art, the Kanak revolt of 1917, and the graphic art of Bernard Berger, who has tried to promote a sense of common destiny through typically Caledonian humor (NC, 19 Jan, 7 Sept, 22 Sept 2009).

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PAPUA

During 2009, the Papua and West Papua provinces of Indonesia witnessed a number of prominent events that maintained an atmosphere of conflict between the Government of Indonesia and Papuans in general. In cities, secessionist demands were expressed openly in the mass media. In remote highland areas, a number of very low level armed attacks occurred, allegedly conducted by secessionist groups of the Free Papua Movement (Organisasi Papua Merdeka, or OPM); these included a series of shootings in the concession area of the gigantic Freeport mining company, targeting Freeport employees. Papuan youth and student groups dominated by highlanders became prominent actors in political opposition in 2009. The year closed with the killing of influential OPM leader Kelly Kwalik. The political picture of Papua and West Papua remains generally somber since the implementation of the Special Autonomy law in 2001. In the media, opinion makers at universities, politicians, and Papuan religious leaders ceaselessly criticized the implementation of the Special Autonomy law. Most feel that very little significant progress has been achieved over the past eight years in addressing the roots of the Papua conflict, such as disputes about history, human rights abuses, failure of development, and most importantly the marginalization of the indigenous Papuans. Despite high budgets for the two provinces, there was little improvement in public services for remote areas, and the already bad image of the Indonesian government in the eyes of Papuans deteriorated further due to corruption on the part of local Papuan bureaucrats. Many prominent Papuan intellectuals have concluded that the Special Autonomy legislation has stagnated, and has failed to function as a “middle way” to solve the roots of the Papua conflict.

The failure of Special Autonomy has driven many parties to think about how to break the political impasse. Hoping to open a process of dialogue, a number of researchers from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences
(Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia), collaborating with nongovernmental organizations and government officials, have been striving to gain support from important political figures and high officials in the Indonesian government. The proposed dialogue is expected to involve representatives of Papuan pro-independence groups and delegates of the central government, and would be open-ended, covering all issues, including the demands for independence and the revision of the Special Autonomy law. Those advocating dialogue in Jakarta have in fact received a sympathetic hearing from many individuals within the Indonesian Parliament and the government (except from certain intelligence and security-related bodies).

In Papua, priests from various denominations connected with a Jakarta-based peace working group, under the leadership of Rector Neles Tebay of the Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Teologi Fajar Timur (Philosophical and Theological College) in Jayapura, collaborated with local nongovernmental organizations, student leaders, and adat (customary) groups, to create constituencies of dialogue from various local actors, including representatives of the armed pro-independence groups. These constituencies talked about the necessity of dialogue as a more realistic method for furthering the interests of the Papuan majority. People are now discussing the possibility of a compromise on the issue of independence. But crucial questions remain. Papuans question the political will of Jakarta, especially given the failure of many aspects of Special Autonomy. Deep mistrust of Jakarta prevails, and the Indonesian government has no policy blueprint to resolve the Papua conflict. The suggestion of conducting peace talks with Papuan oppositions has received no response from the president. Most of the policies of Jakarta remain ad hoc and reactionary in nature.

The presidential and legislative elections in 2009 were successful despite some tensions and minor disturbances in Papua. Almost half of those who managed to gain seats in the Papua provincial parliament—24 (the Danis and the Me) out of 56 members—are of highlands origin. However, in general Jakarta policies on Papua did not change significantly this year. In dealing with the violent conduct of Papuan opposition, the police did not retaliate as aggressively as before. The military stayed more in the background, and the Indonesian government restrained the use of repressive measures. Persuasive and law enforcement approaches were more prominent this year, even though a number of activists were tried and sent to prison and there was an overall increase in the number of prisoners of conscience.

On the other hand, the office of the coordinating minister for social welfare initiated a “welfare approach” policy. The government declared that it would welcome any resistance groups in the jungle or elsewhere to “return to the fold” of the Indonesian government. In 2008, the Indonesian government launched special Integrated Donations (Bantuan Terpadu) for village development. Last year, it provided 140 billion Indonesian rupiahs (IDR) for building village facilities (school buildings, teacher housing, village clinics, and so on) as well as 264 units of people’s housing
for those ex-OPM combatants in Pegunungan Bintang and Lani Jaya regencies who renounced their struggle for independence. (IDR10,000 is equivalent to approximately US$1.08).

