contracts often lack transparency and often are not stapled together, so that the corporation can easily add in additional pages afterward. The villagers are often dazzled by large sums of money – money that, once it has been distributed among all the residents, over the agreed time period and divided through the large piece of land – turns out to be very little. The sums are only paid once; there is no other form of compensation given, such as alternative land or houses. The frequent promises to carry out social programmes in the communities are often later withdrawn by the corporation, with the argument that they must first recoup their investment. Some of the mistaken decisions could possibly be prevented if the affected villagers could exchange ideas with one another. This is why the Papua team suggested to the churches that they make a lawyer available to affected communities and promote dialogue among communities that are exposed to corporate interests.

The reaction of church congregations to the threat of destruction varies as much as the personalities of the respective pastors and bishops. UEM member Jadasri Saragih himself works as a pastor in a city that is surrounded by palm oil plantations in all directions. “I hate palm oil!” bursts from him when he says hello. In front of every congregation on his path, he gives blazing sermons against the sale of land – just as he does in his own church. But other church leaders own plantations themselves, or benefit from donations by raw materials companies. When asked about the most urgent matter in his church, one bishop from a region that is dramatically affected by land-grabbing replies: “Our spiritual life.”

In their closing statements, the delegates encouraged the churches to take more political responsibility. They appealed to churches all over the world to advocate for those who face threats from land-grabbing and the destruction of their livelihoods. “When our brothers and sisters suffer under an unjust economic situation, we are called upon to liberate them and make them stronger” said Tanzanian Bishop Stephen Ismail Munga in his closing sermon. The end of apartheid showed that a critical mass can change the world, he noted, “I saw and heard people who were oppressed by their own government. Their cries were not heard because personal advantages were worth more to the government than the lives of their voters. Their cries are God’s call to us to help them get their property and their dignity back.”

At a meeting with Indonesian church leaders, the participants also directed a critical message to the churches that in many countries themselves maintain relations with controversial corporations – Germany included. “Churches should not accept any donations from companies that violate human rights” said Petrus Sugito, the General Secretary of the GKJTU church in Indonesian Java. Sugito, together with the other delegates, called for an appropriate code of conduct.

“If things continue as they are, within a few years our forests will have become paper and plantations, the water will be polluted, and the small farmers will have no land”, concluded Rannieh Mercado, the director of the UEM Asia Office, at the end of the three-day tour. “Then our children will ask us: What did the church do in this situation?”

Resisting agribusiness development: The Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate in West Papua, Indonesia.

Longgena Ginting and Oliver Pye

This paper looks at a new major land grab in Indonesia, the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate in West Papua, Indonesia, known more commonly by its acronym MIFEE. We first introduce MIFEE and discuss some of its key defining features, as well as the particular context of the project, which is defined by the history of Indonesian occupation of West Papua. Because most of the project has yet to materialise, we have little to contribute to those questions posed by Borras et al. (2011) regarding the changes in agrarian structures, social differentiation, and impacts of displacement and dispossession. We also do not discuss the policy narratives by the project proponents, as these are analysed very well in the excellent paper by Takeshi Ito, Noer Fauzi Rachman, and Laksmi A. Savitri (2011). Rather, the focus of this paper is on the emerging resistance to the MIFEE land grab.

We try to find some answers to the question, "to what extent have agrarian political struggles been provoked by the new land investment dynamics?" (Borras et al. 2011, 212) and argue that a new alliance opposing the project is emerging that draws on different traditions of struggle. We also look at some of the "issues that unite or divide the rural poor, organized movements, and rural communities" (ibid.) and how MIFEE is "discursively challenged and opposed" (ibid.). We argue that there are three distinct but connected narratives of opposition around the discourses of customary forest rights, Indonesian "imperialist" subjugation of Papua, and land reform and food sovereignty. At the same time, there is also a division between the indigenous Papuans resisting the project and the migrant small farmers living in Merauke who tend to welcome the project. This creates a key dilemma for the resistance. Although alternatives such as indigenous customary rights to land and forests, land reform, and "food sovereignty" are all "relevant and useful" (ibid.), we argue that their relation to one another needs to be rethought in order to overcome these divisions and to broaden and deepen resistance. Unsurprisingly, this leads to more questions than answers, and we hope that some of these questions arising from the resistance to MIFEE can be helpful to others who are struggling to oppose land grabs in other parts of the world.

MIFEE: a textbook land grab?

The Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) in West Papua, Indonesia, is in some ways a textbook land grab. "Powerful transnational and national economic actors from corporations to national governments" have identified Merauke as an "empty land" to be used as a future site for "fuel and food production" (Borras et al. 2011, 209). Indeed, the very name of this land grab points to the convergence of agribusiness and agrofuel interests. However, the role of private-equity funds (ibid.) is negligible, with the key initiative for the project coming from regency and national government and a host of domestic agribusiness conglomerates.

The MIFEE project had its local precedent in a programme developed by the head of Merauke's regency government, Johannes Gluba Gebze, called the Merauke Integrated Rice Estate (MIRE). Investors were wooed in order to transform the regency into a rice basket for Indonesia. When the plans failed to materialise, Gebze was quick to take up the opportunities offered by Indonesian president Yudhoyono's declaration to seize the international food crisis as an opportunity and "to feed the world".[1] Presidential Instruction 5/2007 on the Acceleration of Development in Papua and West Papua (the names of the two provinces now comprising West Papua) and Government Regulation No. 39/2009 on Special Economic Zones (Kawasan Ekonomi Khusus, KEK) established Papua as the strategic location of national development fantasies. In 2010, Government Decree No. 18/2010 on Agricultural Crops created the category of Food and Energy Estates and Merauke became *the* flagship estate project. The invention of MIFEE has been framed as serving food security and agribusiness export-led development,[2] but it also coincides with ambitious national plans for millions of hectares of biofuel estates (BWI 2007).

At the launching of the project in August 2010, Agriculture Minister Siswono declared MIFEE the future "bread basket" of Indonesia and proclaimed that it would eventually produce "almost two million tons of rice, two million tons of corn, and 167,000 tons of soybeans", as well as "2.5 million tons of sugar and 937,000 tons of palm oil" (Ekawati 2010). Merauke's Spatial Planning and Permit Agency, the BKPMDP (Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal Daerah dan Perijinan) already lists 32 companies as having been issued permits within the MIFEE project (see Map 1). Although planned as a "food and energy estate", the largest part of the project is slated for industrial plantations (over 970,000 hectares), with oil palms (over 300,000 hectares) and food crops (69,000 hectares) in second and third place (BKPMDP 2010, Tri and Haksoro 2010).

1 KADIN, 28-29 January 2010; and Feed The World, 28 January 2010.
2 http://bbp2tp.litbang.deptan.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=377&Itemid=1.

The announcement of the MIFEE project was accompanied by various rumours and media reports of planned investment from the Middle East, Korea, China and Japan. Before the announcement of the MIFEE project, a Chinese state company was reported to be planning a one-million-hectare investment in palm oil biofuels in Papua, together with the infamous Sinar Mas Group (EIA and Telepak 2009). The Saudi Arabian Bin Laden Group was said to be planning to invest $4 billion in rice production in Merauke (Dow Jones Newswires 2008, Ichwan 2008), and the Japanese corporation Mitsubishi and the Korean corporation LG were also associated with the project (Tapol and Dte 2010). In 2009, LG International (2009) announced that it had secured a "massive forestry concession in Papua" through a joint venture with the Indonesian Medco Group in a company called Metra Duta Lestari. Most foreign investment has not actually been forthcoming, however. The Chinese and Saudi Arabian investments are on hold, and it is unclear what the real progress of the LG plantation scheme has been.

In fact, most of the MIFEE investors are the usual suspects from the agribusiness and logging conglomerates that reaped tremendous profits under General Suharto's export-oriented "New Order". Pre-MIFEE concession permits were given to Sinar Mas, Muting Hijau, and Rajawali groups to be converted into pulp and palm oil plantations. Key players in MIFEE all have political connections. The Comexindo Group, for example, is owned by Hashim Djoyohadikoesoemo, brother of an ex-Kopassus general and son-in-law of Suharto Prabowo Subianto. Another company, PT Bangun Cipta Sarana, is connected to former Suharto interior minister and minister of transmigration Siswono Yudo Husodo. A third important group, Artha Graha, is owned by Tommy Winata, who is well connected to the military in West Papua and has been involved in various infrastructure projects (Klute 2010; Papua Forest Eye 2010a).

One of the key business groups in MIFEE is Medco, an oil company whose owner Arifin Panigoro was an influential politician with the PDI-P. Typically, Medco is a conglomerate that is involved in energy, agribusiness, finance, manufacturing, and real estate and hotels. Through its subsidiary, PT. Selaras Inti Semesta (SIS), Medco has already developed a 300,000-hectare timber plantation in the Kurik, Kaptel, Animha, and Muting districts. Its chipwood mill, PT. Medco Papua Industri Lestari (MIL), needs ten million tonnes of timber per annum for chipwood production and another two million tonnes annually for pulp production. While waiting for the timber plantation, which will require eight years to mature, the mills utilise tropical timber from community forests and from their concessions. Medco is an active proponent of the whole MIFEE concept, and has established its own "Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate Research Centre" that is "promoting bio fuel experiment [sic] that will support energy resilience for the country".[3] It

3 http://www.medcofoundation.org/mifee.php?strlang=eng

is unclear whether a planned One Malaysian timber and palm oil corporation, the Genting Group, has yet been awarded 300,000 hectares, on which it plans to start up palm oil and biofuels production. Another palm oil giant, Wilmar, has also been reported to have been offered 200,000 hectares, this time for sugar cane (Tempo Interactive 2 September 2010). As to the "nationality" of the latter corporation, who can say? Its largest shareholder is the Malaysian agribusiness Kuok family (who founded the company in 2005 together with Indonesian millionaire Martua Sitorus), the US agribusiness giant ADM has a ten per cent holding, the company's head office is in Singapore, and its fastest-expanding areas of business are in China and Indonesia. Wilmar is the largest palm oil processor in the world by volume, yet has received financial support from the World Bank (to combat poverty?). The Rajawali Group, owned by billionaire Peter Sondakh, has also announced sugar investments on 70,000 hectares of the MIFEE project (Papua Forest Eye 2010b).

A Papuan exception?

At the same time, West Papua is in many ways an exception to most land grab contexts. It has been under Indonesian military occupation since 1962 and was coerced into joining Indonesia in the "Act of No Choice" in 1969. Since then, the politics in West Papua have been characterised by military repression of the widespread underlying separatist sentiment in the Papuan population, along with a West Papuan political elite that has been co-opted by the Indonesian state. Freedom of speech is massively curtailed and activists often jailed or harassed. Occasional raids by armed separatist forces (the Organisasi Papua Merdeka, OPM) are used to legitimise continued occupation and the criminalisation of any discussion about independence, including raising the flag of West Papua, the Morning Star. The special Papuan context of the MIFEE land grab, and how the resistance to it develops, is defined by this historical experience and by how the relationship with Indonesia has changed since the *reformasi* movement and the fall of Suharto in 1998.

Of major economic, political, and symbolic significance is a huge gold and copper mine in the central highlands of West Papua owned by the mining corporation Freeport. Through the violent expropriation of indigenous lands, the exploitation of migrant labour, and the environmental degradation of rivers, Freeport generated billions of dollars in revenue for the Suharto regime. Military occupation and human rights abuses were intimately connected to the Freeport mine. Recently, the Amungme people sued Freeport for $32.5 billion for the legal appropriation of their land. Other foreign investment and exploitation of Papuan natural resources are therefore always seen within the context of this violent history.

Another characteristic of the Indonesian occupation was its integration within the state-organised transmigration programme that sought to relocate millions of landless farmers from densely populated Java to the "idle lands" of the "outer islands"

(Adhiati and Bobsien 2001). The transmigration programme in West Papua was closely connected to political and security considerations. The national government in Jakarta wanted to change the demographic character of key lowland areas and build up a political base of Muslim Javanese to counter the Christian Papuans. Military occupation regularly used the symbolism of Muslim festivities, etc., in order to shore up the identification of the migrants with the Indonesian state and the occupation project. The Papuans therefore view transmigration as part of an Indonesian strategy of political and environmental domination.

The national *reformasi* movement that toppled Suharto and his New Order in 1998 represented a historical shift in this history of occupation. Crucially, the *national* movement in Jakarta adopted the demand for the autonomy of Aceh and West Papua as part of their list of ten demands. The resultant Special Autonomy status passed by the Indonesian parliament in 2001 was a partial fulfilment of this demand. It included a much larger share of taxes from West Papua being returned by the national government, with transfers rising from under 5.000 billion Rupiah ($500 million) in 2001 to over 20.000 billion in 2008 (World Bank 2009). However, ten years down the track, these extra billions have not reached most of the Papuan inhabitants. Instead, the political elite use the funds for its own (private) version of development whilst basing their power on compliance with Jakarta, the military and votes from the increasing number of Javanese migrants. Papua has become a kind of New Order Time Warp: military business involvement is as ubiquitous as it used to be for Indonesia as a whole. West Papua has become their favoured "retreat" from the less friendly atmosphere in many other parts of Indonesia. It remains an attractive destination of the more informal public-private forms of transmigration (Li 2011, 288).

The MIFEE project is set firmly within this framework of military-business-political networks and of political intimidation and oppression. According to an NGO report by EIA and Telepak (2009, 20), the "combination of Gebze's political aspirations, central government interests and the potentially huge investment in plantations expansion, [sic] has created a climate of intimidation towards anyone who opposes the plantations or new province. Local sources report that irregular groups allied to Gebze work in unison with the state security forces to monitor and intimidate any dissenters in the region". Military personnel are very visible in the proposed project area, and the recent suspicious death of journalist Ardiansyah Matra'is, who had been writing critically about the MIFEE project, is seen by NGOs as a sign of the authorities' determination to squash any dissent to the plan (Tapol and DtE 2010).

Emerging Resistance

The emerging resistance against MIFEE is located within a national (and international) alliance against land grabs *and* within the movement against Indonesian occupation and exploitation. Both operate with preconceived assumptions, ways of working, frameworks, and networks, and each movement, on its own, could lead to different strategies of resistance. A critical dialogue and engagement between the two could lead to new and innovative ways of criticising and stopping the land grab.

Indigenous opposition to the MIFEE project has been widespread. In the few areas where companies have been already working their concessions, local communities already feel angry and cheated. For example, a subsidiary of the Medco Group, PT. SelarasInti Persada (PT.SIS), operates on land belonging to the village of Zenegi. PT.SIS plans to set up a wood chip plantation in Zenegi village. In order to receive the permission of the local indigenous leaders, PT.SIS representatives tricked them into signing off their forest resources by presenting them with a gift of 300 Million Rupiah in December 2009. At a subsequent focus group discussion, village youth blamed their elders for signing away their forests. An attachment to the signed "gift" gave Medco the right to log timber for a fee of 2000 Rupiah per cubic metre although the normal rate is ten times higher (Zakaria et al. 2010, 37-42). Learning from the experience in Zenegi, villagers from Kaliki rejected the proposed MIFEE project. One villager complained that Medco had not developed or planted anything, but had already cut down all the trees (Zakaria et al. 2010, 44).

In another group discussion, organised by the National Commission on Human Rights, indigenous people from the Yeinan tribe expressed their worries about a permit that the district government had awarded to a large oil palm plantation (Zakaria et al. 2010, 45). The extent to which MIFEE was devised without consultation with the customary land rights holders of the region is epitomised by Serapu village. MIFEE was officially launched here by regency chief Gebze shortly before his term of office ended. However, it emerged later at a YASANTO discussion meeting that villagers had not been informed what was actually being launched. After hearing the facts, the villagers rejected MIFEE. The project had totally bypassed them, was without their involvement and not for their benefit, and yet was to be built on their customary land (YASANTO 2010).

Indigenous representatives on the official Papuan Adat Council also reject MIFEE. The secretary general of the Papuan Adat Council of Region V (Ha-Anim), Johanes Wob, has denounced the agribusiness interests behind the project as a threat to the indigenous people of Merauke. Indigenous people are structurally disadvantaged because companies often use the law to their own benefit. Wob announced that indigenous peoples' land is "not for sale" (Hardianto 2010). On July 18, 2010, the Papuan *Adat* Council of Region V sent a letter to President Yudhoyono stating that they rejected the MIFEE project. They warned that continuing with the project would

cause serious dissatisfaction with the government. The *Adat* council now plans to map their territory and to provide legal assistance and training to the indigenous people in the area. The *Adat* council enjoys the full support of local Malind people and is also working together with NGOs such as YASANTO and with the Catholic Church organisation SPKKAM. As members of the Alliance of the Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago (Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara, or AMAN), the council is also well connected nationally (Wob 2010).

The government plans and media hype about projected huge investments in Merauke soon reached the NGOs in West Papua and Jakarta that were already operating within established networks. During 2010, a loose coalition came together as the Civil Society Coalition against MIFEE (Masyarakat Sipil Tolak MIFEE) and now coordinates exchange between some 30 local and national organisations. A key member is Foker LSM Papua, the NGO umbrella for 118 member organisations all over Papua that was founded in 1991. Foker has a strong focus on issues of human rights, natural resources, and development. Church organisations are also central to the alliance, for example the Sekretariat Kemanusiaan dan Perdamaian Keuskupan Agung Merauke (SKP KAM), the Catholic Church organisation dealing with peace and humanitarian issues. Important national organisations include AMAN, the Indonesian Environmental Forum (WALHI, Friends of the Earth Indonesia), the mining advocacy network JATAM, Greenpeace Indonesia, and the think tanks PUSAKA and Sawit Watch.

Foker member Yayasan Santo Antonius (YASANTO), a local development NGO that provides education and health services to communities in Merauke, is one of the most active of the groups dealing with MIFEE. YASANTO has become a focal point for the NGOs/groups from outside that are concerned about the MIFEE issue. It plays a key facilitating role, connecting local communities and indigenous peoples from the area with NGOs from Jayapura, Jakarta, and beyond. Foker also helped set up the Papuan People's Solidarity to Reject MIFEE (Solidaritas Rakyat Papua Tolak MIFEE, SORPATOM), an activist group comprised mainly of students that offers students and other interested citizens in Merauke and Jayapura the chance to become active against the project without being a member of one of the established NGOs.

