

DON AUGUSTHINUS L. FLASSY

# **ITU DIA This is it, PAPUA**

Recovering the Identity

**KSP BOOKS**



# ITU DIA

# This is it, PAPUA

## Recovering the Identity

**Don Augusthinus Lamaech Flassy**

Papua Institute for Science and Technology/LIPTEK-Papua

**KSP Books**

<http://books.kslibrary.org>

<http://www.kslibrary.org>



# ITU DIA

# This is it, PAPUA

## Recovering the Identity

Don Augusthinus Lamaech Flassy

KSP Books

<http://books.ksplibrary.org>

<http://www.ksplibrary.org>

ISBN: 978-605-7736-62-8 (e-Book)

KSP Books 2019

*ITU DIA – This is it, PAPUA: Recovering the Identity*

Authors: *Don Augustinus Lamaech Flassy*

Papua Institute for Science and Technology/LIPTEK-Papua

© KSP Books 2019

**Open Access** This book is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 4.0 IGO (CC BY-NC 4.0 IGO) License which permits any noncommercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided ADB and the original author(s) and source are credited.

Open Access This book is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution Noncommercial License which permits any noncommercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author(s) and source are credited. All commercial rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, re-use of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other way, and storage in data banks. Duplication of this publication or parts thereof is permitted only under the provisions of the Copyright Law of the Publisher's location, in its current version, and permission for commercial use must always be obtained from KSP Books. Permissions for commercial use may be obtained through Rights Link at the Copyright Clearance Center. Violations are liable to prosecution under the respective Copyright Law. The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. While the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication, neither the authors nor the editors nor the publisher can accept any legal responsibility for any errors or omissions that may be made. The publisher makes no warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein.



This article licensed under [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/) license (4.0)



directory of  
open access  
books



<http://books.ksplibrary.org>  
<http://www.ksplibrary.org>



# Dedication

*Tribute to Dag Hammarskjöld, Gus  
Dur, Theys Hio Eluay and those who  
think clearly on Papua*



# Preface

*Syukur Bagi-Mu, Tuhan,  
Kau brikan Tanah-ku  
Bri aku rajin juga, sampaikan maksud-Mu.....!  
Thank You Oh Lord,  
You gave me My Land  
Bring me diligent, telling your will...!*

With the presence of this book entitled "ITU DIA<sup>1</sup> - This is it, PAPUA" *Restoring the Self*, then, I, as the author should raise praise and gratitude to the God of Mercy and Graceful, who has bestowed wisdom and reason so that it can be realized and can reach the hands of dear readers.

For that, please allow for this joy the author would like to share by expressing gratitude to various parties who have contributed to the author, so that this book can be realized.

This book was taken from the Dissertation of the author at the Post-Graduate Doctoral Program at Cenderawasih University (Uncen) of which the author maintained on September 27, 2017 with the title: *Peta Jalan Balik Bangsa Papua di Negeri Papua*

<sup>1</sup> ITU DIA – This is it -"Papua", a disclosure of identity, refers to the Old Testament, Numbers Article 24, regard to Baliem's prophecy and blessings on Israel lined up with prophecy and blessing of IS Kijne on the Papuans applied to "Itu Dia" (Language Book of Civilization, Psalms and Spiritual Songbooks, Seruling Mas (Folk Songbook), and the dream on Kota Emas (Golden City)); He uttered: "*On top of this rock, I put the Papuan civilization. Even though people have high intelligence, reason and wisdom, will not lead this nation, this nation will rise up in its own right.*" Aitumeri-Miei, October 26, 1926.

***Bahagian Barat: "Sebuah Keputusan Damai Pemulihan Jati Diri"***  
(The Roadmap to the Revival of the Papuan Nation in West Papua: "A Peaceful Decision on the Restoration of the Self"). If according to UNCEN's Dissertation Guidelines are 5 Chapters, then this Book is presented in 4 Parts and 6 Chapters according to the original idea.

Because the passing of this scientific study fulfils various criteria, it is fitting that on this occasion, the author would like to thank Prof. Dr. Dra. Onnie M. Lumintang, M.Hum. as promoter, Dr. Drs. Enos H. Rumansara, M.Si. and Dr. Bernarda Meteray, as co-promoters, and before also Prof. Dr. Drs. Dirck Veplun, M.Si, as the initial supervisor. Also the Examiners in this matter since the initial work in the form of a Proposal to become the final work. The dissertation for that needs to be called from the Uncen: Dr. Nomensen St. Mambraku, Dr. Drs. Agus E. Dumatubun, M.Si, Drs Johsz R. Mansoben, MA, PhD., Dr. Hendrik H.J. Krisifu, MA., Dr. Drs. Beatus Tambaip, M.Si., where also Prof. Dr. Richard Chauvel from University of Melbourne-Australia and Dr. Rupert Stasch from University of Cambridge-UK. They have been willing to spend time, energy and mind in reading and testing and writing for the feasibility of this dissertation so that now and then, it is worth continuing to develop, among others, starting from this book.

Besides that, the author also thanked Prof. Dr. Sri Heddy Ahimsa Putra from the Faculty of Culture, Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta who has been willing to give time and energy to read the draft dissertation proposal, and then give time to the author to discuss the writing of the dissertation. Also for distance guidance which is dealing by Reni Suwarso, Ph.D from CEPP Faculty of Social and Political Sciences University of Indonesia. In the meantime, thank also addressed to Dr. Marlina Flassy, S. Sos M, Hum who gave the initial example that directed the author to the stages of writing.

The infinite award the author addressed to Uncen's Post-Graduate Director, Prof. Dr. Drs. Akbar Silo, M.Si, who has given encouragement and direction to the author in taking studies to the preparation of the dissertation and the realization of this book. Moreover, let the author express his gratitude to the Chancellor of

Uncen in this matter Dr. Ir. Apollo Safanpo, M.T., who in his early term was personally present to guide this author's Promotion Exams.

In the meantime, the author should feel indebted to Drs. Ana Nadhya Abrar, M.E.S., Ph.D. from the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Gadjah Mada University, who is willing to give the author time to meet privately in Yogyakarta and discuss the topic of research conducted by the author. Even Dr. Abrar and Wife Mrs. Ariska Setyawati, ST, MA have been willing to read the proposal and draft dissertation and this book is willing to provide corrections and written comments and even willing to become editor including working on lay-out of dissertation and also of this book.

Then also for Mrs. Ros Aronggear and her fellows at the Uncen's post-graduate administrative staffs who always patiently served the author in the study process from 2014 to the time the author completed his dissertation and continued to this book. In the same mood, of course, thank for the cooperation and support of fellow classmates and those who are attached to and with doctoral programs at Uncen.

The author realizes that this success can not be separated from the prayer support delivered by the crutches at any time. That with the power that comes from God alone, my dissertation and thus this book can be completed. Of course the author also expresses his gratitude to the family, and friends who always give encouragement and motivate the authors in completing existing scientific works.

Finally the author realizes that the results of this scientific work may not perfect, so that all the criticisms and suggestions from various parties, the authors will accept with full understanding that "There is no ivory that is not cracked". However, what is presented in this book is understandable for all communities in the Land of Papua and also in Indonesia, especially for those who serve humanity.

**Don A.L. Flassy**

Jayapura,

2nd January, 2019

# Presentation

In the repertoire of contemporary intellectual life in Papua, the name Don Augusthinus Lamaech Flassy (Mr. Don) has grown into a separate understanding. The name has become the property of the Papuan intellectual community. In His work has been spread everywhere, read by many people and collected by many people. It is only natural that during his dissertation closed examination and promotion as a doctor at Cenderawasih University (Uncen) the counselors and all examiners would appreciate him.

At the age of 70 years, with his 44-years career as an author, Mr. Don managed to achieve the highest academic degree "doctor of social sciences". This achievement also received appreciation from his dissertation counselors and examiners. They admit that not just anyone can get a doctorate in old age like that. "Only people who have strong scientific integrity can achieve that achievement", they added.

To obtain a more complete and better understanding of his mind, Mr. Don wanted to publish his dissertation entitled *Peta Jalan Balik Bangsa Papua Di Negeri Papua Bahagian Barat: "Sebuah Keputusan Damai Pemulihan Jati Diri"* (The Roadmap to the Revival of the Papuan Nation in West Papua: "A Peaceful Decision on the

Restoration of the Self") into a book text. As the author would prefer for changing to more reflexive, so, the title is sounding to be "ITU DIA – This is it - PAPUA", Recovering the Identity. He requested my willingness to edit the dissertation. Of course I am flattered. I feel that I got a very big award. Without thinking, I accepted Mr. Don's offer. I also positioned myself as an editor.

In editing Mr. Don's dissertation, my main grip is: this dissertation is a research report that has gone through a fairly long process and tiered testing. That way, this dissertation, in terms of concepts and methodology, is very well worth publishing. Only the title and format of the script need to be changed.

Starting from this grip, I made four steps, namely, first, changing the title of the manuscript to "Recovering the Identity of the Papuan Nation", but the author would prefer the title to be "ITU DIA – This is it - PAPUA", Recovering the Identity. This title represents the contents of the text. Except that, with this title the reader can imagine the firmness that the author has in expressing his opinion.

*Second*, more present findings (fact finding) than data analysis. That way, many findings were presented. The more findings presented, the more open the opportunity for readers to analyze it according to their respective perspectives.

*Third*, more uses the style of narrative writing than description. This choice makes the way of presentation not "prolonged". Instead, he invites the reader to "drift away" in reading the contents of the text.

*Fourth*, ensure that conclusions answer research questions from data and analysis. This conclusion can be learned by the reader in comparison, say, to doing another study.

Finally, I hope that my efforts to edit the text of this book will bring goodness to all parties. If Mr. Don doesn't feel fully satisfied with the results of this edit, I'm sorry. If the reader finds that the style of the text of this book is not completely narrative, I also apologize. I have tried my best.

Please Enjoy.

**Ana Hadhya Abrar**

Rejodani

2nd January 2018



# Contents

Introduction	1
Prologue	7
Papua Social Political Order	7
The attitude of the Papuan Nation	9
Spirit of Independence	11

**PART I**  
**Understanding Papua**  
**14**

Chapter 1.	
Patching along Papua cum Melanesia	
	15

Introduction	15
The existence of Papua	15
Notion of the word Papua	15
Current Conditions in West Papua	18
The Idealism of Papua	24

<b>The study results of Papuanistic and Melanesianology</b>	<b>25</b>
---	-----------

<b>On Melanesia</b>	<b>32</b>
---------------------	-----------

People	35
Identity	36
Linguistic Views	39
Marking of Biogeography	44
<i>Geology</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>Botany</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>Zoology</i>	<i>48</i>
<i>Movement of History and Cartography</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>Melanesian Culture and Philosophy</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>Media of Worship</i>	<i>50</i>
Music	50
Party and House of Worship	52
Concept of <i>ma'na</i> and <i>cargo</i> cults	54
Edenic	57

<b>Closing Remark</b>	<b>58</b>
-----------------------	-----------

## Chapter 2.

### Manage Papua-Melanesia with the right platform

#### 59

Introduction	59
--------------	----

<b>Federalism</b>	<b>59</b>
-------------------	-----------

<b>Federalism and Unitary in Indonesia</b>	<b>61</b>
--	-----------

<b>Federalism of Papua</b>	<b>68</b>
----------------------------	-----------

<b>Kampung or Desa as Locus and Focus</b>	<b>69</b>
---	-----------

Kampung or Desa According to NKRI	69
<i>Definition</i>	<i>69</i>
<i>Classification</i>	<i>71</i>
<i>Characteristics of Desa-Village Communities</i>	<i>72</i>



<i>Desa-Village Social Life</i>	72
<i>Distribution Pattern of Desa-Village</i>	73
<i>City</i>	73
Kampung-Village or Desa-Village According to Papua-Melanesia Federalism	75
<i>Kampung-Village and Honour</i>	75
<i>Kampung-Village Government in Papua</i>	76
<i>Desa-Village Government in Papua</i>	77
<i>Kampung-Villages and Desa-Villages in the OTSUS era</i>	77
<b>Closing Remark</b>	<b>78</b>

## PART II

### An Endless Anxiety

#### 80

#### Chapter 3.

#### Constitution as a difference trigger

#### 81

Introduction	81
<b>Constitution of Republic of Indonesia 1945</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>Constitution of FRWP 1999</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>Analysis of the RI Constitution and the FRWP Constitution</b>	<b>113</b>
Limit of Country and Form of State	114
The form of state	114
Regarding the National Flag	115
Regarding the National Coat of Arms	116
<b>Historical Construction of the FRWP Constitution</b>	<b>116</b>
Products of Indonesia's Outer Cosmopolitan Limits	117
Diversity in Unity	119
Christian Knowledge as the Base of Imagination	120

Return to Papuan Culture	123
Differences of Indonesian and FRWP Constitution	127
Closing Remarks	130

## Chapter 4.

### Power waves of the World in the land of Papua 132

Introduction	132
--------------	-----

### Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World 133

Prestige and Power	135
Great Power	138
Characteristic of the Great Power	139
Dimension of Power	141
Dimension of Status	142

### Prestige and the Great Power of the World against West Papua 143

Conspiracy of Interest	143
Colony and Guardian Territory	146
Chronologie of Drama: <i>de l'homme par l'homme de du situons</i>	147
Understanding of Conflict Behaviour	149
Trusteeship Legality until Today	150
Position of the "UN General Assembly" and "UN Security Council"	151
"Act of Free Choice"	153
UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV)	155

### Implications of Perception and Great Power of the World 156

US and Global Interest	156
Step Forward	160
Operational Formulation	162
Essence of Discussion	163

<b>Potential Matters To Becomes Problem</b>	<b>163</b>
Reality of Development	163
Equilibrium	165
Prediction of Realism	167
Balance of Power	169

<b>Closing Remark</b>	<b>171</b>
-----------------------	------------

## **PART III** **Author's Struggle** **174**

### Chapter 5. Searching for Identity 175

Introduction	175
<b>Early Experience of Political Engagement</b>	<b>177</b>
<b>Period of Year 1997 to 1999</b>	<b>184</b>
<b>Period of Year 2000 to 2010</b>	<b>186</b>
Year 2000	186
Year 2001	187
Year 2005	189
Year 2009	190
Year 2010	191
<b>Period of Year 2011 to 2015</b>	<b>192</b>
Year 2011	192
Year 2015	192
<b>Appears in the article titled Morning Star Rising? Indonesia Raya and New Papua Nationalism</b>	<b>194</b>
<b>Witnessing the Morning Star Fluttering</b>	<b>196</b>

Regard OTSUS as Political Negotiation	198
---------------------------------------	-----

Closing Remark	199
----------------	-----

## **PART IV**

### **Towards Independence**

#### **201**

#### **Chapter 6.**

#### **Searching for Identity**

#### **202**

Introduction	202
--------------	-----

#### **The Process of UDI of the Papuan Nation and FRWP**

#### **203**

Mechanism of West Papua Congress and UDI	205
Support towards UDI Papuans and FRWP	207
Benefits of UDI and FRWP	207

#### **Understanding of UDI Papuans and FRWP**

#### **210**

Visionary and Challenges	210
The Black Goat at the Papuan National Level	211
<i>First Character</i>	212
<i>Second Character</i>	212
<i>Third Character</i>	213
Mirage	214
Comments on the Level of Indonesian Nation	216
The attitude of superiority and the nature of narrow primordials	220

#### **Stepping basic**

#### **222**

<i>"Proclamatie van Nieuw Guinea" 27 December 1949</i>	223
Political Manifesto of Papua 19 October 1961	228
The "Negara Republik Papua Barat"	231
The "Negara Melanesia Barat"	232
Papua Political Reactions in the Beginning of Reformation Era	233

<b>Unit of Movement for M Papua</b>	<b>234</b>
Pencinta Tanah Air (PETANA)	234
Operasi Papua Merdeka (OPM)	234
Presidium Dewan Papua (PDP)	236
Format and Struggle Movement besides OPM and PDP	239
Papua Independent-National Committee	240
 <b>Stages of Dialogue and Series of Consultations with NKRI</b>	 <b>243</b>
YIM (Yogyakarta <i>Informal Meeting</i> )	243
Three Series of Dialogues with BIN: 2007, 2008 dan 2009	250
 <b>Preparation and Implementation of the Third Papuan Congress</b>	 <b>280</b>
Consolidation of M Struggle Organizations	280
Diplomatic Mission	281
Negotiation Team	282
Congress materials	282
 <b>Liberalism Democracy in Procedures and Processes of KRP-3</b>	 <b>283</b>
 <b>UDI of Papua Nation and FRWP</b>	 <b>284</b>
 <b>The Internationalizing Process of UDI-Papua and FRWP</b>	 <b>288</b>
UDI of Papuan Nation and FRWP for the National Level of Indonesia	289
JIM April 2015	298
UDI Papuans and FRWP for the Pacific Region	306
<i>Melanesian Spearhead Group/MSG</i>	306
<i>Pacific Islands Forum</i>	309
 UDI Papuans and FRWP for Other Interests	 309
<i>Netherlands and the European Union</i>	309
<i>The United States of America (US)</i>	310
<i>Australia and New Zealand</i>	311
<i>Opportunities in Asia</i>	313

<i>30 UN Member States oppose NYA and PEPERA Support of NGOs</i>	<i>315 316</i>
The Important Meaning of UDI of Papua and FRWP for the UN	318
<b>Opportunities for UDI of Papuan Nation and FRWP</b>	<b>319</b>
<b>The Latest Developments</b>	<b>321</b>
<b>Closing Remark</b>	<b>324</b>
<b>Finale</b>	<b>326</b>
Conclusion	326
<b>End Notes</b>	<b>332</b>
Theoretical Notes	332
Political Notes	334
Practical Notes	336
<b>References</b>	<b>339</b>



# Introduction

Whether or not, if this book is not published as it is now, it will still be a dissertation at Social Sciences Doctoral Program of the Cenderawasih University in Jayapura.

Its contents - which are the results of a study of the relationship between the Nation of Indonesia and the Nation of Papua from 1963 to 2017 - will not be known to the public. The condition of the relationship, which is sometimes so tense and terrible, will never make people aware that something is wrong with the relationship. The dynamics of the relationship will only be known by a handful of people, namely supervisors and dissertation examiners. There will be no inspiration about how to improve relations between the two nations.

When delivering her speech on the dissertation open examination, the dissertation advisor, Prof. Dr. Dra. Onnie M. Lumintang, M. Hum, in the *Academic Accountability of the Dissertation of Don Augusthinus Lamaech Flassy* said that the relationship between the Nation of Indonesia and the Nation of Papua as it is today was a result of international interests. She added:

...Bangsa Indonesia dan Bangsa Papua masing-masing dalam statusnya adalah korban sejarah konspirasi



kepentingan internasional semenjak merebak Perang Dingin. Sudut pandang memang berbeda. Indonesia menyatakan Papua sebagai wilayahnya sementara bangsa Papua tetap bertahan pada status 1950-1961 sebagai Bangsa dan Wilayah Tak-Berpemerintahan sendiri merujuk Pasal-Pasal Terbuka Deklarasi PBB dan Resolusi PBB dan Sidang Umum PBB. Kehadiran Indonesia di Negeri Papua Bahagian Barat adalah selaku Negara Anggota PBB pelaku perwalian yang seharusnya akan membawa Papua menentukan nasibnya sendiri alias "Merdeka" bukan malah menggelar DMP PEPERA 1969 (...The Indonesian people and The Papuan people in their status are victims of the history of the conspiracy of international interests since the outbreak of the Cold War. The point of view is different. Indonesia declared Papua its territory while the Papuans remained in the 1950-1961 status as a Non-Self-Governing Nation and Territory referring to the Open Articles of the United Nations/UN Declaration and UN Resolutions and the UN General Assembly. Indonesia's presence in West Papua is as a United Nations Member of the trusteeship that should bring Papua to its own destiny, aka "Merdeka" instead of holding a 1969 PEPERA DMP Act (p.4).

This quote shows that something is wrong with Indonesia's presence in the Land of Papua. This error seems to be perpetuated by the international interests represented by the big countries. How the development of relations between the Indonesian as people and nation among the Papuan as people and nation is very much determined by the unfavourable beginning. What, in a subjective manner, is considered by Indonesia to be good for the Papuan nation, and sceptically accepted by the Papuans as a politic. What is, subjectively, considered important by Indonesia for the Papuan nation, is not taken for granted by the Papuan people. It is not surprising that Indonesia feels that the Papuan people "melawan (oppose)" the Indonesian people.

The term "melawan" is what gave birth to the conflict between the Indonesian people and the Papuan people. However, the author does not focus the research on conflict. Instead, the author emphasizes the transformation of values and behaviour towards the conflict. This can be seen from the statement of Prof. Onnie in the same speech as follows:

Promovendus memfokuskan bahahasannya pada transformasi nilai dan perilaku terhadap masalah konflik socal bukan saja antar warga asli Papua dan warga pendatang, tetapi lebih dari itu adalah antar Bangsa Papua dan Bangsa Indonesia di Tanah Papua atau yang disebut Negeri Papua Bahagian Barat (Promovendus focuses on the transformation of values and behaviour towards social conflict issues not only between indigenous Papuans and immigrant citizens, but more than that is between Papuans and the Indonesian Nation in Tanah Papua or what is called West Papua (p.3).

From this choiced focus, the author can complete a dissertation entitled *Peta Jalan Balik Bangsa Papua di Negeri Papua Bahagian Barat: Sebuah Keputusan Damai Pemulihan Jati Diri* (The Roadmap to the Revival of the Papuan Nation in West Papua: "A Peaceful Decision on the Restoration of the Self"). The author uses *hidden structure* and *structuralism* theories converged with the theory of *social conflict* to find the concept of research. The author implemented the concepts produced by using "historical studies and archives" and "auto-ethnographic" methods to collect data. Data analysis produces something that is "challenging" to be reconstructed into the lives of Indonesian citizens and Papuan citizens. Namely, is synchronizing the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila with the 1999 FRWP Constitution and Melanesian Papua Triple Fold Logics. The results of this synchronization will encourage: (i) the birth of a balanced way for the two nations to understand and mutually benefit multilaterally, (ii) the emergence of mutual respect for the dignity of the nation, and (iii) the emergence of a balance position as two independent and sovereign nations, two neighbouring nations that uphold human values.

Of course it is not easy to reconstruct these three ways into the lives of Indonesian citizens and Papuan citizens. The metter is, the people of Indonesia have a long history of being like this. Papuans also have their own traditions that are closely related to Indonesia's political views on themselves. In other words, extra effort is needed to change the system of meaning for the citizens of the two nations. To participate, broaden the horizons of citizens' understanding of the three ways above, this book is written. From that understanding, the author hopes that there will be a change in

the system of meaning within Indonesian citizens when they view Papuans and in Papuans looking at Indonesian citizens.

The structure of this book is in accordance with the theory of readers' information needs when reading the title of this book. In the author's view, before the reader decides to continue or stop reading this book, the reader needs answers to various questions, including: (i) why should this book be present? (ii) what is the starting point for the contents of the book? (iii) what and how is Papua? (iv) how serious is managing Papua? (v) what is the comparison of the contents of the Indonesian constitution and the constitution of Papua? (vi) what is the role of the world's great powers in resolving Papua's problems? (vii) what have I done for Papua? (viii) how to care for Papua? (ix) what can be proposed as a solution to the crisis?

The answers to the first and second questions have already been stated above, in the beginning of this Introduction. The publication of this book aims to broaden the reader's insight into what really happened about how the relationship between the Indonesian nation and the Papuan nation. From here, it is expected to create a reasonable sense of how to respond to what is happening in Papua. The expansion of this insight certainly departs from the contents of the book. The contents in the book, is not "just to taste". However, as based on the results of the study which are then reported academically in a dissertation format. This dissertation was declared passed by the examining team at Cenderawasih University on September 28, 2017.

Following the **Introduction**, the author presents a **Prologue**, a kind of condition underlying the emergence of ideas for conducting research. This condition has been going on for decades and you can imagine the impact on people's lives in Papua. Efforts to improve this condition have also been going on for decades. However, the changes did not come. So, it is necessary to reform the way of thinking towards the Papuan people. Starting from the assumption of the need for a reshuffle road, this is the reason for this research.

**Chapter I** explains the results of a comprehensive study of what and how Papua actually is. It answers the question of what and how is Papua? To be able to answer this question the author

explores various works of anthropologists and folklores about Papua and Melanesia and combines them with the results of research that the author had done. That way, the explanation is quite complete and adequate for readers who have never been “in touch” with Papua.

The next chapter, **Chapter II**, answers the question of how to manage Papua. If for management of Papua must depart from the right platform. Errors in choosing a platform will result in management errors. Whereas management errors can be fatal: for the suffering of the community life. In this context, the author proposes to make federalism a Papuan management platform. How exactly the idea of federalism is, please read this chapter.

**Chapter III** reports on the anatomy of the Indonesian constitution (the 1945 Constitution) and the constitution of FRWP (Constitution of the Federalist Republic of West Papua 1999). This report is accompanied by the author's analysis of these two constitutions. From this it can be imagined how unsynchronized these two constitutions are. Furthermore, the readers can also imagine what needs to be done to synchronize both of them in order to achieve the recovery of the Papuan identity. Thus, the explanation of this chapter is the answers to the question of how do the contents of the Indonesian constitution compare to the constitution of Papua?

**Chapter IV** is the most complicated chapter. The problem is, this chapter must answer the question of the role of the world's great powers in resolving the problem of Papua. On the one hand, the world's great powers really want to contribute to solving the problem of Papua. However, on the other hand they do not want to lose influence in Papua. The latter, presumably because they realize the location of Papua is very strategic and has abundant natural resources. Even so, Papua needs the world's great power to restore Papua to its original status and condition.

**Chapter V** is a fairly substantial chapter in this book. In this chapter, the author recounts the author's empirical experience when he began to be involved in political activities in Papua for a Free or an Independent Papua. The author's struggle was immediately known to the media and spread throughout Papua and Jakarta. Actions were quickly carried out by the security

forces. However, the author is politically a politician and a dedicated anti imperialist. As a result, the author has never felt sorry for being involved in such practical political activities. Instead, the author could even feel how uncomfortable he is without a homeland. So, this chapter automatically answers the question of what the author has done for Papua.

The next chapter, **Chapter VI**, is the "gong" of this book. This chapter is the result of real research. Its contents are central to the entire contents of the book. It pushed from all the data and analysis to a conclusion about how to organize the way behind the Papuan nation in order to restore its identity. If this idea can be implemented purely and consequently, it will produce a sovereign Papuan figure in its own land. It is at this point that this chapter actually answers the question of what can be proposed as a solution to the crisis.

Finally, it is the **Closing Chapter**. The contents are messages that the author needs to convey to the readers: if finding things that are not pleasing in this book, the reader does not need to be cynical or angry. All the contents of this book are not just appeared, but depart from a certain perspective. When the readers' perspective is different from the author's perspective, it is not impossible that the results are different. What is important is the content of this book is a "value". Beyond this, of course there are still many other "values". It is up to the readers to choose which "value" is preferred.

# Prologue

## Papua Social Political Order

During the more than 50 years, the people of Papua in Western Papua were in various positions of pressures and uncertainties. They obtained public services (education, health and welfare and even daily life) that were worse and the threat of ethnic extinction through CCN/KKN, Low Quality Liquor/Miras, Narcotics, and HIV/AIDS. They also have very limited employment and business opportunities. Their natural environment continues to be touched by various profit-seeking parties. They are even hampered from practicing any democratic life. Look, they don't get the chance to dialogue, diplomacy and negotiate about their social and political life.

On the other hand, the Indonesian government turned out to be unable to Indonesianize the Papuans in Western Papua. This attempt to Indonesianize the Papuan is, in fact, absurd. The problem is, the Papuan people are a nation that has Melanesian ethnicity. It may not be positioned as an ethnic organization or as a minority group. Instead it is a nation that has a class of comparable significance. This fact is in accordance with the criteria of state and nation according to the Theory of Ernest Renan (1882) and the

theory of Otto Bauer (1907)<sup>2</sup>. That way, Papua should not be equated with Indians in America, Maori in New Zealand and Aboriginal in Australia. Papua, in fact, is also not comparable to Betawi and Tugu in Jakarta or any minority group and any indigenous nation. It does not belong to an ethnic group as called by Donald R. Horowitz in Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1975: 113) below:

Membership in an ethnic group is a matter of social definition, an interplay of the self-definition of members and the definition of other group.

Papua is actually a struggle to uphold nationality (Renan's theory and Otto Bauer's theory), not a struggle of an ethnic group of a social class. Indeed, it experiences ethnicity crises because: (i) the presence of non-Papuan-Melanesian migration which has not been realized so far by The Government of Indonesia as a member of the United Nations, (ii) the implementation of international guardianship on the Papuan Nation and the country of West Papua as if it were an attempt at annexation. However, Papuan idealism goes beyond the limited category of race and, in fact, exceeds any engineering of nationalism by any force.

In addition, the fact of the cohesiveness (rejection) within the nation of Papua to join seems to be welcomed by the treatment of Indonesia's political system that is not humanist. The approach made from the beginning (1963) to the present (2017) is more forced and dominated by threatening patterns. It is natural for Papua to feel uncomfortable under Indonesia.

<sup>2</sup> Ernest Renan's theory of the nation as a soul, a spiritual principle arising from (1) shared glory in the past, which is a historical aspect (*le nostalgie de édenique*); (2) the desire to live together (*le désir de vivre ensemble*) at this time which is an aspect of solidarity, in form and magnitude, still uses the legacy of the past, both present and future, as well as Otto Bauer's theory of the nation as a society of order which arises from the same society or nation is a similarity of temperament that arises because of the same fate. The understanding nation can also be divided into two, namely the nation in a political and nation in sociological-anthropological sense [[Retrieved from](#)] which has been fulfilled by the residents of the Netherlands New Guinea through the Papua National Committee designed by Papua Council on October 16-19, 1961 (footnote no.6).

Starting from here, the people of Papua continue to struggle. The struggle reached its peak in the UDI of Papua and the FRWP<sup>3</sup> events on October 19, 2011. After that, Papua sought various diplomatic and internationalization efforts towards world recognition (Melanesian Spearhead Group/MSG, Pacific Island Forum/PIF, and the forum of Africa-Caribbean-Pacific-European Union/ACP-EU and the UN). The Indonesian government already knows and is aware of this reality, especially in the years 2013-2014-2015.

### **The attitude of the Papuan Nation**

In relation to Indonesianizing, there are at least two things that should be understood, namely, *first*, the past was strongly influenced by various policies and approaches carried out by the Dutch government and the Indonesian government themselves, including the role of initiators of both Indonesian nationalism and Papuan nationalism at that time . *Second*, the ongoing conflict in Papua strengthens the results of the LIPI study (2011, TEMPO Interaktif 29 October 2011), namely: (1) marginalization of the Papuan people has occurred. As a result, there is an imbalance experienced by the Papuan people in terms of regional and central relations; (2) development failure has occurred which can be seen from the inequality of development results; (3) the issue of Papua's political status that has not been resolved; (4) the occurrence of human rights violations.

With all these facts, the question arises; how exactly is the process of Indonesia-nizing of the Papuans?

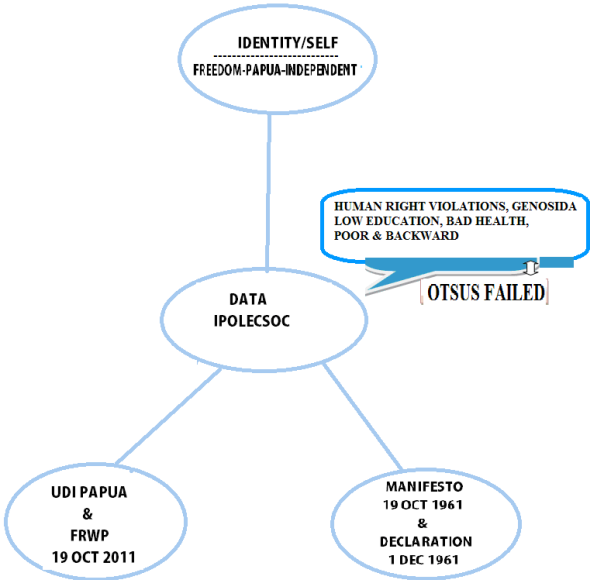
Reasonable answers have been delivered by Meteray (2012 and 2013). According to her, in fact we must first understand the history of Papua. Although for this reason George Junus Aditjondro (1999 and 2000) revealed: "The government and important people of Indonesia have carried out contradictory actions, namely by writing the history of Papua which the Papuans want to rectify". From here, he then claimed: "This is the darkness of the history of Papua in Indonesian Historiography".

<sup>3</sup>After the Leaders of the Free Papua Struggle Coalition attended US-Congressional Hearing in Washington DC-AS, 22 September 2010.



In this connection, Acub Zainal, the 1970 Commander of Cendrawasih Military Command and Governor of Irian Jaya 1971-1972 in Nurinwa Ki S Hendrowinoto (1998: 132-135) describes: "... in fact the greatness of Indonesia turned out to be an insult and disgusting existence on Earth of Land Papua because the leaders and the system controllers are weak and do not understand the history path ... "(for example, addressed to Minister of Home Affairs Amir Mahmud at that time who fired him as Governor of Irian Jaya).

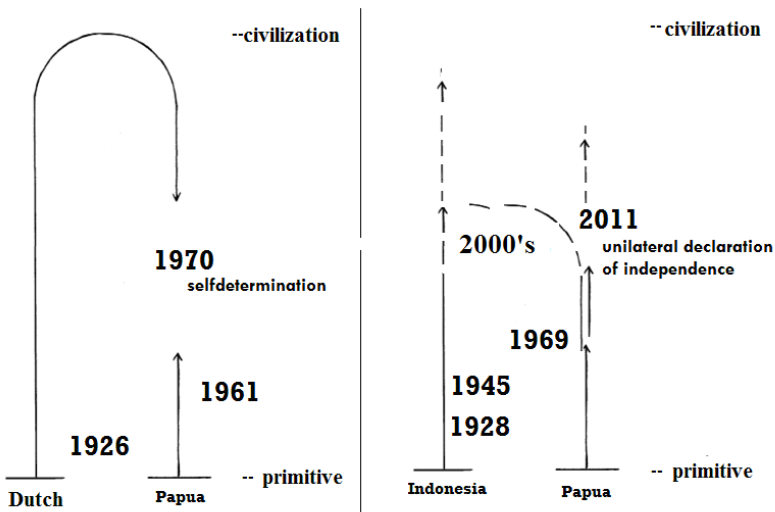
Thought of Meteray (2012, 2013), Aditjondro (1999, 2000), and Acub Zainal (1998) above have shown various problems that have occurred in Papua so far. These problems, according to the author, actually concerns "M/Merdeka (Freedom) of Papua". The main problem (root of problems) is the absence of independence (freedom). This is what then causes the occurrence of human rights violations and hampered welfare development. The next result, there was "impoverishment", "neglect" and "backwardness" as a domino effect meaning Idiology, Politics, Economy and Socio-Culture (IPOLECSOC), illustrated by Schema 1 below:



**Schema 1.** *The Root of Cause and The Root of Problems Flassy (2017).*

## Spirit of Independence

"M/Merdeka Papua" (*freedom*) is all efforts and processes to achieve "Papua M/Merdeka" (*independence*). It is the root of cause that needs to be discussed, considering that, this understanding is very strategic. In this context, it is not a problem of position, development, money, welfare, and deterioration. Isn't this kind of service an obligation of the Indonesian Government to its people everywhere, including in Papua? Look at the following Schema.