Also under the welfare approach policy, the Indonesian government tried to reach out to a few prominent pro-independence figures such as Tadius Yogi and Nicolaas Jouwe. In August and September, the ministry approached Yogi, TPN/OPM commander of Kodap IV Paniai (TPN [Tentara Pembebasan Nasional], or National Liberation Army, is the military wing of the OPM). During his visit to the regency of Paniai on 8 September 2009, Minister Aburizal Bakrie said that he was prepared to meet Yogi. However, the meeting was canceled because of a report that Yogi was sick. Later, Yogi admitted that he had refused to see the minister because the Papua struggle is not about “food and drink.” “We are defending the freedom of West Papua which had been stolen by Indonesia,” he said (Tabloid Jubi Online, 26 Nov 2009). Yogi reportedly claimed that the minister offered him IDR60 billion on the condition that he renounce his struggle for Papuan political independence.

The Ministry of Social Welfare also invited former pro-independence leader Nicolaas Jouwe (now eighty-four years old), who has been living in exile in the Netherlands for more than forty years, to return home. Jouwe was a prominent member of the New Guinea Council established by the Dutch colonial government in the 1960s and one of the founding fathers of the Papua independence movement. Thanks to Franzalbert Joku and his organization, the Independent Group Supporting the Autonomous Region of Papua within the Republic of Indonesia, which cooperated with Indonesian Ambassador to the Netherlands Effendi (Fanny) Habibie, Jouwe accepted the invitation of the Indonesian government. On 22 March 2009, Jouwe visited Jakarta and his hometown, Jayapura. On 26 March, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono accepted Jouwe’s visit, which marked his return to the fold of the Republic of Indonesia. It is almost certain that Jouwe will spend the rest of his life as an Indonesian citizen. In January 2010, it was reported that Jouwe had returned to Jayapura for good. Once, he told this author that he wanted to die in his land of birth (Jouwe, pers comm, Delft, 1 Dec 2009). In spite of these symbolic successes, this welfare approach policy is partial, in that it involves reconciliation only with a few individuals and not with the resistance groups in general. Those who have already gone through a process of reconciliation with the Indonesian government are seen as traitors by other Papuans.

The Indonesian government also seems to be continuing its effort to persuade Papuans who have fled abroad to return. This year, the policy targeted refugees who have lived in Papua New Guinea for decades. After a long and tiring process, in November 2009 the Indonesian government managed to convince some of the refugees to repatriate to Papua, Indonesia. Out of 708 Papuans who planned to do so, 141 went home to Indonesia; 68 returned from Wiwek City and 73 from Port Moresby. According to Franzalbert Joku, the fact that these Papuans were willing to go home is
proof that the Special Autonomy law has been successful.

Very low level armed attacks occurred a number of times in Tingginambut, Puncak Jaya, a remote part of the central highland regency. Between January and March 2009, there were five OPM attacks on the security apparatus. Besides targeting security facilities and thus killing security officers (police force and/or military), OPM attacks now targeted civilians (migrants) in an attempt to create unrest among migrants and add to the bargaining power of the OPM with the Papuans. This change in tactics, however, has been counterproductive and has not advanced OPM objectives.

On the evening of 8 January 2009, a group of TPN/OPM attacked a small police post in Tingginambut, a remote highland area. Four guns and sixty-one bullets were taken away. This time the OPM attack injured a civilian, Ivana Helen, the twenty-one-year-old wife of a police officer. On 21 February, OPM did some shooting at the same police post from afar. The Republic of Indonesia “Red and White” flag (Sang Saka Merah Putih) that was hoisted above the hill was pulled down and burned. On 10 March, two civilian ojek (motorcycle taxi) drivers were shot to death. An unknown group whose faces had been blackened with charcoal also attacked two women. They were suspected to be the same group who confiscated the police guns in January 2009. On 14 March, OPM attacked a group of patrolling Indonesian National Armed Forces (Tentara Nasional Indonesia, or TNI) soldiers. One TNI soldier was reportedly killed during the shooting in District Tingginambut. Furthermore, the OPM destroyed Gurage Bridge to deter the movement of the security apparatus that might be used to retaliate. On 15 April, the OPM again attacked a group of police in Tingginambut, resulting in one killed and six policemen injured. District Head (Bupati) Lukas Enembe suspected that the OPM group responsible for these attacks was under the leadership of Goliath Tabuni or Anton Tabuni. The Tabuni clan was reportedly involved in attacks dating back to 2003 at the same area of Puncak Jaya.