The first primary objective of the coalition is to exchange information and research about MIFEE. In addition to research, such as the PUSAKA report "Beyond Malind Imagination", groups are cooperating to develop a geographic analysis of who will be affected and to assess the environmental impact of the project. Another area of cooperation is in outreach and training for local people in the area. Various members of the alliance organised a series of consultations, public meetings, and training sessions for local people in the area (12 of which are listed in Zakaria et al. 2010, 5-6). SPK KAM is running a series of research and training courses for communities, while other Foker members are giving training sessions on the rights of communities, the prin-

ciple of Free and Prior Informed Consent (FPIC), local reporting via text message, and more. Meanwhile, members based in Jayapura are lobbying the governor and parliament of their province, who were sidelined from the decision-making process by direct agreement between President Yudhoyono and Regency Head Glebze.

Counter-Framing MIFEE

The groups opposing MIFEE operate with three different basic frameworks that are used in varying intensities and combinations. Because of their different backgrounds, they discursively challenge and oppose the MIFEE deal in different ways, and this is relevant for how resistance is organized and developed (Borras et al. 2011). Three basic counter-narratives seem to be relevant. The first of these is a narrative of indigenous peoples living in harmony with the forest and threatened by commercial interests, the second is a story of resistance against the occupation and exploitation of West Papua by foreign interests, and the third is a framework of land reform and food sovereignty against agribusiness food estates.

The potentially large-scale conversion of forests by MIFEE development has been criticised by environmentalist organisations, and the NGO Greenomics Indonesia estimates that up to 90 per cent of the area is still covered by natural forest (Ekawati and Satriastanti 2010). Locally, forest protection is usually associated with the defence of indigenous customary land rights. The discourse around indigenous peoples and their symbiotic relationship with the forests has been a powerful one in Indonesia and in related international campaigns. This discourse was systematically developed in Indonesia by the environmental justice movement, particularly by AMAN and WALHI, in order to defend customary land rights against the territorialisation of state control (Peluso et al. 2008). Reminiscent of the situation in Indonesia under the Suharto regime, the forest issue is also seen by Foker as something that activists can work on without seeming "too political" (Manufandu 2011). This critique of MIFEE dovetails with a more general campaign called "Save the People and Forests of Papua" launched a year earlier by Foker. Here, the livelihoods of indigenous people are depicted as at one with the forest: "forests are life," the "forest is the mother of the Papuans." Land is not something that can be owned individually (Foker LSM Papua 2009). According to this framework, the "Indigenous Peoples' living in this area depend on hunting and collecting sago as their main food" and MIFEE would lead to a "loss of cultural traditions and values" (AMAN 2010). The loss of culture and tradition has been taken up by other critics as well: "The Gebze with their coconut symbol, the Mahuze with their sago symbol, the Basiks with their pig symbol, the Samkki with their kangaroo symbol, the Kaize with their Kasuari and Balagaise (falcon birds) symbol; everything will get lost. In other words, the MIFEE food project will lead to the annihilation of the Malind people" (Moiwend 2010).

The basic strategy of this framework is to strengthen the traditions that celebrate indigenous knowledge and reinforce the position to let land rather than selling it, and even then to keep it from being used for huge plantations (Manufandu 2011).

The second framework is one of Papuan independence. Here, MIFEE is seen as a continuation of occupation and exploitation of the Freeport kind: foreign companies moving in to extract maximum profit from the natural resources of West Papua. For example, the West Papua Advocacy Team argues that "these planned food estates will deprive Papuans of their traditional resources for hunting and fishing and destroy the very basis of their livelihoods. This would follow the pattern of other such 'development' schemes, most notoriously the Freeport McMoran copper and gold mine, which has displaced thousands of Papuans and has destroyed vast stretches of pristine forest" (WPAT 2010).

In this view, MIFEE, and the politicians like Gebze who pursue it, are merely serving imperialist interests, particularly those of the United States, which intends to use West Papua to solve its food and energy crisis (SORPATOM 2010). The presence of a large number of army units in the MIFEE area testifies to the role of the military in protecting the interests of foreign investors from those of the the local population (Manufandu 2011). In this context, the potential recruitment of migrant workers to work the food and biofuel estates can be interpreted as a calculated means of control and ethnic subjugation by Indonesia. Huge numbers of migrant workers are predicted to arrive as part of the MIFEE project. Several accounts predict four million workers coming in from outside. SORPATOM (2010) extrapolates this (adding in spouses, children and extended family) to a total of 24 million, concluding that "*genocide* or extermination of the indigenous community will occur spontaneously". AMAN also speaks of the "structural and systematic genocide" (AMAN 2010) that will occur if the Papuans (already in a minority in Merauke) are marginalised by an influx of migrants.

The third framework is an argument to prioritise land reform and food sovereignty over agribusiness food estates. Here, the main contradiction is seen as being between big business interests and small farmers, although, again, foreign capital is seen as paramount (SPI 2009; Arsyad 2010). As part of the neoliberal restructuring of agriculture, the food estates will exacerbate the food crisis by feudalising independent peasants into cheap labourers and dependent smallholders, thereby undermining food sovereignty (SPI 2009). WALHI has connected the large-scale destruction of forests with the loss of food sovereignty and has drawn a parallel to the Central Kalimantan Mega Rice Project, which converted forests and swamps into rice fields with the help of transmigrant labour. The project collapsed, mainly because of inappropriate land use and environmental problems, and was cancelled after the fall of Suharto. Sustainable and family-based farming has been suggested as the correct alternative to the predicted failure of the food estate project.

Strategic questions about resistance to MIFEE

In view of the relatively recent status of MIFEE and the modest amount of actual investment and land-grabbing that has taken place on the ground so far, the speed of indigenous and NGO reactions to the project has been impressive. What is more, the breadth of NGO involvement and the cooperation between these organisations at the local and national level and the good links with the indigenous population in the area promise a potentially sophisticated, enduring, and even successful campaign against the project. Resistance is still in the very early stages, however, and to date basically involves information-gathering, networking, and awareness-raising. It is still a long way away from "grabbing land back" (Borras et al. 2011). Indeed, there is a real possibility that a lot of the deal could still be stopped before it materialises. This will depend on how the emerging coalition can extend the base of the opposition beyond existing NGOs, how political pressure can be built up (to encourage the national and/or district/province governments to back out), how economic pressure can be developed (to target existing and potential investors), and what people living in the area can do to prevent agribusiness development if the project does go ahead.

This early stage in both the deal and the resistance offers an opportunity to think through some of the strategic questions in developing a successful campaign. This is where the campaign coalition against MIFEE can benefit from international linkages and experiences, as well as critical reflection by, and dialogue with, activist scholars. The Brighton conference on land-grabbing is a key moment for this, but further exchange and critical analysis of the issues will also be useful and is particularly important in Merauke, because of the way the resistance builds on existing networks and "modes of resistance". This is at once a strength and a weakness, because these modes of resistance operate within certain assumptions and ways of working that may not be helpful in tackling some of the key challenges posed by the land grab. The same applies to international networking and campaign strategising, which can fall into a "default mode" – paths of connection and ways of operating that have been in place and are therefore repeated.

The forest option: using "indigenous peoples and forests framing" could be a way of generalising resistance amongst the indigenous Ha-Anim. It also seems to be promising in terms of creating a split within government agencies, particularly between the Ministry of Forestry and the Ministry of Agriculture. The Minister of Forestry has already declared that much of the land earmarked for MIFEE is forest land and cannot be converted into farm land (Simamora 2010). Zoning issues have already slowed project implementation and could lead to MIFEE being scaled down to only 500,000 hectares. These turf wars between ministries can be understood within the context of REDD, which could redefine forest conservation into a major source of funding via the carbon market. The Ministry of Forestry is therefore reluc-

tant to relinquish control over potentially lucrative areas. REDD money could also be a powerful economic alternative to agribusiness investment.

However, merely celebrating indigenous forest communities will not be enough to stop agribusiness development. In the indigenous communities themselves, people are not content to continue with the traditional "hunting and sago" way of life: they want some kind of cash income as well. This is shown clearly by the aforementioned debate in Zenegi village, in which the anger directed against Medco was partly to do with the price of logged timber. The practice of renting out land for logging and receiving a commission per cubic metre is one way of generating income, even if it undermines the traditional subsistence economy. In this context, REDD money could also be attractive for indigenous communities as an alternative way of generating cash income.

But using REDD as an alternative to MIFEE has its own dangers. The forestry sector is firmly in the hands of the government of Indonesia and powerful timber companies, and in West Papua it is entwined with the military and is notoriously corrupt (EIA/Telepak 2005, 2009). REDD could become a Trojan horse, facilitating a "forest grab" by military-linked companies and further marginalising indigenous communities by plugging their forests into a global carbon market controlled by carbon brokers and hedge funds. There is also the risk that, with the help of large conservationist NGOs like WWF and CI, MIFEE will end up "greenwashed": some of the most "high conservation value" areas could be removed from the deal in "partnership" with the large agribusiness corporations involved. For example, the Medco Group is one of Conservation International's "corporate partners". The Papuan NGO forum Foker is therefore sceptical of REDD and has adopted the position of "No Rights, No REDD" (Manufandu 2011). But such a slogan glosses over different positions within the coalition against MIFEE. For example, while WALHI rejects REDD outright, AMAN has adopted a position of critical engagement in order to use REDD to strengthen indigenous rights to forests. A REDD-based strategy to stop MIFEE would therefore generate intense debates between the different opposition groups and could potentially split the coalition.

The autonomy/independence default mode

This mode frames MIFEE as an example of (Indonesian) imperialism that marginalises the Papuans through a kind of military/corporate/transmigrant bloc. The mode uses Papuan identity as a resource to mobilise local communities to reject the project. The strength of this option is that it is integrated within the broader movement for Papuan independence, which is gaining strength with the rejection of the Special Autonomy Status. Disgust at local political representatives' conspiring with military and Indonesian business interests finally reached the breaking point in January 2011, when thousands of people, including thousands of church members and hundreds

of students from the Indonesian Christian Students Movement (GMKI; a member of the World Student Christian Federation) occupied the Papuan People's Council (MRP). In an extraordinary statement, Church leaders criticized the "present tyrant state authorities, who is [sic] on a rampage of internal colonialism, ethnic cleansing (genocide), and disguised slavery against your own Nation" and called for the rejection of the Special Autonomy status and a referendum on the future of West Papua mediated by a third party (Doirebo et al. 2011).

This option also plugs into an existing network of international West Papua solidarity groups (and churches) that can help to fund activities (particularly Christian aid), organise watchdog and solidarity actions, and generate international pressure on Indonesia. This path is already being followed by Foker in order to generate political pressure (appealing to the new district head of Merauke, who is less gung-ho about MIFEE, and lobbying the provincial parliament and governor, who were sidelined by MIFEE) and to ward off (potential) investors. The threat of indigenous rejection and potential unrest is being used as a resource here to undermine trust in the viability of MIFEE as a safe investment (Manufandu 2011). MIFEE has already become quite well known internationally via the solidarity groups and church networks in operation.

There are two major problems with this strategy, however. The first and fairly obvious one is that a movement for Papuan real autonomy or independence that is based on indigenous identity opposition and international solidarity and pressure has not been successful in some 50 years. The whole modus operandi of Indonesian control over Papua is to ignore and criminalise any sentiment for independence. The military occupation and repression of the region is fortified through the establishment of a political base amongst an increasing number of Muslim migrants as well as some Papuans and enough profit is created through the exploitation of Papuan natural resources to finance it all. While West Papuan solidarity is important for providing a space for activists to operate and for preventing some of the most atrocious human rights violations, it will not overturn this Indonesian occupation regime. In fact, significant progress in the direction of autonomy has only been made within the context of the *reformasi* movement, i.e., a national movement for more democracy that challenged key political cornerstones in Jakarta. "Nationalising" the Papua question, perhaps by creating Papua solidarity groups *in Indonesia*, could be one way of encouraging policy change on this issue.

One sign that there could be considerable support for a further revision of national policy towards Papua is the recent report by the highly respected Indonesian Institute of Sciences LIPI (Widjojo et al. 2008). The report, entitled *Papua Road Map: Negotiating the Past, Improving the Present and Securing the Future* and based on a three-year intensive research project in West Papua, concluded that the roots of the conflict in Papua are (a) the systematic marginalisation and discrimination against the

Papuans; (b) the failure of development programmes to address issues of education, health, and economic empowerment; (c) the conflict between Jakarta and Papua over their perceptions of history and identity; and (d) the past state violence against the Papuans. The report also called for an Aceh-type solution to the problem. This suggests that there is scope for a much higher degree of regional autonomy.

The second and perhaps most challenging question is that of the transmigrants. Migrant small-scale farmers from Java, Sulawesi, and other parts of Papua now make up more than half of Merauke's population. Although indigenous sentiment against these migrants is understandable, given the political and economic marginalisation of the indigenous Papua and the role that migrant farmers play in this process, taking sides against them would only be counterproductive, since it encourages polarisation and thus unity within the military-corporate-transmigrant block. When such polarisation occurs, politicians like Gebze can continue to control the district government by mobilising the migrant votes. Some of the arguments against MIFEE also tend to sensationalise the problems of in-migration by exaggerating the numbers and claiming "structural genocide". As Li (2011, 282) has pointed out, the labour required for plantation agriculture and forestry is grossly exaggerated by government and corporate land-grabbers, and ranges from 10-400 workers per 1000 hectares, depending on the crop. A rough estimate using an average of 150 workers per 1000 hectares would give us a total number of migrant workers of 180,000 for 1.2 million hectares of fully developed MIFEE. This is still large in relation to the current population, but nothing like the oft-quoted number of 4 million and the extrapolated 24 million migrants (!) feared by SORPATOM.

In the Merauke context, therefore, rejecting the land grab by defending indigenous customary rights based on an "ethno-territorial identity" that excludes migrants who have been living there for some time creates a particularly "troubling dilemma" (Hall et al. 2011, 11). As discussed by Derek Hall, Philip Hirsch and Tania Murray Li (2011, 170-191), this dilemma occurs when "counterclaims" based on "indigeneity and ethno-territory" collide with those based on land reform and the "need for land as the basis of an agrarian livelihood" (2011, 183). Creating a "migrant scare", albeit from an indigenous rather than a supremacist perspective, also risks the more sinister danger of "ethnic violence", as witnessed under similar circumstances between the indigenous Dayaks and Malays and the Madurese transmigrants in Kalimantan and between the Acehnese and the Javanese migrants in Aceh at the end of the 1990s (Peluso 2008; Hall et al. 2011, 176-177). This can lead to local elites using "ethnic identity as a resource" (van Klinken 2008, 44) in order to create "racialised territories" (Peluso 2008, 62), and in the Papuan context could well be answered with a military or paramilitary crackdown against the Papuans.

Land reform and food sovereignty

Criticising MIFEE as being part of an agribusiness expansion that comes at the cost of small farmers seems to be the default resistance strategy of national organisations SPI (La Via Campesina Indonesia) and WALHI (Friends of the Earth Indonesia). The advantage of this strategy is that it offers a way to call for an alternative kind of development rather than harking back to a solely traditionalist (indigenous people living in harmony with the forest) or nationalist/ethnic perspective. The fight against MIFEE in Merauke could thereby become part of a generalised movement against food and energy estates in Indonesia in general and attach to a global reaction against land grabs.

However, there are various complications in the Merauke context that mean that the strategy would have to depart from its default mode and become something new and different. The first reason is fairly obvious: neither SPI nor WALHI have local branches in Papua, let alone Merauke; that is, there is as yet no organised social force that could struggle for land reform or food sovereignty as an alternative to MIFEE. The polarisation between Papuans and migrants also complicates things. If land reform is seen as distributing land "in areas where population is sparse", to smallholders rather than to agribusiness, while providing the supporting government services (Li 2011, 285), what would this mean in a situation where the "potential for conflict between locals and transmigrants over both land and jobs is clearly very high" (Li 2011, 288)? What would an alternative development path based on food sovereignty look like for Merauke? And what would a different future look like that could balance the desire to maintain traditions and a successful coexistence with the forest with the desire for some kind of development, perhaps along the lines of successful smallholders?

Conclusion

The MIFEE land grab is an exemplary case study in many ways. The proactive role of the national and local government, the key involvement of domestic agribusiness conglomerates, and the state-condoned violence are all aspects that are typical of other land-grab projects. Indeed, this particular constellation of forces could be part of one type of land grab that is different from those characterised more by the role of foreign investment and financial equity funds. Another typical feature of the MIFEE land grab is the gap between planned territorialisation and investment, and real investment and action. This opens up an opportunity for resistance to the land grab. As we have argued, this resistance is already quite well organised and therefore has a real chance of stopping or seriously downsizing the planning fantasies of the government officials and corporations involved. At the same time, the emerging resistance also exhibits some of the potential strategies, as well as some of their limitations. The contradictions between the forest-livelihoods strategy, the ethno-terri-

torial strategy, and the land reform strategy are evident, and these are probably relevant for many other settings of resistance in other parts of the world. However, all three strategies are also very much interconnected, and finding those connections that can complement and enhance each other might be the key to developing new and successful models of resistance.

Following De Schutter (2011, 258), the challenge for the emerging resistance to MIFEE would be to develop an alternative and better method of agricultural investment around a locally adapted programme of land reform. As Li (2011, 289-292) has shown, the success of such a method would depend very much on *how* it is developed, and particularly on whether smallholders are in the driver's seat and government-supported, or become indebted contract workers within a corporate-dominated landscape of liberalized agrarian relations. It is clear that this will not be achieved through good-governance initiatives (De Schutter 2011, 250), as most if not all of the "Seven Principles for Responsible Agricultural Investment" (ibid., 254) certainly do not apply in West Papua. Rather, "hard-fought struggles" (Li 2011, 292) will be necessary. In addition, given the current schism between indigenous people and transmigrants, imaginative and creative strategies will be needed in order to create an alternative that could appeal to both groups of small-scale farmers.