**Schema 2.** *The Albert's Schema on the Dutch versus Indonesian for Papua.*  
*Flassy (2017).*

The spirit of "M/Merdeka" for the Nation of Papua in West Papua,<sup>4</sup> aside from expressing resentment, has also formed an attitude of *cohesiveness* (rejection) of Indonesia's presence early on.

<sup>4</sup>The term "Merdeka Papua" (freedom) is used not "Papua Merdeka" (independence) to emphasize and affirm the importance of what is meant in the IPOLECSOC principle is the main thing that needs to be addressed as *the root of cause* since the 1962 invasion and 1969 annexation up to the 2000 OTSUS (Special Autonomy) era. The word or sound, "M/Merdeka" is, for the Papuans, be analogous to the test of Pavlov's bell (1928), which measures the saliva of a dog's appetite. It is a dream stimulus of how appropriate their existence is.

Except for that, the attitude of the Indonesian government so far has given rise to violence and terror which has led to a number of years that have not been understood and protracted<sup>5</sup>. Facing this fact by quoting Edward T. Hall (1966: 144) on *Eye Behavior*, the author wondered: "Whether the Nation of Papua understood by Indonesia reciprocally or one direction only?".

In the past of Dutch colonialism, the officers helped provide ways for the Papuan people to organize their own future. They respect the existence of the Papuan more as a nation. However, as good as any other person thinks of Papua is limited to impressions, while authenticity is who Papua is according to the Papuans themselves, see Schema 2.

The fact shows that the presence of Dutch people in Papua is not for jobs seekers. The Netherlands organized "the authenticity of the Papuan Nation" in the form of its own currency "Nieuw Guinea Guilder /fNG", own stamps, own economic system (Kooperatie Holding Bedrijf: Nijgimij), sea and air transport system, customs, douane and quarantine including population structuring and measurable standard health services and personality education system. Regarding the conditions of the standard and luxury of Papua (Irian) worthy of the "the garden of eden" (*an edenic fora*), Acub Zainal (ditto: 76) expressed:

Republik kita malu. Imejnya jelek sekali. Waktu itu Republik kita memang sedang susah. Coklat, kembang gula atau bir yang memang hanya ada di Irian diangkut semuanya. Botol-botol yang ditanam untuk pagar. Digali, diambil, diangkut. Saya sendiri sempat ikut-ikutan membawa karpet (ed. Karpet Persia dari Istana Gubernur di Dok V (... our Republic is embarrassed. The image is very bad. At that time our Republic was indeed difficult. Chocolate, confectionery or beer, all of which are only in Irian. Bottles planted for fences. Excavated, taken, transported. I myself had a chance to join in carrying the

<sup>5</sup> There were comments on the jokes of the Papuans, including from the Irian Jaya KNPI Governing Body of 1995 to 1999, expressed by M. Kandenafa "..... like a blind man wearing dark glasses leading a myopic blind man in a dark room" didn't know where to go, see Scheme 2.

carpet (ed. Persian Carpet from the Governor's Palace at Dok V).

Papua's reluctance to Indonesia was determined by both of its past since it was still a Dutch colony. One fact was sparked by the Dutch Government of the Batavia Declaration on 7 March 1910. The Dutch act was long after the Dutch liberated Papua from Sultan Tidore by paying 3000 guilders in 1848 on a secret contract between the Government of the Netherlands East Indies and Sultan Tidore (?).

1 As written in the book *Jejak Kebangsaan: Kaum Nasionalis di Manokwari dan Boven Digoel* (Traces of Nationality: Nationalists in Manokwari and Boven Digoel) by Soewarsono, Herman Hidayat and Ana Windarsih et al. by Obor Publishers in 2013.

2 The Batavia Declaration regulated are as directly under the Dutch and Dutch Indies governments which were still biased between the Dutch and officials in Indonesia.

3 It was stated that with the issuance of the Batavia Declaration West Papua, which was then called the *Nederlandsch of New Guinea*, was not included in the territory of the Dutch East Indies. The boundaries of the Dutch East Indies are only from Aceh to Maluku. With that position, Papua was directly under Dutch rule.

4 This book also contains the issue of Boven Digoel, Papua which is a region well known in the history of Indonesian independence as a place of exile for the movement's political leaders. Vice President Mohammad Hatta and Prime Minister Sutan Sjahrir were two of the many figures who had been exiled to Boven Digoel, Papua. The exile meant leaving the Dutch East Indies as stipulated in the Batavia Declaration.

5 So Papua is not part of the State of Indonesia because it was not part of the former Dutch East Indies Authority since March 7, 1910.

# PART I

# Understanding Papua

# 1 Patching along Papua cum Melanesia

## Introduction

The Nation of Papua from generation to generation continue to question the historical straightening that has been ignored. At the Second Papuan National Congress in 2000, the people demanded an alignment of the history of Papua. Article 24 of RI-Law No.21 of 2001 concerning Papua Special Autonomy (OTSUS) mandates the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (KKR), one of which is to rectify history ([Sumule, 2003](#); [Alua, 2002](#)). However, until now the mandate not yet realized. Then, what and how is the nation of Papua really? This chapter will discuss the answer.

## The existence of Papua

### Notion of the word Papua

Many versions are of the notions of the word Papua. Some say "Papua" comes from the Malay language "Papah uah " which means People of no Lord. There are also those who say that "Papua" means "people with curly hair". Whereas according to Ternate's language, "Papua" means "distant brother". Apart from

all that meaning, the name of Papua Island was popularized for the first time by a Portugal Governor who was stationed in Ternate, Jorge de Meneses, in 1526 (Russell-Wood, 1998). In 1545, Spanish Sailor, Yñigo Ortiz de Retez, on his way from Maluku Spices Islands to South America, had visited the northern part of the island. Seeing its inhabitants are similar to residents of Guinee Ivory Coast, West Africa, he named it Nova Guinee or famous to us as English: New Guinea and the Netherlands: Nieuw Guinea (Sharp, 1960).

In 1883 there were new developments on this island. The invaders made this bird island divided into two (Ohff, 2008). West Papua or West New Guinea which is now more desirable called Tanah Papua in the west. While in the eastern part of the two incisions Papuan in the north and New Guinea in the south, now (1975), becomes Papua New Guinea (PNG).

In 1949 the Dutch granted sovereignty to the former colony of Oost Indie (East Indies) or Nederlands Indie (Dutch East Indies) to become the United Republic of Indonesia (RIS). However, the western part of New Guinea, with its population belonging to the Melanesian race with its specific cultural characteristics, was only prepared to improve independence by the Dutch Government. This can be seen, for example, with the emergence of the designation of the State of West Papua in 1961. However, the way of history apparently did not that alike. Indonesia has occupied Western Papua since 1962.<sup>6</sup>

Papua New Guinea or previously called East Papua or East New Guinea or also Australish New Guinea is a sovereign independent state in the eastern half of the island of New Guinea. It is part of the incision of New Guinea in the north which was

<sup>6</sup>After occupying West Papua (which for almost 40 years was called West Irian / Irian Jaya), under the banner of Trikora, Indonesia wanted to explore Malaysia (the Malay Peninsula). However, a business that was under the banner of Dwikora was a failure. Indonesia then intends to occupy Timor Leste under the banner of Seroja. If this goal is achieved, there is only a matter of effort to get to Solomon to the Pacific as revealed by Mr. Mohammad Yamin, despite being denied by Mohammad Hatta (Syamsudin, 1998).

previously controlled by the German Empire by the name Wilhelmsland. This then came under the protectorate (protection) of the United Nations after Germany lost the war in World War I. While Papua in the south was under Britain or then Australia.

Avoiding Indonesian hegemony, the two pieces of East Papua, in 1975, stated their agreement to join into an independent and sovereign state. Its existence as a member of the British Commonwealth. The name that is close to pronunciation in Fidgin English or Tok Pizin is Papua Nugini or abbreviated as PNG / pe-en-ji /. This decision is quite spectacular, even without careful preparation.

Starting from here, further talks will focus more on West Papua, which is now better known as Tanah Papua. Indeed, the Island of New Guinea, in terms of territorial division, consists of seven regions in Tanah Papua and six regions in Papua New Guinea. Each region is divided into ethnic groups or dominant sub-groups. It is this ethnic group that occupies existing conditions, for example in Papua New Guinea there are 19 administrative provinces. The name of the city and important place with the administrative province mentioned are: Vanimo-Sandaun Province, Aitape, Wewak-East Sepik Province, Morehead-Western Province, Daru, Mendi-Southern Highlands Province, Laigam, Tari, Hagen-Western Highland Province, Madang-Madang Province, Kundiawa-Simbu Province, Goroka-Eastern Highland Province, Kerema-Gulf Province, Lea-Morobe Province, Huon, Port Moresby-Central Province, Popendeta-Oro Province, Kokoda, Samarai, Milnebay Province, Trobriand, Alotou, Kimbe-Western New Britain Province, Rabaul, Hoskins, Kavieng-Eastern New Britain Province, Lorengau-Manus Province, Arawa, Hutjena-Bougainville/Northern Salomon Province.

Meanwhile, the Tanah Papua which is politically desired as West Papua itself as well known, consisting of seven cultural regions, namely Tabi (Jayapura), Saireri (Cenderawasih Bay), Doberai (Bird's Head), Bomberai (Fakfak-Kaimana), Ha-Anim (Mimika-Merauke), Lani Paqo (East Central Highland) and Mee Paqo (West Central Highland). All of these, in the Dutch Government administration, were allocated in six Areas of



Government Residency plus one Preparatory Area (Overzicht gebied).<sup>7</sup>

## **Current Conditions in West Papua**

West Papua - which is also called Tanah Papua - is an area that is located in the coordinates of 28 degrees East Longitude to 141 degrees East Longitude and 2 degrees North Latitude to 9 degrees South Latitude. Physically, to the north it borders Palau in Micronesia as well as the Philippines for certain reasons and the Pacific Ocean with the outer islands of Mapia Island. To the south, it borders the Arafura Sea or Adi Island. To the Southwest it borders Maluku Province with Gag island as the outermost island. While to the East, it is directly adjacent to the State of Papua New Guinea. The boundary is a colonial line, stretching straight from the Pacific Ocean cover in the north with a slight twist following the Fly river groove before touching the Arafura Sea cover in the south.

The Land of Papua is also known as the State of West Papua, which is the name of the part of the region that was initiated in the Papua Political Manifesto of October 19, 1961 by the Papua National Committee formed by Nieuw Guinea Raad (NGR)/Papua Council. The results of the Manifesto were then ratified on December 1, 1961, marked the raising of the Papuan National Flag "Morning Star" accompanied by the Papuan national anthem "Hi My Land Papoea" and other items such as the Mambruk Bird Symbol, New Guinea Guilden currency became Papua Guilden etc.

This part of the region is also at the same time claimed to be part of Indonesia through various negotiations, political debates, diplomacy and finally confrontations. Sukarno, on December 19, 1961, declared Three People's Commands (Trihora) to seize this part with the name West Irian. On international agreement and without involving Papuans (NGR) in an honest and dignified manner, this area was annulled into an integrated part of the Republic of Indonesia ( NKRI), through a kind of UN agreement

<sup>7</sup> .....had become the basic for the desired State of Papua, as is stated in the white and blue lines of the Papuan Nation's "Morning Star" Flag.

called the New York Agreement. It is then manifested through a kind of procedure called the People's Consultative Assembly (DMP-PEPERA).

This process actually contradicts the United Nations determination. The problem is that Papua or New Guinea has been determined according to UN Resolution No. 448 (V) Dec 12 1950 and UNGA Resolution No. 1514 (XV) Dec. 14 1960 as a non-self government territory referring to Article 73 and Article 75-85 concerning the International Trusteeship System.

The United Nation Temporal Executive Authority (UNTEA) in this matter was completely useless as a good mediator. Then the incident occurred: out of 1,800,000 people, including 800,000 adults who owned voting rights, represented only by 1,026 people who were brought in intimidated. They were included in the Opinion with only 126 people given the right to speak. That is the worst democracy ever in the history of human civilization. However, it got the United Nations Resolution 2504 (XXIV) Nov. 1969, even though it is still described as "by take note" (with a note).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>For such understanding, if there is an expression, for example, if RI is not careful, Papua will independence, like Timor Leste, which is completely wrong. Papua is not an East Timor which occupied without UN intervention, while Indonesia is in Papua is a UN procedure in accordance with Article 73, and Article 75-85 of the 1945 United Nations Charter concerning the International Trusteeship System and UNGA Resolution No. 448 (V) Dec 12 1950 and UNGA Resolution No. 1514 (XV) Dec. 14 1960. So Indonesia as a member of the United Nations Implementing Trusteeship over Papua, is obliged and absolutely surrenders Papua back to the United Nations for further regulation according to the international mechanism. Regarding this way of thinking to reporters who revealed, Papuan leader Theys Hio Eluay once rebuked, saying: "Papua is not the serial number from East Timor. Because each has a different background, even though experiencing the same cause which is "Cold War". Now, all has been surpassed by the end of the Cold War. The Millennium Three of New World of Human Civilizations have given hopes to the United Nations and Indonesia along with the Regionalism of MSG, PIF and ACP and the European Union including the US obliquely by presenting Papua (NFRPB) for a "rearrange" agenda.

West Papua changed the name, based on Republic of Indonesia Law No.12 of 1969 concerning the Formation of West Irian Province and Districts in the West Irian Province becoming the Autonomous Province of West Irian and Autonomous Districts in West Irian Province. However, this status then ended just like that when the Republic of Indonesia Law No.5 of 1975 concerning Central and Regional Governments was enacted. There has never been a feature that was previously used as an issue to win the hearts of Papuans during and before the invasion and annexation in the form of ratification of the results of the People's Opinion (PEPERA) as deviated compliance from the New York Agreement.

Debate, resistance, and struggle by the Papuan people to regain their sovereignty since Indonesia set foot in West Papua really took time and energy. More than half a century. Indonesia in this regard NKRI Government insofar as its existence here is only busy to indict charges against Papuans in various acts of self-liberation as "makar (treason)". For this reason, the defendants were detained, tortured (among others: inserting hot iron into the rectum, or also suffocating, imprisoned and not infrequently losing their lives) aka other abusive practices.

Data collected by various institutions and universities, both at national and international levels, shows that the number of Papuan-Melanesian people who have lost their lives being killed has reached 200,000. The author's feeling said that the number might be more than that (if the population of Papua New Guinea in 2010 reached seven million, as an analogy, it could be questioned which of the six million inhabitants in West Papua?). Or why is there only 500,000 now. Starting from here, it can be concluded that not only 200,000 people were killed, but actually 300,000 people. The cause is of course various. In addition to the main cause - the application of Papua as a Military Operation Area (DOM) - also because of dozens of violations and neglect and other deliberate omissions. Naturally, if this nation is integrated with all the conditions of its existence, it seeks to gain the sympathy of the world that, praise to God, is now increasingly visible.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights (CHR) -West Papua Advocacy Team presents up-to-date data on development in West Papua. While The CHR also monitored and reported on the

The condition of the Papuan-Melanesian people, from time to time, is indeed alarming. Apart from the consequences of not being treated humanely<sup>10</sup>, also due to poor economic conditions, unclear legal advocacy, birth uncontrol triggered by KKN (CCN), Miras (Low quality liquor), Narkoba (Narcotics and illegal drugs), HIV/Aids, lack of nutrition, and various other significant concerns including poor quality of education and bad health services. The population is declining. According to Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) estimates, based on the 2010 Population Census, since 2011 Papuan-Melanesian people have become a minority in the Land of Papua, the integrated parts of the NKRI. This condition might invite external alignments which would certainly be bad for the two nations that are integrated within the NKRI in the future.

To solve this integration problem, the best course is through the path of "historical straightening". Another alternative is "negotiations" under the supervision of the United Nations. Regarding the latter, the involved parties namely the United States, the Netherlands, Indonesia and Papua, must be present.

If history says that Indonesia is right, then the Papuans must accept the fact that they are citizens of the NKRI. If not, then Indonesia must also be encouraged to leave Papua and allow the Papuans to become independent and sovereign in their own territory. This is what the Papuans demand. This is also what is voiced by Papuans in the non violence movement (peaceful struggle without violence). However, there are parties who have weapons, who play harshly. They made gunfire, although the end result was not very pleasant.

The peaceful struggle without violence was the main feature of the movement in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The struggle used a transformation approach as the Indonesian reforms rolled out

situation of human rights in West Papua since 1993 when Indonesian Lawyer Bambang Widjojanto received the annual RFK Human Rights Award.

<sup>10</sup> University of Sydney 2005 in "Genocide in West Papua", CiP allows information to be available from the Australian National Library, Canberra about this human condition.

which succeeded in overthrowing the tyranny of Suharto, the Indonesian President for 32 years.

Indonesian people breathe the scent of democracy, Suharto replaced B.J. Habibie as the third President of the NKRI. During his reign, East Timor succeeded in becoming independent of UN intervention through a referendum. Even though the East Timorese struggle was bleeding, it finally became independent too. West Papua has a less convincing opportunity through an event called the National Dialogue with a *terribly confused* team of 100 Papuans or who are marked as "Tim Seratus" (Team of 100 Papuan delegation).

The demands of time instead of calling for the return of sovereignty rights which proceeded since December 1, 1961, instead demanded independence from the NKRI. Obviously, this is not fulfilled. Habibie replied to the request by saying, "Go home and meditate". In the everyday words of Malay (Papuan Malay, not Malaysian, not Indonesian) it is roughly meaningful: "lihat muka di cermin dulu" (see your faces reflected first), aka rejected. An abysmal cynicism!

Realizing this situation, the Papuan leaders and the groups were very offended. However, there was no turmoil. Only after the government switched to the fourth President of Indonesia, Kiai Haji Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), Papua returned to turmoil. The name "Papua", which for almost 40 years has been "lost", has again received adequate attention. Gus Dur as a statesman and humanist, demanded that the name "Papua" to be returned to replace the defamation name Irian (West/Jaya) on January 1st, 2002. This event occurred when Dawn of the 3rd Millennium of Human Civilization broke out in the eastern horizon of Jayapura-Port Numbay-Hollandia, sticking out from the Pacific Ocean.

Before that, Gus Dur allowed the Papuans to fly the Papuan flag, "the Morning Star" on December 1, 1999 and sang the National Anthem "Hai Tanahku Papua". Gus Dur also allowed the Papuan people to hold an Extra Ordinary Meeting (Mubes) on February 26, 2000. Not only that, Gus Dur also financed the Second Papua National Congress worth one billion rupiah. Because of the actions of irresponsible people, all this ends nil. The main perpetrators were instead arrested, detained and imprisoned.

The Province of Papua used to cover the entire western part of Papua, so it is often referred to as West Papua, especially by supporters of the Free Papua Operation (OPM). The OPM was and is the nationalists who wanted Indonesia to leave Papua so that the (edenic) state could be itself reshaped, which been laid by the Dutch in 1961.

During the colonial period of the Dutch East Indies, the Papua Province was known as the Netherlands Netherlands-Guinea or The Dutch New Guinea. Because of the international conspiracy, this region was integrated under Indonesian control. At first it was known as the *Propinsi Irian Barat*, from 1969 to 1973. Then President Soeharto replaced the name to be *Irian Jaya*, when inaugurated the operation of the Freeport gold mine. This name remained in official use until 2002.

The name Irian Jaya changes back to Papua according to the R.I. Law No.21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for the Papua Province. In 2003, based on Presidential Instruction number 1 of 2003, which was signed by Indonesia's 5th President, Megawati Sukarnoputri, Papua was divided into two provinces, Papua for the east and West Papua for the west. Although interrupted by various protests, this division still applies, even today. The era of Megawati Sukarnoputri's administration was not only coloured by the enactment of the two regulations mentioned above. It was also characterized by violence in Papua. Look at the murder of the Chairperson of the Papuan Board of Presidium (PDP) Ondofolo Theys Hiyo Eluay and Chair of the Yapen-Waropen Indigenous People's Institution (LMA), Marten Yusuf Tanawani during the reign of Megawati Sukarnoputri.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Even so, the Peace Efforts were maintained through guerrilla diplomacy, for example the persistence of Benny Wenda in Oxford, England, succeeded in arousing the world with the formation of the International Parliament for West Papua (IPWP), International Lawyer for West Papua (ILWP) and the latest US HR 2419 paragraph 1123 about West Papua, including sympathy and struggle through the World Council of Churches (WCC), and so on.

## The Idealism of Papua

From the explanation above, it can be said that the name 'Papua' is a compound (plural) word form. As a result, it cannot be called Papuan as a tribe who lives in the provinces of Papua and West Papua (or any province then in accordance with Article 76 of Law-RI No.21 of 2001) in the NKRI. There are more 250 autonomous languages and communities in the seven cultural regions which are also autonomous in the Land of Papua. Therefore, the right term to practice is, the "Papuan Nation", which is integrated within the NKRI.

Furthermore, sociologically and political ideologically, Papua in its integration with NKRI are two substances that each other experience mutual resistance (*cohesion*). Both cannot be compounded, so they cannot be maintained on an *adhesive* basis. In other words, inside the NKRI there is also a Papuan nation that is integrated in addition to the Indonesian Nation (the dominant ones being Malay, Chinese and a little Melanesia).

This union, both cohesive and adhesive, must be placed in a dignified and balanced manner to create equilibrium of '*win-win solution*' or preferably '*no win - no lose*' in *band-wagoning* or *soft balancing equilibrium* which is translated as partnership. Presumably this unification of Papua is more accurately said as unit (two different types of substances) can be brought to complementary axis (growth and fulfil each other).

It may be necessary to have a strong will on both sides to respectfully acknowledge the existence of each others. It is because the facts show that it should be said that "NKRI citizens is consisting of two nations, namely the Indonesian Nation and the Papuan Nation" and can also be absolutely added with "China". Although the integration process is wrong, it has been gazetted internationally through UN Resolution 2504 (XXIV) 1969". However, since June 2015 there has been a new phenomenon that there is a dichotomy of Melanesia (six provinces) versus Malay in Indonesia after Indonesia is accepted as an associate member in the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG).

During its integration with Indonesia, Papua-Melanesia has experienced an ideological growth of *cohesion*.<sup>12</sup> The growth is systematic and consistent, but not visible. This is what is called the hidden structure.

## The study results of Papuanistic and Melanesianology

Judging by Leiden Strand of Anthropology, "Structuralism Anthropology" with a regional concept called *FoS* (Field of Anthropological Studies), researchers and scholars have so far claimed the Oceania islands consist of Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia as become a specific area of global study of *FoS*.

The mention of the area is also influenced by the existence of other specific disciplines, for example Indologie who learn about Indonesia, *Chineologie* about China, *Arabieren* about Arabic, also Africa, Caribbean, Latin American, Slavic, and so on. For various reasons, among others: the existence of the Malayo-Polynesian family or the current Austronesian (Blust, 1978) and various other specific understandings, then there was a distribution of the *FoS* target area to Oceania and Southeast Asia. This study became a department called Vakgroep Zuid-Oost Azie en Oceanie (Department of South-East Asia and Oceania) at the Faculty of Literature, State University of Leiden.

Until the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, a discourse emerged that a typical study of Papua would be referred to as Papuanistiek

<sup>12</sup> The ideological Kulmulus of Papuan Cohesiveness was manifested in the form of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence of the Nation of Papuan and the NRFPB on October 19, 2011 was the legitimacy of the Papuan ation through the KRP-III media. This step was taken after the Papua Leadership Struggle Consensus in addition to approaching the Indonesian Government through various means and also exploring the good intentions of the international community, including among others attending the US Congressional Hearing on September 22, 2010 in Washington DC. Although there are excesses including imprisonment but can be passed and continued with diplomacy in a measurable and dignified manner.



(Papuanistics). It becomes a study program at *Department of South-East Asia and Oceania* (Stokhof, 1988).<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile, the knowledge of Melanesia or Malanesianology, which is more emphasized in anthropology, has been going on for a long time. At least since Melanesian expert or Melanesianist Franz Boas was carried out anthropological studies in the region in 1896 (Lewis, 2001: 447-467), and in 2013 Lewis (2013: 123-184).

To focus on linguistic, Papuanistics, which was initiated by experts (Papuanist), has held a Papuanistics Workshop for twice. The first workshop was on October 27-29, 2006, while the second (final) workshop was on June 28-29 2008. Both workshops took place in Sydney. This activity was designed by Sydney University in collaboration with Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies / RSPAS ANU-Canberra [Retrieved from].

As long as the linkages with the determination of the Land of Papua or New Guinea<sup>14</sup> include islands and a group of islands of Raja Ampat, Schouten, Meosnum, Yapen, Kayupuri, Kumamba, Wakde, Liki, Kayo Pulo, Manus, Bougainville, New Britain, Trobian, Samarai, Kimam, Adi, Karas, Pattipi, Ugar etc. include islands in the Torres strait by S.A. Wurm (1982), was referred to as the country of 1.000 languages.

This is a distribution area of 13% to 15% of the number of languages in the world namely 250 languages in West Papua and 750 languages in the State of Papua New Guinea. Furthermore, the languages are classified into two major groups, based on the characteristics of each language group. Here is to mean there are languages with Austronesian characteristics and languages with Papuan characteristics (Wurm, 1982).

For West Papua, some examples from Autronesia are Wondama, Waropen, Numfoor or Biak, Namatota, Onin, Mor, Ansus, Ambai, Liki, Ormu, Kayopulo and Tabati. All of these languages are far-flung languages with Malay, Batak, Javanese,

<sup>13</sup>The author undertook advance and doctoral studies in this Department with Melanesia as major study in the year 1980-1981 dan 1992-1993.

<sup>14</sup> Existing Law No.21/2001 concerning Special Autonomy for Papua Province so that it is not disputed here is the reality of the existence of new provinces; then Tanah Papua is ex Nederlands Nieuw Guinea 1949-1963.

Gorontalo, Kei-Evav, and so on. While the non-Austronesian feature languages or more popularly called Papuan languages are classified into several groups which for this purpose are only mentioned two striking<sup>15</sup> regions or phyla which are the Trans New Guinea Language Phylum and the West Papuan Language Phylum. The West Papuan Phylum only covers the Central, Western and North Bird Heads, and North Halmahera (North Maluku), while the Trans New Guinea Language Phylum covers almost all parts of Tanah Papua including islands of Pantar, Alor and Timor in East Nusa Tenggara/NTT.

Of the two linguistic features, which are marked as the Trans New Guinea Language Phylum that is really the center of Melanesian character. Meanwhile, the Phylum of the West Papuan Language is a peripheri because it is more an intermediary between Non-Austronesian or Papuan (in this case the Trans New Guinea Language Phylum) with Austronesian elements. This fact, among others, strengthens the mosaic designation of Papua-Melanesia as part of Melanesian Culture.

Indeed these languages contain Austronesian elements. However, it is still different from Malayo-Austronesian and/or Indo-Melanesian (Maluku, NTT/B, Moro), based on vocabulary,

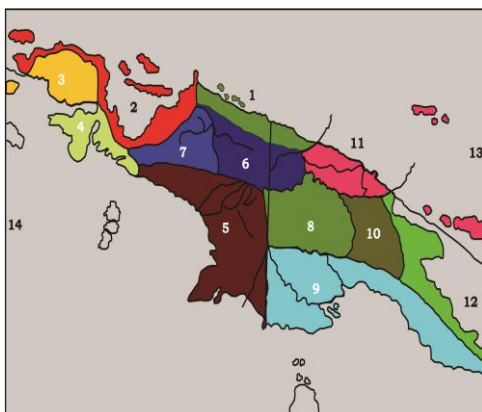
<sup>15</sup>There are a number of other Phylum but the position is isolated "for example Phylum of Geelvinkbay (Ambaidiru or Yawa language in Yapen and Tarungare language in Napan and Nabire). For Austronesian and Non-Austronesian, it is clear that are vocabulary differences and also various aspects of grammar, while Phylum is determined based on kinship which is characterized by similar vocabulary, sentence structure and various other linguistic events such as flexion, 3rd person (he and she) gender differences, differences of verb because of singular-plural and tense. Take the composition of the SPO sentence in Austonesia language: (S)Saya (=I) (P) makan (=eating) (O) taro will be the same as the language arrangement of Tehit which is West Papuan Phylum Papuan also recognizes the proper characteristics of SPO (S) Tet (= I) (P) tat (= eating) (O) qam (= taro) will correlate in Bahaam a Papuan Trans New Guinea Phylum becomes the SOP (S) Andu (= i) (O) kadi (= taro) (P) nowa (= eating). Another difference with Austonesia is in Tehit the word "at" eating in plural form will be "eit" while in Bahaam "nowa" in tences adjustment will be "nowa nde - nowayet - nawi yende (to eat - already eating – eating = going to eat), etc.

phrases and language structure. In terms of the Indo-Melanesian kinship order, which adheres to a bilateral patriarchal pattern distinguished from Papua-Melanesia which has an unilateral kinship patriarchal order.<sup>16</sup>

Relationship between kinship, idealism, action and production appear not transparently. As a result, it is difficult to follow. Naturally, there are terms of *confusing diversity*, *asymmetry*, *savage* or *vulgarity*, and/or also *loosely structured*, which in this skript is called *hidden structures*.

The existence of diversification has been prompted by the author (1983) to initiate the classification of cultural areas in Papua into five cultural areas, which subsequently in the 2001 Papua Customary Council (DAP) Conference were held into seven cultural areas, namely five main culture areas and two areas of development culture or sub-culture area.

Further development studies, if they lead to far-reaching insights, cover 14 characteristics of the Melanesian cultural area. In this case in Papua New Guinea there are five regions, including the Islands in the Torres Strait.



Map of Culture Divisions of Papua and Melanesia

<sup>16</sup> The trough of kinship in Papua is according to the patriarchate line, which differs from the Minangkabow, for example, who adheres to the uncle's or mother's (matriarchate) line and the rest of Malay / Indonesian who practice both sides of the trough kinship (patriarchate and bipartite).

Considering the complexity mentioned above, it is necessary to have terms that cover everything, not just cultural areas. From the linguistics term, the word *stock* is obtained so that there is *super-stock* for the Culture of the Melanesian Islands in the Southwest Pacific (Fiji, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Solomon and Bougainville) number 13. From the term regional power, the term or word *empire* is obtained for the Melanesia in Indian Ocean Insulander number 14 (Maluku, Nusa Tenggara, and Moro), still needs to be explored further.

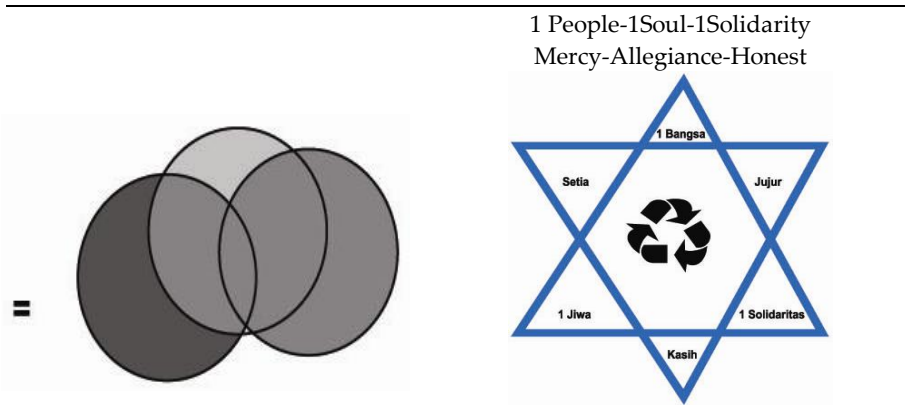
That's about the meaning of Melanesia, which generally speaks of "federalism". hence in the *colours of variations* and *formative mosaic patronages* (manifestations of mosaic format) Papua is known in Papua-Melanesia, of course, it is in the confines of the "hidden structure" as the totality of *the way of life* with the basic philosophy of Tri Fold Logic: Three Spirit of Melanesian Brotherhood: *One People, One Soul*, and *One Solidarity* with Triple Lustres of Papua Principles: *Mercy, Allegiance* and *Honest*. The existence of mutual cyclical-synergetic (rotating synergistically) is in a visible pattern of mosaics, in the sense of not-smelting (not melting) and not-unifying (not *tunggal-ika*).

The Triple Fold is controlled by the overwhelming axis described as recycle (cycle) which continues to move and control and also is an animated principle (residing) in the cycle, namely the ovary of spirit which at the dimensional level is the light that manifests. These dimensions arise from cybernetic rotation associated as astral (messianic) and etheric (virtual) forms. In this case the spirit is understood as "spirare" which means "breathe" which is the element in the eternal life cycle (never born and never dies) except to regenerate and renew itself (such as *dema* of the Marind Anim and *tu* of the Meybrat which incarnate to be anything).

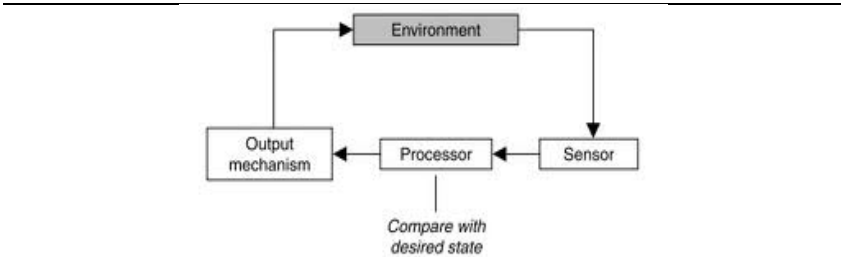
In a 6-angle star formulation (See: Schema 4 bellow), the Tri-Fold Logics Papuan-Melanesian items are in each room. While on the recycle shaft which rotates the existing angles according to their interests.

In connection with that, of course it is not easy to establish into a part or get space and even the point and entrance of the matter of consideration of the concept of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI):

Bhineka Tunggal Ika or Diversity in Unity. Because what is obtained from the basic philosophy of the Triple Fold Logic of Papua-Melanesia is that it is once different, remain different, but it is integrated together or Togetherness in Diversity. In a sense, each element of not smelted (intact does not melt) and mosaic banded (integrated in a mosaic) therefore because it is completely different and indeed still different from each of the interests balanced in cybernetic synergy because of solidarity, togetherness , customs and attitudes, including the interests of both the Papuan cum Melanesia race, and humanity on other scales, especially for the West Papua State integrated within the NKRI.