On 20 October, sporadic attacks by an unknown person or persons, shooting at civilian targets, took place in Mulia, Puncak Jaya. In the same area a more recent attack targeted non-Papuan migrants. A migrant from Pati, Central Java Province, died and a Papuan was injured after being attacked and shot by an unknown group of fifteen people. The victims and their colleagues were working together building the Kalome Bridge. A car was also burned during the attack.

Disturbances occurred not only in the highlands but also in the coastal area of Serui. On 11 July 2009, there were some attacks, sweeping, and armed contacts in quick succession, related to the arrival of OPM leaders Ferdinando Worabay and Decky Imbiri. An unknown person exploded a fish bomb, and later the police burned three houses of local inhabitants and arrested and interrogated fourteen people. Eleven of the suspects were either children or teenagers and were subsequently released; the remaining three were taken to Papua Regional Police Headquarters in Jayapura. The police investigated
the military training of OPM under the leadership of Ferdinando Worabay, and of the West Papua National Authority under the leadership of Wilson Uruwaya.

Not far from Jayapura, another violent event occurred; this time the perpetrators were TNI soldiers. In Kampung Kibai, on Monday, 22 June 2009, a sixteen-year-old local inhabitant named Isak Psakor was shot by a member of the Indonesian army near the Indonesia–Papua New Guinea border. Isak and his brother Wens, along with two of their relatives, were on their way home to Kibai village from Skotyauw, Papua New Guinea. A dog that belonged to the army ran after Isak, who tried to escape up a tree but was shot as he climbed. The army spokesperson, Lieutenant Colonel Susilo, asserted that the Psakor family had been asked to stop but had kept on running, which led to the shooting. The Regional Military Command of West Papua (Kodam Trikora) investigated the six soldiers who were suspected of the shooting, but to date no one has been vindicated or put on trial.

On 16 October 2008, the National Committee of West Papua (Komite Nasional Papua Barat, or KNPB), under the leadership of Bukhtar Tabuni, had staged its first demonstration in Jayapura to support the launch of International Parliamentarians for West Papua (IPWP). This demonstration was followed by calls from Benny Wenda, an exiled independence leader in London, to boycott Indonesia’s 2009 general election and to have a Papua referendum. Consequently, the police detained Tabuni on 3 December 2008, and another KNBP activist, Sebby Sembom, on 17 December. The arrests ignited several demonstrations in Jakarta and Jayapura on Wednesday, 25 January 2009, the first day of Tabuni’s trial. Tabuni and Sembom were charged under articles concerning subversion and hostility to the state. In Wamena on 25 February, the KNPB-linked group Solidaritas Peduli Hak Asasi Manusia dan Demokrasi Jayawijaya (Human Rights and Democracy Solidarity) staged a demonstration in front of the local court building, demanding the release of the KNPB leaders.

KNPB is a student-led action committee that emerged in 2008. Judging from events during 2008 and 2009, KNPB has developed a wide Papuan student and youth network, primarily in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Menado, Jayapura, Nabire, and Wamena. It combines a popular movement with populist issues, such as the referendum, release of political prisoners, and elimination of military violence. KNPB maintains “close communication” with Benny Wenda in Oxford. The series of demonstrations in 2008 came in response to previous events, beginning with the IPWP declaration in London. But KNPB’s structure has not been clear from the beginning. According to the chief of Police Resort Jayapura, Adjunct High Commissioner of Police (Ajun Komisaris Besar Polisi) Robert Jhoenso, Demus Wenda is currently the secretary of KNPB. However, this official claim was rejected by Tabuni as head of KNPB.

A bigger demonstration in 2009 was a mass rally on 10 March at the provincial parliament building in Jayapura, with hundreds of participants under the command of Victor
Another rally involving hundreds of people occurred under the same leader on 24 March at the Papua parliament building at Jayapura. The first demonstration called for a boycott of the general election and support of a referendum; the second invited Papuans to unite under the umbrella of KNPB. Besides that, the 24 March rally also voiced a strong call for the withdrawal of all Indonesian military troops from District Puncak Jaya and West Papua and an end to the violence in Papua. The demonstrations were guarded by a huge security deployment from the Mobile Brigade and took place peacefully, although the 24 March rally was marred by the arrest of four Dutch journalists: Gabriel Bebette, Pieter Mariauw Smith, Elske Schouten, and Ronal Wigma.