This kind of alternative cannot be developed by scholars at a conference, but will have to be the result of discussions and arguments between activists committed to fighting MIFEE. To be successful, such an alternative would have to draw on the different traditions of struggle and political strategies that have come together to form this new alliance. Even with the utmost respect for the different traditions and positions, however, an open debate will be necessary in order to question some of the presumptions inherent within them that could prevent some of the key challenges from being resolved constructively, particularly the issue of migrant farmers and workers. Expanding the narrative of indigenous forest rights by connecting them to land reform and a food sovereignty development strategy for both indigenous and migrant farmers could be one way of doing so. Foker and its allies have already taken a step in this direction: after two separate consultations with Papuans and migrants had led to seemingly irreconcilable positions, Foker then brought the two groups together. Migrants and Papuans listened to each other's problems, and agreed that neither of them were to blame, and that the government was (Manufandu 2011). These discussions do not represent a common programme of any kind, but they could yet be the start of one.

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Specifics of the areas visited

Theodor Rathgeber, Jonathan I. Tarigan, Jaya Arjuna, Dimpos Manalu, Saurlin Siagian, Sonny Keraf

As a supplement to the background information in the previous chapter, this text provides a summary of the oral introductions to each of the topics that were given by several experts. The presentation by Jonathan I. Tarigan on the environmental effects of mining was unfortunately not available in English and cannot be included in this text. Some of the most relevant elements of his contribution are presented as part of the background information.

The first speaker, Jaya Arjuna, presented some historical and location-specific information on the city of Medan, the capital city of North Sumatra Province. The location of what is today Medan was originally a small village between the Deli and Babura Rivers. From 1728 to 1761, the old Medan was first relocated to Labuhan Deli, but flooding caused it to later be moved farther away, to higher ground about twelve kilometres from the South of Labuhan Deli, where it was finally renamed as Medan. The Dutch centred their commercial activities on trade and services based on plantation products, in particular tobacco. Later, investors expanded commercial activities into palm oil, rubber, and cacao crops. Medan was designed as a city of rich people who had little concern for urban comforts such as public open space, environmental sustainability, or cleanliness. Investments in the public domain were functional, such as railway infrastructure and housing for plantation workers. This is why Medan has no forests of its own. When land was needed for industrial areas or housing, swamps or rivers were converted to create it. In the same vein, today historical buildings and sites are being destroyed to make room for new hotels, industrial plants, offices, and malls. The speaker painted the people of Medan as very dynamic, more readily accepting of new ideas and open to reforms, e.g. in environmental management.

Medan was designed as a city where natural rivers would be used for drainage (the Deli, Babura, Belawan and Sulang-Saling rivers). Manmade drainage sites can be found in Sei Kera, Sei Bandera, Sei Sikambing, and Sei Putih. Today, we find Solid Waste Disposal Sites (SWDS) in the area of Namo Bintang (17.6 hectares, operating since 1987); SWDS in Terjun-Marelan, located 14 kilometres away in the northern part of Medan (13.8 hectares, operating since 1983); and SWDS in Marelan, located six kilometres from the port city of Belawan. In the beginning, SWDS Marelan was far from the urban area, but now housing estates are being constructed near the SWDS. The public water supply began in 1905 and makes use of groundwater, which now risks contamination from legal and illegal disposal sites.

The second speaker, *Dimpos Manalu*, sketched some specifics of deforestation. Originally, Indonesia had 120 million hectares of forest, and more than 30 million Indonesian people were still living in and around the forest as of 2003. The deforestation rate in the last two decades has increased from 1.6 million hectares/year in the period of 1985-1997 to 2.1 million hectares/year in the period of 1997-2000, and rose to 2.8 million hectares/year in the period of 2001-2005. If logging continues at this rate, the natural forest area will totally vanish within the next 15-20 years.

The North Sumatra Forest Area originally comprised 3,679,338 hectares of protected forest, of which 49 per cent has been cut down or damaged. The main cause of this was the Indonesian government under Suharto, which intensified the revenue from forest-based industries after the oil boom of 1974-1982. In the years from 1967 to 1980, the Forestry Department issued 53 million hectares of concessions for log exports and plywood. The forest thus became the largest source of national revenue after the oil and gas sector. Since the 1980s, pulp and paper mills, mining, palm oil, and food estates have all expanded. In addition to the economic factors, the policy on decentralisation after the fall of Suharto included relative autonomy for local governments (in the person of a governor and mayor for each), which then issued concessions more in accordance with interests of revenue and less in line with environmental assessments. The run on forests and land thereafter encouraged illegal logging, which is now spreading out of control. The deforestation followed different dynamics of use: in the period of 1967-1979, the focus was on logging for export; in 1980-1990 it was mainly on the plywood industry; in the 1990s on pulp and paper mills; and in the 2000s on palm oil and food estates.

Indonesia obviously needs stronger legislation to stop deforestation, both legal and illegal, as well as the tighter implementation of existing laws. The government of Indonesia should also stop issuing new concessions, re-arrange the existing concessions, and establish a moratorium on logging once and for all. Because deforestation is linked to domestic policies as well as to the global demand for forest products, there is a need to be active at both ends, local and global, in order to save the remaining forests in Indonesia.

The next speakers, *Saurlin Siagian* and *Lentera Rakyat,* talked about the social and ecological costs of the palm oil industry. Palm oil cultivation first began in 1911 in North Sumatra. In 2009, Indonesia became the largest producer of palm oil in the world, and 60 per cent of the yield is exported. Sumatra produces 80 per cent of Indonesian palm oil production. The revenue from palm oil is about $9.11 billion, or twelve per cent of national income. Palm oil plantations are considered “National Strategic Assets” by law and therefore a priority. The main players in Indonesia are 30 large companies with 2,000 plantations across Indonesia of 1,000 to 300,000 hectares in size. Among the large companies are Sinar Mas, AAL, Wilmar, and BSP. The mid-level planters (50 to 100 hectares of land) hold approximately four million hectares

in total, and are mostly politicians, military, and police officers, as well as traders. The small-scale farmers own an average of less than two hectares each, totalling approximately one million hectares, with numbers trending upward. Some churches also cultivate palm oil, such as GKPS (120 hectares), GKPI (440 hectares), GKI (150 hectares), and GBKP (600 hectares) as well as the Catholic Church at Siantar, Deli Serdang, and Riau, plus Kapusin (OFM Cap), Conventual (OFM Conv), Suster SCMM, Suster FCJM, Suster KYM and Suster SFD.

Using examples, the speakers illustrated the costs of cultivation in terms of the forest degradation over the last twelve years: for instance, 90 per cent of the mangrove forests in eastern Sumatra have already been destroyed. But the costs are not limited to nature; there has also been an increase in agrarian conflicts. The Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights reported in 2012 that it had received 4,502 cases in 2011, among them evictions. The Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) reported that approximately 30 peasants were killed in 2011 in conflicts related to palm oil plantations. Conversely, traditional fisherman groups in Langkat District cut down palm oil plantations and replanted the areas with local trees. In three districts of Labuhan Batu, peasant groups occupied palm oil plantations in January 2012 and remain there to date. In Asahan District, Batubara District, and Padang Lawas District groups of peasants have started to reclaim their lands and to re-occupy them. In order to support the people's claims, the speakers encouraged in particular the European participants of the ecumenical team visit to put a stop to imports of palm oil for energy purposes until adequate institutions and regulations, especially strictly social criteria, had been created to ensure that palm oil production would not contribute to the eviction of farmers and fishermen, to food crises and to forest degradation. Aid agencies and financial institutions from Europe should stop financing further palm oil expansion.

The former Indonesian minister of the environment, *Sonny Keraf*, talked about the environmental challenges in Indonesia today. Indonesia is home to over 240 million inhabitants, making it the fourth most populated country in the world. Indonesia possesses deposits of petroleum, natural (fossil) gas, and metal ores. These resources have been exploited in an unsustainable manner. Communities living in resource-rich areas are experiencing increasing levels of poverty. Half of the population now lives below the poverty line of two US dollars per day.

Indonesia contains the world's third-largest tropical forest, covering almost two-thirds of the country's land area, and a significant source of global biodiversity. The land is mountainous and volcanic, with over 500 volcanoes, 129 of which are active. Indonesia is the world's largest archipelago state, with over 17,000 islands. Indonesia occupies only 1.3 per cent of the earth's land surface, but it is home to:

- about twelve per cent of the world's total mammal species (515 species, 39 per cent of them endemic), making it 2nd in the world;

- 7.3 per cent of the world's total reptile species (511 species, 150 of them endemic), making it 4th in the world;
- 17 per cent of the world's total bird species (1531 species, 397 of them endemic), making it 5th in the world;
- 270 species of amphibians (100 of them endemic), making it 6th in the world.

The environmental legislation is extensive and detailed but lacks common vision and established policies. There are many constraints in the efforts to improve environmental regulations and policy. The enforcement remains very weak. The rapid decentralisation has created additional challenges. The lack of clear mandates between central and regional governments often leads to contradictory and overlapping regulations. There is also a lack of technical capability, especially in local governments.

Indonesia's environmental problems include deforestation, pollution, over-exploitation, and the depletion of natural resources. Across the world, a growing appetite for Indonesia's fish, palm oil, timber, wood pulp, gold, crude oil and gas resources is pressing the country to continue exporting its natural heritage in the form of oil, logs, fish fillets, and copy paper. A lot of these activities are taking place illegally and/or are being carried out in an unsustainable way. Poor environmental management affects the poor and their livelihood, as well as access to and quality of natural resources. Poor communities are therefore vulnerable to changes in the pattern of natural-resource utilisation and changes in the natural environment. Corruption represents another major problem, not only in this context but at all levels of society.

A key environmental problem is deforestation. Over the past 50 years, Indonesia has lost over 40 per cent of its total forest cover. The deforestation rate is high, at 1.8 per cent annually. Between 2000 and 2005, 1.8 million hectares of Indonesia's forests were destroyed. The Indonesian forests are threatened by (illegal) logging, plantation clearance, land fires, illegal and large-scale mining, and roads. A second key issue is global energy demand. The increase in production of biofuels has the potential to adversely affect land use and forest cover by creating incentives to convert forest into plantation crops, rather than planting in already degraded areas. This also contributes to climate change. Indonesia has been designated as a "mega-diversity" country, one of seventeen in the world, for its biodiversity. Yet over 70 per cent of all coral reefs in Indonesia are damaged. Freshwater and marine ecosystems are under threat, with more than 700 of the country's species facing extinction. The coastal zone protection against severe floods and storms provided by natural structures, such as coral reefs and mangroves, is being degraded at a rapid pace.

III. Results from the team visits

Mining team report 1

UEM International Ecumenical Visit 2012 to Batang Toru Area (9-11 May 2012)

Who we are
A team of six representatives from different churches in Namibia, Indonesia, and Germany visited the Southern Tapanuli, in particular the cities of Batang Toru and Padang Sidempuan, as well as a traditional mining site (small-scale miners) near the village of Hombong. All six are members of the UEM but have different background profiles.

What we saw
We visited an area that has experienced gold exploration for several years. The mining company is now close to beginning exploitation in July 2012. In parallel, some people of the region started gold exploration on a small scale (so-called traditional mining). At the moment, both exist without direct competition, although the mining company has characterised the traditional miners as illegal, and in the future there may be strong competition on exploration grounds if the company seeks to expand its mining activities.

The mining company is one of the main employers in the region, and opinions about its prospected activities are divided in the local society in general and in the religious communities in particular. Of particular concern is how the company is expected to manage the tailings from the mining.

Who we spoke with
We had the opportunity to meet with the five main actors in gold mining: representatives of the company, the government authorities, the traditional miners, the local population, and the church. Each entity had its own interests and its own special dynamic in addressing the issue.

The G-Resource Mining company [www.g-resource.com]
G-Resource started its activities in the area in 2009 and is the latest owner in a long list of six previous owners and explorers. The company is registered on the Hong Kong Stock Exchange, which is one of the most challenging stock markets and comes with high expectations from shareholders about large, fast, and easy profits. We therefore do not expect any investment beyond the revenue process to be more than the absolute minimum. At full operating capacity the company will employ about

2,000 people, and according to the company's manager, 75 per cent of these are to be recruited from the local population, though the meaning of "local" was not specified.

The company was friendly enough to open its doors to us and offer a one-hour talk with Mr Stefan Thomas, the manager of social affairs (who previously worked for six years with Freeport). During his presentation, Mr Thomas underlined two aspects: a) G-Resource is committed to environmental issues. He showed us pictures of one of the company's predecessors, the Newmont mining company, and the renaturalisation of a mining area in Sulawesi. It was not possible to fact-check this information, e.g., whether this renaturalisation was an intended rehabilitation programme or whether the area had simply been left to nature. b) Mr Thomas frequently used the term "socialisation" in order to show the seriousness and commitment of the company to the people. None of his statements used the terms "participation" or "consultation", both terms connected with legal obligations. Instead, his term "socialisation" means literally to mould public opinion towards the company's goals. Along the same lines, the invitation to religious and church leaders is in keeping with such a purpose.

Meeting with local people in the church room of the GKPA in Batang Toru

Although the exploitation process has yet to be started, people have already complained about the lowering of the water table and of the draining of water levels in several ponds, as well as increased dust, noise, traffic, and accidents. The employees from outside are disturbing community life in terms of higher price levels and the decomposition of social life. Pollution caused by the company's construction activities has reportedly caused allergies. One member of the GKPA community emphasised that she would like to be included in the new wealth of the region ("We also want to become rich")[1] when in reality the company is taking away the largest part of that wealth.

The relationship between community and company is ambiguous. One participant was saying that there are a lot of expectations of employment and of indirect benefits for local trade and income generation, while at the same time there are at least some people who are afraid of the adverse effects.

The main concern articulated in the meeting was related to the tailings. The people raising their voices were doubtful that the tailings would actually be processed and that they would only be dumped into the river after going through purification, even though the company is legally obligated to do this. The river – this was underlined – is more than just a water resource and fish reservoir ("50 per cent of the community gets water from that river"). The river is also the sentimental heart of the community, and is one of the few points of common ground for the local people in the debate over the mining.

1 All quotes are based on a translation from Indonesian into English language.

This is why the pastor of the GKPA Batang Toru urged that a joint initiative be started to address the tailings and the legal obligations thereto, since the company's schedule for exploration plans for July 2012 as the starting point. It was suggested that a letter be written to express the people's concerns, and that this letter be drafted either by the local community or by the visiting UEM team ("Re-planting can be done afterwards, but the tailings remain, with a direct impact on our lives"). Another suggestion was to build a coalition of different denominations.

More quotes from that meeting:
"We are not thinking about money, we are thinking about life."
"I do not care about the distribution of the royalties."
"Let's form an environmental organisation so that the Church will care."

Meeting at the GKPA in Padang Sidempuan
The meeting was attended by members of the GKPA and by the Secretary-General of the GKPA, as well as by three representatives of the local authorities, in particular the head of the department on mining and the environment.

A pastor working with traditional miners stressed on the one hand the positive effects of the small-scale mining in terms of increased incomes for a large number of families, an improved health situation, and a general trickle-down effect from the natural wealth, since the various processing steps are covered by different labour forces and skilled technical facility experts. Most every male over 14 years of age and below 50 is engaged in small-scale mining. Until today, there has been no competition between traditional miners and the company, even though the company has characterised the small-scale miners as "illegal" because they lack the state licences mandatory for such a purpose.

The negative impacts from company mining have been identified as changes in morals, attitude, and character. The mining people follow a very instant-gratification way of life, are entirely orientated towards gold and money (including church members), disregard school attendance, have ceased to attend the church, and experience a crisis of tolerance, social culture, and spiritual orientation.

The representative of the local authorities was full of gratitude towards the mining company: "This mine is our pride. Indonesia can be proud of this mine. We saw from our own visit the environmental involvement of the company." He further stressed the positive environmental effects of new technologies and of the facilities to clean tailings and prevent them from becoming a natural disaster. He also mentioned the company's CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) programme on education and went into detail about establishing a school or training centre for mining, since mining has high potential for the region that the company should further explore.

Replying to a question on how far the natural wealth in the region is being shared

by the company with the government and the people, the representative underlined the fact that Indonesia is different from Namibia in that the former strictly follows the rules (which have since become more sophisticated) on environmental protection and royalty distribution. His understanding of "sharing" was dominated (at least in our conversation) by mention of licences and registration procedures at different state levels that the company must abide by and which will thus generate participation in the benefits from mining.

As for the traditional miners, the company representative clearly expressed that the law requires these small-scale operators to have permission; without it, they are operating illegally. He asked the audience to reveal some of the locations of such "illegal" mining, saying, "we should work together to improve the situation."

Further questions related to tailings, to widespread income increases among the traditional miners, and to independent monitoring systems. In his replies, the representative underscored his understanding of questioners' grievances in order to minimise the negative impact and to conduct socialisation with the local people about the mining. He said things such as that the local government would oppose the direct transfer of the tailings into the river, and that the government had a department for monitoring even though he was "sure" that there would be no negative impact caused by the mining company. He also noted that his department would create an environmental team for the monitoring, and that the people were invited to participate.

Selected quotes from the representative

"If any of the tailings were to go into the river, I myself would say stop. If there is any damage, we will interfere, saying that this is not in accordance with the contract. There is continuous monitoring by the government."

"We should not become the enemies of the earth."

"Mining should not become an enemy of the earth."

"We may continue the dialogue."

"The community may be indirectly affected by the mining."

"The Church should be included into the planning/participation in order to minimise the impacts."

Visit to a traditional mining site: the village of Hombang

The impression left by the visit emphasised the two parts of the same coin, and can be transformed into some tasks for the church: a) regain the spiritual and moral leadership by offering church service where the people are, i.e., in the field; b) train the traditional miners in safe mining and make such requests of the local authorities as well; c) protect the miners from the company.