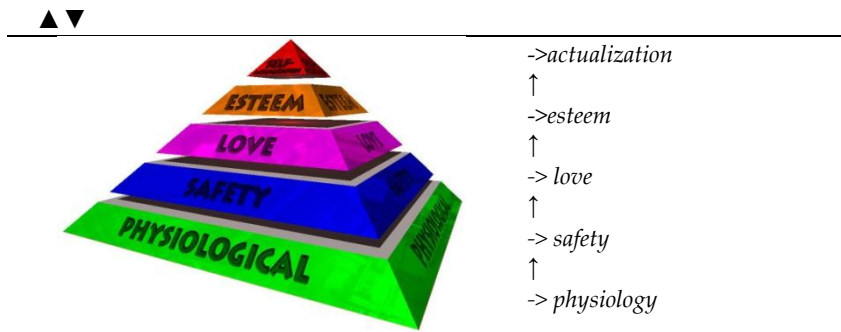
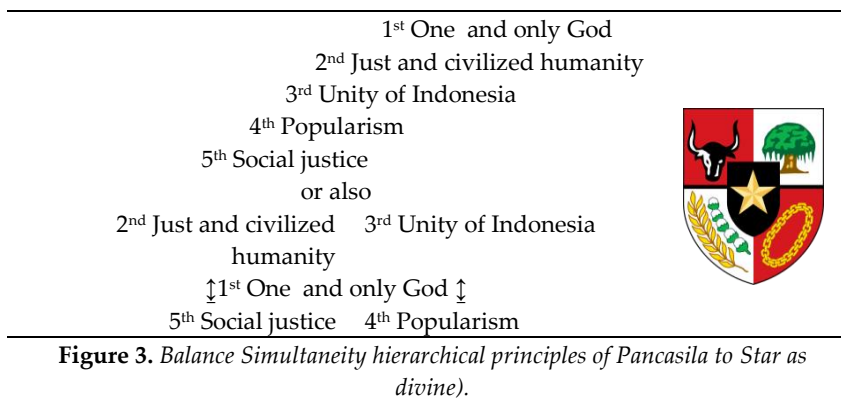


**Figure 1.** Triple Folds Logic of Melanesia Papua-Correlation of Triple Fold Logic by Axis



**Figure 2.** The maincontrol of cybernetics balance of Parsons' hierarchical form of Feedback

▲ ▼



This is where the actual difference or cultural opposites (cultural opposition) between togetherness (federalistic) that respects *solidarity* with unity (unitarism) which requires *tolerance*.

The emic and ethical concepts introduced by Kennet L. Pike (Founfder of Summer Institute of Linguistics/SIL) have been shown before this, it will be very useful to gain understanding as well as reference for the "hidden structure" theory which the author is about to appoint to the surface. This is life (in the form of state, political, social, economic, and any other complexities) that is applied and placed on the exact circulation that is understood by each entanglement so that it is capable and able to break through each obstacles. In a sense, it's not too oversimplify neither a cutoff but let it move naturally, see Scheme 4 above.

Regarding the *rotation edge* or *whirling point*, however, it adheres to one axis even though the circulation of one to the other is

different but *lays on one axis where the cyclone is equally difference to each period* (resting on one base of the axis but the spin is different in balance for each period).

As it is understood, the existence of synergetic equilibrium for the Western World which introduced by Talcott Parsons (1949 *The Structure of social Action...*) that point of refinement is said to be *gradually upright to reach totality or equilibrium* (gradually rising up to the upper layer for reaching out to equilibrium perfection) which is also shown in Maslow's theory (1943 and 1954 cf. 4.6.9) will appear different when compared to what is intended to be stated, among others, in this presentation.

So, this is the difference with the understanding of Papua-Melanesian synergetic equilibrium patterned according to wave theory or circular rotation to reach equilibrium or known as *cyclic equilibrium*.

In this case, it is said that each rotation stipulates its changes (each round places its changes) as known by various Papuan-Melanesian groups at a distinctive level, for example, specifically for the Saireri Cultural Area, this concept is called *fan fanandi* (heavenly ma'ana) and for Marind Anim it is called *dema* (incarnate spirit), in Tehit it is called *toror* (edenic). The concept that in the minds of prominent Papuan-Melanesian nations, especially the religious group (Christian), was declared as *messianic movement* even though it was so real and simple in its use and local domestic views or called domestic wisdom, it must be pushed to leave because of the demands of out side patrons. indeed it is not the part that comes from the cultural distribution axis.

## On Melanesia

The study of how truly "Papua" in Western Papua is concerned with its existence as Melanesia.



**Map shows** *Melanesia flanked by Micronesia, Polynesia, Insulander and Australia*

In this case the word or term Melanesia originating from the Greek language  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  /melan/ = black, and  $\nu\eta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  /nesos/ = island.<sup>17</sup> It is an archipelago that extends from the Southwest Pacific Ocean to the North and Northeast Indian Ocean Insulander<sup>18</sup> in the direction of Australia inhabited by black inhabitants with curly hair. According to Paul Sillitoe (1998, Introduction to the Anthropology of Melanesia) also May, R.J. and Hank Nelson, ed. 1982, (Melanesian Beyond Diversity), the term Melanesia for the first time reported by Jules Dumont d'Urville in 1832 refers to an ethnic group inhabiting a group of islands and islands that differ in physical stature from Polynesia (= large archipelago) and Micronesia (=small islands cluster) are also different from Insulander (Southeast Asia: Malay Peninsula, Indonesia, Philippines and Formosa) as shown in Map above.

Included in this population are Andaman people in the Andaman Islands, Semang people in Malaysia, and Mani people in Thailand, besides there are also Aeta or Agta, Ati and 30 other

<sup>17</sup> According to the Department of Southeast Asia and Oceania, Faculty of Literature, Leiden State University, counted in the Field of Ethnographic Study / FoS Oceania consisting of Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia (lecture material). See too Osborne Robin, (1984), *Indonesia's Secret War: The Gurella Struggle in Irian Jaya*: 1-2.

<sup>18</sup> The term Insulander (land / island interspersed with water / sea or vice versa) is used rather than Nusantara or Indonesia, because this FoS also covers almost all of Southeast Asia in this case the Malay Peninsula, Indonesia, the Philippines and Formosa (Taiwan).



groups in the Philippines, especially in the South, ao. Negrito Island and Mindanao.

Furthermore, it was also conveyed that for almost all parts of Ronald James May, Hank Nelson, *Melanesia: Beyond Diversity*, RSPS, ANU, in addition to other writers' data complement empirical of the author's, especially from lectures at Department of Linguistic Faculty of Arts ANU-Canberra and Department of South East Asia and Oceania Faculty of Arts Leiden University.

The delivering format of this material has been raised on various occasions, including Academia-ANU and at the Conference of Papuan Biodiversity and Melanesia 2009 as well as the International Conference on Cultural Diversity in Papua and Melanesia, respectively in Jayapura, sponsored by the Government of Papua Province involving National and International agencies includes speakers and presenters from overseas, especially from the Pacific, America and the Netherlands. Which also since 2016 appears in various International Journal, among others Journal of Education and Vocational Research (JEVR) Manuscript No.: JEV-17-04; Journal of Social and Development Sciences (JSDS) Manuscript No: JSDS-17-05, Manuscript No.: JSDS-17-06, Manuscript No: JSDS-18-19; etc.

Furthermore, for the Pacific Islands there are understandings and practices of indigenous peoples ethnogeographically known as Melanesian groups. In the grooves extending from the northwest to the southeast, the islands began with the large island of New Guinea. The west is West Papua an integrated part to NKRI or on the other speak out, under the guardianship of Indonesia as a member of the United Nations. In the east is the State of Papua New Guinea. Continuing to the east there is the Salomon Islands State, then the Republic of Vanuatu, then Kanaki or New Caledonia (still French colony), and the easternmost is the State of Fiji.

The geological impact features extreme volcanic activity and earthquakes, separating Melanesians from Polynesia in the east and from Micronesia in the north, along the equator. In the south, Melanesia is adrift of the southern turning line and Australia.

As mentioned above, Melanesia is an island name in Greek 'melas' black and 'nesos' island because of its dark-skinned

population ["Corso di Geografia Universale," Firenze, 1839 [\[Retrieved from\]](#)]. At the beginning of the 21st century, it is estimated that there are around 10 million people but need to be re-examined because in the meantime for PNG, in 2013 it has reached 7,321 million souls.

In order to have a comprehensive view of Melanesia, the following are various reviews from various scientific disciplines including, views on: Humans, Identity, Linguistics, and Biogeography, History and Cartographic-Marking (Mapping), etc.<sup>19</sup>

## People

For this reason, Roger M. Keesing besides as given in pointed above, states: "Where is Melanesia?" What is Melanesia?" then, "Who is Melanesia?" It is very valuable to start a volume on what is called Melanesia by asking what is the meaning we have said in this subject and why. It's a pity, that, the answer is very simple, but by describing it, it can provide an initial distant orientation.

Further said, the term 'Melanesia' or 'black islands' or in this case 'islands inhabited by black people' as we have known and understood have been with us since the French sailor Dumont d'Urville introduced this, in 1832. This term was later gained meaning in anthropology and linguistics about two centuries ago.

'Melanesia' as a noun or nominal is a geographical term, which refers to an area with the ends of doubt. Furthermore, the term 'Melanesia' as adverb or adjective (Melanesia) as in the Melanesian countries, Melanesian cultures, Melanesian languages and as nominal (nouns) also to contrast Melanesia with Polynesia, Micronesia, including Indonesia and others, is historically very interesting and various other aspects make it very complex.

The existence of 'Melanesia' words or terms as adjective and nominal has been used in both limited and broad image. In its limited image this term has its place in the past two centuries in

<sup>19</sup> R.J. May and Hank Nelson, *Melanesia: Beyond Diversity*, eds, (1982), contain a set of knowledge about cartographic boundaries in various working papers offered by each consisting of an anthropologist, linguist, biogeography and prehistoric expert to fix the so-called Melanesia.

the designation of anthropology and linguistics in contrasting it with 'Papua'. 'Melanesia' imagery refers to language and people or humans especially on the islands of the New Guinea (PNG and the Land of Papua), crossing the eastern zone as far as the Fiji islands and New Caledonia. Melanesian residents use languages that are relatively similar to Indonesia far west and Polynesia in the east as according to the understanding of philology (for example, [Codrington, 1887](#)).

But the languages of Melanesians are different (with what was said before), and between themselves are different. Apart from people who use Melanesian languages, they are black and have curly hair, not as or not the same as Indonesians or Polynesians.

Their culture is different, recorded in certain ceremonies, in terms of economics, social organizations, and in religious focuses on spirits (invisible world and death).

In the image of Melanesian languages and cultures according to Von Hendy Andrew ([2001](#)), we will be carried back in two centuries; they are Fiji, part of the Bank Islands, New Caledonia and New Hebrides (Vanuatu now), southwest of Solomons, some island of the New Guinea, and in the Torres Strait. Knowledge of them came from the pioneers of educated missionaries, recorded Codrington & Leenhardt, ([1887](#)), educated government employees, and pioneers of social anthropology, a.o. Rivers and Haddon, 1906.

## Identity

Papuans with Melanesian are contrasting inhabitants in this case the New Guinea subcontinent (and the surrounding islands in the west which were known since the beginning of the era of spice trade from Dutch sources). Very little is the knowledge of 'Papuans', other than they seem to be different (in the eyes of Europeans) as more 'primitive' physically and culturally, and speak of the value of language not related to one another as also different from Indonesia, Polynesia and Micronesia.

Another broad usage is 'Melanesia' has been referred to all people with dark (black) skin, curly hair in Oceania (different from the Origin Australians), thus the Papuans are integrated in Melanesia.

In imagery, this term can be used to refer to people or residents, and (somewhat inappropriate) also for culture (s) and language (s).

All Melanesians, in the image ("hidden structure"), from the point of view of Europeans imprinted 'primitive', physically and culturally directly compared, for example, Melanesia are those who lack a centralized political system, do not develop hierarchical systems, are not priestly and faith, and other lengthy descriptions of the days of sailor and explorer James Cook (1728-1779) in the sense that they are marked as different from Polynesia, Micronesia and Indonesia (Collingridge, 2003).

To 'Melanesia' from an outside perspective, there appears to be suspicion, hostility, war that destroys each other and drives toward dark acts and cannibalism. With the exception of some Fijians who for this reason were accepted, both by British imagination in the award (and deserve to feel not as comfortably categorized as Melanesia in category'), they had no respect for hierarchical position, which is hereditary or not sanctified by the nature of divinity.

There are valuable points to be noted about the use of the term 'Melanesia' which is negative and positive. The negative are, namely cases when compared to Micronesia and Polynesia and even Indonesia.

Melanesian languages are Malayo-Polynesian now called Austronesian languages which are not Micronesia, neither Polynesian nor Indonesian. In connection with this, Melanesian cultures in a limited image are those who speak or are speakers of Melanesian languages (which are Papua and Austronesian-Melanesian).

Even more negatively, is the term 'Papua' which is linguistically and culturally is the last remaining category, dark-skinned which is 'primitive' whose language and culture have not even had kinship relations with those of Micronesia, Polynesia or Indonesia.

This behaviour suggests infiltrating the further theme, which leads to racism. The term 'Melanesia' thus, which is also a pity, inherits the notion of racism towards dark skin, namely slaves brought from Africa to the Pacific, associated with primitivism, black barbarity and mumbo jumbo (meaningless ceremony). For this reason, in the era before the Second World War there was the

term "Papua Noko-Noko" (Papua uncivilized), the discussion data with Ir. Frans Wospakrik, Deputy Chairperson of the 2003 MRP. This term is used by Indo (half blood Malay-Europe) people and employees descent of Indonesia to mark the Papuans like that.

Melanesians and more specifically Papuans, who are stereotyped who cannot count past five - as targets of Europeans and even Indonesian descendants of despise friendliness, and project ideas about cannibalism and ceremonies of savagery.

It can be said to be synonymous with the term "ideng" of Sundanese or "ireng" of Javanese as a cynicism that is often overrated by Papuan students in the study cities of Bandung, Yogyakarta, Solo, Surabaya and others.

If Micronesian and Polynesian people practice cannibalism or human sacrifice, the Europeans consider all as natural in terms of defending of their 'noble race', whereas if Melanesians practice cannibalism, it is said to be a natural expression of savagery.

This racism is totally unconscious and so worrying because it can also influence Pacific scholars. However, scholars also found that the negative overlaps of 'Melanesia' and 'Papua' were no less implying a complicated reality. The more complicated and many attract the interest of scientists.

This coarse appearance therefore serves as a substitute for the initial overlap to be introduced further.<sup>20</sup> So then, what is 'Melanesia'? In broad terms, and loose, geographical imagery (as in the title: *Melanesian beyond Diversity*), this will still be useful, so this is not seriously suggested, because the term Melanesia is dubious in certain cases relating and including 'Melanesia' will again serve our understanding (May, & Nelson, 1982).

In special relations, political, historical or anthropological discourses can be used so that they may cover the entire island of New Guinea (and including the western islands) or exclude

<sup>20</sup> Flassy (2009), that, in the new world 'Melanesia' and 'Papua' become pride and identity. In the Papuan Political Manifesto of October 19, 1961, the leaders of the Papuan tribes ("Papua Volken") position themselves as: Our Nation's Name "Papuan Nation" and Our Country Name "West Papua", without hesitation. Precisely pride is lasting, encouraging Indonesia to revoke the engineering term of West Irian Barat/Jaya as of January 1st, 2000.

Western Papua (which was once called Irian Barat/Jaya) but still not successful because it will be confronted by *melanoid-negrito* ethnic groups scattered in Southeast Asia, especially in Insulander (Nusantara).

We can also use it by including the islands in the Torres Strait in anthropological discourse, and issuing them refers to the countries that are now. The term 'Melanesia' can also be used to enter, or exclude, Fiji, which is mostly Polynesian. This conceptual has many meanings, troublesome as understood by anyone who imagines it.

In the scientific category it can or should be able to neatly describe it, which in view cannot be divorced from the essence as a way of life for humans (including academics and also politicians and national fighters) who use it in discussion or whatever they want.

Some of the specific exceptions are that of Melanesia, as the south-western zone of the Pacific Ocean between islands in the northwest Pacific and between islands in Southeast Asia and Polynesia, and Micronesia with blurred edges.

Melanesia as a conceptual category with the edge of obscurity, will be proved by doubt as an understanding that moves from context to context on sheets of academic paper as well as other, next and subsequent interests.

## Linguistic Views

From a linguistic perspective<sup>21</sup> by referring to S.A.Wurm (1982) can be further described below.

Melanesia is within the reach and limits of linguistics with regard to various linguistic features. The limitations on Melanesia are not very clearly visible, but it can be possible to delineate at least the linguistic border of the Melanesian region which indeed is very blurred in the west (Indonesia) and also more or less north (Micronesia).

<sup>21</sup> Language as a spirit of culture has been understood since Herder and Hegel, in this case the role played in producing each unique spirit of culture.

In terms of linguistics, he continued, Melanesia indicated two types of languages, namely Papua or non-Austronesian and Austronesian. In terms of numbers, each is seen apart from the number of languages also seen from the number of speakers, so the dominating one is the Papuan languages. There are at least 15,000 languages here. For the island of New Guinea alone there are approximately 1,000 languages (750 in Papua New Guinea and 250 in West Papua), but only around 400 Austronesian languages. The number of speakers of languages characterized by Papua is more than 2.9 million, while speakers of Austronesian languages are only 1.2 million with Fiji (an) and a number of Austronesian regions in the far west of Melanesia. Counting approximately one third of speakers of Austronesian languages is in Melanesia.

It was stated that the Papuan languages counted into Melanesia were on average *par excellence* (recognized). Only in the most south-western horizon and the western border area which is not clear in language, covers the Melanesian region around Timor, Alor and Pantar. Their languages overlap to some extent into areas belonging to Austronesian languages. These languages are not really counted as Austronesian languages in Melanesia, but language settings which to some extent are responded to between Austronesian-Indonesian and Austronesian-Melanesian languages. There is always the possibility of some unknown Papuan languages either on the island of New Guinea or farther west - which are rumoured to be foreign languages that occupy the west in the Lesser Sunda Islands but are not clearly mentioned.

However, Papuan linguistics seems to influence, because of its presence in the region. The southern borders of Melanesia in relation to the Papuan languages are rather good and clearly visible *vis-à-vis* (reciprocity) with Australian languages, although the interplay between the two types of languages across the Torres Strait appears to present clarity.

An Australian language, Mubuiag, spoken on the west of the Torres Strait islands, shows a strong influence on the basic vocabulary and phonology of certain Papuan languages, as well as the Miriam language used at east of the Torres Strait islands. That there is a possibility that speakers on the islands west of the Torres Strait, which show that the racial power of Papua is very strong in

its influence, may have been the speakers of a Papuan language and have taken over an Australian language.

In the north and east, there is no potential overlap between the Papuan languages to the outside of the Melanesian region<sup>22</sup>. The question arises, whether the Austronesian-Melanesian languages have something peculiar to Melanesian regulations. In the middle east of the Austronesian world, the Polynesian languages clearly formed groups and which originated from other Austronesian languages through a number of special characteristics. The same can be said to a certain extent the majority of Austronesian-Micronesia languages which are truly deviant from habits and which not only not seen as including the Oceanic languages of the Austronesian languages. Not heeding these languages, Micronesia as a group of languages is separated to some extent from the Austronesian-Melanesian languages, because it states most of the features that are different from those mentioned recently.<sup>23</sup>

In contrast to these two groups of languages, Melanesian Austronesian languages did not form a single language group, so they were merely a priori, only possible on a geographical basis when speaking of the Austronesian languages (in the sense, intended, in Melanesia). In certain cases, especially relating to the lexical level (words, dictionaries), the differences between individual groups of Austronesian languages in Melanesia are sometimes greater than such differences between individual Austronesian language groups in Melanesia and Austronesian languages outside Melanesia.

<sup>22</sup>Wright, & Jacobsen, (2013), "Further radiocarbon dates from Dabangay, a mid- to late Holocene settlement site in western Torres Strait", *Australian Archaeology Association* 76:79–83, dan, McNiven, & Bedingfield, (2008), "Past and present marine mammal hunting rates and abundances: dugong (Dugong dugon) evidence from Dabangai bone mound, Torres Strait", *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35: 505–15.

<sup>23</sup>Ray, S.H. (1896). "The common origin of the Oceanic languages". *Journal of the Polynesian Society*: 58–68. [Retrieved from]. Lynch, John; Malcolm Ross; Terry Crowley (2002). *The Oceanic languages*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon. [Retrieved from]; and Ross, Malcolm and Åshild Næss, 2007, "An Oceanic Origin for Äiwoo, the Language of the Reefslands?". *Oceanic Linguistics* 46: 456–498 [Retrieved from].



However, there are clear and tangible boundaries for Polynesian languages in regions where the languages are bordered by Austronesian-Melanesian languages, occur less clearly in Micronesia languages as the final border line, and natural differences in Austronesian languages - Indonesia to the west, the geographical border region west of Melanesia, allows linkages with the Melanesian Austronesian languages, in this case, call negative definition, as something different about Austronesian languages.

At the same time, there are some structural features that are typical of Austronesian-Melanesian languages. In general, the differences are in sharp contrast to the languages of other Austronesian groups (Micronesia, Polynesia, Indonesia). While the distribution limit is very special and so blurry and so thin in some regions, especially to the west.

As a non-linguistic factor, it might be interesting to mention that, speakers of Austronesian languages that are Melanesian in general are melanids (melanoid = black race), let's say many are black or dark-skinned, different from speakers of Austronesian languages (non-Melanesia), although the manifestation boundary to the west is very vague and also between Melanesia who is not black.

Group depictions in Austronesian languages are generally based on the findings of comparative linguistics (language comparison) which mainly takes into account most of the criteria relating to phonology, namely the *features of sound structure*.

In the meantime, Blust (1978) states that Austronesian languages in the south of Halmahera and north-western Papua show a transitional form between Indonesian-Austronesian languages and Oceania-Austronesian languages, and languages in Maluku further show form transition between languages in the south of Halmahera and the North of the Land of Papua with Indonesian-Austronesian languages further west.

This achievement continued Blust, was a blur, the border of the transition of the Austronesian Melanesian languages to the west. On the basis of phonology, there are clear boundaries in the east between Austronesian-Melanesian languages and those including Polynesia. In Polynesian languages, certain consonants which are

separated in Austronesian-Melanesian languages, are marked together into Austronesian-Melanesian languages and become opposition (differentiator) between words (as in English 'back' and 'pack') fused in / p / in Polynesian languages. At this level, even though Austronesian-Micronesia languages differ from most Austronesian-Melanesian languages through certain phenomena in sound structure, especially through extensive descriptions of vowels. While to the south of the Austronesian-Melanesian languages, there are no other Austronesian languages features.

Between the Austronesian-Melanesian languages and other Austronesian languages, the boundary line is not clearly true. For example, the Fijian language shows more large exchange of lexical items with Austronesian-Polynesian languages than with a number of Austronesian-Melanesian languages. Although are phonologically and structurally, Fiji is closer to Austronesian-Melanesian languages than with Austronesian-Polynesian languages and Austronesian-Micronesia. In terms of determining the blurred border area between Austronesian-Melanesian and Austronesian-Indonesian languages, it is only at the level of idiosyncratic language structure except regions heading west Melanesia.

The boundary between the Austronesian-Melanesian languages and other Austronesian languages is relatively well illustrated and at the same time, the Melanesian-Austronesian languages can be seen as small levels, only units vis-à-vis other Austronesian languages.

The statement of the form of possessiveness of Austronesian-Melanesian languages according to Margaret Jolly, *et al.* (1997) is a distinctive special form. The form of noun divided into one group of nouns indicates an intimate ownership relationship expressed by the end of possessive, and the other group signifies ownership relations are rarely stated by affixing suffix help words regarding ownership (possessives).

Usually there are two, sometimes several, separate words in this case, one signifies public property and the other in food (with a few additional categories of links as examples for drinking, etc.). In Austronesian-Indonesian languages, the possessives system is different except in the Melanesian border region in terms of system

similarity to something that only explains where it was found. Passivity in Austronesian-Polynesian languages is based on different principles, whereas for Austronesian-Micronesia languages are basically similar to those found in Austronesian-Melanesian languages. However, the categories that are characterized by auxiliary words are more than those usually found in Austronesian-Melanesian languages.

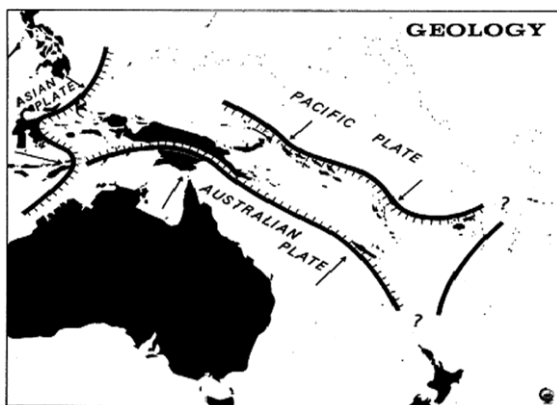
In some respects, Austronesian-Melanesian languages, in the Southeast, specifically the signification of possessives are very complex to a certain extent from systems which are usually found in Austronesian-Melanesian languages.

Some of the other features of the structure exchanged between a large numbers of Austronesian languages can be observed, although the distribution boundary in such an aspect is unclear and whose appearance can only explain the tendency towards Micronesia is specifically difficult also in this spirit.

As a summary, there is *assuming reserves* and there are *loosely possible* in this case languages between the Melanesian languages and the area around the boundary, which are very blurred border lines and not sure.

## Marking of Biogeography

From the discipline of biogeography, Donald Walker (1982) describes the followings:



*Map of Biogeography of Melanesia*

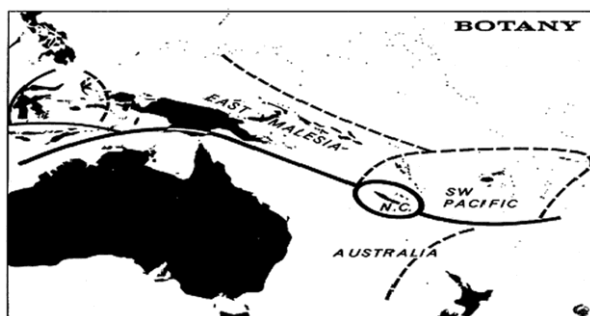
## *Geology*

Melanesian islands are located randomly along the boundary line between the Australian and Pacific crustal plates. Arranged from throwing up materials as a result of seduction from one edge of the plate to the coincidental plate, or from continental fragments floating into this area and modified by tectonic movements in it. To the north and northwest a large cut between the surfaces of the plate also affects the position of the islands as well as the local seabed which lies on this cluster of islands. The mainland of New Guinea (Papua) is formed from fractional arches originating from the Australian continent expanded by mountain buildings as seen in the current location and resulting in collection and stockpiling that meets large lowlands with eroded material from these highlands.

Westward from West Papua there is the Asian crustal plate after the Pacific plate as well as the Australian plate adjacent to the Indo-Malaysian Islands basin which can be analyzed and compared to the presence of the Melanesian Islands on it. Perhaps it would be good, if somewhat arbitrary, the northwestern boundary should be described as limiting the contribution of Australian fragments to the islands, including Timor cutting into Sulawesi according to some geological reconstruction.

The main guide to the size of the basic spatial layout of rocks and islands, at least just woke up around or at the peak of older rocks in the hot sea.

## *Botany*



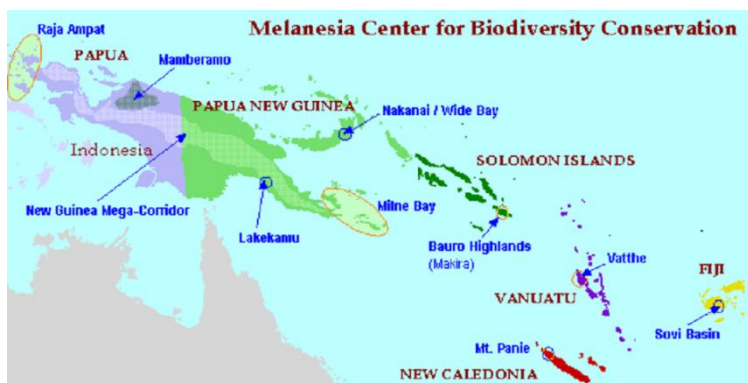
*Map of Melanesian Botanical Areas*

On the basis of similarities and differences in plants at the genera level, classification according to Balgooy (1971, Plant-geography of the Pacific) can be seen below

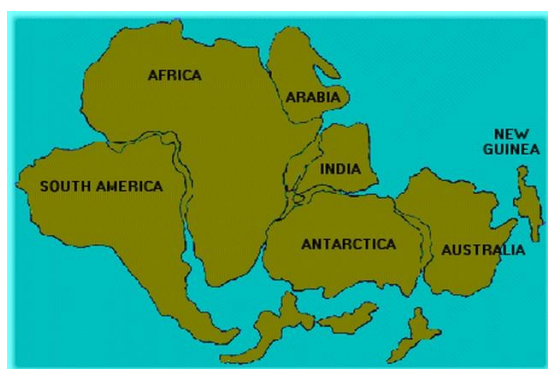
Regio	Provinces	Subprovince
Indomelanesia	Melanesia	East, Laesian Southwest Pacific
New Caledonia Chatham etc. Lord Howe Norfolk Rapa Easter	New Zealand	New Zealand+ Kermadec

Melanesia thus covers the floristic region of the New Caledonia region (including Pinen and Loyalty Islands) and the East Melanesian and Southwest Pacific provinces with high endemic species. Plant genera in the trees of this region have the following genera relationships as described by Balgooy (1971) below:

	Melanesia East	Pacific Southwest	New Caledonia
Genera of cosmopolitan (%)	38	40	34
Genera of ancient world (%)	60	46	40
Genera of Austronesia (%)	<2	<2	8.5
Genera of new world (%)	<1	<1	1
Genera of others (%)	<0	12	16



**Map on Conservation Area of the Melanesian Biodiversity**<sup>24</sup>



**Map of Ancient Continent of Gondwana**

Slightly to the northwest it has a weak border, which is between Kalimantan and Sulawesi but almost simultaneously described equally well in the western part of New Guinea (Papua); Nusa Tenggara and Timor outside the area. The marked Melanesian flora is basically one of the same cosmopolitan genera as the broad Asian component to the southwest.

Some islands with the ancient fragments of the ancient continent of Gondwana (for example New Caledonia, New

<sup>24</sup> It would be strange, why the Lorentz Park is not included in the conservation area, is it because gold mines stations here that can enormous pollute the natural environment and destroy the human being lives?

Guinea) have significant elements originating from the ancient continent and taking place generally as with parts of the Australian region.

Flora sizes (in this case the number of species) on the islands are also very strongly influenced by the size and distance of the island from its neighbours, especially those with richer biota.

## ***Zoology***

The boundary line between Australia and Oriental Realms (Eastern order) is a limitation of the south-western border of Melanesia, in which there are Papua and Polynesia as part of the Eastern Order (including all Melanesia) in terms of the animal world (fauna) predominantly related to those from Asia Southeast by considering local speciation.

The fauna of certain islands is increasing and spread in distance from Southeast Asia and New Guinea. As is the case with plants, the number of different animals on an island is coupled with their size and isolation. The western boundary has traditionally been described by the 'Wallace Line' but still expresses the definition of excessive simplification of a region that is very clear changes in fauna between western Indonesia and Malaysia on the one side, and New Guinea and the south and another south side.

There are also significant breakthroughs or disturbances from the continent of Australia to the subcontinent of New Guinea, and a small area of New Caledonia. In addition, there is no northeast boundary that is well illustrated between Melanesia and the rest of the eastern order but it is observed that there is an American continental influence, as felt in Hawaii, although it is not too prominent and important in Melanesia.

From this explanation, it can be concluded that Melanesian geology can be explained as a chain of islands linked between two crystal plates that move against each other. According to M.N.J. van Balgooy, (1971) it is biologically the strongest regional relationship with Southeast Asia which in the limbs is modified by the effect of island size. So, isolation at the final appearance is due to the effect of human migration as an organism from one to another place.

Meanwhile, it should be noted also, in terms of biogeography it is known, convergent processes formed and the occurrence of the island or sub-continent of Papua. This is marked by the fact that it has passed seven epochs (periods) to become the current form, according to data from Kal Muller (1975), namely:<sup>25</sup>

- 1) Period of Jurassic (-/+ 170–140 million years ago);
- 2) Period of Cretaceous (-/+ 140–63 million years ago);
- 3) Epoch of Eocene (-/+ 53–37 million years ago);
- 4) Epoch of Oligocene (-/+ 37–24 million years ago);
- 5) Epoch of Middle Miocene (-/+ 15 million years ago);
- 6) Epoch of Pliocene (-/+ 5–2 million years ago);
- 7) Epoch of Pleistocene (-/+ 20 thousand years ago);

### ***Movement of History and Cartography***

Meanwhile from the point of view of History and Cartography (Mapping), Jack Golson (1972, "Land Connections, Sea Barriers, and the Relationship of Australian and New Guinea Prehistory") describe the following.

Pre-historical portrayals of Melanesia are similar to those of ethnographers, linguists and physical anthropologists, although there are various difficulties and things that are not right, because of the intention to say the true impossibility of translation against archaeological evidence in the categories used. If propriety is demanded in this case, then what happens is that it is closed to the large size of the results of the geographical characterization of the region by giving a determination to certain characters about existing colonization.

### ***Melanesian Culture and Philosophy***

Would there what is to mean by Melanesian Philosophy? Before answering that question of course, there is another thing that the author needs to straighten out in this connection, namely "Is there a Melanesian identity? There is an opinion and the assumption that

<sup>25</sup>Deliberately raised to find out the process of the occurrence of the bowels of Papua Land which is rich in minerals.



the Melanesian race classification is inaccurate<sup>26</sup> because it ignores the cultural, linguistic, social, and genetic diversity in the region. Not to mention if it covers the context of the country, especially in this case in the west, where most of the regions are not Malay or Indonesian.

Then of course there are various parties arguing that there really isn't a single way of life namely "Melanesian Culture". However, the Papuan-Melanesian philosopher from Papua New Guinea, Bernard Narokobi, denied this debate. He stressed strongly that Melanesia was indeed a cultural unit and or way of life. This can be seen in his work entitled *The Melanesia Way*. That is, Melanesia is a concept, a compound word, a genera based on description (various disciplinary experts). Indeed, as stated above, *Melanesia beyond Diversity* does exist.

### ***Media of Worship***

To support the physical (tangible) and non-physical (intangible) concepts of Melanesian existence, the following are presented in several delivery media:







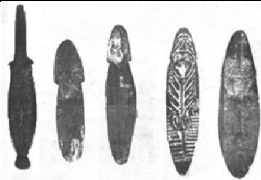








#### **Music**

Music, can be just a distraction or can also be the main concentration. We remember the martyrdom Arnold Ap (Curator for UNCEN Cultural Workshop Museum) from 1970 to 1983 with the Music Group Mambesak who faithfully voiced elegance, satire and complaints through the media of typical Papuan jokes "mob". It tells about the daily life and fate of Papuan people who were harmed by Indonesia through DOM, Laksusda Irian Jaya and other similar Indonesian institutions in Tanah Papua during the RI-New Order.