A later KNPB demonstration related to the launch of International Lawyers for West Papua (ILWP) in Guyana on 3 April 2009. This event apparently gave more strength to a Papuan response. In Nabire on 2 April 2009, under Zet Giyai of KNPB, thousands attended a massive demonstration in support of the ILWP launching with issues similar to those expressed in previous demonstrations. But this demonstration also mounted a challenge to the approaching national legislative election. A local religious leader, Pendeta Daud Auwe, was quoted as saying: “We want freedom, not election” (IMC Jakarta, 3 April 2009). The movement continued with the establishment of a “posko” (command post) for KNPB Nabire in the national heroes cemetery at Taman Gizi. This initiative ignited a harsh response from the local police authorities. The posko was burned on the morning of 6 April 2009, and fifteen activists were captured.

In the April event the authorities seemed to be less in control. Due to the massive number of participants, a clash between police and the crowds could not be avoided. Several Papuans were injured. The arrests angered local people, and another clash between the masses and the police was inevitable.

Likewise, violence marked a later series of events in Papua. Besides those related to the demonstrations, two seemingly separate incidents claimed the lives of civilians. On 8 April in Wamena, three migrant ojek drivers were killed. These murders created suspicion that the perpetrators were either OPM or KNPB. The violence escalated on 9 April when the Police Sector Headquarters of Abepura was attacked at the same time the national legislative election was taking place. The hostilities did not abate, and on 11 April someone threatened to burn down an electricity-generating facility in Waena. On 12 April, another ojek driver of migrant origins was murdered. On the same day, a number of bombs were found in Muara Tami near the PNG border.

In the midst of these violent incidents, on 13 April KNPB released a statement signed by Victor F Yeimo that claimed responsibility for the attack on Abepura police headquarters as well as for burning a building at Cendrawasih University. In the press release, KNPB mentioned the following reasons for the attack on the police headquarters: (1) the unsettled political conflict between Jakarta and Papua; (2) a claim that the 2009 election was an illegitimate project of Indonesia that denied West
Papuan independence; (3) an emotional response on the part of West Papuan students against the killing of Opinus Tabuni by the TNI/police on 9 August 2008 in Wamena; (4) the evacuation of the people’s tent above Theys Eluay’s graveyard by the police; and (5) the shooting of six people during a peace rally in Nabire. KNPB also claimed that the burning of the university building was in response to the elimination of the basic rights of students due to the bureaucratic campus structure and ethnic favoritism on the part of Cendrawasih University’s rector. In response to those actions, on 18 May 2009, the Jayawijaya police authority arrested eight KNPB student activists in Wamena. Previously, on 22 April, the police had arrested five suspects in the police sector attack.

Early in the morning of Wednesday, 16 December, OPM Commander Kelly Kwalik was shot to death by antiterrorist Special Detachment 88 of the Indonesian Police in a house in Timika town, in the southern part of Papua Province. Five Papuan Amungme tribe members who accompanied him were arrested. An autopsy was performed in Jayapura on Kwalik’s body, which was returned to Timika two days later. In a ceremony attended by hundreds of Papuan highlanders, Kwalik was buried in the center of Timika town.

Kwalik was the OPM’s Commander of Territorial War Command (Kodap) in Nemangkawi (Mimika), the region where the gigantic US Freeport Gold Company has been operating. His career as a guerilla fighter started in 1977 when he was in charge of sabotaging Freeport’s facilities during the political turmoil that spread all over the highlands area. He was responsible for taking hostage a team of researchers from the Lorentz Expedition in Mapnduma in 1996. He was also allegedly responsible for the kidnapping of two Belgian journalists in 2001. Due to his notorious actions in the past, any violent conduct in the area was almost always associated with his group. For example, the military immediately accused Kwalik’s OPM guerilla group of the 2002 Freeport shootings, which had taken the lives of two US citizens.