Concluding meeting at the GKPA in Padang Sidempuan with staff

The Secretary-General of GKPA introduced his team and described the structuring of the office into five departments, among them the department on diaconia and natural disasters and a planned department of legal advice. In relation to the issue of environment in the context of gold mining, the S-G said that the GKPA intends to be more strongly involved in environmental matters. ("We want to accompany the traditional miners as a church. We want to be part of the monitoring team. We as a church should not be silent. We should form a community around the issue of mining. Life for the planet.") He also emphasised that the GKPA should be a bridge to the UEM workshop in Medan and the mining issue, and he expressed his hope to have a follow-up to this meeting.

Recommendations

For the GKPA

Concerning the urgent situation in Batang Toru:

- Build a group in order to write the letter of concern, or, optionally, request that the UEM do so.
- Start a church initiative to jointly address the impact of the mining company.

Concerning a mid-term strategy on the mining issue:

- Train and equip local people as well as traditional miners with information on the impacts of gold mining.
- Stress in particular the adverse effects of mercury, not only in relation to the environment and to people's health but also as a potential argument for criminalising small-scale mining.
- Seek a continuous exchange with UEM experts on mining.
- Insist on forming an independent monitoring team that must have effective instruments for investigation and complaints management, and become part of that team.
- Seek coordination among other denominations in order to address the effects of mining through church-led initiatives, including legal advice.

In relation to a long-term strategy on values and spirituality:

- Take back the discourse on social values, make the terms "participation" and "consultation" a preference to "socialisation".
- Regain spiritual leadership by insisting on values beyond gold, in order to generate a renewed sense of community in particular.
- Regain spiritual leadership by insisting in the integrity of creation.

For the UEM

- Fully support the independent monitoring team by providing special training for the potential members from the GKPA.
- Support the institutional setting of the GKPA on environmental matters.
- Inform the churches involved about the outcomes of the UEM Medan workshop.
- Generate an international platform for a legal and human rights approach to mining, as well as to foreign investment and its adverse effects in general (e.g. land-grabbing).
- Bring together experiences with mining (and land-grabbing/investment) that extend beyond the UEM's constituency and think about a standing working mechanism.

What we would like to bring home

Despite the sometimes discouraging circumstances we experienced, we have substantial hope, mainly because of the local people's will to organise themselves, that together we can not only get them to raise their voices and concerns, but also that those concerns can get listened to and followed. We should further encourage this self-organisation and let our constituents know about it.

The international structure of the UEM is a unique opportunity to self-critically rethink the use of gold in our countries, to raise awareness among our constituents about mining and its adverse effects on people's livelihoods and human rights, and, finally, to contribute from our side to make the adverse effects stopped.

Members of the team

S.A. Sigalingging (Coordinator), GKPA Indonesia
S.M. Gurning, GKPI Indonesia
Petrus Sugito, GKJTU Indonesia
Petrus Kariseb, ELCRN Namibia
Kristina Neubauer, UEM Germany
Theodor Rathgeber (Rapporteur), UEM Germany

Mining team report 2

UEM Ecumenical Team Visit 2012 to Dairi (Sidikaland/Parongil)
(9-11 May 2012)

Who we are
We are team of representatives from different churches in the Philippines, Tanzania, Germany, and North Sumatra. We are all members of the UEM and have experience with advocacy work in various areas of concern in our own countries.

Brief background
In 1998, Dairi Prima Mineral (DPM) came to Dairi, North Sumatra and started mining explorations. DPM bought a share for US$ 110,000,000 by an Australian businessman Ian Bruce. Recently, Aburizal Bakrie, a former Indonesian Minister of Economics and Social Welfare, chairperson of the prominent Golkar political party, and a candidate for presidency in 2014, bought the share of 1 billion US$.

DPM has already been awarded permits by the mining and energy ministry and by the environmental ministry, but it is still waiting on a permit from the ministry of forestry in order to begin exploiting the area.

Dairi has 20.1 million tonnes of zinc, one of the largest zinc reserves in the world. Dairi has a total population of 276,489, of which 90 per cent are farmers. It has a total land area of 191,625 hectares, of which 27,420 hectares are for mining exploration, and 16,050 hectares are protected forest reserves.

What we saw
Dairi is rich in natural resources, but the people are poor and struggling for their land. It is a wonderful place blessed with a variety of beautiful landscapes, a biodiverse rainforest, and productive land for growing vegetables, fruits, and rice. The people have a rich cultural heritage. The presence of the mining company in their community divides the church and community along different lines. It creates conflicts between clans and tribes and creates mistrust between the people. No unified position exists among the churches on the issue of mining at various levels. The socioeconomic conditions for the people who have sold their lands have worsened.

Who we spoke with
- PDKP (Deac. Rusmaida Butarbutar, Deac. Sarah Naibaho among others)
- Father Lamsion Gurning, chairperson of the Communication Inter-Churches for Justice and Environment Area Forum

- One Christian and one Muslim family in Sopo Komil
- Leaders of the women's groups from Reni Sopo Komil, Lae Panginuman, and Bonian Village
- Families in Bonian Village
- General Secretary of the Protestant Christian Church of Dairi (GKPPD)
- Church Board of the Protestant Karo Batak Church (GBKP)

Issues and concerns confronted by the communities

There is an emerging threat that the HKBP church in Sopo Komil will be removed because the mining company is planning to build the pond for the mining tailings in the area (the local pastor has already agreed to this plan). Of the 20 families, there are only five who have not sold the land. Families' opposition to the mining activity cuts across religious borders. PDKP's presence and programmes are significant in the local communities. Significant pollution, including of water sources within the eight villages, can already be observed. The protected national forest is under threat.

Translated quotes from the people we spoke with

"If only PDPK had been here before, this would not have happened to us."

"I feel left alone in the struggle. Only my bishop encouraged me: 'Go ahead my son and keep the faith. God bless you.'"

"Please, ask our church leaders to change their attitude and to support the communities."

"I worked for PT. Indorayon [a pulp mill] and I experienced how this kind of investment brings only disadvantages for the local people, who lost their land and had their livelihoods destroyed. Most of those who sold their land to the DPM company cheaply have already spent everything and are poorer than before."

"I was working for this company, but because I knew the negative impact of mining, I made the people aware of the situation. So the company fired me in 2008."

"The men said to us, 'How can you women stand against the government?'"

"We ask you to help us talk to the church leaders about our situation here."

"The emergence of the mining company has been threatening to us, but for the head of the village it is a blessing. The heads of the village always take the company's side and never think about the future of the community; we local people are divided because of money."

"Ever since [they arrived in] 1998, the company has failed to tell people about any negative impacts from their operations. We are glad that PDPK came to our village and informed us of the [harmful] consequences of mining."

"The head of our village has put pressure on me because I did not sell my land. I ask you to pray for me so that I will remain strong in my struggle and resistance."

Strategies used by the company to convince people to sell their land

- Approach community leaders and use them to convince others
- Keep communities uninformed about possible negative impact of the mining operation
- Only compensate people in cash, and do not provide alternative land or housing
- Use religious leaders to influence their religious communities, e.g., a HKBP pastor from the area refused to meet with us. We were also told that sometimes pastors receive money and gifts from the company.
- Work closely with political leaders at the local and regional levels
- Use cultural traditions to win the people's hearts, e.g., adopt their children and/or promise employment to the men

Role of the churches

PDPK (United Rainbow of Diakonia) is an institution under the umbrella of the HKBP that was established in Sept 16, 1993. One of its main concerns in the Dairi region is to protect the environment and to build awareness of the impact of mining, to conduct capacity-building processes and to watch over the communities, especially women in the mining areas. PDPK established a branch office in Parongil, Dairi in 2007 to address the issues and concerns of the 15 villages in the area against mining activities that are not beneficial to the community and destroy the environment.

Communication Inter-Churches for Justice and Environment Area Forum (FKGKL)

This forum was founded by all churches in the Area. One of its main purposes is to protect the people from injustices and the destruction of the environment. The forum cooperates closely with PDKP. At present, there are only two churches still committed to continuing in the mission: a pastor from the GKPI and a priest from the Catholic Church. Their main task is to influence the 74 congregations in the district, from 19 different denominations, to join the Forum.

Other churches

Some pastors from other churches have taken the company's side because the company offered them money, gifts, and the construction of church buildings. Some church leaders received gifts from the district government, e.g., holiday packages to Jerusalem.

Role of the people

Many people have sold their land and support the mining industry. The few people who continue to refuse to sell their land feel marginalised, intimidated, and pressured by their own communities and the government, as well as by tribal leaders, reli-

gious leaders, and the mining company. The family of the former teacher/preacher, a Muslim family in Soko Komil, and the community in Bonian are all still refusing to sell their land.

Recommendations

The group appreciates the UEM for giving them the opportunity to be part of this ecumenical team visit to the mining areas in Dairi and to share in the experiences of the various groups and people we have met. The team would like to share the following recommendations.

For PDPK, FKGKL, and UEM Member Churches

- Connect with legal and environmental experts on various issues, provide legal assistance, explore legal remedies, and conduct research and testing on the environmental implications of mining.
- Continue the education and capacity-building processes among the various groups in the community beyond the women's groups.
- Build strategies and networks at the national and international levels for stronger and comprehensive advocacy work that also relates to international organisations and ecumenical partners abroad.
- Empower the people's organisations through capacity-building in the local communities, so that they can stand up for their own interests.

For the UEM Member Churches

- Strengthen the prophetic witness of our churches so that they become relevant to the lives of the people and our entire society.
- Strengthen the advocacy of churches to promote the rule of law and, if necessary, to seek alternative laws/legislation for the protection of the people and the environment.
- Set up clear policies on procedures for receiving donations from private donors, companies, and governments. If churches or church officials receive money or gifts from private companies or the government, there is a danger of becoming dependent and losing credibility.
- Put "Creation Theology" of climate and environmental concerns into the centre of the life of the church.

What we would like to bring home

- We take home the spirit of the dynamic struggle of the people on how to make decisions about their lives and the future generations. We will report back to our own churches and international partners on the threats that the mining activities in Dairi pose to the communities and the environment.

- We who come from Sumatra will report to our church leaders and ask them to take action.
- We will stay in solidarity with and support the HKBP/ PDKP, FKGKL, GKPI, and all others who are empowering the people and the communities in the Dairi Region.
- We take as an inspiring model for living in peace with people of other faiths the solidarity of a Muslim and a Christian family in Sopo Komil to struggle for their lands, their lives, and their environment.

Members of the team
Bishop Stephen Ismail Munga, ELCT-NED Tanzania
Fernando Sihotang, HKI Indonesia
Jochen Motte, UEM Germany
Maida Siagaian, KBP Indonesia
Juliet Solis-Aguilar, UCCP Philippines

Urban pollution report

UEM Ecumenical Team Visit 2012 to Medan (9-11 May 2012)

Who we are

We, Rev. Christian Sandner from Germany, Mr Elie Leuwe from Cameroon, Ms Jenitha Kameli from Tanzania, Dr Ajantha Perera from Sri Lanka, Ms Haricha Tambunan from Indonesia, Rev. Imanuel K. Ginting from Indonesia, and Dr Robinson Butarbutar from Indonesia (UEM Germany) have been given the task to study the extent of urban pollution in the city of Medan.

Medan is the third-largest city in Indonesia, with a population of 2.8 million consisting of many ethnicities. In all major cities in the world, the increase in population and the growth in industry and commerce have made environmental problems a common occurrence. Unless strictly controlled, the haphazard disposal of garbage, air pollution from vehicles, and emissions from the industrial sector contribute are major contributors to visible pollution. Air pollution has become one of the major environmental problems in urban areas. Toxic fumes emitted by vehicles and industry have led to respiratory diseases among the public. Like other cities, fast-developing Medan has tremendous vehicle congestion, leading to high air pollution.

The haphazard disposal of garbage on the roadsides of major cities is not only an ugly sight, it is also a breeding ground for many disease-causing pathogens. Most of the major cities in the world that experience such situations have municipal councils that often do not collect the rubbish on time or a population that is careless with its litter.

Garbage is a major problem in Medan. Waste management in Medan is still restricted to garbage collection and disposal only. Source reduction, composting, and recycling are still not being carried out effectively. Approximately 4000 MT of garbage is produced daily in Medan. These originate from households, industry, commerce, and hospitals. Some of the garbage is dumped in the waste-disposal site, while some waste is disposed of in pits or dumped into rivers. Some is burnt. As an economically growing city, Medan today is faced with the problem of having to deal with hazardous waste such as electronics waste.

Medan also has an industrial area that is operated by a state company called PT Kawasan Industri Medan (KIM). This company operates an industrial park, which provides facilities for industrial and commercial development. PT KIM has a waste treatment facility with a liquid waste capacity of 3600 m^3/day in Phase 1 that will increase to 18,000 m^3/day in Phase 2. This treatment plant is equipped with facilities for testing toxicity in water.

Poverty alleviation

What we saw

A community of slum dwellers in Medan's Asia Street: these were rubbish collectors, beggars, and thieves living in an area adjoining the railway line that extended for 3 km. This community consists of 200 families. They live in rented houses, for which they pay Rp 20,000 per month. They use public toilets because no other toilets are available to them; their homes are around 10 m² in size. The roofs of these houses are made from tins and other material, perhaps collected from dump sites. The community has electricity, which its members siphon off from nearby houses, paying the owners directly, and water that comes from one well. The dirty drains, filled with stagnant water, are excellent breeding grounds for disease-causing pathogens.

This railway line community began as far back as 1957. We estimated this timeframe by the fact that one woman said she had lived there for 55 years. Her house, though small, was well kept, and she in fact invited us to have the meeting at her home. The railway line itself has existed for many more years.

Most families make a living by collecting waste from the roadsides. They travel far to collect waste, yet their income per day is only around Rp 30,000 per 6-to-7 person family, so their children do not go to school because their parents say that there is no money for bus fare.

The Dian Foundation has stepped in to help in this situation. They have received approval from the ministry for Law and Human Rights. Dosria Bakkara has started a nursery school on the railway line. The children pay her 1,000 rupiah per day, giving her a minimal income of Rp 90,000 per month. The school is open from 9am to 6pm; she has two assistants and volunteers to help her.

Who we spoke with

"Living here, we are always afraid", said Ginting, a father in one of the railway line families. Their presence in the town centre is advantageous for their survival. They do not like others to know that they live there.

Ani, another woman, moved into the area two months ago. She had lived here before, but had since moved out and was now coming back. She is a beggar at traffic lights and told us she earns "good money".

Sitia, a 46-year-old, said that her husband is blind. They have six children and earn 40,000 to 50,000 rupiah per day.

We spoke with Dosria, who is in charge of the nursery school. She has a vision for her foundation to be "the lamp that shines". Though she initiated the work, she soon discovered that she could not carry it out alone. She now gets assistance from her friends who admire her work. She has developed her own curriculum. She has a college education and has done a diploma in teaching.

Issues

Since the members of this community live in a slum near the railway line, they have no rights to water, food, security, good health, education, or social welfare. If they did not work as beggars, rubbish collectors, or thieves, they would not have anything to eat and their children would have no future.

Recommendation

More data collection needs to be carried out by the UEM member churches to find the root causes and work out solutions in collaboration with the affected community such that the rights of the community are granted, respected, defended, and protected. This emphasises the need for the church to play a major role in looking after the rights of the underprivileged.

The Garbage Dump

Namo Bintang rubbish dump is 20 kilometres from the town of Medan. It is located in the midst of housing. 192 trucks come to the dump every day to dispose of garbage. A total of 560MT of garbage is dumped every day. Seven hundred families work at the Namo Bintang garbage dump. The rubbish collectors live around the site and some others live far away.

At 14 hectares in size, the dump site is the largest in Medan. The site is filled with flies and the smell of rotting garbage, and is unsuitable for human habitation. For 2.8 million people in Medan, this is one of the sites at which their rubbish is dumped. The ragpickers work close to the loaders and compactors, putting their lives at stake. In fact, three children have already died in accidents. The men and women ragpickers wear good boots and gloves, and a scarf for their head. They appear to have understood that their health is important for the survival of their families. The boots they were wearing cost around 30,000 rupiah.

Who we spoke with

The ragpicker women told us that they work hard at the dump in order to provide education for their children. When asked what they would do if they suddenly received a lot of money, they said they would buy a piece of land and build a home and send their children to study. Most families seemed to have six to nine children. The women seemed to take care of themselves, even though they work under harsh conditions. Most women put on specific cream to avoid getting sunburned. They said the cream cost them Rp 12,000. We asked one woman why she did not wear this cream, and she that she wanted to but did not have the money for it.

We went to a meeting of rubbish collectors, attended by 22 people and organised by “Grandpa” Manik Ginting, who is the manager of the garbage collectors at the dump. He now also buys the waste they collect. The ragpickers are not organised.

They work from 9am to 6pm every day. The ragpickers also collect food waste to feed to livestock. They work even on Sunday, albeit after church. They do not have savings because the money they earn is hardly enough to live on ("For us to have rice for today is enough to give thanks to God").

Their anxieties are twofold: that their children, who have finished college, will not get jobs, or that the dump will be closed and the parents will lose their jobs ("There is no small job, as long as the job can help the family"). When asked what they expected from our meeting, they said it was "to learn something" from us. GBKP hopes to assist them through a credit union and by helping them to seek job opportunities for their children.

Issues

The forgotten people, who cannot find enough work to survive unless they can scrape together their own livelihood from what society considers pollution.

Recommendations

- The UEM member churches can provide counselling services for the community, and the community can be provided with regular medical check-ups and specialized treatment where necessary.
- The church members can receive assistance in finding and developing alternative employment such as compost banking, making new items from waste, etc.

Industrial Pollution

In order to examine the impact of the urban environment on the water and air, team members took a boat ride along the Deli River, which is approximately 20 kilometres in length and runs across the city of Medan. We started from Brayan Bridge and ended our trip at Titi Papan. We saw garbage being dumped into the river from above almost every 100m. Several factories use the river to dispose of their waste water; soil erosion was also observed at some points. There was one dead fish in the river water. The water was muddy from the heavy rains the night before. There was a distinct smell coming from the water, and an oily surface was observed in places.

Along the river we observed people fishing, washing food, and washing clothes and themselves. The observations reveal that the people in the area use this river water to live. The children were seen playing and swimming in the river water. The number of people using the river could not be estimated, since many avoided the river on the day of our visit because of heavy rains.