Music, both original and existing because of the acculturation process, actually plays an important role in answering challenges

<sup>26</sup> Nicholas Thomas, Allen Abramson, Ivan Brady, RC Green, Marshall Sahlins, Rebecca A. Stephenson, Friedrich Valjavec and Ralph Gardner White, *The Force of Ethnology: Origin and Meaning of Melanesia/ Polynesia*, in *Anthropology Event*, 30(1), 27-41.

and religious rituals in the Melanesian archipelago<sup>27</sup>. Next, musical instruments that are often used as in Melanesia.

		
tifa tamtam	flute	triton shell
		
kelambut	embryo	kerembo
		
aung	ginggang	fu
		
assembled flute	digging stick	seka-seka
		
bow and arrow	gong	yukulele

*Picture on Music Instrument in Papua-Melanesia*

<sup>27</sup> In conditions of special mourning for La-Me Paqo, a dance or mass dance of a woman will be held which, although full of joy and laughter, is truly the lament and elegance that appears and is played in the song's metrum and postural movements.

Throughout the islands, the sound of instruments such as (picture above) tifa, bamboo flute, bull-roarer (wind-blowing aum), hair (dimples), embrym (standing mortar), salut (bokor or garuru), biton Triton shell, kerembo (bamboo guitar), fu (Asmat bamboo trumpet), a combination of bows and arrows, even gongs and guitars (ukulele or keroncong) are considered spirit sounds or sounds of other magical beings when heard at certain times and conditions.

At that time, the use of instruments and ornaments in most Melanesian communities was usually limited to men. However, some myths tell how these objects originally belonged to women. Men steal or have it with unfairly and deception.

In Tanah Papua this myth is found in the Meybrat tribes. According to Trientje Kambu/Karet and Teddy Wanane in Flassy (1983) the sign "komean" are heavenly paintings of "wuon" (initiation institution and Medicyneman College) on the body that must be transferred to men. The problem is, women have limited nature such as breasts and menstruation and other weaknesses.

But in the Abrab tribe on Kerom about "holy flutes" according to C.J. de Witte in Flassy (2007: 10-11), indeed it is a male skill. In fact, according to Ina Lefaan, the Lecturer in Literature and Culture at UNCEN in her presentation at the ISBI Papua (2013), was unusual and taboo in the Bomberai and South Bomberai communities when women beat "tifa (drum)". It is also a taboo for women wearing feathers of Cenderawasih bird on their heads.



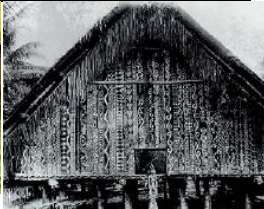


Vocal music throughout Melanesia is used for sit-dance performances (many in the island community), standing and walking (general), or running (waita Lani-Mee Paqo). Hand movements are an important part of many songs, and the most common traditional music is dance music.<sup>28</sup>

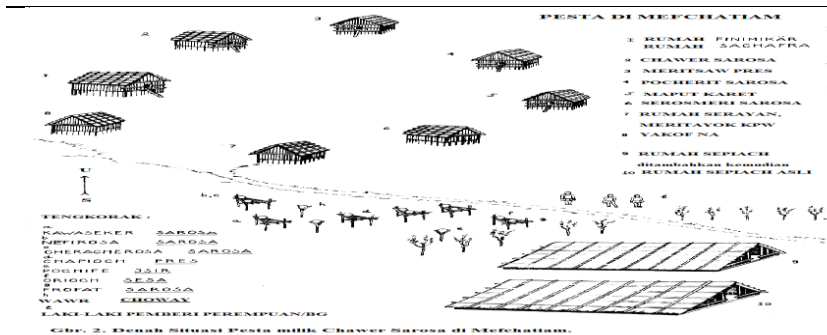
### **Party and House of Worship**

Examples of party and worship houses are in the picture below.

<sup>28</sup>In the Papuan community and also in parts of Eastern Indonesia such as Maluku and Manado, dances "tari" and "dansa" are different nuances. That of "tari" is performed by individuals or groups and there are spectators, while "dansa" is communal involvement (all taking part).

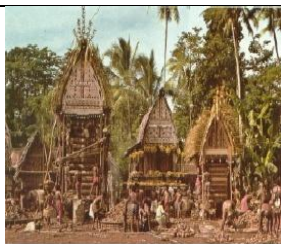
The party is the main media for worship in Melanesia, which is associated with the arrival of *cargo cults*, memorials of the dead, revenge parties and offerings such as *waita* of the La-Mee-Paço community in the Central Highlands, *mbitoro* of the Kamoro community, *mbis* of the Asmat community and *spiaq* and *samu qay* party houses of the Meyprat community, also *korwar* (spirit statues) and *rumsram* (initiation houses) Numfoor-Biak and Dorei Bay communities. There are also profane parties aimed at fun, for example the *sidadik* "victory war party" of the Tehit or *mwasawa* communities, the ritual festival produced by the kumbili garden or *urigubu* (yam) on the island of Trobrian.

		
<b>Centipede (<i>Onethousand feet</i>)</b> of Arfak tribe; supported by many pillars	<b>Rumsram</b> Style of Dorei Bay de Clercq, 1892.	<b>Mnu</b> House of Chief Yamna- Sarmi
		
<b>Kenewa</b> Para-para Ondoafi Conversión Tabadi- Yautafa Bay Wirzs:1890an	<b>Mnu</b> House of Chief Danau Sentani Wirzs:1890an	



*Sepiaq, Location of the Party House and the Skull Bollard at Mafqatian-Ayamaru, John Eric Elmbreg 1956*

*Picture on Houses and Warship Location*



*urigubu container house for yam, kumbili, syafu*



*Group of male dance*



*Group of female dance*

*Picture on Urigubu Festival House and mila-mala dance*

### Consept of *ma'na* and cargo cults

Another close link with spirit beliefs is the concept of *ma'na*, namely magic and sacred. Every spirit or creature (*dema* or *demon*) is considered to have supernatural independent powers. However, everything is interrelated. The characteristics of people and objects and spirits, which in certain cases have *ma'na*, can be beneficial to help or otherwise harmful. Something rare or unusual like a weapon that has killed many animals or big heroes who fight a lot and defeat many enemies is said to have a *ma'na*. Also musical instruments such as sacred tifa (drum), for example according to Hoogerbrugge J, in Flassy (2007: 9, 87) owned by Ondofolo Ayapo,

Lake Sentani, whose *ma'na* is associated with rain, dead people and magical powers.

One characteristic of many Melanesian cultures is *cargo cult*, which is a kind of religious movement created for "identity". This phenomenon called the *cargo cult* was imposed on religious movements in Melanesia to help explain the role of Europeans about the existence of Melanesians in the universe.

It was said, "When the first Europeans arrived, the Melanesians were impressed by the large amount of material goods, or" cargo, "which they carried". Therefore, "the inhabitants of the island believe that the Europeans certainly acquired that wealth through strong magic". So Melanesians gradually developed a *cargo cult* for the same magic knowledge for themselves. This was indeed shown by John Erick Elembreg (1956). However, it is not an element. Because, it only relates to the acquisition of the prosperity of the payment instrument "kain-timur".<sup>29</sup>

The same thing was revealed by Giay & Godshalk (1986: 9, 2: 131-146), and Godschalk (1993, 63, 2: 131-146). Even Kamma (1954) about the "Koreri Movement" as well as many other European experts in terms of Protestant Christianity. However, the author does not accept all of these opinions.

According to the author, *religion* in the realm of *cargo cults* actually has a strong political side: Melanesians emphasize resistance to foreign domination over themselves and their country. Thus, Kamma in his response to the "Koreri Movement" too highlighted the messianic aspect of obtaining a *cargo cult* that was identical to the *infidel*. He did not want to share proportionally that this movement was an identity movement of "komin" (indigenous people = Papuans) anti "amber" (migrants = Dutch,

<sup>29</sup> Many and varied stories, opinions and analyzes of woven fabrics called "kain-timur". In the Bird's Head community, specifically the Speakers of Languages and Cultures of West Papua Phylum (whom not Trans New Guinea Phylum). This type of cloth is the main payment tool related to dowry, fines, obligation to pay for birth and death as well as tools for trading (barter and buying and selling). Regarding local responses as the name and view of this cultural tool means "sacred, fortunate, and not arbitrary", because it is sacred in the Tehit language: "not- (qo) hoq" or in Meybrat: "po" or "bo".



Japanese and Indonesian) aka pro-independence and pro-sovereignty "komin" (native people to Papua). This is actually the *inner-structure*, or *hidden structure*.

In fact, what must be the basis of this movement is the struggle for "self-esteem" which is led by a "konor" who is connoisseur (recipient of light or divine revelation). Here was the Commander of a woman named Angganita Menufandu from Soweik Village West Biak (now Supiori District) approaching, during and after World War II (1940s) in Biak-Manokwari and other parts of Cenderawasih Bay in Papua. Although considered "infidel" because "as a connoisseur", the Commander in Chief was believed to have received divine revelations from "Mansren Manggundi" (God Only or True God) through Manarmakeri as "Mansar (Mr.) Koreri"<sup>30</sup>. This resistance is in fact the same as the 1928<sup>31</sup> War of the Eles in the Teminabuan against the Dutch Company or also the same as those at Tubiseram Fak-Fak in 1900<sup>32</sup>.

Similar movements are the core of *inner-structure* or *hidden structure* that is intrinsically and naturally. It is a real reality that happened and gave effect to the experience of Papuan-Melanesian people in West Papua, from 1949 until early 1962. This had gone through a long nursery process since the arrival of the First Missionary in Mansinam in 1885, with the establishment of *Beschavingschool* (Civilization Education) by I.S. Kijne at Mieiwondama.

<sup>30</sup> According to Niclaas Jouwe (the initiator of the Morning Star flag) that he had more or less integrated the symbols of Koreri (a speech to the author at Deft Netherlands in the late summer of 2010 before his return to the country but by a certain system depressed and restrained in Jakarta).

<sup>31</sup> Don A.L. Flassy, (2002), *Toror: A Name Beyond Language and Culture Fusion*, Jakarta Balai Pustaka: 407-408, The leader Raja Besi Tesia, because of that the Dutch were banished to Ternate, while the followers were imprisoned in Babo, Kokas, even in Nusakumbangan-Central Java. Besi Tesia and the followers at the end of the sentence can return to their homeland.

<sup>32</sup> J.F. Onim, (2010), *Islam dan Kristen di Tanah Papua*, Bandung, Jurnal Info Media: 160-162, The battle was led by Zabir Goab, so he was banished by the Netherlands to South Africa and did not visit the news after that.

Here also, in 1926, in the congregation of churches in New Guinea, the Malay language was designated as the language of evangelism and education. Malay then also became the language of government administration. In 1940 J.P.K. van Echoud founded the Inheemsche Bestuur Opleiding (School of Indigenous Civil Service) in Kota Nica-Hollandia. Then J.P. Plateel founded the Papua Vrijwilligers Corps/PVK (Military School) in Arfai-Manokwari, in 1961. This fact received confirmation from Sudjarwo Tjondronegoro (1969) and Bernarda Metery (2012: 22, even, General Nasution (van Bruggen, 2011: 257).

### Edenic

Understanding the term "edenic" which Timmer (1997) introduced about *mesianist* and *cargoes*, it turns out that it was interpreted as an embodiment of the Letter of Matthew, chapter 6 verse 10: "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as in heaven ..." and Revelation 21: 1-3: "The New Jerusalem "is the place of the tabernacle of God ...",<sup>33</sup>. It also relates to the epoch of Eden 'the paradise' (the period of the 'paradise' of the Garden of Eden) or it is called edenic.

The edenary period experienced by Papuans was in the years of seeding and growth as stated (Meteray 2011/12 and van Burgen 2011) above through various phases until ending in 1963. The periods that most Papuans think are in Dutch : edensche period; English: eden cal period or edenic period, namely periods of abundance and peace "in the era of Eden". The period has been limited or lost interspersed and on the contrary it has proceeded to become a general situation of structural poverty equality and

<sup>33</sup> Matthew 6: 10-11: Part of Our Lord's Prayer; and Revelation 21: 1-3: Then I saw the new heaven and the new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth had passed, and the sea was gone. And I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, descending from heaven, from God, which was decorated like a bride who dressed for her husband. Then I heard a loud voice from the throne saying: "Behold, the tabernacle of God is in the midst of men and He will dwell with them. They will be His people and He will be their God." Papuans in various ways, established Jesus as the God of the Papuan people.



absolute poverty, which is a condition as stated by Geertz (1973, 1983, 1995, 2000). agricultural involvement that has been experienced so far, since the "eden" was lost towards 1969.

During the Eden period, there was only happiness and peace. Whereas after the edict period after 1963 and 1969 there was a period of insecurity even though there was a change but it was very small and completely unprofitable for the Papuan-Melanesian people", according to its messianic ideology.

## Closing Remark

Papua is not only a plural form of Papua-Melanesian in the mix, but also a summary of *Papua Volken* (ethnic groups and inhabitants in Nieuw Guinea). It is a universality of autonomous prominent aspects which are interrelated in hidden structures. It is also formed a mosaic of circular synergies to give each other estuaries for mutual interest in the principles of love, loyalty, and honest sustainability in the spirit of one nation, one soul and one solidarity.

Then, what is the relation between Papua and Indonesia? Papua-Indonesia is the extra work of all parties giving a balanced space to match *cohesivism* (cohesiveness) to be productive and beneficial for both parties, Indonesia and Papua. Naturally, if we are required to understand the concept of culture in Papua-Melanesia, namely: interrelated strongly, although not clearly visible. The problem is that appears mosaic and is summed up in reason and nuance.

# 2 Manage Papua-Melanesia with the right platform

## Introduction

Most people know that the influence of the NKRI on the Papuan-Melanesian community is very strong. However, the influence is actually not natural, but forced. As a result, awareness of diversity is gone. In this connection, it is necessary to question the meaning of "federation" and "unitary".

Epistemologically, "federalism" and "unitary" are contradicted as gaps that have the potential to spark the estrangement of cohesiveness (attraction to interests because they are indeed not compounds) which are increasingly gaping. To bring understanding closer, the following is a description of each, as well as aspects that establish its existence.

## Federalism

Federalism is a political concept in which a group of members is bound together through an agreement (Latin: *foedus* = agreement) with the head of the government representative. The term "federalism" is also used to describe a system of government where sovereignty is constitutionally divided between the central

government and the government of constituent political units (in this case territory, province or state).

Thus, federalism is a system based on democratic rules and institutions where governing power is divided between the central government and territorial, provincial or state governments, creating what is called the federation system.

Etymologically as shown above, the federalist term comes from Latin, developed from *foedus* "agreement" to *foederatio* meaning alliance, bond, pact, agreement, or *foedus derivative*, processed, agreement, pact, convention, special agreement, union, and so on [Retrieved from].

Federalism is an organizational structure in which each member has broad autonomy and delegates some of its power to a central or federal institution. Collective and non-individual members participate in decisions. Federalism applies both to declaring that groups or associations (such as trade unions, political parties, sports, also culture in the sense of cultural divisions, partial or special).

In the case of States, legislative, legal and administrative skills are shared between the federal government and the state or federation government. Examples: United States, Federal Republic Germany, Swiss Confederation, Russia, Belgium, India, Malaysia and others.

If Montesquieu<sup>34</sup> saw in the ancient Greek cities were formed in federation that appeared in 1291 as the first modern form of

<sup>34</sup>Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brede et de Montesquieu (/ mɒntiskju: /; Perancis: [mɔteskjø]; 18 January 1689 - 10 February 1755), generally only called Montesquieu, was a French lawyer, writer, and political philosopher who lived in the Age of Enlightenment. He is famous for his articulation of the theory of separation of powers, which is implemented in many constitutions throughout the world. He did more than other writers to secure a place for the word *despotism* in the political lexicon and had been partially responsible for popularizing the term *feudalism* since the days of the Byzantine Empire (Eastern Rome). Montesquieu gave birth to Trias Politica in the form of separation of powers from 3 different institutions, namely the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. Thus, the concept of Trias Politica which is referred to by many countries in the world today is a concept that originates from this French thinker. However, the Trias Politika concept continues to

federalism at that time. Here, were several cantons in Switzerland who had signed defense pacts, from the Swiss Confederation (Encyclopaedia Britannica: 1280).

Regarding the division of public bodies, John Locke (2005, the Journal of Organizational Behavior: 21) emerged with the separation of state power in three fields, respectively: (1) Power in the legislative field, namely the power to make laws. (2) Power in the executive field, namely power in implementing the Law. (3) Power in the federal field, namely power in conducting foreign relations.

Meanwhile the "Hamiltonian"<sup>35</sup> says federalism is limited to the theory of the federal state. Full or global Federalism is political philosophy (Alexandre Marc and Eddy Onix), inspired by the writings of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, trade unions and revolutionary social Christianity. This is based on subsidiarity, autonomy, participation and cooperation. By challenging the nation-state, thus opposing Jacobinism and nationalism.

Thus federalism aims at global world governance or world government, which operates in accordance with the principles of federalistic interests (respecting certain special and special rights). For Papua Melanesia this is called liberal-democracy (see Posposil,1958).

## Federalism and Unitary in Indonesia

Try Sutrisno, the Former Vice President of NKRI (2015, 18 May 2015, 07:01 WIB, [Retrieved from] reminding the government system in Indonesia should not be a parliamentary or presidential

experience competition with other concepts of power such as Dynasty Power (Saudi Arabia), Wilayatul Faqih (Iran), Diktatur Proletariat (North Korea, China, Cuba).

<sup>35</sup>In quantum mechanics, the Hamiltonian is an operator according to the total energy of the system. This is usually denoted by  $H$ , also  $\hat{H}$  or  $h$ . The spectrum is a set of possible outcomes when one measures the total energy of the system. Because of the close relationship with the time-evolution of the system, it is of fundamental importance in most quantum theory formulations. (R. Resnick, R. Eisberg, John Wiley & Sons, (1985), *Quantum Physics of Atoms, Molecules, Solids, Nuclei and Particles* (2nd Edition).

system. The system of government in Indonesia, he said, is the system of the People's Consultative Assembly (according to the Fourth Principle of Panca Sila):

"Waktu negara ini akan membentuk suatu sistem pemerintahan negara, Bung Karno mengingatkan jangan mengambil yang ada di luar, Presidensial seperti di AS, atau parlementer seperti Eropa, Inggris. Para bapak pendiri bangsa menegaskan sistem pemerintahan khas Indonesia. "Kalau konsisten, sistem dikaji, menjadi sistem MPR (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat). Tidak perlu meniru total sistem pemerintahan di luar negeri. Indonesia bukanlah sistem pemerintahan federal seperti di Amerika Serikat, sehingga tidak mengenal senator. Kita tidak mengenal senator DPD, itu negara bagian di Amerika, kita tidak ada, kita negara kesatuan. Karena itu yang kita kenal utusan daerah. Gampang, ganti dewan dengan utusan daerah (When this country will form a system of state governance, Bung Karno warns not to take what is outside, Presidential like in the US, or parliamentary like Europe, England. The founding fathers of the nation emphasize a typical Indonesian government system." became the system of the MPR (People's Consultative Assembly). No need to copy the total system of government abroad. Indonesia is not a federal government system like in the United States, so it doesn't know the senator. We don't know DPD senators, it's a state in America, we don't exist, we are a unitary state. Because that is what we know about regional delegates. Easy, replace the board with regional delegates)".

Other than that, Kaskuser (16-04-2011, Post: 394, *[FREE] QUO VADIS INDONESIA, FEDERASI ATAU NEGARA KESATUAN?*, [\[Retrieved from\]](#) spread out:

Indonesia adalah negara yang sangat unik. Salah satu keunikannya adalah terletak pada keragaman entitas budaya yang eksis. Keragaman tersebut telah tumbuh sekian lama dan beberapa telah mencapai bentuknya yang sangat baik. Budaya tersebut mewujudkan menjadi lembaga negara monarki bernama Kerajaan. Indonesia tempo dulu adalah sebuah kawasan yang dipenuhi kerajaan-kerajaan. Mereka independen dan mandiri. Mereka produktif dan cerdas. Mereka belajar dari mana saja, Timur Tengah (filsafat dan agama), Eropa (militer dan pertahanan-keamanan), Cina (perdagangan dan produktifitas) dan

mereka juga memadukan ilmu-ilmu dari luar tersebut dengan filsafat dan kearifan-kearifan hasil menggali dari tanah sendiri. Mereka adalah masyarakat yang sarat identitas dan berkarakter. (Indonesia is a very unique country. One of its uniqueness lies in the diversity of existing cultural entities. This diversity has grown so long and some have achieved very good shape. The culture manifested itself into a monarchical state institution called the Kingdom. Indonesia in the past was an area filled with kingdoms. They are independent and sovereign. They are productive and intelligent. They learn from everywhere, the Middle East (philosophy and religion), Europe (military and security defense), China (trade and productivity) and they also integrate these external sciences with philosophy and the wisdom of digging from the land itself. They are a society full of identity and character)

But it is also said that imperialist politics destroys all the structures they have built. Ones upon a time, Indonesia was formed which was based on the similarity of the suffering of the kingdoms. Nobles, educated people, religious leaders and intellectuals met at one point, rejecting imperialism. From that point on, came the idea of Indonesia that united all community entities under one banner of nationalism.

Indonesia then began its life as a new nation. Like an unborn baby, the dynamics that occur dwell on the problem of building identity. The debate is long and still continues to this day, how the diversity of Indonesian culture can be united without reducing local wisdom that becomes a valuable inheritance from past kingdoms, how to create justice in all areas of life.

The country of Indonesia was born and grew up to now in the system of government of the Unitary state with the breath of the Republic has been going on for more than 7 decades. But instead of creating unity and protecting all nations, it is precisely the conflict between ethnicities and religions that is still a daily news menu in the country of Indonesia and an understanding of the world. The root is nothing but not empty and is caused by injustice. The unitary state failed to create equality. Regional disparity is felt. This, if left unchecked, can create disintegration which has the potential to make Indonesian names at a time of memory and historical records.

To prevent this possibility from happening, it is very appropriate to glance at the concept of a federal state which indeed has been firmly rooted in the archipelago. The concept of unity which has been used so far should be evaluated. And indeed if these wanting to do an Archipelago History study, the culture here is really a federation culture. In ancient times the great royal countries applied the federation system to the small kingdoms they controlled. And they prosper with it. Federation or designation with other terms, once again basically has become a Nusantara Culture.

Then there was a compromise between the concept of a federal state and the concept of a unitary state which gave birth to the concept of regional autonomy. But regional autonomy has only become a federation that is meaningless because it is indecisive and the most still and again are constantly disturbed by various interests from the central authorities. That fact makes the existing autonomy shy, responsibility, stunted and not right to its target.

For this reason, it is necessary to rethink the concept of the Indonesian nation, no longer need to endure regional autonomy that is as meaningless and functioning as a place to be, but rather, returning to the Nusantara system which has always been a federal character.

This step must be taken because the autonomy system in its time must be answered in relation to its political status, especially in this case Aceh, Yogyakarta, Jakarta, Papua which have officially existed but also in facing the demands of United Dayak, Maluku, Minahasa, Andalas-Malay, Riau-Malay, etc. The most recently (since 2014-2016) is, the reality of the Melanesian (6 Provinces) dichotomy versus Malays on the initiative of regionalism which flourished in the Pacific (MSG and PIF).

After all, after regional autonomy was unable to answer the complexity of the needs of the government and accommodate all the people in the nation, a federal system is hard to be applied in Indonesia.

Why federal? Federal or federation is a form of government in which several states or territories work together and form a unit called a federal state. Each state has some special autonomy and the central government regulates several functions that are

considered national. In a federation each state usually has high autonomy and can govern the government quite freely. This is different from a unitary state, which usually only exists at the provincial level because it does not reach the district level and has more downward affairs.

Federalism according to Abdurrahman Supardi Usman (2013, Indonesia dan Federalisme is: [\[Retrieved from\]](#)

*Translated by the author as:*

An ideology that wants great power is given to the part of the country (called the state) to take care of and regulate themselves. This ideology wants the power of the central government (called the federal government) which is relatively small because it only works on a number of important tasks such as foreign relations, defence and security, finance and monetary affairs, as well as law / justice. Federalism produces federal or union states. Federal states are more suitable to be used by a heterogeneous (plural) nation socially and culturally. Cultural, social, religious diversity, the level of development of society, and geographical and geological conditions give birth to different interests. The federal state seems to be better able to accommodate the interests of the regions so that they can be more developed in accordance with their potential and capabilities.

Indonesia's geographical and geological conditions which have challenges in integration between regions are very much in accordance with the conception of the federal state. With the birth of independence from each region (state), the existence of the people of the nation will be even stronger. Independence is not only from the dimension of plurality of law, education and administration, but also based on strategic economic independence that can potentially be achieved by each region (state).

With this, the clichéd irony of the degraded area and the golden child area will be extradited by equal opportunities to determine the fate and future of each region.

But even so, it is true that the complexity of the system built will not mean without the integrity and loyalty of the actors in it. Nonetheless, the power needed is limited to investigating and reconstructing any personal regulator or holder of power to slam the steering wheel. As much as possible and the most logical thing



can be done and indeed needed is to renew the operating system from the super complex work device called the Indonesian Federal State of Indonesia (1949) which has been Unitarised (1950).

The most recent developments in Indonesia are that even though they are in the form of a unitary state (Unitary), four regions have been given special autonomy status and privileges in the provincial format, namely Aceh, Jakarta, Yogyakarta and Papua (Papua and West Papua). These regions are given special status based on special autonomy constitutional law and the Regional Privileges Law with each having their own laws, qanums and regulations (perda, perdasi and perdasus) in special autonomy including forming the New OTSUS Province which is sheltered in it is accompanied by a complete legislative assembly of the Provincial Representative and the Provincial People's Assembly.

Aceh Province applies Sharia law relating to traditional culture that breathes Acehnese Islam whose government system uses a unitary system. In addition, Aceh is also given the rights to the participation of provincial parties unlike other provinces, so it is logical that Aceh's autonomy does not form a new Autonomous Province which includes no Regional People's Assembly.

Jakarta is the Capital of the State, unlike other cities in Indonesia, which is given the second tier of state subdivisions or the same level as a district, by applying the same autonomous power as the state subdivision level

Yogyakarta was given a special status by implementing the involvement of the Yogyakarta Royal Palace and the Pakualaman Duchy. In this case the Sultan of Yogyakarta is responsible according to the rules of the province which takes the same place as the Governor of another Province. Acting as Vice is Duke of Paku Alam. Both ruled as executive leaders of Jogjakarta with a limited legislature (did not have a People's Assembly).

Papua which was formerly West Irian or Irian Jaya was given special status for the implementation of legislative power. In addition to the DPRP (Papuan People's Representative Council), Papua has a separate Legislative Council or Assembly, the MRP (Papuan People's Assembly), which applies legislative power over Papua in the People's Consultative Assembly, the Indonesian House of Representatives. For the conditions and potential and

opportunities of state law contained in Law Number 21 Year 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for the Papua Province, more than one Autonomous Province can be formed in this province so as to enable the existence of a Super Governor or Governor General at the Main Provincial Level to realize an autonomy real -federalism. Even though this is more complex, it is still an opportunity and demand according to the favourable law, namely Law Number 21 Year 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for the Papua Province.

It is indeed recognized by the Papuans that the Special Autonomy for the Papua Province (Papua Province and West Papua Province) is not the same as the Autonomy that the Papuans obtained from the Kingdom of the Netherlands 1949-1970. The autonomy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was regulated by the *Gouvernement van Nederlands Nieuw Guinea* set by *Besluit Bewindsregeling* (Decision on ruling) *Nieuw Guinea* which was announced through *Proclamatie van Nieuw Guinea* December 27, 1949 giving the possibility of Papuanizing starting with Papoeanizing (Papuanization). The autonomy for Papuans is far and not comparable with Papua's Special Autonomy Law-RI Number 21 of 2001, except spending trillions of rupiah but Papua continues to conflict, remains poor, remains ignorant and underdeveloped because of the limited authority delegated to Papua. In a sense it is an immature autonomy compromised between unitarism and federalism by policy actors in Indonesia.

Although it will be rather awkward too, but in fact the form of federalism is the right form applied to Indonesia. It is said to be awkward because it should also be noted that in Sharia law relating to traditional Islamic culture in this case it is the soul and breath of the 1945 Constitution and *Panca Sila* (although there are no longer the 7 Sharia words in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution but have been obeyed in several regions) *qanun* and regional regulations may contradict the choice of unitarists rather than federalists so that federalism will last forever is limited to a discourse, although this premise can be rejected if it is modeled on the experience of a federally Islamic Malaysian State.

## Federalism of Papua

As shown in Chapter II about Melanesia, Papua is a pluralism, therefore federalism is a feature, also because here, there is never diversity in one (Bhineka Tunggal Ika) by emphasizing *tolerance* but moreover diversity in togetherness thus furthering *solidarity*.

For Papua and generally in Melanesia, there are still differences but together in bonding One Nation-One Soul-One Solidarity is raised with Love-Faithful-Honest. These are lately items from Triple Fold Logics Papua-Melanesia which are the content of Trias Melanesian's Brotherhoods and Trias Papua's Conscience.

To support this interest, the Triple Fold as intended above to be extended in the fundamentals or articles of the Constitution, which because the year of manufacture was called *the 1999 Constitution* as material to be appointed and stipulated in the Second Papua National Congress, 29 May-3 June 2000, but failed to materialize including the Declaration of the Transitional Administration which was the main reason for the implementation of the political event in question. But then it can be realized in the KRP-3 from 16 to 19 October 2011.

To support this interest, the Triple Fold as intended above to be extended in the fundamentals or articles of the Constitution, which because the year of manufacture, was called *the 1999 Constitution* as material to be appointed and stipulated in the Second Papua National Congress, 29 May-3 June 2000, but failed to materialize including the Declaration of the Transitional Administration which was the main reason for the implementation of the political event in question. But then it can be realized in the KRP-3 from 16 to 19 October 2011.

Thus, at the level of the Profile and Imaging of the Papuan People, at the time there were 7 Territorial Administrators regulated in the constitution, the Head of State is "Customary" (Bigmen, Theocratics, Kings and Commanders) would be rolled by 7 Territory Administrators of 7 Cultural Areas which is also called the Customary Territory. Whereas the position of Head of Government from the line "Politics" for that should be taken through General Election which is a political arena.

For this reason, at the FRWP according to the 1999 Constitution there were only two parties or alliances namely the Liberal-

Conservative Alliance which would compete with the Moderate Democratic Alliance. As stated in the 1999 Constitution, from the results of the General Elections there will be a Party or Alliance of Government Executives and a Party or the Opposition Alliance that exercises control functions.

## **Kampung or Desa as Locus and Focus**

What is meant by both federalism and unitary, although diverse, will appear to be implemented at the forefront, namely "kampung-village" or "desa-village" which can also be said to be the most basic level.

In this case, the "kampung-village" or "desa-village", or whatever the name is, is a unit of a community group bound by various things within the locus of certain residential boundaries and is regulated by certain togetherness rules that can be understood together. It is a variety of communities, therefore village of this understanding can be also called community as foreexample found in Accra<sup>36</sup>, the Capital City of Ghana,. There are also those which consist of colonies, hamlets as in the tribes of the Dani or Lani in the Central Highlands of West Papua which is called "silimo" (hamlet). Usually a silimo is inhabited by a family of one family derivative from G-0 (grandfather's generation) to G-3 and even G-4 (generation of great-grandson). Being the unity of more silimos is because the mechanism created by the great power that achieves because it is considered capable as a social father or in the language of anthropology before this is called by Mansoben (1995) as "bigman" whom is "mighty man".

How is the kampung-village or desa-village according to the understanding and order of the Federalists and Unitarists, each of which is described as follows.

## **Kampung or Desa According to NKRI**

### ***Definition***

- Tracing the definition of "desa-village", Subianto (2010; [Retrieved from]) shows that, according to:

<sup>36</sup> The Authors' Empirical Experience in 2005 and 2007.

- R. Bintarto, "desa-village" or "kota (city)" is a result of geographical manifestation caused by physiographic, social, economic, political and cultural elements found in an area and has a relationship and mutual influence with other regions.
- Paul H. Landis, the usefulness of the existence of a "desa-village" is described as follows:
  - (a). For statistical purposes, Pedesaan (Rural) is an area with a population of less than 2500 people;
  - (b). As for the purpose of social psychology studies, "desa-village" is an area where the relationship of society is characterized by a high degree of intensity.
- Sutarjo Kartohadikusumo, "desa-village" is a legal entity in which a ruling community lives and holds its own government. Therefore elements in the village include:
  - (a). Regional geographical environment;
  - (b). Population, covering various things about population such as: number, distribution, livelihood, etc.;
  - (c). The life order, covering all things concerning the ins and outs of the life of the desa-village community.

Meanwhile, the definition of "desa-village" in everyday life or in general is often termed a village, namely an area that is located far from the hustle of the city, which is inhabited by a group of people where most of their livelihoods are farmers. While in the administrative administration of the village which consists of one or more hamlets which are combined to become a stand-alone area or have the right to regulate their own household (autonomy).

Furthermore, according to the source above, the conditions for being a "desa-village" are if they have a territory, the existence of a population, a government, then it is directly under the sub-district head, has habits, then there are social forms.

While in accordance with that, the function of desa-village is as a source of food, income for raw materials, producers of labor, and there are small industrial centers.

In this connection, desa-villages in the Indonesian order which are also acceptable as unitary understandings are:

A. According to RI-Law No. 5 of 1979, the Desa-Village is an area occupied by a number of residents, as a legal community unit that has the lowest government organization directly under the

sub-district head and has the right of autonomy in the ties of the Republic of Indonesia.

B. According to Sutardjo Kartohadikusumo, the Desa-Village is a unitary law in which a residing community resides in self-government.

C. According to the geography review, the Desa-Village is a geographical manifestation, which is caused by physiographic, social, economic, political and cultural elements and has a reciprocal relationship with other regions.

### ***Classification***

Furthermore, Desa-Village Classification is based on the level of development and the ability to develop its potential, so the desa-village can be classified into:

1). Self-supporting desa- village is a rural area where almost all of its people are able to fulfill their needs by organizing themselves with the following characteristics:

- (1) The area is isolated from other regions.
- (2) Population is rare.
- (3) Homogeneous livelihoods that is agrarian.
- (4) Is closed.
- (5) The community adheres to adat (custom).
- (6) Technology is still low.
- (7) Facilities and infrastructure are very lacking.
- (8) Relations between humans are very close.
- (9) Social supervision is carried out by the family

2). Swakarya Desa-Village is a village that has been able to meet its own needs; excess production has already been sold to other regions with the following characteristics:

- (1) There is influence from outside so that it causes changes in mindset.
- (2) The community has started regardless of adat.
- (3) Productivity begins to increase.
- (4) Infrastructure facilities begin to increase.
- (5) There are influences from the outside that result in changes in thinking.