Beginning on 11 July, a series of shootings took place in the Freeport area. An Australian employee, Drew Nicholas Grant, and a Freeport security officer, Markus Rante Alo, were shot dead. A policeman named Marson Petipelohy was killed when his throat was cut. During the investigation, seven local Amungme people were arrested but released soon afterward due to lack of evidence. Despite the deployment of more than a thousand soldiers to back up the police, a few more shootings happened in the same area, but apparently stopped near the end of November. After the death of Kwalik, the shootings occurred once again.

Kwalik’s men were repeatedly accused of the shootings by the Papua Regional Military Commander Major General A Y Nasution. Interestingly, the regional police chief at the time with authority in the matter, Inspector General Bagus Ekodanto, had a different opinion. He claimed to have met with Kwalik, who denied responsibility for the shootings. Moreover, based on Chief Ekodanto’s initial inquiry, there was no indication or proof that Kwalik was responsible for the shootings. But suddenly, Chief
Ekodanto and other chiefs at the regency level were removed. The new chiefs immediately announced that Kwalik was indeed the mastermind behind the shootings, a point of view that corresponded with the military’s allegations. This pattern is precisely the same as a shooting case in 2002. The regional police chief at the time, I Made Mangku Pastika, strove to uncover the perpetrators, who allegedly were members of Kopassus intelligence, the Indonesian army’s elite Special Forces. In that case as well, Pastika was immediately replaced.

Many leaders of nongovernmental organizations who have close contact with the police claim that the shootings in 2002 and 2009 had to do with rivalry between police units and armed forces units over the distribution of security funds within the Freeport area. The rivalry began in 1996, after the so-called handy-talky riots, when the armed forces enjoyed a great amount of money to support the security within and around the Freeport area. (These riots happened in Timika, Papua, in February–March 1996, allegedly orchestrated by the Indonesian special armed forces unit Kopassus. The riots were under the command of a group of people who were in the middle of an angry crowd, using “handy-talkies,” or handheld, two-way radios.) Recently, thanks to security sector reform at the national level, security for the multinational corporation has been taken over by the police. The shootings might have been part of a “negotiation” between the armed forces, the police, and Freeport. By killing Kwalik and making him the scapegoat for the shootings, the police and the military might have been trying to end rumors about the rivalry between the police and the military.

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PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The government of Prime Minister Sir Michael Somare is pulling through in spite of the scandals that plagued the government in 2008 and is likely to successfully complete its full second term (2007–2012) in Parliament, provided that there is no major shift in allegiance and a vote of no confidence does not dissolve the government in the next two years. Prime Minister Somare announced during the country’s thirty-fourth independence anniversary that he will not step down as prime minister until Papua New Guinea gets back on the right track (Post Courier, 17 Sept 2009). That was the latest pledge from Sir Michael, who is serving as the longest-running member of Parliament (MP) ever in the Commonwealth group of nations.

In March 2009, the National Executive Council (NEC) had its first meeting of the year in Enga Province. It was one of the biggest political events ever held in the province. To welcome the prime minister and the NEC, the people of Enga had almost one hundred pigs, thirty cassowaries, and twenty goats on the menu. It was also a courtesy on the part of the Enga people to celebrate Sir Michael’s forty years in politics. However, after delivering more than $142 million for projects, Sir Michael left Enga earlier than expected. (One PNG kina ($1 equals approximately US$0.37.) The Joint District Planning and Budget Priorities Committee was to coordinate the spending, which caused some controversy. Sir Michael was offended by comments made by Enga Governor Peter Ipatas, who questioned the capabilities of the committee to account for millions of kina given to them. Ipatas questioned why the funds were going to committees instead of going to the established provincial government system (Post Courier, 2 March 2009).

The government also faced a number of challenges as it clung tightly to power in its endeavor to set a new record of successfully completing a second term. On 28 July 2009, the Opposition brought a no-confidence motion against the prime minister. The leader of Government Business and Minister for National Planning Paul Tiensten responded with a motion to adjourn Parliament until 10 November, even though there was a full quorum. All hell broke loose when the Speaker of Parliament, Jeffery Nape, ruled in favor of the adjournment motion, thus circumventing a vote of no confidence. This, as expected, drew the ire of the Opposition and nationwide condemnation of the integrity of the Speaker and the political process. Some observers commented that the government has used the office of the Speaker to protect the prime minister when a motion of no confidence was presented. Long-time political analyst Dr Ray Anere argued that the adjournment might prevent Parliament from meeting the constitutional requirement to sit for sixty-three days and would deny members of Parliament the free-