We drove through the KIM area and observed that many people were living in the tiny areas between the factories. The premises in the factory appeared dirty. Some factories were even dumping waste onto the roadside. Within the industrial area there is a large area for shipping containers. This is an indication that the importation

of material to Indonesia is high, which explains the high population density in the vicinity of the industrial area. The workers use motorbikes; at closing time a large number of motorbikes could be seen in the area, enough to create congestion on the narrow roads.

Issues

The society's neglect of the environment pollutes the ecosystem, which poses an existential threat to human, animal, and plant life.

Recommendations

- UEM member churches should inform their congregations living in urban areas of the extent of the contamination of the ecosystem by the surrounding community and industry. In this way they can make congregants aware of the local, national, regional, and global issues of environmental destruction and initiate action accordingly.
- UEM member churches should start, continue, and enhance educational programmes on the environment.

Who we spoke with

We went to a meeting of workers in an industrial area held at the house of Rahman, the leader of the SBMI (Independent Labour Union in Medan). All the office holders of his society were present at the meeting. There were nine men and five women, all of whom are workers at the United Rope factory. The rope factory is adjacent to the Sumatera Steel factory.

The SBMI was established in 1999, in order to create a common voice against the environmental pollution from the steel factory. The purpose of the society was to remedy human rights issues at the factory and to do something about the industrial pollution from the adjacent steel factory. Several non-governmental organisations worked as a coalition to bring about a solution to this environmental issue. They demanded that the steel company reduce its pollution and said that the black fumes coming from the factory, which were ending up on roofs, clothes, food, and drink, must be stopped. The families who had lived in the area from the beginning said that when trees were planted the dust landed on the trees.

After a legal battle between the factory and the NGOs, the steel factory agreed to offer basic food and masks. The company has built the bridge, but has given masks and basic food (but not milk) only once. The people say that the Indonesian Supreme Court intervened on behalf of the company. The air pollution still exists.

Ms Sitorus stated that she cannot get leave from work, even when she is sick. Every year she gets a slight increase in her salary of Rp 1.8 million per month. This lasts her only two weeks. She has six children and collects for secondary income.

Other attendees spoke about their fears of outsourcing and also of their work as day labourers. After hard working conditions and environmental pollution, uncertainty seems to be their greatest fear.

Issues
The profit interests of an industry that is not environmentally friendly win out over the struggle of the affected community to defend the environment.

Recommendations
- UEM members should strengthen the groups that are protesting through knowledge and support.
- UEM members should take a supporting role in such protest groups.
- UEM members should exercise their voice against the destruction of the environment.

The farmer community of Tanjung Purba and their struggle for organic farming

What we saw
Tanjung Purba is a green agricultural area in Simalungun District, on the border with Karo Regency. Many fields planted with vegetables, corns and fruits and coffee could be seen. The road leading to the community was in need of repair.

This farmer community consists of 150 families. It began in 1960, when they were involved in organic farming. In the 1970s, they began to use chemical fertilisers and agrochemicals in order to increase the harvest. In the 1980s, there was a shift towards orange cultivation. Since the orange cultivation required the use of agrochemicals for increased production and the farmers wished to be organic, they started cultivating coffee. The amount of coffee cultivated remains small, and they have been highly discouraged because the profits from the organic coffee have been smaller than expected, so they have resorted to using agrochemicals. The organic farming is also time-consuming. The community mentioned that they also use insecticides, herbicides, and fungicides and are aware of the dangers that pesticides present to human health.

Each farmer owns a land area of 1.5 hectares. They use up to 0.5 hectares of this area for coffee, which grows around 200 plants per plot. They get eight to ten kilogramme per plant per year. A kilogramme of coffee will sell to a middleman for only 21,000 rupiah. The earnings from coffee per annum are only 42 million rupiah.

Who we spoke with
We met the members of the Syalom Credit Union, led by the Chairperson Marolop Tarigan, Treasurer Samuel, Head of the Congregation Barus, and Clean Water Project

Manager Japeth Tarigan. There were a total of 20 people present. The candidate for Pastor Eli Ranita Sinulingga was also present. The community members want to farm organically, but it is a struggle, so they go back to the use of agrochemicals. They are not getting any support from the government in this situation, but the church is helping them in the following ways:

- training in compost production
- cow fattening through revolving fund
- training in harmonising family and the farming community
- gender justice and gender equality.

The community is also motivated to plant trees to enhance the preservation of their catchment area. They are able to irrigate their plants more easily because of the availability of water.

Issue

The dilemma of the farmers, who want to use an environmentally friendly agricultural system and are struggling to survive in the free-market system.

Recommendations

- UEM members should learn from one another through exposure to success stories of the use of environmentally friendly agricultural systems, and support one another through networking.
- UEM members should promote the sale of products from environmentally friendly agricultural systems in various ways, such as the fair-trade system.

Heads of the GBKP

The team met with Rev. Matius Barus, the moderator of the church, Rev. Agustinus Purba, the head of the Diaconia Department of the church, and in addition Christiani Ginting. “One of the most important tasks of the church is to help the people, and we do not ask about their background or their religion”, Rev. Barus said. He added that the credit unions, disaster management, maximisation of the use of youth, and the women’s and men’s programmes are set up for Catholics and Muslims as well. They have been running these since the 1970s, in the beginning in the rural areas mostly among the farmer congregations. Rev. Barus added that the church has done little work on urban pollution. This year’s theme for the church is “solidarity among us”, and this will be followed by the solidarity for others and the world. Rev. Barus said that most people who live among the garbage dump are part of his church’s congregation. They therefore have the capacity to influence and help these people.

Recommendation
Looking at the issues and recommendations we raised above for the four different contexts we visited, we recommend that all UEM member churches in these areas develop plans of action together within a period of six months.

What we would like to bring home
This is what we have learned from the experience of seeing the environmental problems and the people we talked to:

- Consider how our churches back home could improve on the work of environmental protection in our own contexts.
- Document best-practice examples shared by the people we visited, and use these for environmental campaigns within the churches concerned with "Peace with the Earth".
- Use the suffering of the communities affected by environmentally unfriendly industries as an inspiration for the campaign against consumerism that sacrifices the powerless communities, labourers and the environment, and seek out an economic system that defends the rights of the people and the environment.
- Encourage ourselves, our institutions, and our churches to continue communicating with those directly affected by environmental destruction, through specific and empowering activities of companionship.
- Based on the commitment of the factory labourers and organic farmers, learn to negate the logic of economic development that sacrifices humanity and the environment, despite their limitations.
- Learn from the commitment of the Karo Batak Protestant Church to support the affected communities struggling to live with pollution.

Members of the team

Rev. Christian Sandner, EKiR Germany
Elie Leuwe, EEC Cameroon
Jenitha Kameli, ELCT-NWD Tanzania
Ajantha Perera, MC Sri Lanka
Haricha Tambunan, Indonesia
Rev. Imanuel K. Ginting, GBKP Indonesia
Rev. Robinson Butarbutar, UEM Germany

Deforestation team report

UEM Ecumenical Team Visit 2012 to natural forest in Pandumaan and Sipituhuta villages (9-11 May 2012)

Who we are

We are a team of seven people from three regions (Germany, Indonesia, Rwanda, and the Philippines). We have different backgrounds: Bernhard from Germany has been working with food security, deforestation and land-grabbing; Stefan from the EkvW in Germany works in the Ecumenical Centre, which deals with education and environmental issues; Green Party member and local parliamentarian Herwin Nasution is a programme director in strengthening labour organisation on palm oil plantations and working with land-grabbing; Tjondro Garjito from East Java is in charge of all GKJW programmes; Junpiter Pakpahan is a KSPPM field staff member in northern Sumatra, involving in community organising and environmental advocacy and indigenous people's rights; Rannieh Mercado is a UEM staff member in the Asia region office, concerned with joint programmes and partnership in the region; Naomi is from the Anglican Church of Rwanda and is involved in rural development issues. Our purpose is to learn about deforestation in North Sumatra, especially in the two regencies of Humbang Hasundutan and Toba Samosir.

What we saw

Our team visited the following locations: natural forest in Pandumaan and Sipituhuta villages. The people of the two villages of Pandumaan and Sipituhuta have been living in harmony with the forest for more than 300 years, since their ancestors first settled there. The primary source of their livelihood is benzoin and has been for generations, as in many others parts of the Batak Land that have been known internationally for centuries. Pandumaan and Sipituhuta have about 4,100 hectares of natural forest, and a paper company is already cutting down about 300 hectares. Pandumaan has about 400 households, most of which are benzoin farmers, and Sipituhuta has about 350 households, about half of which are benzoin farmers. Daily life for most families involves the men or husbands working in the forest to harvest benzoin and coming back to the village once a week, mainly Friday or Saturday; only the women or wives and children (kids) stay at home and manage the fields of crops such as rice and coffee. The quality of the benzoin here is the third-highest grade, and each family has an average of five hectares of land with about 600 trees per hectare. Farmers get yields of around 900 kilogrammes a year, with an average of 300 kilogrammes per quality of grade.

Benzoin farming has a rich cultural value. For generations, the families here have learned that benzoin farmers must be pure in their words and actions. Otherwise, they will face many difficulties during their work in their benzoin forests or in their daily lives; their benzoin may not produce as expected, or something else bad could happen. The benzoin farmers, usually men, are used to staying in the forest for several days. Women bring stocks of food to the forest if needed.

Benzoin farmers sing songs about benzoin, songs directed to their God and Creator for having given them benzoin as the source of their livelihood. These people are strong and healthy; they are used to walking on foot for tens of km on their way up to their benzoin forest and back down to home.

Pulp paper company concession

The PT.TPL pulp paper company has a total of 269,060,000 hectares of forest area in six districts:

22,533,000 hectares in Simalungun district
32,842,800 hectares in Toba Samosir district
134,671,200 hectares in North Tapanuli district
8,641,000 hectares in Central Tapanuli district
38,745,000 hectares in South Tapanuli district
31,627,000 hectares in Dairi district

There are 50,000 hectares designated for the industrial planting of trees. Toba Pulp Lestari Ltd, established in 1986 and located in Porsea, Toba Samosir, North Sumatra, has as its core business the dissolution of pulp and the production of paper (until 2001). The production capacity is about 240,000 tonnes per year. It is owned by Sukanto Tanoto (Chinese Indonesian) and is one of the top ten richest conglomerates in Indonesia, through the APRIL holding company. Nowadays, the majority of investment is from the Pinnacle corporation in the United States. We also saw eucalyptus plantations, and entered the concession area at Dolok Sanggul district.

Who we spoke with

We talked to four groups:

The community in Pandumaan and Sipituhuta, Dolok Sanggul

"Our livelihoods have depended on the benzoin forests for 300 years. TPL destroyed 300 hectares of benzoin forest; we demand a stop to the deforestation."

Church members of the HKBP said that they would leave the Church if the HKBP did not return the money that it received from the company.

The community in Sirait Uruk, Toba Samosir

Mr Sirait said, "Our movement now is very weak. The company divides people,

between those who are strongly committed and have not received anything from the company and those who have been the recipients of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) from the company, such as livestock (cows, pigs, fish, and so on), chemical fertilisers, etc. (divide et impera)."

Pulp Paper Company, Toba Pulp Lestari, Ltd (PT.TPL)

Mr Leo Hutabarat, PT. TPL's director of public affairs, said that "we are always learning from the process of time and from conflict to try to improve our organisation. Our organisation has high standards of quality, the same as in Europe, but we still have problems with the people. We are legal and follow the government law. Pandumaan communities are lying about property."

Church leaders (HKI and GKPI)

Mr Langsung Sitorus, the HKI leader, said, "The environmental protection advocacy should be done through the education of children and youth. The licensing of forest concessions threatens to dislocate the communities around Lake Toba."

Rev. Oloan Pasaribu (Secretary of the GKPI), said, "We are an open advocate for environmental issues."

Recommendations

Regional level

- There should be an opportunity for dialogue between the churches and the affected communities.
- The churches in North Sumatra should collaborate with civil society and affected communities to address the issue.
- Churches, civil society, and the affected communities should address the deforestation issue with the local and central government.
- The UEM should support communities in order to strengthen benzoin community organisation.

International level

- The partnership between Humbang and Rhasch church should be strengthened so that the partners can discuss the deforestation issue, especially in Pandumaan.
- The situation of the benzoin forest should be included in the joint declaration from this ecumenical visit and by the related churches and development organisation of the Protestant churches in Germany to address the social and environmental problems in the area of Sumatra.

With this statement the churches in Germany should start a dialogue with the partner churches in Indonesia on the one hand and with the decision-makers at the political and economical level on the other.

Since the situation in Indonesia is also important for the future of our planet, we should address the climate change, environmental, and social issues at the appropriate international level, for example the different UN institutions dealing with this issue.

We therefore recommend that everyone actively take part in looking for a solution.

What we would like to bring home

We will take home these issues and share them with our respective churches and organisations. We will also initiate petition letters.

Members of the team

Bernhard Walter, "Brot für die Welt" Germany
Stefan Weiß, EkvW Germany
Herwin Nasution, Lentera Indonesia
Rev. Tjondro Garjito, GKJW Indonesia
Junpiter Pakpahan, KSPPM Indonesia
Rev. Rannieh Mercado, UEM Indonesia
Naomi Uwamahoro, EAR Rwanda

Oil palm plantation report

UEM International Ecumenical Visit 2012 to palm oil sites in Sukaramai, S idamanik and Pematang Siantar, North Sumatra (9-11 May 2012)

Who we are
Katja Breyer (EKvW Germany)
Andrea Pfeiffer ("Brot für die Welt" Germany),
Christina Felschen (free lance journalist)
Richard Madete (UEM climate consultant Africa)
Saurlin Siagian (researcher Indonesia)
Jadasri Saragih (GKPS Indonesia)
Longgena Ginting (UEM climate consultant Asia)

What we saw
We visited three oil palm sites in North Sumatra that represented three different cases of oil palm development. Sukaramai illustrates a land conflict between the company and the local farmers and local people. Sidamanik illustrates a conversion of land into oil palm plantations, in this case a tea plantation into an oil palm plantation. We also visited the GKPS oil palm estate in Pematang Siantar.

Sukaramai
Sukaramai is about a seven-hour drive from Medan along the eastern coast of North Sumatra, near the town of Aek Kanopan. It is 45 minutes away from the nearest village by car. Sukaramai is an improvised-looking settlement within an endless oil palm plantation. The farmers live in a tightly packed neighbourhood, close to some workers. They were violently evicted from their former homes in 2010 by the company, which had 100 of the farmers' houses burned. The farmers ended up landless because of the expanding oil palm plantations.

These farmers face a lack of food and water (they have the latter from 6-8 am only) and their electricity supply is scarce (during working hours only). There is no school and no health service for the farmers.

The farmers have organised a resistance against the companies. One farmer was killed for his resistance; several others have been injured by security guards of the company and arrested by the police. The Lentera organisation supports the farmers in their resistance and will continue to do so. However, it is a very depressing situation. The farmers took their case to Indonesia's Supreme Court, but the court decided that

the farmers were criminals because they were occupying private land and therefore guilty of trespass.

The Sukaramai case is 1 of 27 similar conflicts in the three districts, namely Labuhan Batu, Labura and Labusel, in which Lentera is providing help .

Sidamanik (Simalungun)

There is a 100-year-old tea plantation near the village of Sidamanik, just 1 km away. It belongs to the state-owned company PTPN IV. This company plans to convert the tea plantation into an oil palm plantation. Recently, 60 hectares of the tea plantation were cleared. The company says the cleared land (and the whole plantation) will be planted with new tea plants rather than with oil palms, but the farmers don't believe it, because there is no need to replant tea (the older the tea plant, the better the quality).

The villagers are resisting, because they fear a decrease in their water supply, a change in their local climate, a loss of their heritage, a decrease in the yields of coffee, rice, and cassava (their main source of food and income), and more jobless workers being created.

The conversion has potential effects for 50 villages. Some of them are involved in the struggle, but most of the farmers are not aware of the problem.

The farmers have organised their resistance into different groups and committees that share one platform. Their struggle is supported by the student and youth union of HIMAPSI and an alliance called "Save the Assets of Sidamanik". The resisting farmers have organised strikes in Siantar and Medan. They have created petitions and media campaigns using traditional cultural elements (the fear of ancestors). The Church (GKPS/Siantar) is organising platforms for discussions.

The company has tried to influence the villagers through promises – TVs, cars, scholarships, money, motorbikes, and jobs – as well as by threatening the farmers (sending death threats by SMS).

Background of the situation

Oil palm plantations are spreading in Indonesia, with strong government support. This has led to growing land conflicts in Indonesia. More and more people are becoming landless.

The tremendous size of monoculture oil palm cultivation is changing the culture of the local communities.

The environment is also affected: water shortages and decreasing water quality, increased flooding, rising temperatures, loss of biodiversity, carbon dioxide emissions, erosion, decreasing soil quality, high use of chemicals (pesticides, herbicides, fertilisers).

Several actors are involved in the conflicts over palm oil: farmers and communities, oil palm cultivation companies, governments, churches, civil society actors (NGOs), and consumers of palm oil (e.g. the food industry).

The uncertain regulations on land in Indonesia are causing big problems. Ownership of the land is often unclear in places like Sukaramai and Sidamanik. Customary rights are not accepted by government. Corporations are taking advantage of this unclear situation with the government's support. For example, the company in Sukaramai has been given a preliminary permit (awarded by a local government) to establish their oil palm plantation.

What we saw

The expanding oil palm plantations affect people at various levels. There are people who are already struggling for their livelihood. They face food insecurity and have no access to water, no shelter. Their human rights are denied. Their situation can be described as modern slavery.

In Sukaramai, landless farmers will be affected when their water supply decreases because of the oil palm plantations. In Sidamanik, they will face danger from the new oil palm plantations from the tea plantation conversion.

Women and children are especially affected (in Sukaramai, for example, they must work with the father in order to reach the target harvest yields). They have no opportunity to go to school and are trapped in their isolation.

The most marginalised people are the most affected by oil palm plantations. They have no money, no political power, no advocacy. They are criminalised when they try to resist the plantations.