3). Self-sufficient desa-village is a village that is more advanced and more capable of developing all of its potential optimally with the following characteristics:

- (1) Relations between humans are rational.
- (2) Homogeneous livelihood.
- (3) Technology and higher education.
- (4) High productivity.
- (5) Regardless of adat.
- (6) Complete and modern facilities and infrastructure.

### ***Characteristics of Desa-Village Communities***

Desa-Village communities have characteristics that are expressed in the form of:

- a. Life depends on nature
- b. The social tolerance is strong
- c. Strong religious customs and norms
- d. Social control is based on informal law
- e. Kinship relationship is based on *Gemeinschaft* (association)
- f. Its mindset is irrational
- g. The economic structure of the population is agrarian.

### ***Desa-Village Social Life***

Desa-Village Social Life described as:

- a). Social homogeny, usually the desa-village consists of several relatives who still have close relations.
- b). Primary relationship is a relationship that is still close so that the nature of togetherness, mutual cooperation is highly reflected in daily life.
- c). It has strict social control is therefore a problem that is faced is a common problem and must also be resolved and highlighted together.
- d). The value of mutual cooperation is still fertile.
- e). There are social ties which are traditional values and culture that must be obeyed by every member of the community.
- f). It has physical potential of agriculture, Social potential, mutual cooperation, desa-village apparatus,

social institutions and factors that influence the desa-village transportation system, topography of the desa-village's location, and desa-village functions.

### ***Distribution Pattern of Desa-Village***

Factors that influence the pattern of desa-village distribution: Desa-Village location, Climate conditions, Soil fertility, Water management, Economic conditions, Cultural conditions.

The Desa-Village Pattern can be described as follows:

1. The pattern extends following the highway. This pattern is generally found in the interior;
2. Pattern following the railroad tracks;
3. Following the coastline;
4. Following the pattern of the spread of society then:
  - a. Located in mountainous areas (highlands);
  - b. Rough relief area.
5. Village patterns are spread irregularly. This village pattern is often found in the Karst (Cretaceous) area.

### ***City***

In relation to the Desa-Village, at the same time it can be seen and understood what is meant by the kota (city) in the treasury to find out the range between angles which are mutually sharp and prominent in Indonesia.

More about the "city" in Indonesia is known and understood through the following standards:

#### **1). Definition**

A. According to the Indonesian Ministry of Home Affairs Decree No. 4/1980, Kota is:

- (1). An area that has regional administrative boundaries.
- (2). A living environment that has non-agrarian characteristics

B. Geographically, the city is a cultural landscape that is caused by natural and non-natural elements with a high concentration of population, heterogeneous patterns of life, and the characteristics of the population are more individualistic and more materialistic.



## 2). Characteristics of the Kota-City

Physical Characteristics of the Kota-City namely the existence of economic facilities, government buildings, squares, parking lots, recreational facilities, sports facilities, housing complexes with planned arrangements.

The city community shows the following characteristics:

- The diversity of the population
- The attitude of the population is individualistic
- Social relations are Gesselsschaft (Patembayan/Paguyuban)
- There is spatial separation that can form certain complexes.
- Religious norms are not strict.
- The view of city life is more rational.

## 3). Classification of Kota

### A. According to Population Number:

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| (1). Small Town   | = a population of between 20,000-50,000         |
| (2). Medium city  | = population between 50,000-100,000             |
| (3). Big cities   | = residents between 100,000-1,000,000           |
| (4). Metropolitan | = the population is between 1,000,000-5,000,000 |
| (5). Megapolitan  | = population of more than 5,000,000             |

### B. According to the level of development

- (1). The eopolis stage is the regular stage of village development and the community is a transition from the pattern of village life towards the life of the city.
- (2). The policy stage is a city area where a portion of its population still characterizes agrarian characteristics.
- (3). The metropolis stage is a city area characterized by its population as part of the economic life of the community to the industrial sector.
- (4). The megapolis stage is an urban area that consists of several metropolis cities that form one that forms an urban path.
- (5). Tryanopolis stage is a city characterized by chaos of public services, traffic congestion, high crime rates.
- (6). Stage necropolis (dead city) is a city that began to be abandoned by its inhabitants.

## **Kampung-Village or Desa-Village According to Papua-Melanesia Federalism**

### ***Kampung-Village and Honour***

The existence of a kampung-village in Papua at one time has received respect from the existing government system. This happened on April 5, 1961, when Nieuw-Guinea Raad (Papuan Council) was established. An important moment during the period 1959-1962. A model of democratic administration began to develop in this Dutch colony. In addition to the Papua Council, there is also the Streek-Raad (Regional Council) acting as a "sub-division." Then the regional council establishes a relationship between the Dorps Raad (Kampung-Village Council) and the Papuan Council. The latter chooses the Papuan Council, but according to conditions that have not been evenly distributed, it can apply otherwise to the direction of the government by appointing or formulating the Papuan Council to form a Regional Council or District Council in the representative areas which then form the Kampung Council. feasible, the electoral system that takes place naturally from the Village Council to the District Council and then to the Papuan Council. There are also those starting from the Regional Council then positioning the down and up Kampung Council for the Papuan Council for example, which applies to the Anim Ha Electoral District in Merauke and the Dafonsoro Electoral District Council in Hollandia (not including Kotawi/Town Hollandia).

In the Dutch administration in Tanah Papua as stated above, "dorp (kampung-village)" has a respected role because it is there that "adat" rests on and grows and for that it is in a legislative pattern and system without being interfered with other interests especially political parties which at that time did not reach the ELECTION stage because of international intervention (Baal, J. van, Nota Dorpsraden, 5 juli 1955, Nota Adviserende Raden, 11 juli 1955, Nota Dorpsraden, 25 mei 1956, Zelfstandige gemeenschappen in de zin van art. 122 Bewindsregeling Nieuw-Guinea (verslag bespreking), (ont-werp-) Nota Dorpsvorming en Dorpsraden; Locale Raden en Decentralisatie van 24 febr. 1958.; Papua Erfgoed (PACE)).

## *Kampung-Village Government in Papua*

The kampung-village in Tanah Papua is truly a *social society* whose existence is respected. The so-called government or governmental only reaches the District whose head is called *District Hoofd* (District Head).

It seems clear that the village structure is in 4 traditional administrative systems in Papua (Mansoben, 1995). The role of village governance is clearly structured in the *theocratic system* adopted in the Tabi Region, namely the *Ondofolo* and *Ondoafi systems*. A stakeholder in this position is limited to the village with the help of several function implementers called *qoselo* (4 people plus Ondofolo itself according to the philosophy of pork incision, namely four legs and one head with the abdomen or viscera) which are raised or the layers are wider assisted by the *aqonas* (also 5 people) before arriving at the head of the nuclear family or the head of the household. The structure here is therefore circular in layers not hierarchical. While for *bigman system* in his influence oversees several communities scattered *in silimo* (family kampung-village). While for *the king* to control the place of existence and also the area of influence, each of which has a government called *Kapitan* or *Wornemin*, namely the Deputy of King escorted by *Myor* (warlord) who spread in accordance with the territory.<sup>37</sup>

However, generally a kampung-village is inhabited and controlled by core clan, followed by other clans who become friends and subordinates or archers for various reasons (especially of mating and litigation and of conquest of war in the past).

Each kampung-village has its own boundaries or processed land but there are also those that belong to tribal communities such

<sup>37</sup> Sometimes this system or pattern of kings is inconsistent because at the level of the periphery the terms and power can spread not within one locus. On the Kaibus River there are 4 Weri (autonomous kingdoms) namely Myor or Raja Weri-Konda, Nati or Raja Werisar, Wornemin or Raja Werabuam (Teminabuan) and Ortuan (ordinator) or Raja Werika Srer (Seribau). While to the interior part there is Raja Framu (Solossa) for Ayamuru, Raja Kambuaya for the portion of the lake, Raja or Nati Sira for Aitinyo and Sungai Kais and so on. In the sense that it does not comply with repetition as a characteristic feature of loose structures or hidden structures.

as sago hamlet, coconut hamlet, one river, hunting grounds, fishing grounds, and so on. The boundaries of mastery exist and are recognized by the defense parties (together).

This is where alliances are assembled both as actions from within based on various needs and as a reaction to certain situations and conditions that are inevitable.

### ***Desa-Village Government in Papua***

The kampung-village system changed with the enactment of R.I. Law No.5 of 1979 concerning Desa-Village Government. The Kampung-village system which previously had a clear boundary of arable land became open and the possibility of processing together included was no longer a limited matter. Land controlled by one kampung-village with a desa-village pattern changes to more complex mastery due to the involvement of other parties. As well as traditional power (bigman, theocrat, raja, korano, etc.) are lacking or even meaningless, especially the desa-village secretary and desa-village head are elements of the government under the District Head or Sub-District Head according to the Law.

### ***Kampung-Villages and Desa-Villages in the OTSUS era***

With the presence of the Special Autonomy of Papua Province according to RI Law No. 21 of 2001, *pemekaran* (division) occurred, of course it affected the existing kampung-village and desa-village patterns. While the city-villages or urban-villages changed into Kelurahan. Kampung-Villages are increasingly growing to meet the formal requirements for the formation of Districts and then Districts without regard to the initial form before there was a desa-village system according to RI Law No.5 of 1979.

The existence of OTSUS provides an extension of the expansion of what had previously been a village into a village but at the same time is an uncontrolled backflow because the pattern of villages in the OTSUS era no longer complies with the initial order before the villages were made into villages. This is the challenge, besides that the Adat Council is castrated by its functions and strengths by being presented by the Indigenous Peoples' Institution (LMA) which does not have a basis in the traditional order and society. LMA and OTSUS Village and Kelurahan are renewable forms

because of the demands and interests that exist even though they are not the will of the people of Papua. Traditional patterns can only survive in respect of 7 cultural areas (also called adat areas, although not right), in short, missing the meaning of authenticity<sup>38</sup>.

## Closing Remark

The existence of Papuan-Melanesian Federalism in the Unitary of the NKRI as shown above can provide opportunities for access but can also be an excess impediment. It would be difficult to refute this fact. At the same time, there are at least four things that need to be discussed further, namely: *First*, Federalism in Indonesia as a Special Case for Papua-Melanesia is indeed confined and depressed because of NKRI Unitary which merely focuses on the stability of the region or territory with the aim of maintaining sovereignty over regions so that they escape responsibility and liability.

*Secondly*, in a position of imbalance, the federalism unit tends to stretch the Unitarism adhesive embrace which is more compelling one color and the pattern will push the choice to separate itself or which can also be said to be potentially cohesive.

*Third*, the existence of NKRI Unitary will exist in measures which are always tested for the closeness of the embrace of the emergence of federalism which although it has been threatened with fragility to the smallest unit in this case the kampung-village.

*Fourth*, Papua-Melanesian federalism which indeed was originally integrated did not have a burden in the NKRI Unitary which was swayed by Federalism in Indonesia, but it was a problem how the separation process would proceed smoothly.

<sup>38</sup> In the City of Jayapura, because of the importance of the position of traditional leaders (Ondoafi and Ondofolo) the 4 traditional villages in Port Numbay were maintained not to become Kelurahan.



# PART II

## An Endless Anxiety

# 3 Constitution as a difference trigger

## Introduction

Are the interests of the Papuan people in the Indonesian Constitution accommodated well? Or is the interest only accommodated in a pro forma, or the one that is compulsory is subject to submission and obedience to those who occupy? If the integrated one must obey the integration actors, isn't that the same as colonialism?

While on the other hand, Papua (as an integrated nation) is not always right. The problem is, the opportunity to determine themselves as independent can occur. Then, how exactly is the Indonesian constitution and the West Papua state constitution regulating the Papuan people? To answer this question, the author will present the Republic of Indonesia (RI)'s Constitution and the Federal Republic of West Papua (NRFPB)'s Constitution.

## Constitution of Republic of Indonesia 1945

That in fact that freedom is the right of all nations and therefore, occupation over the world must be abolished because it is not in accordance with humanity and justice.





## **CONSTITUTION OF REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA 1945**

(Development Reform Cabinet 1998-2003)

TAP MPR Number II/MPR/1988

And the struggle of the Indonesian independence movement has arrived at a happy and safety moment to deliver the Indonesian people to the front gate of the independence of the Indonesian state, which is free, united, sovereign, just and prosperous.

With the blessing of the grace of Allah the Almighty and driven by noble desires, in order to have free, national life, the people of Indonesia declare this with their independence.

Then than that, to form an Indonesian state government that protects the entire Indonesian nation and the whole of Indonesia's bloodshed and to promote public welfare, educate the nation's life, and participate in carrying out world order based on freedom, eternal peace and social justice, then Indonesian national independence is in an Indonesian State Constitution which is formed in a state structure of the Republic of Indonesia which has the people's sovereignty based on the One Godhead, just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity, and popularism led by wisdom in deliberation / representation and by realizing a social justice for all the people of Indonesia.

## **CHAPTER I**

### **FORM AND SOCIETY**

#### **Article 1**

(1) The State of Indonesia is a unitary state in the form of a Republic<sup>39</sup>.

(2) Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and fully carried out by the People's Consultative Assembly.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY**

#### **Article 2**

(1) The People's Consultative Assembly consists of members of the People's Legislative Assembly plus envoys from the regions and groups, according to the rules stipulated by law.

(2) The People's Consultative Assembly convenes at least once every five years in the national capital.

(3) All decisions of the People's Consultative Assembly are determined by the most votes.

#### **Article 3**

The People's Consultative Assembly sets out the Basic Law and outlines and on the direction of the state.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **THE POWER OF STATE GOVERNMENT**

#### **Article 4**

(1) The President of the Republic of Indonesia has the power of government according to the Constitution.

(2) In carrying out its obligations, the President is assisted by one Vice President.

#### **Article 5**

(1) The President has the power to form a law with the approval of the House of Representatives.

(2) The President determines government regulations to implement the law accordingly.

#### **Article 6**

(1) The President is a native Indonesian.

(2) The President and Vice-President are elected by the People's Consultative Assembly with the most votes.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Here the State boundary from the coordinate point and place name is not mentioned, is it really not an intentional order of an usual. Need input for improvement in amendments.

<sup>40</sup> Since 2009 for the first time direct elections by the people took place in Indonesia.

**Article 7**

The President and Deputy President hold their positions for a period of five years and thereafter can be re-elected.

**Article 8**

If the President dies, resign or cannot carry out his obligations during his term of office, he is replaced by the Vice President until he expires.

**Article 9**

Before assuming his position, the President and Vice President swore according to religion, or seriously promised before the People's Consultative Assembly or the House of Representatives as follows.

President's Oath (Vice President):

"For God's sake, I swear I will fulfill the obligations of the President of the Republic of Indonesia (Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia) as well as possible and to uphold the Basic Law and carry out all the laws and regulations in a straightforward manner and serve the Nusa and the Nation"

President's Promise (Vice President):

"I pledge to earnestly fulfill the obligations of the President of the Republic of Indonesia (Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia) as well as possible, as fair as possible, uphold the Constitution and carry out all the laws and regulations in a straightforward manner and serve Nusa and Nation."

**Article 10**

The president held the highest authority over the Army, Navy and Air Force.

**Article 11**

The president with the approval of the House of Representatives declares war, makes peace and deals with other countries.

**Article 12**

The President stated the danger. The conditions and consequences of the danger are determined by law.

**Article 13**

(1) The President appoints ambassadors and consuls.

(2) The President receives ambassadors from other countries.

#### **Article 14**

The president gave clemency, amnesty, abolition and rehabilitation.

#### **Article 15**

The President gives awards, honours and other services marks.

### **CHAPTER IV**

#### **COUNCIL OF CONSIDERATIONS**

##### **Article 16**

(1) The composition of the Supreme Advisory Council is stipulated by law

(2) This council is obliged to provide answers to the President's questions and has the right to advance proposals to the government.

### **CHAPTER V**

#### **MINISTRY OF STATE**

##### **Article 17**

(1) The President is assisted by state ministers.

(2) The Ministers are appointed and dismissed by the President.

(3) The ministers lead the government department.

### **CHAPTER VI**

#### **LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

##### **Article 18**

The Regional Division of Indonesia over large and small regions, with the form of the structure of the Government stipulated by law, by monitoring and remembering the basis of deliberation in the system of state administration, and the rights of origin in special areas.

### **CHAPTER VII**

#### **HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

##### **Article 19**

(1) The composition of the House of Representatives is stipulated by law.

(2) The House of Representatives convenes at least once a year.

##### **Article 20**

(1) Each law requires the approval of the House of Representatives.

(2) If something is drafted, the law does not get the approval of the House of Representatives, the draft may not be

promoted again in the trial of the House of Representatives at that time.

#### **Article 21**

(1) Members of the House of Representatives have the right to advance the draft law.

(2) If the draft, even though approved by the House of Representatives, is not ratified by the President, then the draft may not be promoted again in the trial of the House of Representatives at that time.

#### **Article 22**

(1) In the case of compulsory interests, the President has the right to settle government regulations in lieu of the law.

(2) The government regulation must be approved by the House of Representatives in the following proceedings.

(3) If there is no approval, the government regulation must be revoked.

### **CHAPTER VIII**

#### **FINANCIAL METTERS**

#### **Article 23**

(1) The income and expenditure budget is set every year by law. If the House of Representatives do not approve the budget proposed by the government, then the government runs the budget of last year.

(2) All taxes for state purposes are based on law.

(3) The type and price of currency is stipulated by law.

(4) State finances are further regulated by law.

(5) To examine the responsibility for state finances, a State Audit Board is held in which the rules are stipulated by law. The results of the examination were notified to the House of Representatives.

### **CHAPTER IX**

#### **POWER OF JUDGMENT**

#### **Article 24**

(1) Judicial power is carried out by a Supreme Court and other judicial bodies according to the law.

(2) The composition and power of the judicial bodies is regulated by law.

#### **Article 25**

The conditions for being and to be dismissed as a judge are stipulated by law.

### **CHAPTER X**

#### **CITIZEN**

#### **Article 26**

(1) The people who become citizens are people of the original Indonesian nation and people of other nations who are ratified by law as citizens.

(2) Conditions concerning citizenship are stipulated by law.

#### **Article 27**

(1) All citizens are at the same time in law and government and are obliged to uphold the law and the government with no exceptions.

(2) Every citizen has the right to work and livelihood, which is appropriate for humanity.

#### **Article 28**

Freedom of association and assembly, issuing thoughts with oral and written and so forth is stipulated by law.

### **CHAPTER XI**

#### **RELIGION**

#### **Article 29**

(1) The state is based on the One Godhead.

(2) The State guarantees the independence of each resident to embrace their respective religions and to worship according to their religion and belief.

### **CHAPTER XII**

#### **NATIONAL DEFENSE**

#### **Article 30**

(1) Every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in the state defence efforts.

(2) The conditions for defense are regulated by law

### **CHAPTER XIII**

#### **EDUCATION**

#### **Article 31**

(1) Every citizen has the right to teaching.

(2) The government undertakes and organizes a national teaching system, which is regulated by law.

#### **Article 32**

The government advances Indonesia's national culture.

### **CHAPTER XIV**

#### **SOCIAL WELFARE**

#### **Article 33**

(1) The economy is structured as a joint effort based on the principle of family.

(2) Production branches that are important to the state and which control the livelihood of many people are controlled by the state.

(3) The earth and water and natural resources contained therein are controlled by the state and are used for the greatest prosperity of the people.

**Article 34**

The poor and neglected children are cared for by the state.

**CHAPTER XV**

**FLAGS AND LANGUAGES**

**Article 35**

Flag of Indonesia is the Red and White.

**Article 36**

Country Language is Indonesian.

**CHAPTER XVI**

**AMENDMENT TO BASIC LAW**

**Article 37**

(1) To amend the constitution of at least 2/3 of the number of members of the People's Consultative Assembly must be present.

(2) Decisions are taken with the approval of at least 2/3 of the number of members present

**TRANSITIONAL RULES**

**Article I**

The Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence regulates and organizes government transfers to the Government of Indonesia.

**Article II**

All state agencies and existing regulations are still valid as long as they have not been held which are new according to the Constitution.

**Article III**

For the first time the President and Vice President were elected by the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence.

**Article IV**

Before the People's Consultative Assembly, the House of Representatives and the Supreme Advisory Council were formed according to this Constitution, all the powers exercised by the President with the help of a national committee.

### ***Additional rules***

(1) Within six months after the end of the Greater East Asia war, the President of Indonesia regulates and organizes all matters stipulated in this Constitution.

(2) In the six months after the People's Consultative Assembly is formed, the Assembly convened to settle the Constitution.

With the Original Text of the 1945 Constitution, in the Amendment Manuscript as shown, there are a number of things that should be noted, namely:

1. In the Amendment Manuscript the opening word used is not the Preamble as in the Original Manuscript.

2. On the Opening Amendment Manuscript located inside is published as part of the Constitution while in the Original Manuscript, the Preamble is outside or separated from the Constitution.

3. The content in the Opening of the Amendment Manuscript longer than the Preamble on the Original Manuscript.

4. The content of the Original Manuscript consist of 14 Chapters with 37 chapters, 1 Transitional Rules with 3 Articles and 1 Additional Rule with 2 paragraphs while the Amendment Manuscript contains 16 Chapters, 37 Article 1 Transitional Rules with 4 Articles and 1 Additional Rules with 2 Articles.

Other things are:

1. Here the State boundary from the coordinate point and place name is not mentioned, is it really not such intentionality? Need input for improvement in amendments.

2. Since 2009 for the first time direct elections by the people have been held in Indonesia, in the sense that the Fourth Precept of Panca Sila is no longer merely obeyed.

About the full text can be seen in the Original Manuscript of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia by the National Legal Development Agency, Ministry of Law and Human Rights 1998, while the Amendment Manuscript can be seen in the 1998-2003 Development Reform Cabinet TAP MPR No. II / MPR / 1998.

In comparison to the 1999 Constitution the author is based on the Original Manuscript of the 1945 Constitution before the amendment so that there appears to be a correlation. But there are also other advanced steps concerning the natural environment,



human rights, the ownership of armed forces and others which are not raised in the original Manuscript of the new 1945 Constitution which then appear in the 1945 Constitution Amendment Manuscript.

## Constitution of FRWP 1999



### CONSTITUTION OF FEDERALIST STATE OF WEST PAPUA 1999

#### CHAPTER I

#### GENERAL REGULATIONS

##### Section 1

##### The Status of Constitution

All Legislative Authorities in this Constitution are to be established by decree from The Federal Assembly or Congress and get stipulating by The Parliament or House of Representative.

##### Section 2

##### Goal

The goal of The State of West Papua is to give protection to every Nation of Papua and the whole Fatherland of Papua in an intact bond and to secure the interest of the world and mankind, comprising:

- (1) To be involved in maintaining peace and safety on earth by establishing friendship among nations based on an equal sharing of values in a balanced way.
- (2) To be involved in creating internal Federal Corporation as an effort to solve economic, socio-cultural and security problems by focusing on human rights and sustainable environment without any tendencies of discrimination, and
- (3) To demonstrate willingness as mediator among nations for peaceful discussions and efforts without any limits.

### **Section 3**

#### **Essence**

The essence of The State of West Papua is a state based on *mercy, allegiance and honesty* by raising the principle of *one nation, one soul and one solidarity* which is emptying into:

- (1) Equality in Sovereignty,
- (2) Togetherness of mutual benefit, and
- (3) Life in peace and safety, among mankind.

### **Section 4**

#### **State Zones**

(1) The territory of West Papua State stretches at 129 degrees East bordering the State of Indonesia (Moluccas) to 141 degrees East bordering the State of Papua New Guinea, and 2 degrees North Latitude bordering the Philippines, Republic of Palau and the Pacific Ocean to 10 degrees South Latitude bordering Australia.

(2) The zones of The of State of West Papua divisible for 7 Region of Territories with division of Residention and Municipalities or Communities (Later Development and Customary Communities).

(3) The zones of The State of West Papua that happened because of the later growth referred as The Later Development Territories, will regulated by Law.

(4) The State of West Papua is a Commonwealth State in the form of Federation (Federalistic State).

### **Section 5**

#### **Type of the State**

(1) The State of West Papuan comprises Federalist by a Mix-Cabinet of Parliamentary and Presidential;

(2) The Government of the State of West Papuan comprises 7 Traditional Territories of Papuan Folk according to the Manifest of The Papuan National Committee, ascribed as strips on the National Flag The Morning Star, 1 December 1961 which are Hollandia or Tabi, Geelvinkbai or Sarera, Vogelkop or Doberai, Onin-Bomberai, South Coast or Ha-Anim, Eastern Highland or Lani Paqo and Western Highland or Me Paqo and also of Afterwards Agglomeration Territories.

(3) The Afterwards Agglomeration Territories are basing on the division of Second Level Governance of Province of Irian Jaya or also to Governance of Special Autonomy (OTSUS) Province of Papua and or other condition and consideration and also the other support.

(4) The determination of Traditional Territories and Afterwards Agglomeration Territories will be further arranged in the Legislation.

## **Section 6**

### **Sovereignty of the State**

(1) The Sovereignty of the State of West Papua is determined by the people, and will be completely arranged by The Federal Assembly or Congress and get stipulating by The Parliament or House of Representative.

(2) The Sovereignty of Territory is not limited by the Constitution as far as guaranteed by the authority of Federal Governance.

(3) Every citizen of West Papua is equal for the law without exception.

(4) The State of West Papua guarantees sovereignty of every Territory to legislate, regulation and Civil Rights inclusively Rights of Prerogative to The Government Body through existing legislative chirarchy with condition:

- a. Conform to the Constitution of West Papua;
- b. Guaranteeing the persistence of democracy and liberalism;
- c. Accepted and amended however desired by the majority.

## **Section 7**

### **Alliances and Bonds**

(1) Alliances or bonds among Territories, Regencies and Communities may not be allowed, except for economic and social-cultural Corporation, as this is against the Principle of Triplefold Logic of Papua-Melanesia.

(2) Economic and socio-cultural bonds may be established among Territory Governments with any foreign state requiring recommendation from The Federal Government as far as do not have the character of political and military affairs.

(3) Agreements among Territories regarding matters of Federal Legislation and Policies may be made, if the intended product is in contradiction with principles of the State of West Papua in Principality of Triplefold Logic of Papua-Melanesia.

### **Section 8**

#### **State Defense**

(1) The State of West Papua is obliged to own Military Forces of a certain standard capability.

(2) Defence Force composed by Land Defence Force, Sea Defence Force and Air Defence Force.

(3) Only the Federal Government is allowed to have Military Forces.

(4) Military service is compulsory for every citizen at the age of 18 to 22 years.

(5) The Highest Authority on Defense of the State of West Papua is under The President (The Head of State).

(6) If the State is exposed to external threat, The Federal Government with approval by the Senate may be entitled to hire foreign services or to establish military bonds with foreign states.

(7) Only the Federal Government is entitled to declare hostility or establish peace with foreign states.

(8) Only the Federal Government is entitled to declare a state of emergency which its requisites and consequences will be determined by the Legislation.

### **Section 9**

#### **Private Defense and Explosive Weapons**

(1) Only the State has the right to have Armed Forces and Police.

(2) Private Armed Forces and civilian armed forces are not permitted within the state zones of West Papua.

(3) Activities of producing, trading and private ownership as well as any ever individualness of explosive weapons are not permitted within the state zones of West Papua.

(4) Creating panic, robbery, and acts of civilians' armed resistance may not be permitted in the state zones of West Papua.

(5) Matters of Private Defense and Explosive Weapons will be determined by Legislation.

### **Section 10**

#### **State Security**

(1) The State of West Papua is obliged to have a Police Force of a certain standard capability.

(2) Each Territory is entitled to organize its own Police Force under the supervision of The Federal Police.

### **Section 11**

#### **State Défense**

(1) Every citizen has the right and is obliged to participate in defending the state.

(2) Requisites regarding state defense may be arranged by Legislation.

### **Section 12**

#### **Vétérans and Ex-Combattants**

(1) Veteran and Ex-Combatants are proper to be respected and treated to the manner born utilize to avoid innatural of power which is negating the growth of nation.

(2) Veteran and Ex-Combatants are proper to be arranged by Legislation.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **CUSTOMARY COUNCIL**

#### **Section 13**

(1) The Customary Council represents the pillars in the order of life of The Nation and The State of West Papua.

(2) The Customary Council appoints and ratifies The State Institutions during the period of The Transitional Government and further functions as advisor and supervisor to The Executive whether being asked or not.

(3) The Customary Council is organized at different levels, Community Customary Council at Community level, Regency Customary Council at Regency Level, Territory Customary Council at Territory Level, and The Federal Assembly of Customary Councils.

(4) The Federal Assembly of Customary Councils establishes a General Secretary as Executive Board.

(5) The Assembly of Customary Council is gathering twice, once within a governance period (midterm) and at the end of the outgoing cabinet.

(6) The Assembly of Customary Council lifting the President which innings according to arrangement of tradition 7 Custom Regions guaranteed in State of West Papua proportionally and continually.

### CHAPTER III

#### PAPUA INDEPENDENT/NATIONAL COMMITTEE

##### Section 14

(1) Papua Independent/National Committee comprises alliances and components of the nation by function to comment on the political conditions as the successor of The *Komite Nasional Papua* (Papua National Committee) notching by New Guinea Council (NGR) in the year 1961.

(2) Papua Independent/National Committee domiciles at The Federal Level with a working area at each Territory and even where ever as far as required.

(3) Papua Independent/Nasional Committee the period of Transitional Government is accountable for the arrangement and transfer of assets, and the process of repatriation and restoration of the nation, therefore entitled and obliged to conduct assertion and profiding legal clarification.

(4) Papuan Independent/Nasional Committee in the early state restoration is in charge for the formulations of basic guidelines of the state peripheral hereinafter gives guard for the Constitution of the Nation and the State of West Papua.

(5) Papuan Independent/Nasional Committee in its duties by the nature balancing and mediating, especially in the observing of general elections, orderliness of political parties, protection of environment, and caring about human rights and providing various other services on state affairs will help to maintain the principles of justice and truth according to customary law and order, Triplefold Logic of Papua Melanesia 1999, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 and The Declaration of the United Nations 1945.

(6) Papuan Independent/Nasional Committee is in need to establish working units as National Commissions (KOMNAS).

(7) Papuan Independent/Nasional Committee in carrying out its duties is obliged to properly consult with The Customary Council.

## **CHAPTER IV LEGISLATIVE**

### **Section 15**

#### **Federal Assembly**

(1) The Federal Assembly or Congress (House of Assembly) is The Legislative Institution, which have stages from the Representative Council or Senate (House of Representative) together with delegates from components and nation potentials arranged by Legislation.

(2) The Federal Assembly or Congress is gathering once every 2 years at the center of the Federal Governance, Port Numbay-Hollandia.

(3) All Federal decisions of The Federal Assembly or Congress specified by pursuant to logic and by ear a lot of or voting.

### **Section 16**

#### **General Elections and Political Parties**

(1) General Elections will be regularly conducted every four years, except for the occurrence of a particular situation.

(2) General Elections will put forward two fortifications of alliances through the district system, which will be in opposition to each other, namely the Democratic Alliances and the Liberal Alliances.

(3) General Elections and Political Parties Affairs may be further arranged by Legislation as in two citadels of executor and opposition.

(4) Parties Alliances in the State of West Papua do not know and do not agree for Middle Axis and grey domicile.

### **Section 17**

#### **The Outline of State Directions**

(1) The Federal Assembly or Congress decides Outline of the State Directions.

(2) The materials for the Outline of the State Directions is based on particularities of the Territories and the prospectives of Federal, in a short term and long term for duration of 4 year and long-range of idealism of the Nation and the State of West Papua.

(3) The short-term period of state development lasts for four years, whereas the long-term period depends on the idealism of The Nation and State of West Papua.

(4) The annual budget will be based on The Outline of State Directions and determined by The Federal Representative Council or Senate.

### **Section 18**

#### **Legislation**

(1) The Prime Minister as The Head of Governance on mandate power of the President run for Federal Law by considered the items of Law of Territories for the same topic product on approval of The Federal Representative Council or Senate (House of Representative).

(2) The Prime Minister determines Regulations of the Federal Government to execute The Federal Legislation.

(3) The Territory Legislation determined by The Governor by considering proposed materials from Regency and Community or Municipality level according to real conditions.

(4) The Territory Governor determines The Territory Regulations Government to execute Legislation Territory.

(5) Legislation, Regulations and other products of law at any government level must be conforming to the State Constitution of West Papua.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **STATE AUTHORITIES**

#### **Section 19a**

##### **The President**

The President as The Head of the States of West Papua is lifted and specified from elements of Customary Council in having the innings to deputized by all existing elements in 7 Cultural Regions of The State of West Papua.

#### **Section 19b**



### **Prime Minister – The Head of Governance**

(1) The Prime Minister of the State of West Papua run the power of Law pursuant to mandate of the President and also have command of the Governance according to Constitution and chosen through General Election.

(2) In conducting obligation Prime Minister assisted by Coordinator Secretaries of Affairs which further to show Cabinet Ministers.

(3) The Prime Minister must have West Papuan Citizenship and obey the dictates of The Authority Zone in the State of West Papua.

(4) The Prime Minister is selected by the Citizen of West Papua through General Election by ear a lot of.

(5) The Prime Minister holds its position during 4 year added by period of 1 year recess.

(6) The Coordinator Secretaries of Affairs and The Departement Miniters and other High Functionaries of the State hold its position during 5 year without a period of recess.

(7) If the Prime Minister pass away, desisting or in remain to cannot execute obligation in its tenure, will temporarily changed by the State Secretary during at the latest 1 year and responsibility to execute the preparation of Election of the New Lead Governance by the guide of the President and in the affirmative of the Federal Representative.

### **Section 20**

#### **The Inauguration of the President, Prime Minister and The Coordinating Secretaries of Affairs**

Prior to their posting, The President, Prime Minister and The Secretaries of Coordinating Affairs during a congregation in The House of Lord (Church, Mosque, and else) before the Federal Assembly or Congress Members will pronounce a declaration of intent as follows:

*Declaration of intent by the President and Prime Minister.*

(Christians only: "In The Name of Lord Father, The Creator of Universe, Lord Jesus The King of The Nation of Papua and by the mediator The Holy Spirit")

(For other confessions: .....)

"I pledge the obligations as The President/ The Prime Minister etc. of West Papua, based on The Papuan Luster: mercy – allegiance - justice and The Melanesian Principle of Brotherhood: one people –one soul – one solidarity by virtue of The Constitution and yet Decrees, Legislations ancillary though My Nation and Fatherland Papua".