The great powers on the other side (companies and governments) are pushing for oil palm plantations to be expanded so that they can gain profit and/or political power.

Palm oil plantations are causing human rights to be violated. The right to food and water is being curtailed. People are facing violence on the order of killings, beatings, and arrests. People have been threatened by company staff.

The workers on the plantations don't receive the minimum wage (Rp 1.2 million/month) and work six days a week. If they don't reach the target yield set by the company, their salaries are cut. This is the reason that women and children must also work on the plantation to help their male breadwinners to reach the target. It means there is only one salary for three workers. The workers are not given social security, either.

We observed the never-ending monoculture scenery – in two days of driving in Sidamanik, we saw almost exclusively monoculture. Companies are converting peatland to oil palm plantations even where it is forbidden by law.

Companies are trying to corrupt the communities and to break their solidarity. In Sidamanik, for example, 95 per cent of the people are against the plantation and

only five per cent are for it, but the lobby of the five per cent is very strong. There is mistrust in the community that comes from suspicions about who is being paid by the company. The company influences the church; in Sidamanik, they are offering Rp 67 million.

Awareness of the ecological and social impact of oil palm plantations is increasing but is still very low.

Farmers use their traditional and local culture to fight against the conversion. They try to arouse the people's fear of ancestors in order to protect their land. In Sidamanik, for example, students will strike with traditional rituals, or people will warn of graves in a field to prevent it from being sold.

NGOs (e.g., Lentera) working on the palm oil issue have limited power and depend on funding from other countries. There is a great lack of resources.

The Church also owns and manages oil palm plantations. Church members own plantations.

Sixty per cent of the palm oil produced in Indonesia is exported.

Who we spoke with

We talked to farmers, farmer groups, communities, churches, and NGOs. In Sukaramai we talked to the Penghijauan group of farmers, the Karya Lestari group of farmers, the Lentera NGO, and Tim kerja HTR (a "People Forest Management Committee"). In Sidamanik, Simalungun Regency, we talked to local pastors, Sunday school teachers, HIMAMPI (Student and Youth Union of Simalungun), UPAS (Committee for Saving the Assests of Simalungun), and an alliance of local communities. At GKPS (Simalungun Protestant Church), we talked to their business unit and community development service (Pelpem GKPS), and to the bishop of the GKPS. We visited only large-scale plantations, not smallholders.

Recommendations

General

- Do not expand the oil palm plantations. Improve the yield of existing plantations through better management.

- Include the environmental costs of the oil palm plantations, such as water pollution and climate change, in the calculation.

Communities

- Establish community-building programmes for the communities affected.

NGOs

- Tackle the lack of resources among NGOs through fund-raising and increased cooperation (e.g., with churches).

Churches in Indonesia

- Manage plantations in a sustainable way, for example by improving conditions for workers, using fewer pesticides, and diversifying cultivation.
- Do not establish new oil palm plantations, and try to find alternative ways to generate income.
- Address palm oil plantations and their impact in an appropriate way during worship.

UEM member churches

- Support the work of NGOs and work together with them.
- Be critical of support from companies and verify their social and environmental performance.
- Provide more education on the environment, for instance the value of biodiversity and the harm from monoculture, and build awareness among church members.
- Promote eco-justice within the church.
- Support programmes and projects for environmental and climate protection within each church (organic farming, organic gardening, renewable energy, education).
- Exchange information on land-grabbing and possible solutions.
- Create a training for pastors and other church workers on eco-theology and human rights so that they are able to implement these issues in their daily work. Eco-theology should be part in the curriculum of theology studies.
- Make palm oil an issue in ecumenical partnerships, for example during visits by delegates from Indonesia and Germany.
- Distribute the fact sheet from Brot für die Welt on oil palm plantations.
- Reflect on strategies of non-violent resistance against land-grabbing such as silent vigils.

Indonesian government

- Make food sovereignty a priority.
- Fulfil contractual obligations as member of the international community, e.g., respect Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) as stated in the UN Declaration Rights of Indigenous People (2007) to which the Indonesian government is party.
- Set up a mechanism to resolve the ongoing land conflicts and give compensation to people who have lost their land (e.g. by creating committee on land conflict that interacts with government, NGOs, farmers, and attends to Sukaramai)
- Stop expansion of oil palm plantation in Sidamanik and make existing oil palm plantations more fair and sustainable.

EU

- Push the Indonesian government to fulfil its international obligations: reducing emissions, not converting peatland into oil palm plantations, respecting human rights, environmental/social rights, indigenous peoples' rights

Individual consumers (in Germany, Indonesia, Tanzania, and elsewhere)

- Reduce consumption of resources (food, animal feed, energy).

Open questions

How to deal with the land ownership (title) problem?
How to approach the problem of corruption?

Papua team report

UEM Ecumenical Team Visit 2012 to indigenous GKI-TP village of Kaliki and to the Catholic indigenous village of Domande (2-6 May 2012)

Who we are

We, a group of seven people from Namibia, the Philippines, Germany, and Indonesia, visited the Indonesian province of Papua from 2 to 6 May 2012 at the invitation of the United Evangelical Mission (UEM). The purpose of our visit was to learn about the impact of land-grabbing on the indigenous people of Papua and show them a sign of our solidarity. The visit gave us the opportunity to learn what kind of challenges UEM member churches are facing, in this case the Evangelical Church in the Land of Papua (Evangelical Christian Church in Tanah Papua, GKI-TP), as well as to discuss the possibilities of how they can be supported through the UEM.

The Indonesian provinces of Papua and West Papua, summarised in the following as simply "Papua", are the easternmost provinces of Indonesia and form the western half of the island of New Guinea. Papua is rich in natural resources such as timber, copper, gold, nickel, gas, and oil. The former Dutch colony was integrated into the Republic of Indonesia through a controversial referendum in 1969. The indigenous people of Papua have suffered ever since under a regime of militarisation, human rights abuses, and discrimination. There were high hopes for the Special Autonomy Law for Papua of 2001, which was meant to guarantee and protect indigenous rights. But this law has so far been barely implemented, and indigenous rights remain unprotected. Meanwhile, the autonomy funds have circulated in Papua almost uncontrollably, attracting many people from other Indonesian areas to Papua who wish to make a living in the rich region. According to the census from 2010, 3.5 million people live in the Indonesian provinces of Papua and West Papua, and according to a study of the University of Sydney, the indigenous people of Papua now comprise only 48 per cent of the whole population, with Indonesian migrants making up the other 52 per cent. The Papuan people have become a minority on their own land and are suffering from socioeconomic marginalisation, while people coming in from outside make a profit off the vast natural resources of Papua.

In August 2010, the Indonesian Minister of Agriculture launched the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE), an agricultural mega-project covering 1.2 million hectares of land in Merauke Regency, southern Papua. MIFEE is meant to become an extensive collection of commercial plantations for crops such as timber, sugar cane, palm oil, corn, and soybeans. At least 36 investors had obtained conces-

sion permits by 2011. The impacts from the MIFEE project threaten the livelihood, culture, and identity of the indigenous Marind people living in the Merauke area.

The Evangelical Church of Papua (GKI-TP) is the largest church in Papua. It has approximately 800,000 members from both inside and outside Papua and around 900 pastors serving them. The church consists of 46 congregations (*klasis*) and 1,300 parishes (*jemaat*) all over Papua. The GKI-TP Executive Board chose the village of Kaliki in Merauke Regency as the destination for the UEM team's visit, since Kaliki is an indigenous GKI parish affected by the impact of MIFEE land-grabbing.

During our visit to Merauke we were accompanied by three police officers from the Indonesian Intelligence Service, who took part in all our meetings. This situation showed the team the restrictions on freedoms that the people of Papua are still experiencing today.

What we saw

On 3 and 4 May, we visited the indigenous GKI-TP village of Kaliki and took a brief trip to the Catholic indigenous village of Domande, which is also affected by MIFEE. In both villages, we saw very poor people who by custom own very rich and resourceful land.

The indigenous villages of Domande and Kaliki are located in a swamp area and surrounded by dozens of so-called transmigration villages. In the seventies, the Merauke Regency became the first region in Papua to be designated as a destination for Indonesian transmigrants sponsored by the Indonesian government. Thousands of Indonesian settlers came to Merauke Regency within the framework of the transmigration programme and began to make a life for themselves on the land of the Papuan people. Nowadays the Merauke Regency looks like a "little Java", with many rice paddies, and villages of people with origins from all over Indonesia. The indigenous Marind people have become a minority in their own region and live at the edges of the transmigration areas.

Domande is approximately 60 kilometres and Kaliki approximately 90 kilometres from the city of Merauke. We left Merauke in the early morning on 3 May in two four-wheel-drive cars and arrived in Domande around noon. In the late afternoon, we continued on to Kaliki, expecting to arrive there at 7 o'clock in the evening. The road to Kaliki was in such bad condition, however, that it took us eight hours to cover the last 16 km. We arrived in Kaliki at 1 o'clock in the morning and were greeted warmly with a traditional ceremony by the local people. The eight hours stuck on the mud road had already showed us the difficult conditions under which the people of Kaliki live.

Because of their marginalisation and socioeconomic vulnerability, the people of both Domande and Kaliki seem to be easily exploited by the false promises of investors coming to their land. Both villages were approached by Rajawali, an Indonesian

company planning sugar plantations in the area. The company promised the people money, education, health, better housing, and streets, as well as jobs on the plantations. On 30 November 2010, the traditional leaders of Domande signed a contract on behalf of the indigenous community with Rajawali and the local government of Merauke to give (*dilepaskannya dan diserahkannya*) about 36,892 hectares of land to Rajawali. The contract states that in return for this land, the company will develop the village through education, health services, and improved infrastructure (renovation of church building, housing, asphalt road and electricity). From the contract we received, we could see that these promises will depend on the "financial ability" (*kemampuan keuangan*) of the company. We heard from local sources that companies will often argue later that they do not have the financial means to meet the agreements of the contract. According to local sources, the people of Domande received six billion Indonesian rupiah from the company, all of which has already been spent.

In Domande the meeting with the community was led by the village secretary and an indigenous representative of Rajawali. Since the state has failed to develop their village, attendees described the Rajawali company as their saviour, bringing welfare and development to Domande (see statements under "Who we spoke with"). Besides the three police officers who were accompanying our group, an additional armed local police officer attended the meeting. Approximately 50 people attended the meeting, but with the exception of the village secretary and the Rajawali representative, everyone remained silent. Our team was not able to speak freely with the people.

The people of Kaliki also signed a contract with Rajawali, in March 2012. We could not see the contract because the village did not have a copy of it. The GKI-TP Merauke had asked Rajawali and the local government to show them the contract, but was told that this was not the church's business. According to local sources, the traditional leaders did not read the contract before signing because the company had said that everything that had been discussed was included in the contract. We received the information that 13,800 hectares of land were given to Rajawali out of the 43,000 hectares of communal land that belongs to the four clans living in Kaliki. According to Matius Kaize, one of the traditional leaders, the village received 200 Million rupiah from Rajawali for Christmas and an additional 3.5 billion rupiah when the contract was signed. All the money has already been spent, in part because people have already gone into debt with the expectation that they would receive money from the company.

The GKI-TP has been advising the parish since 2010, when Rajawali approached the people of Kaliki for the first time. In 2011, the Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation Department of the GKI-TP Synod conducted a workshop in Kaliki in order to raise awareness of the impacts of land-selling. In an anonymous vote at the end of the workshop, the majority of the villagers refused to sell their land to Rajawali. With the support of the head of the GKI congregation, Pastor John Nerotouw, a village "Institution for the Development and Empowerment of Kaliki" was formed. In cooperation

with this institution and a legal adviser, the GKI-TP drafted a contract between Kaliki and Rajawali that would protect and strengthen the rights of the Kaliki people in the case of a land sale. The local government, however, rejected this draft agreement. Despite the church's support and advice, the majority of the people in Kaliki eventually decided to sell their land to the Rajawali company. The church representatives we spoke to repeatedly stressed that money has become more important to the people than what the church has to offer.

Who we spoke with

We talked with church representatives and traditional leaders in particular, and we would like to share some of the statements that were made during our meetings.

Pastor John Nerotouw, head of the GKI-TP congregation of Merauke:
"The company comes with money, but the church only comes with words."

"The people of Kaliki do not listen to the church any longer. But even though they made a mistake and sold their land, we will still support them."

Nicolaus Adi Saputra, Catholic Bishop of Merauke Diocese:
"For the indigenous people, the land is the mother of life. The richness of this land belongs to the tribal groups. It should not be sold."

"There are two different perspectives towards land. According to the customary law, the land belongs to the community and cannot be sold. In the view of the investors and the government, the land belongs to the State and can be sold. These two perspectives are conflicting with each other."

"The company is not a saviour. It steals rights on the back of the vulnerability of the people."

Rikki Robert Niwar, Secretary of Domande village:
"There is a new joy in our life. Before 2010 we lived in the darkness; since Rajawali came, we have experienced light."

"We want to know what is happening in the world and we now have a TV because of money from the company."

"We lease our land because we want to have a better life. We want better housing, education, and infrastructure. We were hoping for justice from the government, but we did not receive any funds from the Special Autonomy Law. We are thirsty for the presence of our government, but it has never paid any attention. It was the investors who came and gave us motorbikes and communication. We now have access to the outside world."

"The Special Autonomy Law from 2002 did not change anything for the people of Papua. In this, Domande is a mirror for Papua as a whole."

David Timotheus Julian Jamalu Aru, representative of Rajawali in Domande and responsible for CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility)
"I misunderstood your visit at first. I thought you came to oppose Rajawali. But I was wrong, because your visit is about our experiences with Rajawali."

"You cannot accuse me of being responsible for global warming."

"Rajawali is like Moses."

"The money from our old life does not meet our needs today."

"The Director of Rajawali is not a bad person. He is also a Christian."

Matius Kaize, traditional leader of Kaliki:
"Maybe you can give us advice on how to proceed in this case. If we sign the contract wrong, it means we will leave a difficult future for our children and grandchildren."

Another traditional leader:
"We did not invite the investors, they just came to us."

Dora Balubun, Coordinator of the Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation Department of the GKI-TP Synod:
"We conducted a JPIC workshop in Kaliki in 2011, but were feeling we had already come too late. Many companies have entered Merauke, and money has become more important for the people than anything else."

Recommendations

- We encourage the GKI-TP, together with other UEM member churches, to strive for holistic empowerment of the people in Kaliki: economic empowerment and food autonomy. The people of Kaliki, especially the younger generation, should be trained in agriculture and livestock breeding. Deciding what kind of agriculture and livestock will require further discussion with the GKI-TP and the people of Kaliki. Access to information, e.g. via the establishment of a local radio station providing basic information to the indigenous people in the villages. Securing land rights: The people of Kaliki should be supported in obtaining legal certification of their land.
- We encourage a church partnership between the GKI-TP Merauke and a UEM member church in Indonesia for mutual exchange and reinforcement.
- We encourage the different church denominations in Merauke to form a coalition in order to strengthen and protect the rights of the indigenous people affected by MIFEE.

• We recommend to the Communion of Churches in Papua (Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja di Papua, or PGGP) and the Communion of Churches in Indonesia (Persektuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia, or PGI) to take up the issue of MIFEE in Merauke as a topic in their ongoing talks with Indonesian President Yudhoyono.

What we would like to bring home

Because we come from different churches in different countries, we bring home different experiences and commitments:

We all will share our experiences in Kaliki within our communities and we will pray for the people in Kaliki and have keep their problems on our conscience.

We will open our doors to share our experiences and knowledge with our sisters and brothers in Kaliki, should they ask us to do so.

We should expand the collaboration among communities affected by multinational companies and work across borders to advocate for their rights.

With the experience of Kaliki, we should fight even more strongly for the land rights of communities in Africa and Asia. In Namibia the people did not sell their land, but it was taken away from them. Now communities are fighting to get their land back. We have to support them in their struggle and make others who wish to sell their land aware of the consequences.

We should do public awareness-raising in our countries on how multinational companies operate when seeking the land of local communities. Our experiences in Kaliki serve as an example of a different consumption attitude (organic, fair etc.).

We see the need for community development. The churches have to give the people an ecumenical alternative to what the companies are offering.

We believe that Kaliki could become a model for other communities in Papua if we succeed in empowering them in their struggle.

Share the situation in Kaliki with the the GKI-TP Executive Board and the other GKI-TP congregations. The GKI-TP should pay attention to Kaliki as a pilot project, since other villages have had and will have similar experiences with multinational companies. The GKI-TP can also approach the Head of Regencies (*Bupatis*) about the problems. Together with its other congregations, the GKI-TP should economically empower the indigenous communities. “In Kaliki we still have a chance” (Rev. Matheus Adadikam, General Secretary of the GKI-TP).

We thank the Evangelical Church in the Land of Papua (GKI-TP) and the people of Kaliki for their warm welcome!

Rev. Matheus Adadikam, GKI-TP Indonesia
Rev. Petrus Sugito, GKJTU Indonesia
Rev. Petrus Khariseb, ELCRN Namibia
Juliet Solis, UCCP Philippines
Christina Felschen, free lance journalist Germany
Kristina Neubauer, WPN Germany

IV. What to do

Declaration of Medan

Peace with the Earth – Message from the delegates

Peace with the Earth: We as church people cannot be silent.

We, the 35 representatives from the United Evangelical Mission member churches in Asia, Africa, and Germany, from the UEM and Brot für die Welt and assorted non-governmental associations, have witnessed how the severe impact that environmental destruction has on all life and the ecosystem goes hand in hand with the violation of human rights and the loss of cultural and spiritual identity. We call upon churches to strengthen their commitment to supporting communities who have lost or are in danger of losing their rights and to protecting those whose livelihoods are endangered when land is taken for pure commercial use fuelled by greed and the self-enrichment of unsustainable economic lifestyles. The immense expansion of environmental destruction has to be stopped as soon as possible to secure the future of the next generation.