*Declaration of intent by The State Secretary and Coordinating Secretaries of Affairs:*

(Christians only: "In The Name of Lord Father the Escaping of Universe, Lord Jesus the King of The Nation of Papua and by the mediator of Holy Spirit")

(For other confessions: .....)

I pledge as regards as Secretary of Coordinating Affairs will riding as assistance to The Prime Minister of West Papua confidently to The Papuan Luster and The Melanesian Principle by virtue of The Constitution and yet Decrees, and Legislations ancillary though My Nation and Fatherland Papua".

## **Section 21**

### **Ambassadors and Consuls**

- (1) The Prime Minister appoints Ambassadors and Consuls.
- (2) The Prime Minister receives diplomats from other Countries.

## **Section 22**

### **Conferrals and Honors**

- (1) The Prime Minister provides clemency, amnesty, abolition and rehabilitation.
- (2) The Prime Minister grants titles, rewards and honours.
- (3) State employees and military personnel, already retired or still active, or any West Papuan citizen are strictly not allowed to obtain a double honour, rights or any other kind of bestowal. This may cause consequences of an automatically stopping of the rights of possessing financial from the state. This may due again after a formal statement being made to declare of the stopping from the mentioning.

## **Section 23**

### **Supreme Advisory Council**

- (1) The structure of the Supreme Advisory Council will be determined by Legislation.

(2) The Supreme Advisory Council has the obligation to give answers on questions raised by The Prime Minister and entitled to submit suggestions to the authorities.

(3) The Supreme Advisory Council is obliged to develop a permanent working coordination and consolidation with The Customary Council of Papua and The Papua Independent/National Committee.

#### **Section 24**

##### **State Ministers**

(1) The Prime Minister assisted by the Secretaries for Coordinating Affairs appoints and dismisses The State Ministers.

(2) The State Ministers are The Assistants of the Secretaries for Coordinating Affairs.

(3) The State Ministers are heading the Departments.

(4) The State Ministers are responsible to the Secretaries for Coordinating Affairs.

### **CHAPTER VI**

#### **ADMINISTRATIVE ZONES**

##### **Section 25**

##### **Division of Administrative Zones**

(1) The Administrative zones consist of the Federal Administration and the Territory Administrations or States.

(2) The Territory Administrations or States are divided into Regencies.

(3) Each of the Regency consisting of District Communities or Municipalities.

(4) For the certain Territory Administrations or Regencies, it may be suitable to appoint Regency Deputies and District Community or District Municipality Coordinators.

##### **Section 26**

##### **Administrative Zones**

(1) Administrative Zones consist of the Territory Zone and the Residence Zone.

(2) The Governor of the Territory Zone and The Resident Zone is elected by The Local Representative Council and ratified by The Head of the State.

(3) Regulations and process of elections are arranged by Legislation.

### **Section 27**

#### **Representative Council**

(1) The structure of the Representative Council (House of Representatives) or Senate is determined by Legislation.

(2) The Representative Council or Senate is gathering at least once a year..

(3) Every Legislation needs approval by The Senate.

(4) If a Draft of Legislation does not gain approval from The Senate, then, the draft can not be proposed to the conference of The Senate at that period.

(5) Each Member of the Senate or the Senators is entitled to propose Drafts of Legislation.

(6) If the Draft of Legislation, although being approved in The Senate, but still not ratified by The Head of Government, then the draft can not be proposed again in The Senate gathering at that period.

(7) In case of prime urgency, The Head of State is entitled to decide on Government Regulations as replacement of current Legislation.

(8) Every Government Regulations requires approval by The Senate at Federal Level or Territory Level in the following gathering.

(9) If not gaining any approval, Government Regulations must be withdrawn then.

## **CHAPTER VII**

### **FINANCE AND MONETARY**

#### **Section 28**

##### **Currency**

(1) The Currency of The State of West Papua is The West Papuan Guilder (Gulden) marked in WPf which beforehand The Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea Gulden marked as NGf, posting back to 1 December 1961 before the then dissimilar stipulating.

(2) The standard exchange rate of The West Papuan Gulden to the Netherlands Gulden (N/) will be 1:3, or to The United States

of American Dollar (US \$) 1:1,5; during the period of Transitional Government of UN-UNTEA with the Indonesian Rupiah = IDR equal 1: 20.000.

(3) The Federal Government has the exclusive right to print money and to decide on change to be of validity.

(4) Citizens are entitled to obtain benefit from state's finance in the form of social costs and State subsidies arranged by Legislation.

### **Section 29**

#### **State Budget**

(1) The State Budget is determined annually by Legislation. If there is no approval from The Senate (House of Representative) for the proposed draft of budget by The Government, then the previous annual budget will be effective.

(2) Tax affairs in the interest of the state will be determined by Legislation.

(3) Kind and value of the currency are to be determined by Legislation.

(4) The matter of State Finance is to be determined by Legislation.

(5) For accountability reasons concerning State Finance, the establishment of an Audit Institution will be required, with procedures to be determined by Legislation. Results of the audit is obliged to be justified to and accepted by the Senate (House of Representative).

## **CHAPTER VIII**

### **JUDICATURE**

#### **Section 30**

##### **Authority of Judicature**

(1) The Authority of Judicature is to be executed by a Supreme Court and other Judicial Institutions, as stated in the Legislation.

(2) The structure and authority of Judicial Institutions are arranged by Legislation.

(3) Judicature is only exercised by The State, whereas Customary Institutions, Churches, Religions and others may

only provide testimony, advocacy or advice, and or the other claims and witnesses.

(4) Requisites concerning appointment and dismissal of Judges are to be arranged by Legislation.

### **Section 31**

#### **Kind of Punishment**

(1) Death penalty may be exercised by hanging, electrical chair, shoot and stoning, for:

a. State Criminals involved in, during the struggle for independence, corruption, murder and other activities with negative impacts on the honesty and justice of the humanity, environment, nations and the states.

b. Dealers of narcotics and other nerves harming drugs as stated by Legislation.

(2) Physical punishment comprises imprisonment, exhortation and others according to the criminal offense as stated by Legislation.

## **CHAPTER IX CITIZENSHIP**

### **Section 32**

#### **Citizens**

(1) Those, who may become Citizens, are The Papuan and Melanesia Ethnic by origin and other Ethnic as stated by Legislation.

(2) The State of West Papua acknowledges and respects double citizenship as far as being conform to societal order in The State of West Papua.

(3) Requisites regarding citizenship of the State of West Papua are stated by Legislation.

(4) The citizens are entitled for social costs and State subsidies arranged by Legislation.

### **Section 33**

#### **Rights and Obligations of Citizens**

(1) Every citizen is equal to Law and Governance without exception.

(2) Every citizen has the right for employment and suitable living conditions.

(3) Every citizen has the right for freedom of assembly, freedom of organization, and freedom of expression of opinion orally as well as written and others which for that required to be specified with Legislation.

## **CHAPTER X**

### **RELIGION, EVANGELIST AND MORAL ETHICS**

#### **Section 34**

##### **Religion**

- (1) Every West Papuan citizen is a religious human being.
- (2) The freedom of religion is guaranteed as far as being conform to the principles The Triplefold Logic of Papua-Melanesian Foundation.
- (3) The State guarantees for the provision of personnel, worship facilities and persistence of religious life by separating the tenth out of funds bearing by every citizen.

#### **Section 35**

##### **Evangelist**

- (1) Every Citizen of West Papuan is chosen and given the burden for The Evangelist.
- (2) The State of West Papua guarantees for the persistence of The Evangelist in the whole world.

#### **Section 36**

##### **Moral Ethics**

- (1) The freedom of expressing faith is guaranteed as far as not causing adverse impacts on public interest.
- (2) There is no force to enter into and participate in any religion or being punished and treated unfair because of religious persuasion.
- (3) Religious and ethical Education is compulsory for every citizen until the age of 16 years.
- (4) Every citizen of any confession is obliged to possess basic knowledge on ethics and morals of Papua-Melanesia.
- (5) Conflict among confessions is prohibited in The State of West Papua.
- (6) Every citizen has the right to receive proper facilities and services for birth, life and death.

(7) The arrangement of proper burial is under the State Affairs Section.

### **Section 37**

#### **Council of Religion**

(1) Every Religion being practiced in The State of West Papua has the right to form a Council at the Community or Municipality Level, Regency Level, Territory Level up to Federal Level.

(2) The Council of Religion has the function to provide considerations to the state authorities and to build networks with The Customary Council.

(3) The Council of Religion is allowed to build corporations with Religious Institutions outside of The State of West Papua as far as conformity with The Triplefold Logic of Papua-Melanesian Foundation exists.

## **CHAPTER XI**

### **SOCIAL PROSPERITY**

#### **Section 38**

##### **Education**

(1) Every Citizen has the right for education. Education is compulsory.

(2) The State guarantees the organization and implementation of the educational system as stated by Legislation.

(3) The State guarantees education for every citizenship in all sectors and levels.

(4) Elementary educations and basic skills are compulsory for every citizen.

#### **Section 39**

##### **Intellectual Right**

(1) Every Citizen is obliged and has the right to obtain intellectual rights.

(2) Every Citizen is obliged and has the right to obtain sufficient freedom for intellectual development.

(3) The State guarantees intellectual rights in all sectors and levels as stated by Legislation.

#### **Section 40**



## **Culture**

- (1) The State guarantees and promotes Culture Diversities of Papua-Melanesia in the Region of the State of West Papua as world heritage of civilization.
- (2) The State guarantees and promotes cultural development as far as conform to The Triplefold Logic of Papua-Melanesian.
- (3) The State guarantees and promotes the cultural system as arranged by Legislation.

## **Section 41**

### **Health**

- (1) Every Citizen is obliged and entitled to obtain health services.
- (2) The State Guarantees the implementation of health service system as arranged by Legislation.

## **Section 42**

### **Housing**

- (1) Every Citizen is obliged and entitled to obtain proper housing.
- (2) The State guarantees the implementation of a housing service system as arranged by Legislation.

## **Section 43**

### **Social Services**

- (1) Every Citizen is obliged and entitled to obtain proper social services.
- (2) The State guarantees every social sufferer.
- (3) The State guarantees the implementation of a social service system as arranged by Legislation.

## **Section 44**

### **Distribution of Works**

- (1) Every citizen is obliged and entitled to gain proper employment.
- (2) Every citizen is obliged to possess basic working skills.
- (3) The State guarantees the implementation of a system distribution of work as arranged by Legislation.

## **CHAPTER XII**

### **WEALTH**

## **Section 45**

### **Economy**

- (1) The economy is structured as a state effort aiming at ensuring common prosperity and wealth.
- (2) Important production sectors impacting the interest of many people is controlled and arranged by the state.
- (3) Inbound natural resources of land and water is controlled and regulated by the state for common welfare and prosperity by respecting and appreciating ownership rights.
- (4) State guarantee and arrange a competent economics system of Transportation, Telecommunications, Industrial and Tourism in supporting and moving forward the prosperity, arranged in Legislation.

### **Section 46**

#### **Unilateral Corporation**

- (1) Unilateral Corporation of trilateral character amongst Papua-Nugini and Indonesia and nations of neighbors is implemented on a priority scale at The Territory Level as well as Federal Level by respecting the principle of equality of position and status of every nation.
- (2) The state may establish a Broad Corporation with foreign countries, however, by adhering to principles of the Constitution and Legislation of the State of West Papua.

## **CHAPTER XIII**

### **ATTRIBUTES OF THE STATE**

#### **Section 47**

##### **Flag the State**

- (1) Flag of the State of West Papua is The Morning Star marked as Five Sided Star in white color, with red basic color on the left part, and with 7 blue and 6 white horizontal strips on the right part.
- (2) Size measure of the flag and arrange star situation, level off red and the white lines are permanent according to Papua Political Manifesto of 19 October 1961 and Gouvernement Regulation Number: 48, Year 1961.
- (3) The usage of flags in State of West Papua arranged in Legislation and Regulation of State of West Papua.

#### **Section 48**

### **Arm of the State**

- (1) Arm of the State of West Papua the Crown Pigeon or Mambruk (Goura Victoria Regia Papuana) shownly at chest of triangle loading six principles "recycle" of the Thriplefold Logics of Papua-Melanesia.
- (2) Arm of the State of West Papua the Crown Pigeon or Mambruk (Goura Victoria Regia Papuana) is respected and protected to be specified with Legislation.

### **Section 49**

#### **Languages of the State**

- (1) The State Languages comprise human logic utterances used in community life, administration produces, social services, inner state relationships, and international relationships, while encouraging cultural identity of the Papua-Melanesians.
- (2) The Federal Language is English.
- (3) The Common Language is Papuan-Malay.
- (4) The Melanesian Association Language is Tok Pidzin-English-France-Dutch.
- (5) The Local Language of each ethnic, tribe and community group (*vernaculars*).

### **Section 50**

#### **National Anthem**

- (1) The National Anthem of The State of West Papua is "Hai Tanah-ku Papua/O, My Land Papua" as arrangement made by I.S. Kijne and actualizing by the Papuan National Committee 19 October 1961 and warbled publically on the West Papua Declaration day of 1<sup>st</sup> December 1961.
- (2) The National Anthem of The State of West Papua, "Hai Tanah-ku Papua/O, My Land Papua" is respected and protected to be specified with Legislation.

## **CHAPTER XV**

### **UNIVERSE AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS**

#### **Section 51**

#### **Curvature of the Sky**

- (1) The Curvature of the Sky above the Territories of the State of West Papua spreads from 129 degree Longitude East to 141

degree Longitude East and from 2 degree Parallel North to 10 degree Parallel South, is the legal property of The State of West Papua.

(2) Protection, benefit and use of the air Curvature of the Sky above the State of West Papua Territories arranged by Legislation.

### **Section 52**

#### **Natural Environment**

(1) Natural environment is realized as the gift of God for the existence of mankind.

(2) Water and earth uterus at The Territories of the State of West Papua is legal property of The State of West Papua.

(3) Protection, benefit and use of water and earth uterus at The Territories of the State of West Papua is arranged by Legislation.

(4) The State of West Papua guarantees and promotes bio diversity of the Land of Papua to be part of world heritage of civilization.

### **Section 53**

#### **Human Right**

(1) The State of West Papua struggles for and protects Human Rights, especially for minorities, wherever they are.

(2) The support and criteria of Human Rights are stated by Legislation.

## **CHAPTER XVI**

### **CHANGES OF CONSTITUTION**

#### **Section 54**

##### **Changes of Constitution**

(1) Changes of the Constitution require the approval of at least 2/3 of the members of The Federal Assembly, or Congress being present.

(2) Decisions are met with the approval of at least 2/3 of the members of The Federal Assembly or Congress being present in the gathering.

## **INTERIM REGULATIONS**

### **Section 1**

The West Papua Independent Committee for the commendation of Customary Council, or agreedly also dissimilar strengths or movements as Ad Hock Body regulates and implements the transfer of the government to The Definitive Authority of the State of West Papua.

### **Section 2**

Every existing State Institutions and Regulations remains valid, until replacement occurs due to this Constitution.

### **Section 3**

Prior to the election of The President and The Prime Minister and The Coordinator Secretaries of Affairs, The Papuan Independent/National Committee under the supervision of the Customary Council Assembly or agreedly also dissimilar strengths or movements as Ad Hock Body initiates the establishment and declares The Presidium of Transitional Government of The States of West Papua.

### **Section 4**

Prior to the formation of The Federal Assembly or Congress and The Supreme Advisory Council, the Presidium of Transitional Government of The States of West Papua, supervised by The Alliances of Customary Council Assembly cooperate with The Papua Independent/ National Committee, exercises full authority.

### **Section 5**

- (1) The Customary Council Assembly is implementing Legislative Functions.
- (2) The Presidium of the Transitional Government is implementing ad Executive.
- (3) The West Papuan Independent/National Committee is responsible for implementing duties related to the secretariat, transfer of authorities, transfer of assets, repatriation, and reconciliation.

### **Section 6**

- (1) The Papua Independent/National Committee carrying out Papua National Congress;

(2) The Papua Independent/National Committee follow-up the result of decision of The Papua National Congress I, II and further on.

### **Section 7**

(1) The Customary Council Assembly chosen and determining The President.

(2) The Customary Council Assembly may choose and take possession on Duties and Function of The State Management.

(3) The Presidium of the Transitional Government and The Customary Council Assembly in cooperation with The Papua Independent/National Committee drawing up and carrying out General Election of Nation and State of West Papua.

## **SPECIAL ORDER ON THE STATE ATTRIBUTIONS**

### **Section 1**

The National Flag of The State of West Papua, The Morning Star hold high and respected as self-regard and identity prestige of The Nation and State of West Papua proven from its history remain to represent device defended and fought for hence the respect and special treatment have to be specified to later arranged in Legislation:

(1) In fluttering is obliged to avoid from decorating and or the frieze function, hence do not allowed flown in any promiscuously place inclusive at home omit.

(2) The Fluttering may only allow at certain pillar and certain vehicle.

(3) For any frieze, decoration and other performance may only of its strips lines of blue-white or red and white plain not the star mark.

(4) The colour of the flag which is faded because time or if on boat incurred by smokes etcetera may not accepted in consequence have to be flown an other flag in a state of good and fresh condition.

(5) The bunting valid for during six workdays and taken a rest on Sunday as observance day.

(6) The flag resides in pillar start 06.00 o'clock and degraded by 17.30 o'clock and at the time of will be flown and or degraded all vehicles or people who elapse to pass have to desist in place and give attitude respect with grasp of right hand at left chest on wards the pillar.

(7) The size measure of the flag and arrange situation of star, level off red and the white and blue lines are permanently according to Manifesto 19 October 1961 and Governments-Regulation Number: 48 Year 1961, hence for that make proper obeyed.

### **Section 2**

The National Anthem of the Nation and State of West Papua "Hai Tanah-Koe Papoea", involved as nation prayer which for that make proper arranged in Legislation:

(1) Intoned or warbled only when at special moment and place so that if needed it is therefore both for to be warbled song of "Dari Ombak Besar" instead.

(2) Idyl and peep and also metrum of the song is very not allowed to be changed, replaced or rearrangement more or less of under the cloak and reason of any.

(3) Song warbled and or sounded off in a state of wisdom and respect hence entire attendant in building or anywhere is obliged to stand up or posture respect with grasp of right hand at left chest.

### **Section 3**

Highness Device of The Nation and The Federation State of West Papua "Mambruk" with Section Unus Populi-Una Anima-Solo Solidarita: Caritatis, Fedelitas, Justitatis (Triple Fold Logic of Papua-Melanesia), involved as head, eye and liver of the nation which for that make proper arranged in Legislation.

### **SUMMARY**

The State Constitution of West Papua consisted of 15 Chapter by 54 Sections and 2 Orders: 1). Interim Regulation with 7 Sections and 2). Special Order on State Attributions with 3 Sections.

## Analysis of the RI Constitution and the FRWP Constitution

Regarding the contents of the Republic of Indonesia's 1945 Constitution, consists of 16 Chapters, 37 Articles plus Transitional Rules 4 Additional Articles and Rules. Concerning the Papua's 1999 Constitution contains 18 Chapters with 54 Articles and Transitional Rules with 7 Special Article and 3 Rules. The existing composition seems balanced in the sense that it does not break down as much as the constitution in general - it allows poly-interpretation to occur so that it takes so much tightening through the Law and Regulations as a tool for implementing the law.

It seems that with experience during the integration and knowledge of 1945 Constitution (P4) inspired the 1999 Constitution so that it can avoid and even taking position or at least reduce the problematic of poly-interpretation intended above.

Impressed there was an action to improve the condition that had been felt so far, although furthermore it was idealism to build a situation and condition for the Eden of the Melanesian Papuans as reported by Researchers from the van Vollenhoven Law Institute intended above.

One example is in the 1945 Constitution CHAPTER X, STATE CITIZENS, Article 26, (1) Those who become citizens are people of the original Indonesian nation and people of other nations who are legalized by law as citizens; (2) Terms concerning citizenship are stipulated by law. While in the 1999 Constitution this subject reads, Article 32, Citizens (1) Those who become citizens are Melanesian Ethnic Papuans and other Ethnic people who are legitimate according to the Law, (2) West Papua State recognizes and respects double citizens as long as it does not conflict with the life order adopted in the country; (3) The conditions for citizenship of the State of West Papua are stipulated by Law. In the sense, that it is more straightforward for ethnic groups and other citizens who want to recognize the existence of the Papuan Nation. This correlation is returned to the fate of ethnic Chinese in the New Order era of Indonesia, whose rights were almost not respected in this matter concerning the names and clans of their ancestors.

Ten years after the Round Table Conference (RTC) and before integrating into the Republic of Indonesia even though briefly but



has formed the Papua *einheid Völken* (Papuan Ethnic Unity) so that it still implies the impression and awareness of Papuan identity is another in correlating outside the Indonesian Nation (an effort to become Indonesia and immediately require various forms of appreciation or appreciation as fellow citizens in dignified equality).

### **Limit of Country and Form of State**

Regarding national borders according to the two constitutions not the same is stated. Is nil in the 1945 Indonesian Constitution where in the Papuan 1999 Constitution mentioned in Article 4:

- (1) The territory of West Papua State extends at 129 degrees East Longitude bordering the State of Indonesia (Moluccas) to 141 degrees East Longitude bordering the State of Papua New Guinea, and 2 degrees North Latitude bordering the Philippines, Republic of Palau and the Pacific Ocean on to 10 degrees South Latitude bordering Australia.
- (2) The territory of the State of West Papua is divided into 7 Territories with a division of Residency and Municipality or Community (Gemeente / Community).
- (3) The territory of the West Papua State which occurs because of developments then called the Later Development Territories, regulated by Law.
- (4) The State of West Papua is a Commonwealth in the form of a Federation (Federalist State).

### **The form of state**

Regarding the form of state according to the two constitutions, both are stated. Constitution (Papua) 1999 in Article 5:

- (1) The State of West Papua (SWP) is in the form of a Federation (Federalist State);
- (2) The West Papua Government is formed on 7 Volken Traditional Papuan Territories according to the Papua National Committee Manifesto as stated on the National Flag of December 1, 1961 namely Hollandia or Tabi, Geelvink Bay or Sarera, Vogelkop or Domberai, Onin-Bomberai, South Coast or Ha-Anim , West Central Highlands or Me Paqo and the Middle

East Highlands or Lani Paqo and added with Later Development Territories.

(3) Development territories are then based on the division of Regency / Municipality / Level II of the Regional Government of Irian Jaya Province and / or other conditions and considerations and support.

(4) Determination of Tradition Territories and Later Development Territories for that is regulated by Law.

Regarding the Form and Sovereignty of the Constitution 1945 (Indonesia) stated Article 1:

(1) The State of Indonesia is a unitary state in the form of a Republic.

(2) Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and fully carried out by the People's Consultative Assembly.

### **Regarding the National Flag**

Regarding the national flag, the Dwi Warna appeared during the political and the physical struggle against Dutch colonialism ended after World War II. Red and white implies peace but for that war can even occur. The colours which are more animated from flags in the Middle East that breathe Islam. Correlation with the Morning Star, is a rebirth or a reincarnation of the symbol of resistance to Amber by the Koreri fighters before, during and after World War II with the inspiration of the Morning Star in the myth of Manarmakeri which is the forerunner of *Koreri beweging* (Koreri movement) as described by Kama (1972).

If the final dogma of World War II was "creating peace, true friendship and freedom for the Nations" then the Papuan Nation was included in the Dutch East Indies Colony which was released in 1943 two years before the Indonesian Proclamation was announced by Soekarno and Hatta. Thus the Bintang Kejora Flag is a symbol of intimacy (mosaic) of the Melanesian Customs and Christianity, including Isam Papua) in terms of the struggle (resistance or movement of the anti-amber Koreri in question as well as anti-colonialists).

It is correlated that, both flags are symbols of struggle despite different nuances. The event in Orange Hotel Surabaya shows that the Two-colour occurs because the Tri-colour is stripped down in

the lower part of the blue colour, while the Morning Star occurs because the completeness distributed by Tri-colour completes the local wisdom and ideology of Papua. The Tri-colour then releases the Morning Star just by joining the Two-colour which is unable to accommodate the image.

The Morning Star was opposed so that there was no space and other efforts were hampered to realize a long-standing dream in Papua which from time to time took its toll because of the two flags Two Calours and the Morning Star. The leader of Papua, Theys Hio Eluay once took the initiative to raise the two flags together at the December 1, 1999 event as the beginning of a true Indonesian-Papuan friendship, but was instead blamed.

This event was one reason that this figure was arrested and processed by law along with 4 other figures, namely The First Jayapura 5 in December 2000. The existence of OTSUS is not a suitable place to position the Morning Star as a symbol of the region.

### **Regarding the National Coat of Arms**

Regarding the national symbols of the two nations, the appearance of a bird is determined. A philosophical correlation is seen in the obedience of birds that do not talk much but put forward hard work, and eagles that also do not say much but claws and beak can shake in seconds. Strong and mighty in turbulent souls are correlated with peaceful soul resilience in brambles or graceful doves in glittering blue. Indeed, there is so much correlation data but it is not yet realized that both parties, especially Indonesia, are in control and know well "what independence is the right of all nations ..." then able to position parties.

### **Historical Construction of the FRWP Constitution**

The text of the 1999 Constitution was based on 3 texts by the Papua Independent Committee (KIP), namely, *Pulau Fajar Keemasan: A Promise of Cooperation between States and the West Papua Transitional Government*, Port Numbay April 1999 and *Rendevous with the Independence Struggle of West Papua* 1999 and two more are

*Guidelines Basic of the Nation of Papua 1999 and Constitution Draft of the Federalist State of Papua 1999.*

The mention of the first book occurred if the Government of Indonesia and the People of West Papua reached an Agreement in Dialogue as well as the Round Table Conference in The Hague in 1949 in positioning the State Sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia, then all cooperation on defense, economy including citizenship and labor can be negotiated recommended. The second text is on the admiration of experts for what the Papuans have achieved after integrating while struggling for their existence in uncertainty but yet can be realized to this extent (Eben Heizer = Up here God with us).

Furthermore, the 1999 constitution referred to can be seen in the context of fulfilling the criteria of *the existence of territory, the existence of the people, the willingness, the existence of the state* and for that the rule is needed, thus the constitution is positioned at the periphery and marginal line with the 1945 Constitution with a shadow (futurist).

From another perspective this fact is also like going to answer Djuyoto Suntani, 2015 Indonesia: Broken". A book that is straightforward and arbitrary style of Javanese "sok tau" (all-knowing) sees conquest as immortality. Here is the mistake. Papua, which in the minds of the great people of Indonesia was not posited as Territory, Man and Civilization which was built ten years (1949/1950-1960) apart from the rest of the Dutch East Indies was still considered a district or territory of the Tidore Sultanate whose progress was the same once out of balance. How can it be equated with Hollandia in 1955, for example with Ternate in the same year, still hamlet and bumpkin? If Djuyoto Suntani says that like, Papua is not included in the list and is not anti-Christ.

## **Products of Indonesia's Outer Cosmopolitan Limits**

The 1999 Constitution of NFRFB was written using various sources from the environment near Jerusalem in Judah Land, New York in American Land, and others including Jakarta in Betawi Land and of course the Netherlands which is thus a global format for cosmopolitan engagement. The engagement takes place in the imbalance of power (strength) between the centre of the country

and the outer boundary (periphery). The writing of a constitution is among the most powerful practices for putting it bare (as it is), *deconstruct* (rethinking) and *redefine* (rethinking) racial and cultural boundaries in the State of Indonesia versus Papua. There is no constitutionalism that matches the constitution arranged above the marginal line or the border-line of the State, so the response from the public, especially by Researchers from Vollenhoven Law Institute of Leiden State University The Netherlands, could happen. Such a field will be seen in the conditions by which this basis and the sacred foundations (the secrecy) for an alternative country are placed.

The constitution is a fruit of work that may be said by creative and sophisticated have clear vision. The sources of inspiration or holy grails<sup>41</sup> are diverse and the method of composition is very collared by a wide range of insights while the aim is clear to produce a structure that will derive from the throne of those who have too much power and inherit the rights for all including to protect their rights are marginalized (in a sense, also, including those that are integrated).

Depending on the dissemination and response of people, the social process might lead to coverage of the mobilization of the Papuan Nation for its own "M" intentions or the despair of opinion against but also the kind of interaction presented with people in Jakarta.

The possibility of this being lately is always around the corner but often not recorded by Jakarta. (Book) Synchronization written by this author (Flassy, 2004)<sup>42</sup> states that it is a clear occurrence of a creative foundation for mutual agreement between the centre and state and government periphery over territory which often results in very rigid and frightening reactions (virtues that are unwise and

<sup>41</sup>) It is a bit exaggerated, but it is ambition on the basis of a moral order imposed for the existence of the constitution itself as an enlightenment of the implication and proces of the insured in the course of nationalism in Papua to realize eternal freedom.

<sup>42</sup>) In the framework of integrating Law-RI No. 45 of 1999 concerning Expansion of Provinces into 3 Provinces with Law-RI no. 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for the Papua Province (cf. Footnote no. 27).

or policies that are sometimes uncivilized) from Jakarta. However, as Timmer (2004, 2005) shows that the gap between Jakarta and Papua is not narrowed, neither is it, perhaps the centre and boundaries of the country's easternmost periphery are involved with each other when educable entities are such that the two interconnected with each other in terms of price equilibrium - respecting the value of cosmopolitan connections to cultural traditions and knowledge.

Another defence is the knowledge and local domestic wisdom (emics) which is almost always stagnant when introduced to the knowledge (ethics) that is guided in development while still underpinning prejudices and the omniscience of knowing the service target (Papua as the target group).

### Diversity in Unity

In this case, this of course is not easy on the establishment of being part or getting space and even the point and entrance of repertoire considering the concept of the Republic of Indonesia: Diversity in Unity. As has been shown before this, because what is obtained from the basic philosophy of the Tri Fold Logics of Papua-Melanesia is the fact that it is once different but is still different or Unity in Diversity. In a sense, each element of the not smelted (intact not smelt) mosaic is banded (integrated in a mosaic) then it is completely different and still different, from which each of the interests is equated cybernetic (synergy) because of solidarity, togetherness, customs and attitudes, including the interests of both *the Papua cum Melanesia race* and *humanity* on other scales, especially integrity in the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), can certainly be tested.

So in that understanding of the 1945 Constitution or the State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the Pancasila (Five Principles) versus the Constitution of the Federalist State of West Papua 1999 and the Tri-Fold Logics of Papua-Melanesia which are at the periphery or marginal line of the Republic of Indonesia want to be juxtaposed academically. With the aim of drawing from both intelligent crossing for the progress of both parties in mutual understanding and multilateral mutual benefit. In this case the Government of Indonesia seeks flexibility from the immunity of

existing governance (integration), in entering the nuances of Papua (integrated people) in a dignified balance and fulfilling civilized human values.

The understanding of the constitution at the marginal line and the boundary of the intended periphery is a possibility for material testing and even quality testing what is meant by the *local wisdom* of the nations and tribes in the Republic of Indonesia (read: Nusantara) it has been perfectly accommodated in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Call it the 'Sharia-Islam' which is said to have been issued from the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, but it is still an expression of local wisdom for certain groups, regions, nations and ethnic groups.

### **Christian Knowledge as the Base of Imagination**

Writing a constitution implies the imagination of a country and nation, is that it will be the main thing. As said, for the structure of the state, this author took the way of dividing the Dutch Netherlands New Guinea bureaucracy, with such great respect that the Dutch had extensive knowledge (about Papua) which was collected on culture and language in this area. This is a remarkable thing for the Papuan people to reminisce around the Dutch era to highlight disappointment in the Indonesian state since 1963.

Another major source of knowledge for the imagination of the country and its people is Christian knowledge. For example, the late Theys Eluay, the generation of interest and openly supporting independence in 1998, writing the preface to this constitution seemed strongly influenced by the Christian faith in the constitution. In 'Greetings' he wrote that the Papuan Nation is:

... the absolute desirability of absolute truth, namely God, the Creator of heaven and earth. His astonishing creation has succeeded in uniting Papuans out of their seclusion, darkness and hostility. They had obtained the Light of the Gospel of Christ which had formed a large number of these tribes into the Nation of God's Lottery [sic., Eluay meant lottery on land as placed for the sake of the God of the tribes of Israel since February 5, 1855]. For His mercy and love, on December 1, 1961, a declaration was made to become self as a Nation and State of West Papua (p.ii).

Furthermore, Eluay concisely but explains the foundation of the constitution as a thirty-six-year settlement ('astonishing act') under the New Order (starting from 1962, when Indonesia assumed administrative oversight of the territory until 1998) and 'universal norms and the modern world'. 'This is might to be a Legislative Structure or Word for the Papuans ...' (p.iii).

Indeed, the Word which Eluay mentions connects the constitution of the Old Testament which normatively speaks of Israel as a nation before God from its birth. If the Word of the Old Testament is to apply when the system of governance for the State whose constitution is promoted will be logically based on the moral system and the teachings of customary rules contained in the first five books of the Old Testament. This author does not expressly say that, but, as discussed below, he reaps the natural laws of Christianity with the natural law of Papuan customs to establish the Tri-Fold Logics of Papua-Melanesia.

This intelligence makes this constitution especially particularly strong in challenging Papuan Christians (no exception to Papuan Islam) if many people diligently refer to their customs (which often have a striking resemblance to Christian stories or knowledge) to describe otherwise.

The constitution does not establish a Christian state but only provides people with other beliefs to play a role in the executive branch. For example, Article 19 concerning the Pledge of the President and the Prime Minister:

*Declaration of intent by the President and Prime Minister.*

(Christians only: "In The Name of Lord Father, The Creator of Universe, Lord Jesus The King of The Nation of Papua and by the mediator The Holy Spirit")

(For other confessions: .....)

"I pledge the obligations as The Prime Minister of West Papua, based on The Papuan Luster: mercy – allegiance – justice and The Melanesian Principle: one people –one soul – one solodarity by virtue of The Constitution and yet Decrees, Legislations ancillary though My Nation and Fatherland Papua" (p.38).

Another thing clearly Christian influences occurred since the entry of Christian missionaries in 1855 which proved to many



Papuans that God had given them land and sealed the Papuan Nation as one of the 'lost tribes' of the descendants of Israel in the past. Erroneously, Eluay closed his preliminary statement with a speech called 'Shalom', as will be discussed below. The Basic Guidelines were established as the basis of the key principles for understanding that God had divided his land with lottery stones for every nation including the Papuans (and Christians as main streams) confirmed in 1855:

The gospel of Christ works violently after shaking from the Head Section of this Bird Island, then the entire Body to the Tail on the love of Jesus Christ, from Sorong to Samarai. [sic.] "(Basic Guidelines, 1999: 7)<sup>43</sup>

Love of Jesus unites the Papuan Nation and illuminates ... this author appears in his attempt to authenticate the Papuans. As indicated above, another main point to describe Papua is the Mansoben classification which is used by the author to establish certainty of group identity, truly contrary to reality and its own sensitivity which tells people that not only has it changed and that in fact the essence of identity only exists in relation to the mythology of time.