We gathered in Northern Sumatra, Indonesia from 7th to 13th May 2012 (after a team visit to Papua from 2nd to 6th May 2012) to explore the impacts of climate change and environmental destruction and to find ways to take action and support each other. We have visited the following UEM member churches in Indonesia: GKI-TP, GKPA, GBKP, GKPS, HKI, GKPI, HKBP, and the UEM cooperating church GKPPD.

We have experienced how people are suffering in various areas in Northern Sumatra and Papua because of environmental destruction, and how they are struggling for their rights. We heard their urgent cries and we became aware of their urgent need for support. Different teams have visited mining areas in Batang Toru and Parongil Dairi and have spoken with affected communities; other teams have witnessed the impact of palm oil production in Labuhan Batu and land-grabbing in Merauke, Papua in connection with the MIFEE agricultural mega-project. A fourth team learned how traditional trees are being cut down for pulp production as part of a large deforestation programme in the area of Dolok Sanggul. A fifth team realised how urban pollution affects the lives of many people, some of whom must even make a living from the polluted waste.

We have learned that the livelihood of communities is tightly linked to healthy surroundings. If natural resources are endangered, the well-being of people will also be in danger. Human rights and the rights of creation cannot be torn apart. Churches have to rethink their theology so that they may integrate care for God's creation into their preaching and actions. Only if land, water, and air are intact will people be able to live from the resources God has given.

God has given his promise: "The land will give its fruit, and you will have all you want to eat and will live in safety" (Leviticus 25:19). In the New Testament, too, the redemption of humankind is linked to the redemption of creation: "the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and will obtain the freedom of the glory of the children of God" (Romans 8:21).

This insight found expression in the final message of the International Ecumenical Peace Convocation of the World Council of Churches in Kingston, Jamaica in May 2011: "Our concern for the Earth and our concern for humanity go hand in hand. Natural resources and common goods such as water must be shared in a just and sustainable manner. We join global civil society in urging governments to reconstruct radically all our economic activities towards the goal of an ecologically sustainable economy."

Having experienced during our visit the impact of enormous threats to the environment and humanity, we see the need for churches to strengthen their efforts in word and action, through preaching, teaching, and advocacy, to protect those communities and individuals whose existence is endangered and who are the most vulnerable members of our communities. The churches are in a particularly advantageous position to call for the care of the integrity of creation in accordance with the Lord's imperative. We ask churches to be more open to a theology that includes the care of creation, especially in relation to issues of climate change and the environment.

We see the need to protect the people's longing for a sustainable way of life, to enable them to pursue a livelihood they have mainly chosen by themselves. We feel a particular challenge for the churches to be sensitive for the grievances and needs of underprivileged and marginalised people in order to offer them counselling and empowerment. To that end, we request that churches disseminate the needed knowledge and expertise to the local people in order to make their longing for a life in dignity possible and enhance close cooperation with local, national, and international non-governmental organisations.

We call upon churches to set up policies and establish codes of conduct for receiving donations from private donors, companies, and government that will allow churches to retain their independence and not lose their credibility. We believe that churches must not accept donations from private or public institutions that contribute to the violation of human rights. We ask churches to expose and oppose the excessive consumption of natural resources.

We also see the imminent need for a radical paradigm shift in our global and local economic realities through the clear and firm joint action of all States. We appeal to the churches to contribute to developing better quality of life for everyone and to protecting creation. We expect churches to take a leadership role in their advocacy addressing climate change, a safe environment, and people's as well as human

rights. We ask the churches to become part of a larger network of civil society in this endeavour and to take the initiative whenever necessary.

We look forward to the Rio +20 UN Conference in June 2012 with the expectation that time-bound, accountable, and solid commitments will be agreed upon that demonstrate a credible path forward to enabling sustainable development that guarantees a life in dignity for everyone, one that is based on human rights, equity, respect for the environment, and sustainable use of natural resources. We request the churches show that it is possible to live on Earth without destroying the environment and the planet through human activity. It is not only a matter of credibility but also of stewardship.

We call upon the UEM member churches to continue the process started in 2008 and to join forces in addressing the global challenges of climate change and environmental destruction. We ask the UEM and Brot für die Welt to further assist churches as well as faith-based and non-governmental organisations in raising awareness, sharing experiences, taking concrete action, and doing advocacy work so that "Peace with the Earth" will be not just a slogan, but a reality of mission in this world.

"Protecting the environment begins at home"

Interviews with participants

Problems with the environment are everywhere, but often there are simple ways to combat them – if the willingness and the knowledge are there. Five participants in the UEM's "Peace with the Earth" workshop share their experience.

Christina Felschen

Haricha Tambunan, Bakumsu Institute, Sumatra:
With all of the environmental problems in Indonesia – disappearing forests, extinct species, mining – we often lose sight of the problems right in front of our doors. But things need to change here as well. Medan is a big city, and its inhabitants are very consumption-oriented. They throw away their rubbish without thinking about it, any of those who live in the city damage the environment through their behaviour. They throw their litter away everywhere, even in the river. This stops up drains and causes floods. Ten years ago this happened at most once a year; today it happens two or three times a year.

What are you doing to change this?
For me, environmental protection begins at home. Recently we've started to always bring a shopping bag with us when we go shopping, to avoid having plastic rubbish. We have also started to separate the rubbish in our office. When I see a friend throwing something on the ground, I say to him, "Hey, that doesn't belong there. If you can't find a rubbish bin, you can always keep it in your pocket." Something has to change in the public's awareness! I've just joined forces with six of my friends; we want to teach children what protecting the environment means.

Bishop Stephen Ismail Munga, ELCT-NED, Tanzania:
If you go driving through the forests of Tanzania, you'll see from the outside what first look like healthy trees. But the further you penetrate into the depths of the forests, the more destruction you will see: bald patches, trees that have been lost to the big business of the logging industry. Tropical timber is one of the most valuable raw materials that Tanzania produces. This is why the Tanzanian forests have been hugely exploited, so as to sell the wood to the local or international markets. Many of our political

leaders are mixed up in this business too. What's more, villagers will cut down trees themselves, because they cook with firewood. Eighty per cent of the inhabitants of my country live in villages, where they usually have no access to electricity or gas.

What are you doing to change this?
We've established that many villagers don't sufficiently understand the ecological implications of their actions. They cut down trees because they need firewood in the short term, and they don't know the medium-term effects that this has on the water cycle: the rains are irregular and endangers their crops. We're trying to make this link clear to them. But what use is this to them when they have no alternatives?

This is why we are calling on politicians to develop alternative sources of energy. We are also reminding them that there is abundant environmental and forest legislation in our country that they must also implement at the local level. The Tanzanian laws are good, but our rule of law is not. And finally, I am also speaking with raw materials companies and other church leaders – I would like for the depletion of the rainforest to become part of the national agenda.

Juliet Solis, UCCP, Philippines:
The Philippines have rich mineral reserves, but this wealth is only doing damage to our country. Four per cent of Philippine land is already being used for mining. Our government awarded 785 mining concessions in 2011 alone. 785! Why does this make me so agitated? Mining and human rights violations go hand in hand for us now. In order to guarantee the investors a smooth course and the effective creation of profits, the government deploys soldiers and police to "cleanse" the affected areas. In other words, they use violence to go after residents who oppose the mining plans. Of the 68 victims of extrajudicial executions in 2010, eight of them opposed mining projects – two of them were members of our church.

What are you doing to change this?
We teach our members and international partners about the background of the mining industry and its consequences. Right now we are offering theatre workshops for young people so that they can engage with the topic through play. In addition, not only do we collaborate with ecumenical groups and NGOs, we also support the progressive party list in the Philippines, a group of opposition parties. They have just introduced a draft of a "People's Mining Bill". The basic idea is that we cannot bring the mining industry to a halt, but we can suggest underlying conditions by which Filipinos can benefit from this industry themselves so that not everything falls into the hands of foreign corporations.

Christian Sandner, EKiR, Krefeld:
I live not far from an area where brown coal is being promoted as an energy source. Before, this was a rural region, where farmers had cultivated their fields for centuries. But when the stripping shovels came, their villages had to be relocated. An enormous hole formed and the fertile topsoil vanished into the earth. It will be a long time before the soil regenerates.

What are you doing to change this?
It’s very simple: I don’t get my electricity from the brown coal power station next door, but from renewable energy sources. Various Protestant churches have even engaged with the topic in their synods, and they have also decided to pay a little more in order to promote renewable energy – as a sign of protest.

Naome Uwamahoro, EAR, Rwanda:
Rwanda proudly advertises itself as the “Land of a Thousand Hills”. But these hills bring danger: we can get landslides as soon as we have a lot of rain. It was that time again at the end of last year; from October to December we had heavy rains. The earth got washed down the slopes into the valleys; the avalanches of mud took out many homes. Many people are still homeless today because of it. It has long been true that the rains would not have such violent effects if people protected their land by planting trees on it.

What are you doing to change this?
I show the people how they can plant things in the earth to avoid landslides. We combine elements of agriculture and forestry to do this. We cultivate seedlings in tree nurseries and distribute them to the farmers so that they can combat the erosion themselves.

First UEM Youth Action Day for Climate Justice

Katja Breyer

To work the earth and take care of it (Genesis 2:15), to shape the world and enhance life at the same time: this Christian duty parallels the model of sustainable development. Yet twenty years after the international community pledged to protect the climate, maintain biodiversity, and preserve the forest, at the Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, humankind is still far from fully embracing sustainable development.

The campaign "Mission: Save the climate! Powered by heaven" is an attempt by the Evangelical Church of Westphalia (EKvW) to support and motivate young people to work towards protecting the climate and the environment wherever possible – in their personal lives, parishes, and local communities, as well as in society as a whole. The aim of the campaign is to provide young people with the experience that anyone can contribute to meeting the challenges of climate change. Numerous actions have already been carried out, including an international climate camp, workshops, and the realisation of an exhibition.

We want to combine this dedication with activities by other UEM member churches and partner churches of the EKvW so that together we can strengthen each other in our commitment to climate justice and the integrity of creation. To that end, we are planning an international Youth Action Day for climate justice (in parallel with the UN climate negotiations) to give young people the opportunity to see how their peers all over the world are joining forces with adults to stand up for climate justice and the integrity of creation.

On this action day, young people from UEM member churches and other partner churches of the EKvW will simultaneously perform a service or a devotion as well as an action – a public one, if possible – for climate and environmental protection. These actions will be transmitted to the participating countries through internet media such as Skype in order to enable all groups to participate in one another's actions. The primary aim is to raise awareness among young people of climate protection as a common challenge and task (one for which the industrialised countries bear chief responsibility) and to help them experience ecumenical solidarity, as well to make the public aware of climate justice and church engagement.

A joint website will be created for this action day to provide information, post activities, and upload videos. The website will be in English.

Our proposal: 1. International
UEM Youth Climate Justice Action Day / December 8th, 2012

UEM Youth Climate Justice Action Day

Objectives

- raising awareness to climate justice
- support young people in taking action for climate protection
- integrate climate protection in the work with young people

UEM Youth Climate Justice Action Day

Youth Activities in the Evangelical Church of Westphalia

Evangelische Jugend startet Klimakampagne

„Die Erde ist Gottes Schöpfung – und deshalb muss sie bewahrt werden." Mit diesem Votum von Präses Alfred Buß eröffnete die Evangelische Kirche von Westfalen am vergangenen Samstag in Dortmund ihre neue Jugend-Klimakampagne (UK berichtete). Unter dem Motto: „Mission: Klima retten! powered by heaven" sollen junge Menschen in den kommenden zwei Jahren aufgerufen werden, sich für Umweltschutz und Klimagerechtigkeit einzusetzen. Bis 2013 wollen dazu Aktionstheaterstücke und Workshops entwickelt werden. Im Internet: www.jugendkirche-do-de, www.powerofbyheaven.de


Klimacamp der Jugend

Dortmund, 03.06.2011, DerWesten

Seite 2 von 16

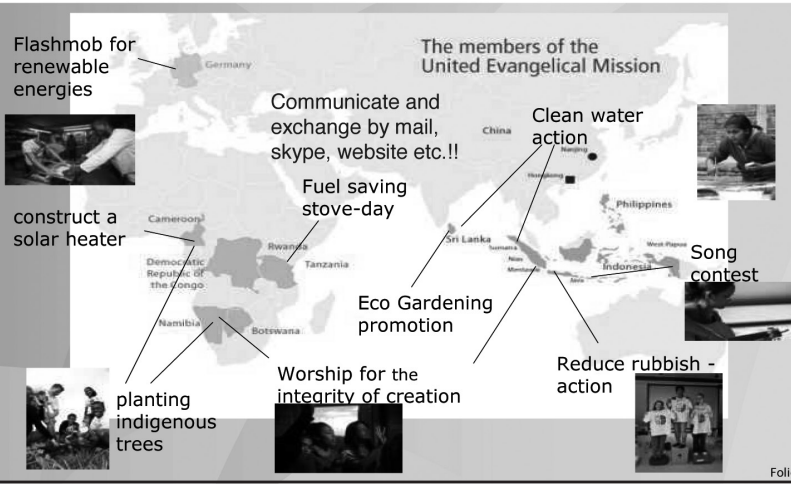
Zum Klimacamp der Evangelischen Jugend in Dortmund begrüßte Dortmunds Oberbürgermeister Ulrich Sierau viele Teilnehmer.

UEM Youth Climate Justice Action Day

Our proposal

On December 8th groups of young people in UEM member churches take action for climate protection and climate justice

UEM Youth Climate Justice Action Day could include e.g.



Folie 5

Join in the UEM Youth Climate Justice Action Day

Thank you for your attention
and please join the Youth Climate Justice Action Day

Mission: Klima retten!

https://twitter.com/#!/YouthActionDay
http://www.facebook.com/InternationalYouthActionDayForClimateJustice

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Conclusion

Theodor Rathgeber

Indonesia is spread among more than 17,000 islands, with abundant resources and social diversity. The country is considered one of the fastest growing economies in the world. Indonesia is also being applauded by the international community for successfully securing democracy, upholding human rights, and climbing from the ranks of poor countries to a solid position among the lower middle-income countries. But an equal distribution of social benefits and the balancing of a macroeconomic agenda with the protection of human dignity still constitute major challenges. The administration continues to work from an authoritarian understanding of governance: rule of law and human rights are disregarded in the race for economic growth and financial stability, although Indonesia's ratification of core international human rights standards suggests that the government is prepared to be held accountable and to incorporate human rights into the design of the country's development policies.

Our ecumenical field visits have revealed that human rights are not instrumental in designing and assessing the process and outcomes of foreign investment and local development. The reports from the field visits illustrated the rapid pace and implementation of economic and financial globalisation, even as growth implies inequality and a sense of structural impoverishment for the people on the ground, as well as making it impossible for them to sustain themselves day to day. The detrimental effects of gold mining, palm oil cultivation, deforestation, and poor waste management have become obvious, especially for the poor and the marginalised.

The environmental and social consequences of the process of development have become more complex, but the de facto participation and consultation of the local people has declined, or in some cases has even been impeded by ill-equipped administrations at the local and district levels. Theoretically, decentralisation or local autonomy should open up possibilities for the people to participate and to articulate their concerns and interests directly to the local authorities, allowing them to become actors in their own development. Local people also expect changes in how resources and outcomes are being governed and measured. The field visits showed that there must be more rigorous implementation and more appropriate instruments if the people's participation is to be made more efficient and rights-based.

The talks with the stakeholders left our teams with the impression that the current government is still reluctant to take political risks in order to make human rights and

the inclusion of local people a legislative priority. This is why civil society organisations need to take the lead in calling for official commitments and for the implementation of laws, rules, and public administration. The Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights would be a genuine ally for a rights-based approach and could help to encourage the State to take more decisive action against those institutions and officials that defy national court rulings on purpose or through inaction. Experiences in recent years have taught us that attracting public and media attention can make at least the central government in Jakarta become more active in seeking negotiation and compromise.

How is the State compelled to uphold constitutional principles and judicial authority? Is there any specific role for churches? Although we must consider the minority position of churches in Indonesia when articulating expectations at the institutional level, the insufficient governance in Indonesia requires a voice that is able to effectively address the re-organisation of governmental bodies as well as transparency and accountability. From a human rights perspective, the negative effects from this sort of development that have been illustrated in these reports could be prevented or solved through normative standards and grassroots participation, transparency, and accountability. This type of contribution is necessary if people are to become the main actors and the focus of development. In addition, we must challenge the State to ensure that third parties comply with existing laws and regulations. Such legal action must include prosecuting officials from state agencies who have failed in their duty to ensure the implementation of regulations such as environmental laws and rules for consultation and assessments. The Declaration of Medan and the reports from the field visits detail some of the most urgent recommendations for each issue.

The genuine structure of the United Evangelical Mission (UEM) provides an additional route to claiming rights for the people at the international level, especially the UN human rights system. Without going into detail here, there is a wide range of instruments available in order to properly address people's concerns about environmental destruction, impoverishment caused by land-grabbing and eviction, the social fracturing of communities, etc. The UN human rights system provides normative standards, complaints procedures, reporting systems, fact-finding missions by the mandates of the Special Procedures, and guidance for good governance by means of recommendations from authorised independent experts.

The problem of toxic waste in Indonesia, for instance, has received considerable attention at the international level. On 14 August 2009, the respective UN Special Rapporteurs on the adverse effects of toxic wastes, the right to food, the right to health, and the right to housing sent a joint letter to the government of Indonesia addressing the adverse effects of gold and copper mining activities in Lembata (East Nusa Tenggara) on access to safe drinking water and sanitation. In his report to the UN Human Rights Council in September 2010, the Special Rapporteur on the

adverse implications for human rights of the illicit movement and dumping of toxic waste, Okechukwu Ibeanu, was particularly concerned about the lack of information regarding social, environmental, and health impacts, as well as the scanty measures taken to confirm that the mining project would not have disproportionate negative impacts on the environment and on the communities (see document A/HRC/15/22/Add.1, para. 15). We can thus expect the international community to be amenable to providing more support. The Declaration of Medan and the reports from the field visits contain details what is needed next. All in all, the experiences from these international and ecumenical team visits should foster more discussion about making this instrument a continuously working mechanism within the UEM.

Appendix

About the authors

Jaya Arjuna Mr Arjuna works as an expert with the independent Environmental Services Professionals (ESP) in Indonesia.

Katja Breyer Ms Breyer is an expert on climate change with the Evangelical Church of Westphalia (Evangelische Kirche von Westfalen).

Christina Felschen Ms Felschen is a freelance journalist and works for the newspapers *Die Tageszeitung* (taz) and *Die Welt*, among others, and for several journals. She focuses on issues such as human rights, migration, and the environment.

Longgena Ginting Mr Ginting is the UEM consultant on climate change for the Asian region.

Sonny Keraf Dr Keraf is the former Minister of Environment of Indonesia (1999-2001).

Dimpos Manalu Mr Manalu is the former director of KSPPM (Study Group for the People's Initiative Development) in Parapat, North Sumatra.

Jochen Motte Dr Motte holds a PhD in Theology and has been a member of the UEM since 1992. He is currently the director of the Department on Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation and a member of the UEM Management Team.

Matius Panji Barus Mr Barus has been the moderator of the Karo Batak Protestant Church (GBKP) since 2010.

Oliver Pye Dr Pye holds a PhD in Forestry and since 2005 has been a lecturer in Southeast Asian Studies at Bonn University.

Theodor Rathgeber Dr Rathgeber holds a PhD in Political Science. He is a freelance consultant on human rights and since 1987 has been a lecturer at the University of Kassel.

Saurlin Siagian Mr Siagian is a researcher and activist with the non-governmental organisation Lentera Rakyat in North Sumatra.

Peace with the Earth:

UEM International Ecumenical Team Visit 2012 – Indonesia

General Programme and Time Schedule

Time	1-6 May 2012 Papua Team	Monday 7 May 2012	Tuesday 8 May 2012
8.30 - 9.00			Morning prayer
9.00 - 10.30			Introduction to environmental and climate issues of mining (Jonathan Tarigan), deforestation/pulp industries, etc. (Dimpos Manalu), urban pollution (Jaya Arjuna) and palm oil (Saurlin Siagian) - Panel discussion - Moderation: Longgena Ginting
10.30 - 11.00			Coffee break
11.00 - 12.30	**Team visit to Papua** *(please see extra programme)*	Arrival of participants	- Introduction to the team visit programmes - Reporting from Papua team Moderation: Jochen Motte
12.30 - 2.30			1.00: Lunch break
2.30 - 4.00		Arrival - Registration - Coffee	Meetings of individual teams and further preparations
4.00 - 4.30		Coffee break	Coffee break
4.30 - 6.00		Opening Prayer (Matius Panji Barus) Welcome of the team members by the hosting churches and the North Sumatra Communion of Churches Words of welcome from the UEM Words of greeting from Brot für die Welt	Info on environmental challenges in Indonesia today Mr Sonny Keraf (former Minister of Environment of Indonesia)
6.00 - 6.30		Introduction of participants - brief sharing of main concerns for environmental / climate issues in each home church/ country and expectations Moderation: Robinson Butarbutar	Moderation: Robinson Butarbutar
6.30 - 7.30		Dinner	Dinner

9-11 May 2012 Team Visits	Saturday 12 May 2012	Sunday 13 May 2012
8.00 Departure	Morning prayer	
	Teams travel back to Medan	10.00 - 12.00 Closing worship at Protestant Karo Batak Church (GBKP) Polonia, Jl. Mongonsidi No. 53, Medan Preacher: Bishop Stephen Munga
Team visits 1) Mining 1 (Batang Toru Area) 2) Mining 2 (Parongil Dairi) 3) Palm Oil 4) Deforestation 5) Urban Pollutions *(For more details please see extra programmes)*		
	Lunch break	Lunch break
	2.00 Plenary reports by team / Moderator: Rannieh Mercado	3.00 - 5.00 Welcome on behalf of hosting church (GBKP) by Matius Barus and on behalf of UEM by Jochen Motte / introduction of participants Sharing of experiences, findings, and messages from team visits with church leaders / Moderator: Tuhoni Telaumbanua
	Coffee break	5.00 - 5.30: Coffee break
	Preparation of message (team reporters) Preparations for Sunday worship and meetings Optional: Sightseeing/shopping in Medan	5.30 Sharing by Indonesian leaders about religious freedom in Indonesian context and discussion Moderator: Petrus Sugito
	Finalising the message in plenary Moderator: Robinson Butarbutar	
	Dinner/cultural evening	Reception and dinner

Peace with the Earth:
UEM International Ecumenical Team Visit 2012 – Indonesia

Mining Team 1

Batang Toru
9 – 11 May 2012

Date	Time	Activity
Wednesday May 9	6:30 – 7:30 7:30 – 8:00 8:00 – 9:00 9:00 – 10:00 10:00 – 10:30 10:30 – 12:00 12:30 – 1:00 1:00 – 2:00 2:00 – 4:00 4:00 – 5:30 5:30 – 6:00 6:00 – 7:00 7:00 – 8:00	Breakfast at the hotel in Medan and check-out Travel to Polonia airport, Medan Flight check-in Fly to Pinang Sori airport, Padang Sidempuan Arrival in Pinang Sori airport Travel to Batang Toru mining site Meeting with community near the mining site Lunch break in Batang Toru Presentation and discussion about the impacts of mining Travel to Padang Sidempuan Check-in at hotel in Padang Sidempuan Group discussion of preliminary findings Dinner and rest
Thursday May 10	7:00 – 8:00 8:00 – 9:30 9:30 – 11:30 11:30 – 1:00 1:00 – 2:00 2:00 – 2:30 2:30 – 3:00 3:00 – 4:30 4:30 – 5:00 5:00 – 6:00 6:00 – 8:00	Breakfast at the hotel in Padang Sidempuan Travel to Batang Toru area Meeting with local communities and members of congregation living near the mining area Travel to Padang Sidempuan Lunch Meeting with small miners from Medina in Padang Sidempuan Coffee break Meeting with goverment mining authority Back to the hotel Group meeting and discussion of preliminary findings Rest and sightseeing/dining out in Padang Sidempuan

Date	Time	Acivity
Friday May 11	7:00 – 8:00 8:00 – 8:30 8:30 – 10:30 10:30 – 11:00 11:00 – 4:00 4:00 – 5:00 5:00 – 6:00 7:00 – 8:00	Breakfast and check-out Visit to the GKPA headquarters in Padang Sidempuan Meeting with GKPA leaders at the GKPA headquarters Preparation for journey to Medan by bus via Parapat Travel to Parapat (with lunch en route) Check-in at hotel in Parapat Preparation of the group report Dinner and rest in Parapat
Saturday May 12	7:00 – 8:00 8:00 – 12:30 12:30 – 1:00 1:00 – 2:00 2:00	Breakfast and check-out Travel to Medan Check-in at Danau Toba Hotel Medan Lunch Back to the plenary!

Peace with the Earth:
UEM International Ecumenical Team Visit 2012 – Indonesia

Mining Team 2

Parongil - Dairi
9 – 11 May 2012

Date	Time	Activity
Wednesday May 9	6:00 – 7:00	Breakfast at Danau Toba Hotel Medan and check-out
	7:00 – 1:00	Travel to Parongil, Dairi
	1:00 – 1:30	Arrival at Persekutuan Diakonia Pelangi Kasih (PDPK) Jl. Gereja No. 78 Parongil, Kec. Silima Punggapungga, Dairi
	1:30 – 2:30	Lunch at PDPK, Parongil
	2:30 – 3:00	Group briefing about the visit programme by PDPK (at Katolik hall, Parongil)
	3:00 – 5:00	Presentation on the work of PDPK and impacts of mining
	5:00 – 6:30	Travel to Sidikalang
	6:30 – 7:00	Check-in at Sidikalang Hotel in Sidikalang
	7:00 – 8:00	Dinner and rest
Thursday May 10	7:00 – 8:00	Breakfast at hotel in Sidikalang
	8:00 – 9:30	Travel to mining operation site
	9:30 – 12:00	Discussion with grassroots groups and local NGOs
	12:00 – 1:00	Rest and lunch break
	1:00 – 3:00	Travel to other affected areas and tour of the mining concession
	3:00 – 5:00	Discussion with the women's group affected by mining at Parongil
	5:00 – 6:30	Travel back to Sidikalang
	6:30 – 7:30	Group discussion of the preliminary findings
	7:30 – 8:00	Dinner and rest

Date	Time	Activity
Friday May 11	8:00 – 9:00 9:00 – 9:30 9:30 – 12:00 12:00 – 1:00 1:00 – 2:30 2:30 – 3:30 3:30 – 4:30 4:30 – 5:00 5:00 – 6:30 6:30 – 8:00	Breakfast at hotel and check-out Travel to mining site Meeting with other affected communities at Bunian or Pandiangan village Rest and lunch Travel to Berastagi via Kaban Jahe to GBKP headquarters GBKP Jalan Kapten Pala Bangun 66. Kabanjahe Discussion with GBKP leadership Travel to Berastagi Check-in at hotel in Berastagi Rest Dinner
Saturday May 12	7:00 – 8:00 8:00 – 10:00 10:00 – 12:30 12:30 – 1:00 1:00 – 2:00 2:00	Breakfast and check-out Group discussion of findings and group report Travel to Medan Check-in at Danau Toba Hotel Medan Lunch Back to the plenary!

Peace with the Earth:
UEM International Ecumenical Team Visit 2012 – Indonesia

Urban Pollution Team

Medan, Belawan, Tanjung Purba
9 – 11 May 2012

Date	Time	Activity
Wednesday May 9	6:00 – 8:00	Breakfast at Danau Toba Hotel
	8:00 – 9:00	Depart for slum area in Jalan Asia
	9:00 – 11:00	Meeting with children and communities in the slum of Jalan Asia
	11:00 – 12:00	Lunch break
	12:30 – 1:00	Travel to TPA (garbage dump) of Namo Bintang
	1:00 – 2:00	Tour of garbage dump area
	2:00 – 3:30	Meeting with scavengers at TPA Namo Bintang. Travel
	3:30 – 4:30	Back to Danau Toba Hotel, Medan
	4:30 – 5:30	Group discussion on the preliminary findings
	5:30 – 7:00	Dinner and rest
Thursday May 10	7:00 – 8:00	Breakfast
	8:00 – 9:00	Travel and visit to Yos Sudarso
	9:00 – 11:00	Boat tour of toxic sites along Deli river
	11:00 – 1:00	Rest and lunch
	1:00 – 3:30	Travel to and tour of KIM (industrial area) of Mabar
	3:30 – 4:30	Discussion with workers in Mabar area
	4:30 – 5:30	Travel to hotel
	5:30 – 6:30	Meeting and discussion with Bapedal staff at the hotel
	6:30 – 7:00	Dinner

Date	Time	Activity
Friday May 11	7:00 – 8:00 8:00 – 10:00 10:00 – 12:00 12:00 – 1:00 1:00 – 2:30 2:30 – 4:00 4:00 – 5:30 5:30 – 6:00 6:00 – 7:00	Breakfast and hotel check-out Travel and visit to Parpem GBKP in Sukamakmur Observe the use of pesticides/herbicides and the alternative/organic farming practices in Sukamakmur areas Lunch break Travel to Kaban Jahe Meeting with GBKP leaders at GBKP headquarters Travel to Sukamakmur Check in at GBKP training centre in Sukamakmur Dinner and rest
Saturday May 12	7:00 – 8:00 8:00 – 10:00 10:00 – 12:30 12:30 – 1:00 1:00 – 2:00 2:00	Breakfast and check-out Group discussion of findings and group report Travel to Danau Hotel Medan Check-in at Danau Toba Hotel Lunch Back to the Plenary!

Peace with the Earth:
UEM International Ecumenical Team Visit 2012 – Indonesia

Deforestation Team

Dolok Sanggul and Porsea
9 – 11 May 2012

Date	Time	Activity
Wednesday May 9	6:00 – 7:00 7:00 – 4:00 4:00 – 6:00 6:00 – 6:30 6:30 – 7:00	Breakfast at the hotel and check-out Travel to Dolok Sanggul via Tele, 6 hours (including lunch break on the way), continuing to Pandumaan-Sipituhuta villages Meeting and discussion in Pandumaan-Sipituhuta with local communities and local congregation about forest, livelihoods and culture (and discussion about visiting forest the next day), travel to Dolok Sanggul Check-in at hotel Dinner and rest
Thursday May 10	7:00 – 8:00 8:00 – 8:30 8:30 – 12:00 12:00 – 1:00 1:00 – 3:00 3:00 – 5:00 5:00 – 5:30 5:30 – 7:00	Breakfast at hotel in Dolok Sanggul Travel to villages of Pandumaan & Sipituhuta Enter the forest to learn the practice and importance of the haminjon (benzoin) forest for local communities and to see the destroyed forest around the village Lunch break Travel to HKBP headquarters in Pearaja, Tarutung Meeting with HKBP leaders in Pearaja, Tarutung Travel to Tarutung and check-in at Hotel Hineni Tarutung Group discussion of preliminary findings Dinner at Hineni Hotel

Date	Time	Activity
Friday May 11	7:00 – 8:00 8:00 – 10:00 10:00 – 11:30 11:30 – 12:30 12:30 – 1:30 1:30 – 4:00 4:00 – 6:00 6:00 – 6:30 6:30 – 7:30 7:30 – 8:30	Breakfast at Hineni hotel and check-out Travel to Porsea Meeting with affected community near pulp mill in HKI Porsea and presentation by Dimpos Manalu (expert) Visit and tour of pulp mill Lunch and break Travel to Pematang Siantar Meeting with church leaders of HKI Travel to hotel and check-in (Siantar Hotel) in Pematang Siantar Discussion of group report Dinner and rest
Saturday May 12	7:00 – 8:00 8:00 – 9:30 9:30 – 12:30 12:30 – 1:00 1:00 – 2:00 2:00	Breakfast at the hotel Visit to GKPI headquarters and meeting with church leaders Travel to Medan Check-in at hotel, Medan Lunch Back to the plenary!

Peace with the Earth:
UEM International Ecumenical Team Visit 2012 – Indonesia

Palm Oil Team

Labuhan Batu and Simalungun
9 – 11 May 2012

Date	Time	Activity
Wednesday May 9	6:00 – 7:00 7:00 – 3:00 3:00 – 3:30 3:30 – 5:00 5:00 – 6:00 6:00 – 7:00	Breakfast in the hotel and check-out Travel and "sightseeing" of palm oil plantation areas in Labuhan Batu (Sukaramai or Padang Halaban village), about 6 hours driving (lunch on the way) Rest Meeting with plantation grassroots groups (plantation workers, women's groups, smallholders, etc.) Travel to Rantau Parapat Check-in at the Suzuya Hotel in Rantau Parapat Rest and dinner
Thursday May 10	7:00 – 8:00 8:00 – 2:00 2:00 – 3:00 3:00 – 5:00 5:00 – 6:00	Breakfast and check-out Travel and "sightseeing" of the plantation areas around Pematang Siantar (lunch on the way) Rest Visit to forest and observation of conversion of land (in this case tea plantations) into palm oil plantations in Sidamanik, discussion with a local expert and with communities Travel to Pematang Siantar Check-in at Siantar Hotel in Siantar Rest and dinner

Date	Time	Activity
Friday May 11	7:00 – 8:00 8:00 – 8:30 8:30 – 9:30 9:30 – 10:00 10:00 – 12:00 12:00 – 1:30 1:30 – 2:00 2:00 – 4:00 4:00 – 4:30 4:30 – 6:00 6:00 – 6:30	Breakfast at the hotel Travel to office of GKPS Business Unit Discussion with GKPS Business Unit about GKPS palm oil plantation Visit to GKPS palm oil plantation near the GKPS headquarters Meeting and discussion with GKPS leaders Lunch at GKPS headquarters with GKPS leaders Travel back to hotel Discussion of findings and group report Travel to restaurant Rest and dinner Travel to hotel
Saturday May 12	7:00 – 8:00 8:00 – 11:30 11:30 – 12:00 12:00 – 1:00 1:00 – 2:00 2:00	Breakfast and hotel check-out Travel to Medan Check-in at the hotel, Medan Rest Lunch Back to the plenary!

Peace with the Earth:
UEM International Ecumenical Team Visit 2012 – Indonesia

Environment Team

Papua
2 - 6 May 2012

Date	Time	Activity
Monday, April 30		Departure from Germany
Tuesday, May 1	Afternoon 9:30	Arrival in JKT Departure from JKT
Wednesday, May 2	6:30 11:00 1:00 3:00 5:00	Arrival in Merauke Group meeting Meeting with Superintendent Merauke, Pdt John Nerotouw, and GKI-TP church board of Merauke Meeting with local NGOs Meeting with bishop of Merauke
Thursday, May 3	7:00	Travel to Domande, Catholic village affected by Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) Travel to Kaliki village, GKI-TP congregation affected by MIFEE Discussions with traditional leaders and local people of Kaliki about recent land-grabbing by the Rajawali company Spend the night in Kaliki

Date	Time	Activity
Friday, May 4	8:00	Departure from Kaliki
	11:00	Arrival in Merauke
	2:00	Meeting with Rajawali company
	4:00	Meeting with Merauke Regent (Bupati)
	7:00	Group reflection on Merauke visit and open questions to GKI-TP Synod Board
Saturday, May 5	6:45	Departure from Merauke
	7:55	Arrival in Jayapura Check-in, P3W
	11:00	Meeting with GKI-TP Synod Board
	3:00 – 5:00	Group evaluation
Sunday, May 6	10:00	Departure JYP
	3:30	Arrival JKT

Abbreviations of the UEM member churches in Indonesia

BNKP	Nias Christian Protestant Church
GBKP	Karo Batak Protestant Church
GKI-TP	Evangelical Christian Church in Tanah Papua
GKJTU	Christian Church of Northern Central Java
GKJW	East Java Christian Church
GKPA	Christian Protestant Angkola Church
GKPI	Christian Protestant Church in Indonesia
GKPM	Protestant Christian Church in Mentawai
GKPS	Simalungun Protestant Christian Church
GPKB	Batak Christian Community Church
HKBP	Batak Protestant Christian Church
HKI	Indonesian Christian Church