<sup>43</sup>) Samarai is an island occupying the easternmost part of Papua New Guinea, before Port Moresby and had been the seat of government of Milne Bay Province until 1968 (see Oram, 1972). Especially in the case of lost paradise and the last unknown literature of Nieuw Guinea, bird-like forms tend to be read as symbols that signify the country and primordial prehistoric characteristics of its ancient society. For example, in his depiction of his journey towards the western mountains of the 'wildest' Nieuw Guinea, the famous Australian explorer and scientist, Tim Flannery (2000: 2) states that the shape of the wake of New Guinea is a prehistoric bird that crossed the northern ocean of Australia ('sprawls like a vast prehistoric bird across the sea north of Australia'). Variations about this parable were found between people at the Bird's Head (or Vogelkop was named in Dutch which inspired key powers to the head of the bird. This author came from Teminabuan on the southern coast of the Bird's Head. Besides being the head of New Guinea in the Basic Guidelines, another example is Rev. Jenbise reflecting a program of Dutch and Irian Jaya cooperation in the Bird's Head centralized 1990s that 'the head must be lifted before the bird can fly' (Miedema *et al.* 1998: xi).

## Return to Papuan Culture

The written constitutional issue is also related to the fact that cultural values that normally and according to oral history are spoken in Papua have become the foundation for a constitution and are thus formatted unchanged. Removing the issue of generalization is involved in describing the ethos of Papuans with an area with great cultural variation, the question is how the constitution will accommodate the elimination of radicals faster, change and reinterpretation of ethos and the continuity of changes in attitudes, beliefs and behaviour in Papua.

This author does not present an answer to this dilemma as it has gone from a stable assumption, valid universal pre-Christian Melanesian ethos, as discussed below, shows (not coincidentally) parallel with Christian values and then is considered to be a good foundation for a Papuan State.

As a written text, even though it is not widely distributed as sold in bookstores, the Basic Guidelines should also be seen in the context of other writings on Papua. Since the fall of Suharto and the increasing freedom of expression in Indonesia, the field of personal study and most socio-political nature reflects the situation in Papua in Indonesia has emerged. A growing mass of books written by Papuans is also the result of improved education since the 1960s, especially for people on the north coast, namely the Cenderawasih Bay Area, the Bird's Head and a classic axis of activity for Papuan intellectuals around Jayapura. The author's written constitution includes communicating with this particular literature.

The form and format of this literature are relatively the same as the cheap, hardback books as produced and published by most NGOs in Yogyakarta or Jakarta. Some of them are collections of newspaper articles or notes before being published, while others are from the beginning written in book form. Most present the issue of human rights violations and injustices against the Papuan Nation since the transition of power in this region to Indonesia.

The wording is often polemic but poetic at the same time. In connection with history, based on facts, there is an important matter in the number of copying and re-statements from previous reports, plus a few details of new things.

Social analysis and political circumstances which generally modestly reflect the critical condition that plundered both nationally and internationally against the West-Guinea that occurred and the diversity of opinions between policy makers in Jakarta and factual but often potentially unrealized Indonesia in managing that area.

A clear example of this is Reverend Socratez Sofyan Yoman with his book *Pintu Menuju Papua Merdeka: Perjanjian New York 15 Agustus 1962 dan Pepera 1969 Hanya Sandiwara Politik Amerika, Indonesia, Belanda dan PBB* (Door towards Papua Merdeka: New York Agreement 15 August 1962 and 1969 Pepera, Only Political Plays of US, Indonesia, the Netherlands and the United Nations), 2000. More than that, as with writings of this author, we distinguish it from a tendency to portray Papua as an innocent victim with very little defence and almost no responsibility at all for the future of their country. Their future is usually justified, as something that will come with an increase in autonomy or even independence.

But however mastery is emphasized; the rest of the goal of reaching the court is still not balanced. In fact, most manuscripts are informed by the thoughts of those who believe there will be a prosperous period but most of them are also made indecisive.

Another recent example of a book with a heavy focus on the injustices suffered by the Papuans with with drawal as the final solution written by Yakobus Dumupa 2000 under the title *Berburu Keadilan di Papua: Mengungkap Dosa-dosa Politik Indonesia di Papua Barat* (Hunting of Justice in Papua: Revealing Indonesian Political Sins in West Papua). This is a personal accusation against the Indonesian State and the Indonesian Nation in general with religious references.

Faced with important questions about why the Papuans want independence there is another booklet from Raweyai, entitled *Mengapa Papua Ingin Merdeka* (Why Papua Wants Freedom), 2002. Raweyai was previously a member of the Pancasila Youth and also a member of the Papuan Council Presidium, which is a civilian wing of the independence movement, besides Chairman of the Papuan Customary Council in Jakarta. In addition to a promotion of the title, this book also urges arguments for independence due

to human rights violations, social and economic marginalization and the failure of Jakarta to properly hold a plebiscite in 1969. The book was intended as a means for the Papuan Presidium to make public statements and to communicate their views on Jakarta.

Among the books that seem to highlight the most popular intellectuals are those written by Dr. Rev. Benny Giay, entitled *Menuju Papua Baru: Beberapa Pokok Pikiran Sekitar Emansipasi Orang Papua*, (Towards New Papua: Some Thoughts Around the Emancipation of Papuans), 2000. Giay obtained a PhD from Frij Universiteit Amsterdam in 1995, is the leader of the Kingmi Church in Papua, one of the founders of FORERI (Irian Jaya People Reconciliation Forum) and former Moderator of Papua Presidium Council.

To go to a New Papua is not to package the future of the Papuan Nation in the marble (Kjar, 2002: 48) but Giay is more about the formulation of the struggle to reverse the situation from the reluctance to deal with Papuans in Indonesia. He appealed to adopt the following priorities in the struggle. Strengthen a culture of forgiveness based on the idea that when the word “*menyesal* (regret)” is able to be spoken to one another the Papuans can bury their past and become one. Simultaneously, he supported a refusal of Indonesianizing. A change in the mentality of the Papuan Nation is needed, for the Papuan Nation that has been and too much Indonesianizing, both in behaviour and attitude, which often makes stumbling in finding the right way forward.

Instead what is needed is Papuanizing in all fields. The Papuan people must refer back to their culture and give the highest value, and change the old system to become “New Papua”. In education, for example, a full new curriculum must be introduced. For a nation there must be a need to revisit and rewrite history. This will create an important asset for future generations, especially the political history of denial in 1969. Finally, Giay sees that wisdom is needed to achieve truth and peace.

Therapy for collective trauma is needed so that each trusted party appears as able as possible in the future and acknowledges the mistakes of its past.

At the level of government and debate, the intent and purpose of Special Autonomy which was awarded to Papua, in 2002, there were a number of books.

The question is who will really use the Special Autonomy, Jakarta or Papua and what is the relationship with the latest administrative division now as found in the book Sefnat Momoa entitled *Bayang-bayang Pemekaran vs OTSUS: Rakyat Papua Hendak Dibawa Kemana* (Shadow of Expansion vs. OTSUS: Where Will the Papuan People to Carry a way?).

In supporting Special Autonomy and its depiction as a panacea to treat marginalized wounds and reconcile conflict, Yan Pieter Rumbiak wrote the title *Otonomi Khusus bagi Provinsi Papua: Menyelesaikan Pelanggaran Hak Asasi Manusia dan Membangun Nasionalisme di Daerah Krisis Integrasi* (Special Autonomy for the Papua Province: Resolving Human Rights Violations and Building Nationalism in the Integration Crisis Area). This book clearly says to the public in Jakarta.

More objectively highlighting the conflict in Papua and denying an appropriate implementation of Special Autonomy so that it will present a solution is the writing of Frans Maniagasi entitled *Masa Depan Papua: Merdeka, Otonomi Khusus dan Dialog* (The Future of Papua: Freedom, Special Autonomy and Dialogue).

All the texts try to relate to the shock of the situation in Papua and specifically the gap between Jakarta-based policy makers and the Papuan people. What the latest Papuan literature wants to show<sup>44</sup>) is that voicing in writing the anxiety of being marginalized at the edge of a country is very important is an attempt to overcome the difficulties of change that accompanied the transition of the regime of power.

Past political changes in West New Guinea have also led to similar reactions. A number of books, booklets and constitutions for West Papua have been produced by Papuans who are in exile in response to the Netherlands New Guinea transfer to the United

<sup>44</sup> In the meantime, the work of Wonda Sendius, *Tenggelamnya Rumpun Melanesia* (Sinking of the Melanesian Cluster), 2007, Yogyakarta, Galang Press, was banned by the Indonesian Attorney General's Office in 2008 because it was considered disturbing public order (which is the truth, no body knows).

Nations through the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) from 1 October 1962 to 1 May 1963, then continue to the Republic of Indonesia. In the surrender of the region, the Netherlands negotiated an attempt to control Indonesia in Papua after a period of six years.

## Differences of Indonesian and FRWP Constitution

Certain contextual influences on the constitution also include knowledge of the Dutch colonial government and this author's ownership of the Dutch idiosyncratic knowledge stored in the Dutch collection and its intimacy with the Netherlands and elsewhere.

From even more regional levels, there are also influences from Melanesian eschatology by equating and idealizing the ideas of the culture and customs (environment) of the Papuan Nation. The environment must be respected. The author is in place including his *audience-in-mind* to understand what he is doing.

The most striking thing is that Triple Fold Logics voices a feeling of sovereignty that organizes understanding 'into Melanesia and Christian'. This author refers to the Indonesian constitution (along with other international constitutions) and as colonial rule is romanticized, that is, clearly serving and giving density to the text (the intended constitution). At the same time, even though, as an act of balancing or constituting autonomy, a Papuan Nation constitution should avoid the possibility of the rigidity of the power of any particular regime. This author understands this. Therefore most references to God and Christian values are in one breath the relationship with Melanesia or the kindness of Melanesians.

In analyzing this author's script, the Researcher identifies different mishap of science that has influenced thinking styles. Many of these knowledges are mobile and mobilize across regions and localities, between people who are also nimble and exert each other.

Different interpretations of knowledge may appear universally pointing to cultural differences which indicate that conditions and attention are also different. Knowledge gained from education, during study abroad, from books, from stories (folklore) and so on,

becomes part of a tool for a person to produce meaningful structures, to mobilize people, to gain power (energy), in increasing charisma. Writing a constitution is a matter that this author feels he must first do but this is also a possibility to be blamed. According to the Researcher, this writer is like a magician who can create hotchpotch which is very characteristic in the early part of the constitution as well as 'United States'. The above analysis has shown that a person's work may be taken as an insightful instance of many micro events in Papua that often form a driving force for greater movement. While macro-level analysis is about historical events that are often insufficient on understanding what has happened because *ignore the possibilities of chance and individual idiosyncrasies that drive pivotal events* (the neglect of the various possibilities for privileges and privileges that guide events is very important).

The only Papuan work on regulations (legislation) aimed at regulating life and public management as clever steps to carve out a better future for the whole of Papua will probably get support from different constituencies and spread. Moreover, the author's constitution deals with the appropriateness of cultural variations and political reasons which are partially associated together and some individuals, that of course the two are never separated.

Indeed there is a 'shared social and cultural world of Papua' (significant overlap between personal and social togetherness and the cultural world of Papua) for which an overview and analysis has not yet been completed and is still outside the scope of this text. As a result, as it is still in the process, as a regulation (legislation), such as constituting regulations (legislation), this constitution by the author is indeterminate and polyvalent (indeterminate and dual or plural). Therefore, the researcher noted that it was an important feature of culture and political activity in modern Papua.

What appears is according to Researcher that this author has *the capacity to blow his audience's mind* (capacity to voice the depth of his contemplation), to produce a greater vision of reality that is related to human ideas and concerns but also includes them and states that this author is *the grand master*.

This constitution thus strongly gives an understanding of the State of Indonesia and becomes a gift as an alternative form of a state for neglecting the remnants of lost edenic which in this case Christian principles centred together with customary orders and rules. The rules of customs and Christian mission to one another's agreement and together are tantamount to justice (face of justice), dignity, and sovereignty.

The existence of the Basic Guidelines is a product of the cosmopolitan periphery (cosmopolitan outer boundary) of Indonesia thus is a sign of the engagement of local traditions with global powers putting Papua in a vast world.

As said, this constitution was written by using various sources as from the environment near Jerusalem and the Netherlands so that it was a form of cosmopolitan engagement. The engagement takes place in the imbalance of power (mighty) between the centre of the country and its periphery. The writing of a constitution is among the strongest practices for putting it bare (as it is); deconstruct (rethinking) and redefining racial and cultural boundaries in the State of Indonesia.

Again, there is no constitutionalism that matches the constitution arranged above the marginal line or the edge of this country. Such a field will be seen in the conditions by which this basis and the sacred foundations (the prohibited and the secret) for an alternative country are placed. What may be inferred from the author's constitutional analysis is that the producer of this text is extraordinarily creative, sophisticated and has clear vision. Then the sources or basis of holy grails is diverse and the composition method is very broad-minded while the aim is clear to produce a structure which will derive from the throne those who have too much power and inherit the rights for all including (should) protect rights of those who are marginalized.

Depending on the dissemination and response of people, the social process might lead to coverage of the mobilization of the Papuan nation for or against independence but also the kind of interaction that this writer presents with people in Jakarta. The possibility of this being lately is always around the corner but often not recorded by Jakarta. (Book) Synchronization written by this author mentioned above is a clear event of a creative



foundation for mutual agreement between the centre and state and government peripheral of the region which often creates a very rigid and frightening reaction from Jakarta.

However, as the gap between Jakarta and Papua is not narrowed (see [Timmer 2004, 2005](#)) it is not possible for the centre and boundaries of the country's most eastern periphery to be involved with educable entities so that the two are interconnected in terms of price balance - Appreciate the value of the cosmopolitan connection of cultural traditions and knowledge.

## Closing Remarks

Since 1999 there has been a State's Dream Constitution at least so, that is, the West Papua State which was dreamed of in spite of being exchanged for Special Autonomy.

In the history of the journey of ethical efforts contained in the RI Law of 2001, it is also a dream in the sense that it continues to be disturbed so that it also ends in a dream or maybe even dreams that are not conveyed.

The Prophet of Papua, Rev. I.S. Kijne on the first page of the "Kota Emas" (Golden City) Itu Dia Series Volume IV, 1954 wrote: "*Jang dimimpi walau tak akan djadi, pasti abadi* (What is dreamed even though it will not be, it will last forever)". And the Papuans together with their brothers and sisters the Indonesian people are in the aroma and mood of the dreams presented by a system that calls itself and we also know the name "Indonesian Government".

There are a handful of people (politicians, bureaucrats, statesmen) who arbitrarily, essentially and do not want to know that Brethen of Papuan is even neither Indonesian, wanting it or not. Like the mud Lapindo disaster, people are forced to say "grateful", gas and gold sales that are not as absorbed as in Papua and used for the Papuan Nation and their Indonesian brethens, yes, "syukur (grateful)". And that is only the inevitable pieces that are carried away, in dreams.

Let's realize our dream to build our Dream Countries. The Indonesian nation and the Papuan nation, each has its own country and there is also the direction of our common goal, Federalism-Bilateralism, and should be possible, even though, Indonesia in the Constitution does not state where the borders are.

Indeed, the (dream) 1999 Constitution on KRP-3 has won the honour of the Papuan People to become the Papua Constitution called the 1999 Constitution preceding the Papuan UDI and the NFRPB October 19, 2011. During this time (2011-2016) before the transfer of sovereignty to the NFRPB de facto there are two constitutions in relation to Indonesia-Papua which correlate with each other. In de jure both also fulfilled the legitimacy element of democracy within the limits of their respective interpretations but also fulfilled certain universal measurable rules.

# 4 Power waves of the World in the land of Papua

## Introduction

Is the existing of Papua in Indonesia a world problem? The answer is repeated also to the Prestige of the Great Power (of the World), in this case the United States (US). At least if on the goodwill of the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) and Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) as well as Negroid solidarity (Africa-Caribbean-Pacific (ACP) through Peace Diplomacy have the opportunity and potentially encourage the Papua problem to be reappointed The West Papua so becomes a UN agenda that is is not new to the US. It is carrying out the mandate of the UN Declaration of 1945 Article 73 and Article 75-85 on the International Trusteeship System which is the reference of UNGA Resolution 448 (V) Dec 12. 1950, which established West Papua or the Netherlands New Guinea as the non-self government territory under the UN, of course, was very understandable.

This premise is important to understand, because it will provide certainty for anyone, especially the Indonesian Nation and the Papuan Nation itself to have a handle on how to respond to the ideology of "Merdeka/M" that has been going on so far (more than half a century). Likewise for sympathizers and challengers to get a

standard on referral steps and resolutions taken according to and based on international criteria related to this. Besides also realizing that during the time of the liberation struggle, the Papuan Nation through KRP-3 had rolled out the Unilateral Declaration/UDI of the Papuan Nation and the FRWP on October 19, 2011. Then, what is the real role of the power of the world power?

## **Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World**

The locus and focus of the discussion is devoted to Prestige and the Power of the Great World powers played by the US and the Soviet Union, each with its allied members during the Cold War. Starting after the Second World War in this case the US came out as a winner while gaining prestige and great power over the world. According to Wilcox Francis O. (1945, "The Yalta Voting Formula": 943-956) the most important strengths include veto right holders<sup>45</sup> among the 5 members of the United Nations consisting of the United States, Britain, France, Soviet or now Russia and the People Republic of China (PRC) previously held by the Chinese Nationalist Republic, now called Taiwan, are domiciled on Formosa Island.

The voices of veto holders in the United Nations are influential and are able to cancel or accept whatever decisions are made in this World Agency. And, this is the reality of great power over the world.

Although there are 5 members who hold veto rights as mentioned before, it can be said that the US is superior to others in terms of economic, military and international political power

<sup>45</sup> In the UN Security Council, the term "veto right" is the right to cancel decisions, provisions, regulations and laws or resolutions. The veto own by five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, namely the United States, Russia (formerly the Soviet Union), Britain, France, the People's Republic of China (replacing the Republic of China-Taiwan). The veto was inherent in the five countries based on Article 27 of the UN Charter. The aim of giving veto rights was initially to protect the interests of the founders of the United Nations. Francis O. Wilcox (1945) "The Yalta Voting Formula" in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 39, No. 5.

because it certainly links the allies or strongholds in this matter with Britain and France while Russia of course holding the PRC. The point is that, even though France is sometimes not always obedient as the UK, for example in the case of dropping an embargo on one or several countries in the Middle East for example on the issue of nuclear weapons, France is not even entirely aka ambiguous.

As long as it can be noted, with Prestige and Power obtained, the US has also sacrificed various parties, including in this specific Papuan Nation and the State of West Papua. In this case, as understood by the Freedom Papua fighters, that the US had used Papua as a mortgage to hold back the pace of communism by persuading Sukarno and then Indonesia could freely triumph in Tanah Papua while on the other hand also at the same time evict the Dutch who were one the thick Allied Forces member to left Tanah Papua in 1962 and then handed over to the UNTEA-UN which continued on May 1, 1963 to be handed over to the Government of Indonesia. Then began what is called the "path of misery of Papua" rather than "the path of Papuan history", or combined to become "the historical path of Papuan misery" since then. As alleged, the US has since become deaf and blind and ambivalent about the fate of the Papuan as Nation and as State.

Happened, the Land of Papua which despite its different interests, because the International conspiracy played by the US, for its sake in the Cold War, accepted the reality to be an integrated part or more precisely annexed in the Unitary Republic of Indonesia/NKRI.

Of course it was strengthened by political plots of cow trade politics which is called the US Bunker Plan as the embryo of the 1962 New York Agreement (NYA) launched by the United Nations. Carelessly, as concluded by Drooglever (ditto) from the Institute of Dutch History based on the results of his interview with ex-DMP members that, "The NYA applied far from humanity's conscience, full of intimidation, contrary to human rights including not obeying articles of the NYA meant or generally contradicted the related articles in the UN Charter of 1945 and the UN General Declaration of 1948 concerning Human Rights".

Prestige and Power obtained by the US since the end of World War II until the end of the Cold War with the fall of the Soviets Union, apparently, have not at all been a dignified effort to restore the Papua people and land to its original position and status in 1962 as a nation and territory entitled to independence and sovereign and self-governing as the Agreement and Decree of the South Pacific Commission, the 1947 R-Day in Canberra<sup>46</sup> was believed by various Papuans, especially the ex-bureaucrats of the Netherlands New Guinea as revealed by A. Mampiooper in his book "1972, *Jayapura, Ketika Perang Pacific* (Jayapura, during the Pacific War)". So in fact the issue of West Papua in relation to Indonesia's Independence as a Japanese (Dai Nipon) World War II criminal's product would be rightly categorized as excess in accordance with Chapter VI of the UN Charter 1945 concerning the Pacific Settlement of Disputes. Moreover, the status of West Papua or Netherlands New Guinea has been defined as non-self government territory under the United Nations according to Article 73 and Article 75-85 concerning the International Trusteeship System which is a reference for UNGA Resolution 448 (V) 12 Dec. 1950 meant above. In this case the existence of Indonesia in Papua is as a United Nations Member State carrying out the mandate of the United Nations Trusteeship in accordance with the articles of the United Nations Declaration and legal products in the form of the relevant UNGA resolutions.

According to this author, such understanding needs to be raised to see the fairness of the actions and journey of the Papuan people so far and the coveted future achievements. To what extent this possibility occurs, let us telescope the following discussion.

## Prestige and Power

About prestige and power, Joey Cheng (2014, "Towards a unified science of hierarchy: Dominance and prestige are two fundamental pathways to human social rank") shows that there are

<sup>46</sup> The South Pacific Commission 1947 produced the Canberra Agreement in 1947, two years before the Round Table Conference (RTC) in The Hague, Netherlands 1949 established the Sovereignty and The United States of Indonesia (RIS) which at the same time Papua obtained Special Autonomy status of, Gouvernement van Nederlands Nieuw Guinea ..

actually two ways to rise above social rankings to gain leadership and appearance that impress others (other parties) with skills or power (ability, strength) through basic domination. By measuring the level of influence and visual attention, we find that people (parties) submit to and easily see prestigious and dominating leaders (those who are dominated).

In connection with that, prestige and dominance (power) are seen and recognized as signs of leadership, which shows that people tend to prefer the dominant leader with prestige. Such facts can help explain why many successful business and political leaders are so aggressive with a variety of challenging things. In this connection, for example, the President of the United States, the late John F. Kennedy and the late President Soekarno in the 1960s and even Hitler with Nazi Germany in his time or beforehand Napoleon Bonaparte in France and in this era the North Korean leader President Kim Jong-un made the heart of the country around (South Korea, China, Japan) including the US.

Meanwhile, beforehand, it was about the same topic concerning the US, with underlying theories about power elite or world-famous government. According to C. Wright Mills (1956) government elites gained power through three areas of membership namely (1) the highest political leaders including the president and several key cabinet members and the closest advisers; (2) owners and directors of large companies; and (3) high-ranking military officers, namely those who are part of a close group. It is also said, even though these people are a close group; they are not part of a conspiracy that secretly manipulates the events of their own selfish interests.

Furthermore, it is said, for this reason that most elites respect civil liberties, here are constitutional principles established, and operate openly and peacefully, far from dictatorship, do not depend on terror, secret police, or arrest in the middle of the night to get a road (secret). Such a thing should not be so, as it really is. Its membership is also not closed, although many members have enjoyed power in life based on their existence especially those who are born in prominent families. However, those who work hard usually enjoy more fortune, and show stability is also greater willingness to adopt elite values that make it possible to work in a

higher circle even though they start from the bottom, in a sense not because of derivatives alone.

Furthermore, it was also added that elite forces usually originate from repression or inheritance which basically comes from the control of the highest positions in the political and business hierarchy and from shared values and beliefs in Power and Political Strength. In this connection politics is used as an activity to seek and maintain power in society. So what is meant by strength and power is generally agreed upon as an ability that influences other parties to think and act according to the will that influences, and is seen as an interaction between those who causing influence and those affected by this. Furthermore, power is seen as a phenomenon that is always present in the political process, but there is no agreement on the meaning of power among political scientists.

According to Gracia Paramitha (2009, *Linkage of Power, Balance of Power, and Hegemonic Stability*), there are various opinions that suggest leaving the concept of power because it is vague and has an emotional connotation, but as is commonly understood, politics without power is like religion without morals.

Paramitha (ditto) points out; there is an interesting effort that has been made to measure the ability or capability of the concept of power. Accordingly, to mention, one international political researcher named Ray S. Cline (1975). In connection with this, Cline was able to express effective methods of power. Scientifically, he has developed a simple formula that cannot be called an "exact" measurement of power, but can be accounted for in quantification. The formulation that was successfully made is pleased with this, namely:

$$P_p = (C+E+M) \times (S+W)$$

Information:

- $P_p$  = Perception of power,
- $C$  = Critical mass: population and area,
- $E$  = Economy Capability,
- $M$  = Military Capability,
- $S$  = Strategic objectives,
- $W$  = Will/desire to achieve national goals.



In the treasury of political science according to Ramlan Surbakti (1992, *Memahami Ilmu Politik* (Understanding Political Science: 57) there are a number of concepts relating to power (power and victorious); such as influence, persuasion, manipulation, coercion (demonstration of the threat of power), force (use of physical pressure), and authority.

Regarding its association with political power, a common thread can be drawn that there is no power - in any case, not just politics - without power. In the discussion of political power, it is first necessary to describe the concept of power.

## Great Power

What is meant by great power here is a sovereign state that is recognized as having the ability to direct its influence on a global scale. The great powers typically have military and economic power, as well as diplomatic power influences on a global level, which can cause middle forces or small forces to consider the opinions of the great powers, before taking their own actions. International Relations Theory has suggested that the status of great power can be characterized in terms of power capability, spatial aspects, and status dimensions.

As Fueter Eduard (1922), Danilovic said Vesna (2002) and Peter Howard (2008), sometimes the status of big powers is officially recognized in conferences such as the Vienna Congress or international structures such as the UN Security Council.

As is according to T.V. Paul, *et al.* (2005, 59). "Great + power" Balance of Power Accordingly, the great powers after the Cold War are Britain, China, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, and the United States (of America). At the same time, the status of great power can be informally recognized and balanced in forums such as "the G7" or "the G8"<sup>47</sup>, etc.

<sup>47</sup> The Group of Seven (G7) is an informal bloc of industrialized democracies--the United States, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom--that meets annually to discuss issues such as global economic governance, international security, and energy policy [Retrieved from]. Sementara G8 adalah The G8 (G7 due to Russia's suspension) is a governmental political forum. The forum originated with a 1975 summit hosted by France that brought together

The term "great power" according to Charles Webster (1931: 307) was first used to represent the most important force in Europe during post-Napoleon (France, 1815-1848). In the sense of "the Super Powers" at that time, it was a "European Concert" and claimed the right to enforce a post-war peace agreement. Formalization of the division between small powers according to Toje, (2010, the European Union is small powers) included in it and that great power has occurred since the signing of the Treaty of Chaumont 1814<sup>48</sup>. Since then, the balance of international power has shifted several times, most dramatically during World War I (1909-1914) and World War II (1942-1945). Some countries are widely considered to be great powers, so there is no definitive list of them. In literature, the alternative term for big power is in line with world powers or major powers, while this term can also be exchanged with "super power country (superpower)".

### **Characteristic of the Great Power**

There are no characteristics defined or determined from what is actually called "great power". The characteristics of "great power" often treated as empirical with the understanding is clear for how

representatives of six governments: France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States, thus leading to the name Group of Six or G6. The summit became known as the Group of Seven or G7 in 1976 with the addition of Canada. Russia was added to the political forum from 1997, which then became known as the G8; Russia was, however, suspended in 2014 following the annexation of Crimea. The European Union has been represented within the G8 since the 1980s but originally could not host or chair summits. The 40th summit was the first time the European Union was able to host and chair a summit [[Retrieved from](#)].

<sup>48</sup>The Chaumont Agreement was a series of separate but identical pitched agreements signed between the Empire of Austria, the Kingdom of Prussia, the Russian Empire and Britain on March 1, 1814, even though the actual battle took place on March 9 or 19. The agreement was intended to attract the power of the Sixth Coalition to become a close alliance in which case France rejected the term peace offered. So each party agreed to put 150,000 troops on the ground to guarantee peace for Europe against twenty years of French aggression.

to judge. But according to Waltz, Kenneth N. (1979: 131) this complicated approach has a disadvantage, which is due to very subjectivity.

As a result, there have been attempts to derive some general criteria for controlling certain important elements as the status of the so-called "great power".

The initial writing about this subject therefore tends to assess the state with realist criteria, as expressed by historian A.J.P. Taylor (1954) when noting that "Test of great power is a test of power for war", meaning "Fighting for Peace". Then expand this thesis by trying to determine the overall strength in terms of military, economic, and political capacity.

As noted, World War II ended, Japan achieved an increase in rebuilding from ruins mainly due to the fall due to the devastating US atomic bomb of the two main cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The New Japanese Constitution of 1947 allowed democracy for all citizens, including women who were not given the right to speak before World War II, had the opportunity to exercise their rights. The Armed Forces or Army in the same constitution were not enforced but were replaced with state defence forces (William, 1993) said:

Japan was occupied by the Allied Powers until 28 April 1952. During the period of the occupation, Japan was changed to a democratic state. By the enforcement of the Constitution of Japan on 3 May 1947, the Empire of Japan was dissolved. Democratic politics: the abolition of the secret police in October 1945, the participation of women in politics in April 1946, the Fundamental Law of Education, 1947, and so on. Prewar Japanese politicians (former empire) were convicted in the Tokyo Trial. But the supreme politician Emperor Hirohito was not convicted, and was enthroned to the emperor of the new state. After the death of seven war criminals, some of those convicted in the Tokyo Trial were restored to political positions. The reactionary wave is called the "reverse course", considered to be an effect of the Cold War. In this way, Postwar Japan started under the nuclear umbrella of the United States.

Furthermore Kenneth Waltz (1993) as the founder of Neorealist theory states that international relations use a set of five criteria to determine "great power" worth the population and area

(population and region); lasting sources power; the ability of the economy (economic ability); political stability and politics competence; and including military power, see the formula of Ray S. Cline on Prestige and Power above.

According to that, Danilovic Vesna (2002) mentions that the criteria for the points stated, are once again formulated into only three main ones, namely in the form of power capability, spatial aspects, and status (status or rank).

According to that, Danilovic Vesna (2002) mentions that the criteria for the points stated, are once again formulated into only three main ones, namely in the form of power capability, spatial aspects, and status (status or rank).

## **Dimension of Power**

As mentioned above, for many (people), the ability of strength is the only criterion. Even under broader tests, strength is a vital aspect. This aspect has been tested and accepted in various ways, although it is not clearly true. Because it needs to be approached with the concept of great power that is different from the conceptualization of the world situation, from multi-polarity to an extraordinary pattern of hegemony. In his essay entitled, "French Diplomacy in the Post-War Period" (1960: 204) Jean-Baptiste Duroselle who is also a historian, speaks of the *multi-polarity concept* that, "A great power is one thing that is able to maintain its own independence against other single power".

Furthermore, according to Duroselle, all countries have geographical coverage, interests, actions, or projected power. This is an important factor in distinguishing the great power of regional powers with the definition of regional power scope restricted to its territory. It also states that great power must have real influence in the sense that it covers the entire scope of the applicable international system.

Arnold J. Toynbee (1926), for example, observed that "great power can be defined as political power exerting a co-extensive effect with the widest range of people in which it operates. In Great Power it is stated that 'world-power' is because of The West Society has now become "world wide".

Stoll (1989) once suggested that the great power must have the capacity to engage in extra-regional affairs and vice versa that the great power should be owned by extra-regional interests, are two propositions that are often closely related.

## **Dimension of Status**

Formal or informal recognition of the status of the nation's strengths is also a criterion for becoming a great power. As a note, political scientist George Modelski (1972: 141) states that "the status of great power with strong conditions is sometimes confusing... it has indeed evolved from the role played by the military's great powers in the previous period. But the system of power is also great institutionalizing a strong state position including rights and obligations."

This approach limited analysis to the Vienna post-Congress (September 1814 to June 1815), about the great power which was officially recognized for the first time. Danilovic Vesna (2002) considers, in the absence of formal actions such as confession, it has been suggested that the status of a great power can arise with implications, namely by assessing the nature of the relations of a country with other great powers.

While William (1989) said a further choice was to examine the willingness of the state to act as a great power. As a nation, it will rarely state that it acts like that; this usually requires a retrospective examination of state behaviour. As a result, this is a limited use in building the nature of contemporary power, at least without the exercise of subjective observations. Another important criterion throughout history is that great powers must have sufficient influence to be included in the discussion of daily political and diplomatic questions, and have an influence on the final results of resolutions. Historically, when the big political question was addressed, several great powers met to discuss it.

Before the era of groups such as the United Nations, participants of the meeting were named informally, but decided based on the status of their great power. This is a conference that sets important questions based on major historical events. This is possible and can mean deciding the political resolution of various

geographical and nationalist claims after major conflicts, or other contexts especially post-War.

There are several historical conferences and treaties that display this pattern, such as the Congress of Vienna (1815), the Congress of Berlin (1884), the Treaty of Versailles (1919) and the North Westphalia Treaty (1946) which required a re-drawing of the map of Europe.

## **Prestige and the Great Power of the World against West Papua**

Regarding this sub-title, it is good to understand the interrelationship between the Prestige and the Great Power of the World and the conditions in which West Papua cannot be avoided in the following broad conspiracies.

### **Conspiracy of Interest**

Indeed, since before and after the Second World War, world attention was directed to the strategic position of West Papua, especially Japan and Germany, to cripple Australia to control the Pacific even though the main enemy was the United States. For this purpose, as shown in Flassy-Tuhuleruw (1979: 32), Japan and Germany have carried out various strategic activities in Manokwari, Nabire and Sentani-Hollandia which were later used as war facilities such as cotton plantations in Kemiri Sentani or Hollandia Drum, changed into a runway for combat aircraft, and so on.

In the context of Indonesia-Netherlands, Papua after The Hague RTC in 1949 received a special status as the Province which was regulated under the autonomy of the *Gouvernement van Nederland of New Guinea* immediately after the RIS State was announced by the Dutch Government. Likewise, as Mampiofer (1978) pointed out, even a year before, 1948, in South Australia, the South Pacific Commission/SPC conference had also taken place which in its decision would provide Self-Government opportunities for the nations and colonies in the South Pacific, in this case including the Netherlands New Guinea or what is now known as West Papua or the Land of Papua. SPC members are 6 countries that have colonies

in South Pacific, namely Australia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, England, France and of course also the US.

In a sense, in the position as the Prestige and the Great Power of the World, the US very understands of the Land of Papua. For the spirit of the SPC meeting and the results of the intended Hague RTC, the Netherlands boosted the development of the Papuan Nation in West New Guinea and within 10 years it was apparent that the country's<sup>49</sup> preparation for independence and sovereignty as its own country would be carried out in 1970 a.o. *Papoeanizing* or the empowering program for the Papuans.

From the US side regardless of the good intentions of SPC 1948<sup>50</sup>, since 1959 to 1962 some people in the US government want the Netherlands to surrender the colonies of West New Guinea (West Papua) to Indonesia but members of the United Nations cannot legally buy, sell or trade humans. For the US signal that actually violated Article 100 of the UN Charter but was ignored, then by understanding UN General Assembly Resolution number 448 of 1950<sup>51</sup>, the Dutch legally recognized that West Papua was not their territory but was a non-self-governing territory which therefore the Dutch must subject to Article 73 of the United Nations Charter<sup>52</sup> containing a Statement on "Trusty Territory" or "The None Self Government Territory". Under the UN Charter, the

<sup>49</sup> This is the time of "Eden" for the Papuan people in this part of the world, enjoying their own fiscal and currency, their own stamps and seals, migration and customs policies, own flags, national anthems, and the main self-esteem as "Papuan Nation".

<sup>50</sup> A series of stories about West Papua are pleased with this can be followed on United Nations summary of Administrative History (-Notice- If the United Nations renames the file again, this is a copy of it [ag-059 UNTEA.pdf](#))

<sup>51</sup> UN Resolution no.448 of 1950 authorized Netherlands New Guinea (West Papua / Papua Land) as a region that does not yet have its own government (Non Self Governing Territories) so that it becomes the responsibility of the United Nations Decolonization Commission (24th Committee of UN).

<sup>52</sup> In full See Appendix I on the UN Charter and Appendix II on the Statement of the Papuan Council regarding to this.

Netherlands can only take two ways, namely to leave West Papua and be replaced by Indonesia:

- a) if West Papua becomes a member of the United Nations then (the United Nations) asks Indonesia to take care as a guardian of it.
- b) if the General Assembly is under Article 75 to 85 The Charter of the United Nations, namely the International Trusteeship System to take over the responsibility of West Papua by asking Indonesia to act as the UN's authority to fulfil the requirements of the UN Charter Article 76.

Responding to the will and submission of the Netherlands to the UN, as reported [[Retrieved from](#)], The Papua Council launches The 1962 West Papuan National Statement *"New Guinea Council of Advisory Note Concerning the use of the right to self-determination"* contains a.o. at no. V a reads:

"Administration by Indonesia is rejected, because in the New Guinea issue Indonesia is the claiming party and therefore is not neutral. Consequently Indonesia will not enable the Papuan people to exercise its right to self-determination in freedom".

However, or even less attention from the United Nations (accordingly of Great Power = US) so, so far West Papua has suffered suffering under the choice of "b" because the United Nations does not seriously obey articles 75 to 78 of its own Charter. More specifically, in this case, either the Guardian or Extension of the United Nations, namely Indonesia and the United Nations itself, apparently did not comply with article 76 of the Charter.

With the 'New York Agreement' it cannot arbitrarily trade West Papua. This agreement requires the General Assembly to be legally responsible for West Papua under article 75-85 of the UN Charter. Reasons that also make five permanent members of the Security Council are responsible for West Papua under Article 85-91 of the United Nations Charter as a member of the Trusteeship Council.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53</sup> For this past development in Australia, even a petition was sent to Canberra in May 2015 and then asked the Australian government to fulfill its legal obligations by placing the General Assembly resolution 1752 on the Trusteeship Council agenda. All Australians are encouraged to download, sign or collect signatures as described in the petition.



## Colony and Guardian Territory

Complementing the knowledge of West Papua as a Trusty Territory (Trusteeship) very closely with what is called the colony, it is necessary to give some explanation of what is intended. The colony is "a political area controlled by a distant country". The area referred to with its people is under the political control of foreign administration.<sup>54</sup>

In sense of new world, a colony is thus a territory of non-self government, which also externally obtains UN membership even though administration is regulated by the Occupying State or Foreign Country as well as affirmation of the law in accordance with Chapter XI of the UN Charter.<sup>55</sup>

The Papuans and West Papua in this case became subject to Dutch colonial claims in the 19th century under the nominal rules of the Netherlands until the United Nations took control of this colony in October 1962 and on May 1, 1963 it was transferred to Indonesia as a member of the United Nations. The Dutch to UN colonization turned out to have been going on for more than fifty years (half a century) which, according to the Papuans (Wonda, ditto), was full of terror and a shortage of voices, the right to assemble, and the right to a decent life. In this understanding Papuans and West Papua are under the chosen administrator of the United Nations, namely Indonesia.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Meanwhile according to the free encyclopaedia of Wikipedia,: In politics and history, the colony is a region under direct political control from a different (foreign) country from its own territory. In ancient times the colony was a city-state often found as its own colony. Some colonies have historically been countries, while others are territories without state certainty from the beginning of their existence. The Metropolitan State is a country that has a colony. Simple forms are still found, for example the pattern of "silimo" (family village) in Dani communities in the Central Highlands of West Papua which are controlled by the head of the clan (not big-man and tribal chief or social father rather under the level of Ondofolo's control as of the Sentani tribes).

<sup>55</sup> To assist in mastery, in Appendix I, the United Nations Charter was deliberately displayed in English and Malay / Indonesian languages.

<sup>56</sup> The report of TAPOL and Yale University law study in 2004 revolves around Human Rights Violations by UN Members namely Indonesia in West Papua. An Application of the Law of Genocide as this Control of

This is the "hidden" side of the contents of the text contained in article 12 of the Charter (or constitution) of the United Nations, which is a colony of which the United Nations has bound and is a burden of legal responsibility. It is one type of "guardianship area" called the UN colony which has been determined to carry out the administration based on Article 85 and Chapter XII of the United Nations Charter in accordance with Article 77 section 1 (c).

West Papua became the area of UN trusteeship when the General Assembly assembled resolution 1752 (XVII) approving the UN occupation and the administration of West New Guinea (West Papua) as contained in article 85 of the Charter which allows the General Assembly to hand over matters to UN members in this case Indonesia.

In this connection, there was a 1969 Communiqué of Rome between the Netherlands, Indonesia, the United States and the Asian Development Bank about 25 years of Papuan development, for which the Foundation for West Irian/FUNDWI was formed or later became Irian Jaya Joint Development Foundation/IJDF, which is why Dr. Thomas Wapai Wanggai sued in 1988.<sup>57</sup>

### **Chronologie of Drama: *de 'l'homme par 'l'homme de du situons***

We were jolted by Martin Luther King, the legendary equivalent of skin colour in the United States, said:

"Man's inhumanity to man is not only perpetrated by the vitriolic actions of those who are bad, it is also perpetrated by vitiating inaction of those who are good"

The humanitarian drama *de 'l'homme par' l'homme de du situons* (savagery against humans by humans) is thus carried out by the United Nations against West Papua over the process described above which is indeed not lonely from the knowledge of the

History by members of the United Nations is in the "trustly territory" by its own members.

<sup>57</sup> But it surfaced with the West Melanesian Independent State with the Flag of Fourteenth Stars not necessarily the Independent State of West Papua with the Flag of Morning Star (a historical error).

Prestige and the Great Power "US ", At least so, understood by the Papuans.

Dag Hammarskjold, 3rd UN Secretary General, Country of Origin: Sweden, Region: West Europe, Period of Position: 10 April 1953 - 18 September 1961. In the period 1949-1962 prepare proposals regarding the settlement of Papua under the title "Papua for the Papuans" (see Greg Poulgrain in 2015, *The Incubus of intervention: Conflicting Indonesia Strategies of John F. Kennedy and Allen Dulles*": 68).

According to the Historical Summary of the United Nations Administration (UN History File; ag-059 UNTEA.pdf Google Translate for Business: Translator ToolkitWebsite TranslatorGlobal Market Finder) The "humanitarian drama" as intended takes place as follows :

---

Sept 1958	-	The Dutch Labor Party proposes that West Papua by the United Nations be manifested as "trustly territory".
Jan 1959	-	US Ambassador Howard Jones appointed the United Nations as West Papua Trusteeship as a good solution.
May 1959	-	Counselor John Henderson at the US Embassy in Jakarta showed the details of the illegal scheme to use the United Nations as Trusteeship to get Indonesia (ed, so that Soekarno would not become communist and the attraction of natural resource wealth in the form of "gold, silver, copper, oil, gas etc." which if possible falls into American hands) by trading West Papua.
Apr 1961	-	The Netherlands asked the New Guinea Council to declare in one year or the date of self-determination (ed. Elected through the Papua National Committee to produce a Political Manifest October 19, 1961, declared December 1, 1961 for the time of development until Self-Determination in 1970)
Apr 1961	-	Assistant US Secretary of State, European Affairs recommends the use of UN law, namely the Trusteeship System for self-determination for West Papua.
Apr 1961	-	National Security Council/NSC of US started a campaign to convince President Kennedy to support illegal schemes in West Papuan trade like a property.
18 Sept	-	UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold (Swedish

1961			Diplomat) was 'intentionally' <sup>58</sup> killed in a plane tragedy (ed. The Late was as an OPEC member willing and acted to fix West Papua towards its own state; killed because of this conspiracy, then replaced by an Asian diplomat from Burma in order to spend on the path of dairy cow trading on West Papua).
26	Sep	-	The Netherlands asked the United Nations to make
1961			West Papua trusty territory, but the United States and other countries did not support this offer.
Okt	1961	-	The Dutch community rolled out an agreement for UN trustees.
Feb	1962	-	Robert F Kennedy commented on this situation.
Ag	1962	-	Report on the New York Agreement in 1962.
Sep	1962	-	UN report on the 1962 New York Agreement process.
Sep	1962	-	1962 General Assembly Agenda (see final item)
May	1963	-	Indonesia appointed as the guardian of the United Nations for administrators after the guardianship area until 1973 (ed. But the UN was complacent or forgot because the process still continues to this day while for that there has not been any adequate action against the Papuan-Melanesian Nation in West Papua).

---

## Understanding of Conflict Behaviour

In 1935, Standard Oil (John Rockefeller) bought 60% of the Netherlands Nieuw Guinea Petroleum Maatschapij /NNGPM which in 1936 found that West Papua had significant mineral wealth in the level of world deposits in the form of gold, silver, copper, etc.; but there is no hope that the Netherlands gave Rockefeller a mining license in the Dutch colony (Report of Dr. Dozy, 1939). In the geological discovery report, NNGPM never

<sup>58</sup>TRC releases documents revealing plot to kill UN Secretary – (See also: [Retrieved from]), Wednesday, 19 August 1998: Truth and Reconciliation Commission [Retrieved from]. (TRC) chairperson, Archbishop Desmond Tutu [Retrieved from], released documents revealing an alleged plot by Western countries to assassinate United Nations Secretary-General [Retrieved from] Dag Hammarskjöld [Retrieved from] of Sweden. He stated that although the TRC could not verify the authenticity of such a plot, he decided to release the documents to inform the world what might have transpired prior to Hammarskjöld's death.

gave the Dutch government that had granted exploration permits for it. Japan invaded Papua in 1942 but eventually failed in 1943-1944 so that it did not have the chance to explore further the natural resources of West Papua despite doing so on Tabi Cycloop Mountain. The Netherlands returned in 1945.

The Ford Foundation began to speak out by saying that the American company must support Sukarno as a military (Indonesian) controller with whom US companies can get easy access to the wealth of this region. From 1949 onwards, Sukarno initially refused to give mining permits to the US companies. Cousin of John Rockefeller married John Dulles who was US Secretary of State from 1953 to 1959 who, when he died, his brother Allen Dulles served as Director of the CIA from 1953 to November 1961 so that he conspired. In March 1959 it became common knowledge that the Dutch were looking for a gold mountain source that had been observed from the southern coast of West New Guinea (ed. By Komodor Carstenz from the Sailboat Perna 1632).

After John Dulles resigned as Minister of Foreign Affairs in April 1959 while the Netherlands sought a gold mine, the interest in mining with Rockefeller and Robert Lovett was, then Freeport Sulphur spent Forbes Wilson to build Freeport's claim in the Ertzberg region which was a "copper deposit" biggest world class. The influence and contact that Robert Lovett has throughout the US State Department and US intelligence advisory services are wider than others have started operating since then.

### **Trusteeship Legality until Today**

The Charter of the United Nations is legally required by the United Nations to protect guardianship areas under Articles 76, 87 and 88 (See Appendix I) so that the said territories can be the same as other UN members as agreed in Article 78 of the UN Charter. Although the United Nations decided in 1963 to replace the occupation of the UN forces with the Indonesian occupying forces, the United Nations was still bound by Article 76 to "promote self-government or independence" and other conditions in West Papua. For this reason, the five permanent members of the Security Council (US, UK, France, China and Russia) who are members of

the Trusteeship Council must still and absolutely need to monitor and report on West Papua's condition to the UNGA every year under Article 87 and 88 to West Papua to be the same as other UN members as agreed in Article 78.

While the United Nations, Indonesia and the Netherlands and also the US do not care and another difficulty is that fellow Melanesian and (South) Pacific nations have not yet realized that West Papua is still the UN guardianship area. This is because the US for its own sake, as explained by the US Department of State, drafted a trust agreement without mentioning Chapter XII of the United Nations Charter which in this case was a "guardianship area". Because, it is only the Chapter XII Trusteeship system was the only means for the UN to occupy this colony.

With this requirement, the UN is obliged to continue the legal task in protecting the people of West Papua from Indonesia or anyone in the form of aggression, claims of hegemony, etc., whatever their form. This is particularly true after the United Nations recognizes the legal capacity and obligation to do so under the Chapter XII of the United Nations Charter. The easiest method to achieve this is for UN members in this case the Melanesian people and nations to start asking the UN, that "West Papua is a guardianship area" but of course also taking into account that due to the time and process of struggle for independence more than half a century, since October 19, 2011, the Papuan nation has announced the Unilateral Declaration of Independence /UDI of the Papuan Nation and the Federal Republic of West Papua/NFRPB. What is needed is presumably "recognition" and/or "transfer of sovereignty" through a kind of Round Table Conference/RTC with Indonesia under UN facilitation and a neutral third party. It seems that this is expected to happen, because the selection of other forms such as a referendum was passed in the 1969 Plebiscite which was no longer a productive form.

### **Position of the "UN General Assembly" and "UN Security Council"**

Both institutions UNGA and UNSC are organs (parts) of the United Nations defined in Articles 3, 4 and 5 of the UN Charter of 1945. Usually only SC under Chapter VII Article 42 and 48 can use

UN forces. The exception is Article 85 of the UN Charter which allows the United Nations GA to authorize the work of each colony that the Assembly approves of a trusteeship agreement under the Trusteeship System Chapter XII Article 85 of the United Nations Charter.

The General Assembly approved the New York Agreement in 1962 by making a resolution of the General Assembly 1752 (in accordance with Chapter XVII, see 17th session of the General Assembly). In addition, in 1962 the UN army occupied West Papua (see: UN History Summary 1962, UN Yearbook: 124-128).

But then, there were other developments in Indonesia after the 1965 *coup de etat* in Indonesia. The problem is that the US and others agreed to sacrifice West New Guinea to gain access to trade and others with the Chairman of the Indonesian General Council which had dismantled Sukarno in 1965 (the original target of the US with all its unethical treatment and actions against the Papuan-Melanesian Nation in Western Papua).

The members of the United Nations have selfish motives to subject the colonies to the Trusteeship System as a means to enable the Indonesian military to enter on one side, while on the other hand UN members have no intention of acknowledging the choice of the people of West Papua to "determine their own destiny alias Independence (Merdeka)".

West Papua is thus a UN guardianship area which is therefore the only way permitted General Assembly Resolution 1752 in accordance with Chapter XVII of the United Nations Charter for the dissemination of UN forces from Pakistan to occupy the colonies of West Papua 1962-1963.

The requirements of Chapter XII of the United Nations Charter indicate that the New York Agreement/NYA 1962 written in accordance with each provision, including the final settlement requirements agreed to by the UN General Assembly.

The NYA 1962 had the form and pronouncement and function as a trusteeship agreement because it was an agreement for former trustees from the United Nations to accept responsibility for West New Guinea or West Papua. In this case it is the responsibility of the Netherlands and Indonesia to position West Papua as the other

UN Members in accordance with Article 85 of the UN Charter mentioned above.

Comparative material for this can be obtained from, among others:

- Approval of the General Assembly 442 (Chapter V) concerning the Somaliland agreement;
- General Assembly Statement 1479 (Chapter XV) concerning Somaliland; and
- Approval of the General Assembly 1752 (Chapter XVII) concerning West New Guinea.

### **"Act of Free Choice"**

None of the ways that Indonesia has done on the so-called "Act of Free Choice" is not recognized or arguably wrong by the UN, both by UNGA and International Court of Justice /ICJ both in the form of referendums or in the form of "self-determination" by West Papuans for heavy intimidation and Indonesian extraordinary fraud.

Nor do they care what Indonesia says, nor do they care what Jakarta supporters say like Bob Carr. Only ICJ has jurisdiction to say with authority if the people of West Papua have been given their sovereignty to be regulated by foreign forces (which is actually not true at all).

The year 1962 not describe the normal need for recognition of the decency of the people's decision by the majority of the UN General Assembly (ed. Except Ghana in the action of 30 opponents of the 1969 PEPERA results as reported in the 24th Session of UNGA Provisional A/PV. 1812, 19 November 1969) . It turned out that the voices of all male and female adults who were not foreigners were indeed completely incomplete because one man one vote was not enforced.

So what the United Nations said in 1969 was only, Resolution 2504 (Chapter XXIV). Whereas the legal obligation for members of the United Nations for guardianship areas is barely monitored given the responsibility of the UN which is still has to be completed in accordance with Article 76 of the UN Charter.

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the United Nations Objectives are regulated in Article 1 of the



United Nations Charter, which will further regulate international peace and security; to promote the political, economic, social and educational progress of the population of the guardianship region, and their progressive development of self-governance or independence which may be in accordance with the specific circumstances of each region and society and free desires expressed by the related community, and which may be provided by each provision the treaty of former state trusts to encourage respect for human rights and basic freedoms for all regardless of race, sex, language or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the world community; and to ensure equal treatment of social, economic and commercial matters for all members of the United Nations and their country, and equal treatment for parties in the administration of justice, without reducing the achievement of the aforementioned objectives subject to the provisions of Article 80 of the UN Charter.

In Article 87 it is said, the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council and those under their authority, in carrying out their functions, may:

- Consider reports submitted by administrative authorities;
- Receive and examine petitions in consultation with administrative authorities;
- Provide periodic visits to each guardianship area periodically as agreed with the administrative authority; and
- Take other actions in accordance with the terms of the trusteeship agreement.

While Article 88 reads the Trusteeship Council formulates a questionnaire concerning the political, economic, social and educational progress of each of the residents of the trusteeship, and the administrative authority for each trusteeship as the competency of the General Assembly will make annual reports for the interests of the Assembly General itself on the basis of the intended questionnaire.

But in reality all the necessities that have been achieved from propriety, have never been appreciated, have never been done.

## **UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV)**

UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) contains Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Countries and Colony Communities (source: 947 UN plenary meeting, December 14, 1960):

### **General Assembly**

Given the provisions proclaimed by the nations of the world in the United Nations Charter, hereby reaffirm:

States that:

1. If there are still people who are subject to foreign conquest, domination and exploitation it is a denial of human rights because it contradicts the UN Charter and is an obstacle to the promotion of world cooperation and peace.
2. All nations have the right to self-determination so based on that right they are free to determine their political status and are free to pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
3. Adequate political, economic, social or educational readiness should not be a reason to delay independence.
- 4 All repressive or armed acts of all kinds aimed at people who depend on them must be stopped to enable them to pursue peaceful and free adjustments to their rights to resolve their independence and national territorial integrity, which must be respected.
5. Immediate steps must be taken, in the Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not achieved independence, to transfer all power to people from the regions, without conditions or coercion, accordingly and freely in expressing their will and desires, regardless of race, belief or skin colour, to enable them to enjoy freedom and complete freedom.
6. Every effort aimed at disrupting part or the entire national unit and the territorial integrity of a country is not in accordance with the objectives and principles of the United Nations Charter.

7. All States must observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the UN Charter, this Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the basis of equality, without interference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect the sovereign rights of all nations and the integrity of their territory.

## **Implications of Perception and Great Power of the World**

There are so many discussions about political power, but three main problems that are always observed by political scientists regarding this matter are how power is exercised, how power is distributed, and why certain parties have more power than others in certain situations and conditions.

Above, we have tried to map the position of Papua towards Prestige and the Great Power of the World played by the US, especially through the United Nations. So about the US the answers have been displayed, namely the Excellence of Post Pacific War or World War Two and the Excellence of Cold War further divided into the following sub-topics.

### **US and Global Interest**

In relation to the two major world events mentioned above, West Papua is not excluded because it is both a locus and an object until the existing October 19, 2011. In this connection the US ambiguous position is very well understood because of its interests with Indonesia which is no longer due to Japanese Aggression and Communism of the Soviet Union or China but concerning the Land and Natural Resources of Papua and the Islamic Threat (Islamic State of Iran and Syria/ISIS). Even so, West Papua should not have to be a victim of latent slack because of similar interests.

Prestige and the Power of the Great Power (of the World), especially in this case the US according to our understanding thus is a potentially great influence on the world community including the Present Presence of the Land of Papua. So once again it is emphasized, even though Indonesia has a tendency for hegemony to dominate the territory, nation and neighboring countries, if it is

not Prestige and the Power of the Great Forces of the World which specifically intervenes by the US, with Indonesia will not happen anything. Occupied (invasion since 1962, 1963) and annexed West Papua (since PEPERA 1969). It is because of the strength and prestige that it does not support so that Indonesia experiences, among others, the Failure of Crushing Malaysia, the Seizure and Release of East Timor, and the Nangru Aceh Daru Salam, even though this was finally realized in the Two Nations One System status with the NKRI.

While on the one hand, if blaming Indonesia for anything related to the Papuan Nation in the West Papua, it might not be right because the culprit is the Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World in this case the US.

For other parts of the world, we note that there is significant progress because these influences such as being so effective against Kosovo (2008) and Southern Somalia (2010) are two interesting cases that we need to study and label as "success".

The two nations meant to be very successful could achieve their independence and sovereignty. But according to that, there are also very, very disappointing cases.

How come, there are two interesting cases that can be stated here. The first case is the Tibetan State. This country which was declared to be free from China in 1913 had a territory, population, legitimate government, the head of state was the Dalai Lama, a Religious Leader but also a World Leader. He is not only a winner and recipient of Nobel Prizes but is also highly respected throughout the world including the United States with all his capacity in this regard, Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World.

The Dai Lama Government's is highly indisputable professional with a high educational background. He is headquartered in one region of India. The peaceful struggle of its people, including self-immolation, was criticized by the world. However, there is no country in the world that recognizes the sovereignty of the Tibetan State, to the point that the Dalai Lama has wanted to resign from the political world according to religious teachings, already at the peak of service (Javanese: '*mandhek ing pandito*').

About the relationship between US and Tibet by understanding China, Kent M. Wiedemann (Deputy Assistant Secretary of the State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Before Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs Senate Foreign Relations Committee) U.S. Department of State 95/09/07), make Testimony as follows:

"The United States considers the Tibet Autonomous Region or TAR (hereinafter referred to as "Tibet") as part of the People's Republic of China. This longstanding policy is consistent with the view of the entire international community, including all China's neighbors: no country recognizes Tibet as a sovereign state. Moreover, U.S. acceptance of China's claim of sovereignty over Tibet predates the establishment of the People's Republic of China. In 1942, we told the Nationalist Chinese government then headquartered in Chongqing (Chungking) that we had "at no time raised (a) question" over Chinese claims to Tibet".

The second case is Taiwan which is the name of the country on Formosa Island. Officially is called the Republic of China (Republic of China) which is a sovereign country in East Asia. Initially the Republic of China was based in mainland of China, but since 1949 until now it has been on Formosa or Taiwan since China was controlled by the Communists which made China a People Republic of China (PRC).

Neighbouring countries with Taiwan including the PRC in the west, Japan to the east and northeast, and the Philippines to the south. Taipei is the capital city where the wheels of government take place. During the Cold War became a thick US friend but after peace was abandoned. The US just turned to China. Even the PRC is claiming Taiwan as an Autonomous Province, so now the country's political status is still debated and ignored besides that also support for this country for independence has dropped dramatically.

As for the relationship between Taiwan and the United States it is said [[Retrieved from](#)] that it has maintained informal relations since 1979. Intimacy relations by the US Federal government with the government of the Republic of China in Taiwan were stopped due to official recognition of Beijing. The US regulates relations with people in Taiwan through what is called the Taiwan Relations Act.

This is what is contradicted by interests that are so prioritized that they can destroy all orders. Nothing is eternal except interests.

In connection with that, the sub-headings in this chapter are raised in this dissertation, so any effort to reposition the Papuan and the West Papua State will return to the status of 1961, of course, in addition to the internal balance between the Papuans and anyone who wants to make the country of Papua as a home base<sup>59</sup> must also have a guarantee from the so-called Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World to remain stable so as to create a Nation State for the Papuan Nation in the West Papua Country.

If it is welcomed and dignified, West Papua in turn can emerge as a Nation State with Melanesian Papuans along with Non-Papua-Melanesia who recognize that country and are subject to the Constitution on the basis of *ius sanguinis* = origin of blood, *ius soli* = rights on land and *ius cognititia* = recognition rights, according to the International order which is guaranteed by Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World in this case the US and Indonesia bilaterally can create peace for the world and fellow human beings armed with natural wealth possessed by the Papuan Nation in the country West Papua as capital in involvement.

However, the balance created during the present continuity towards the state of affairs between Papua and Indonesia, although it has not been touched at all and has been very late, needs to be assembled into a common interest in the form of social capital that contains: Mutual Trust, Common Understanding Norms and Collaborative Networks Between Humans. However, if it is too complicated, the step of recognition and transfer of sovereignty (facilitation of sovereignty) for facilitation of third parties through the Round Table Conference / RTC is the best choice that can be arranged or facilitated by Prestige and Power of

<sup>59</sup> The FRPB state book on Citizenship, General and Special Rules: Structuring the Status, Citizenship Rights and Obligations, The 3 Books 3 of West Papua Independence Road Map, 2013: 9 concerning the principles of *ius sanguinis* (blood rights), *ius soli* (land rights) and *ius cognititia* (recognition rights).

Strength-Great Power of the World in this case the US and by the United Nations.

If it is questioned how it can happen, then the answer is: "*Aut viam inveniam aut faciam* (It is good to find or make a path)".

## Step Forward

As a continuation, a number of special direct and indirect notes by the US which in this case are intended as a Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World of West Papua can be presented as follows.

In order to defeat Japan in the Second World War, the Papuans were fully involved in helping the US Allied Army which, under the leadership of General Mc Arthur, carried out a successful invasion on Hollandia and Biak before heading to the Philippines and then arrested Japan with the fall of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki 1945. Two things can be noted here, the first is that the Papuans involved are fully encouraged by their fellow black people (American Negro) who have given confidence to the Papuans. However, as soon as Japan lost, General Mc Arthur only restored Philippine independence while Papua or the Netherlands New Guinea which had been released in 1943 was not even managed to be handed back to the Dutch. The following fact is that in 1948 the South Pacific Forum consisting of the United States, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Australia and New Zealand agreed to liberate colonial countries and nations in South Pacific that were not self-governing on the basis of lasting peace, then West Papua including the most reliable. Idealism was continued by the Netherlands until the 1949 Den Hague RTC by giving Dutch New Guinea or Papua the Autonomous Rights which was subsequently prepared for full independence in 1970 set out in the *Tien Jaar Plan* and *Vijfentwintig Jaar Plan* (10-Year Plan and 25-Year Plan) actualized with the *Papuanizeering* policy (Papuanisation) which is Papuans to be settled in politics, government, etc.

Apparently the US because of its interests in the Cold War between Capitalism and Communism, initiated the United Nations to bring Indonesia to the negotiating table, arranged in a document called the New York Agreement. As a result, Sukarno could be

persuaded not to become a communist by pawning the Land of Papua even though it was not true either, because it had not yet been fully supported by Suharto, the leader of the Generals who were the initiators and central figures of the New Order Government of Indonesia.

Due to the fact that is in the process leading to NYA agreement and its implementation, the Papuan people were not included as subjects at all, rather as object. Mr. Niclaas Jouwe who was to the United Nations at that time in the Dutch delegation had rebuked the US Ambassador, Bunker by saying (John Jansen van Galen, *Ons Laaste Oorlogje (Our Last War)*, as reported by Tifa Irian on Sunday 1 August 1998):

“....Mr. Ambassador. We the Papuan people, feel very insulted to see, that it is actually the Americans who arrange the future plan for our fatherland without involving us. ...”

While the UN process is still ongoing and Papua has not officially integrated with Indonesia, the US has entered into a work contract with Indonesia to process the Gold Mine in Timika by Freeport Mc Moran.

This multi-nation project is truly the culprit for Papuans who both swallow lives and have severe environmental impacts for several generations to come. This multi-nation project is truly the culprit for Papuans who both swallow lives and have severe environmental impacts for several generations to come<sup>60</sup>.

Further developments were noted, along with the wave of Reformation in Indonesia after two days of the fall of Suharto, from Washington DC 20515 by naming West Papua, on May 22, 1998, by two members of the Congress of America repeatedly warning President B.J. Habibie about 8 points is crucial in upholding democracy and reform. Point 4 reads: Strive for a dialogue of mutual understanding and dignity with the population of East Timor and Irian Jaya towards the protection of human rights in order to achieve a just solution to political status. Five days later from the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Washington DC 20036, a letter was sent to the same address calling for an end to

<sup>60</sup> According to Agus Sumule (2010), until the gold mine project ends, 100 years of the future generation still feel the negative impact of the environment due to this pollution.



Human Rights Violations, especially of the Regional Military Operations (DOM) in Aceh, East Timor and Irian Jaya.

So since then a series of peaceful resistance events took place in Papua, from July 1, 1998 to the Second Papua National Congress May 29-June 3, 2000 to the murder of Theys Hio Eluay November 10, 2001 and the implementation of the OTSUS Papua in accordance with RI Law No. 21, 2001 and other related ones.

In 2010, from the US through US Congress, invited the Collective Leader of Papua as well as various other related figures such as historians Prof. Drooglever from the Netherlands and others for the future steps of Papua, was invited to attend the US Congressional Hearing on September 22, 2010. Upon returning to Papua, the Collective Leaders of Papua agreed to realize the form of struggle so that the legitimacy of the Papuan people must be obtained because it was held The Third Papua National Congress or more commonly called KRP-3 which produced results in the form of UDI October 19, 2011. Efforts are still ongoing for real follow-up to recognize Papua as an Independent Nation and State (Papua UDI and FRWP) which is of course tight related to the important role of the US.

## **Operational Formulation**

The statement that will be conveyed in this connection and with the capacity to become an operational formula is:

1. Must be understood flexibly, how far the nature of domination obtained because of Prestige and the Power of the Great Power (of the World) is meant to be constant towards the existence of the Land of Papua.
2. Understand precisely whether there are other influences that encourage the diversion of world interests so that the existence of the Land of Papua shifts in the interests of Prestige and the Power of the Great Power in question.
3. Maintaining the comfort of the Land of Papua in the interests of Prestige and the Power of the Great Power in question.

In fact, the US has access to the problem of West Papua by reusing the United Nations according to Article 33 concerning the Pacific Dispute in the sense of encouraging "negotiations".

## **Essence of Discussion**

As stated above (Operational Formulations), the essence of this discussion is:

- (1) To activate what Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World are.
- (2) To trace the historical experience because of Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World that has an impact both directly and indirectly on the social life of the Papuan Nation and the West Papua as a result.
- (3) To look at how the current state of Prestige and the Power of the Great Power the World of the Papuan Nation and the West Papua as a solution.

## **Potential Matters To Becomes Problem**

### **Reality of Development**

For those instructions and by referring to the intended Formulation above, the reality can be stated that:

*First:* Prestige and Power of the Great Power of the World is indeed so big; A role that it influences world opinion to tend to recognize all the treatment that occurs so that it will become only an absolute reasonableness that is accepted even though it collides with human rights and dignity. Although not always so, because Prestige and the Power of the Great Power can also bounce off, among others, Elen Pope, a US Pilot who was shot down by the Indonesian National Army in 1948 for helping the Permesta Rebellion in North Sulawesi which is more powerful is the heavy defeat in Vietnam against Vietcong supported by Russia and China. Also no doubt the strength of competitors in the Middle East (Islam) despite being wiped out but continues to rise again. Prestige and the Power of the Great Forces (of the World) on the other hand have a strong influence because they have the potential to pressure the world bodies, especially in this case the UN for example by rolling NYA 1962 in determining the "path of historical misery" of the Papuan-Melanesian people in West Papua.

*Second:* In such a position Prestige and the Power of the Great Forces of the World act arbitrarily and which because of their interests, have pawned the West Papua State, becoming the glory of Indonesia with all the protracted excesses, has urged Papuans -Melanesia in West Papua seeks to free itself from the grip of "the path of the historical misery" towards the goal of reaching "eden" before 1962.

*Third:* In trying to free oneself, there is not a small amount of loss suffered by Papuan-Melanesian people in West Papua because it certainly gets sympathy from humanist parties such as the World Church Council, International Human Rights Bodies, black group countries, especially fellow Melanesians The Melanesian Spearhead Group/MSG) and the Pacific Islands Forum/FIP, the Africa-Caribbean-Pacific/ACP Forum, including ETAN, TAPOL, Australian Indigenous People, New Zealand Maori, etc. which perhaps almost all tended to blame Indonesia (for the position of the West Papua as integrated) without wanting to punch the face of the Prestige and the Power of the "Great Power of the World" which is in this case the culprit of the problem. The US is as the one who allowed Indonesia to be able to prosper like that in West Papua. So to find a solution is to go back to the Papuans how to create togetherness together with the Prestige and the Power of the Great Power (of the World)

For this fact, between Indonesia and West Papua there is a measurable equilibrium because the authenticity and arbitrariness are on the one hand, while on the other hand the existence of the West Papua is likely to continue to be tested on the reality, between Indonesia and the West Papua State has equilibrium that can be measured because the authenticity and arbitrariness are on the one hand, while on the other hand the existence of the West Papua is likely to continue to be tested.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup>The appeal of Sir Bon Joe Y. Natuman, The Prime Minister of Vanuatu in the UNGA 69th Session, 29 September 2014, after alluding to the present,

The present of the Land of Papua is interrupted by the struggle for independence; its political reality is as part of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (integrated or also annexed) due to the actions of the Prestige and the Power of the Great Forces of the World and humanity. So whether wanting it or not, what is needed here to accept what are mainly coexist in balance. Life side by side in all scales and spaces which of course are coveted is peace and happiness if balanced supporting elements are fulfilled, guaranteeing it continuously. Life side by side or life together or social life in this connection is the object of sociology.<sup>62</sup>

## Equilibrium

In connection with the subject of social studies as stated above, balance is a condition obtained through a process of physiological, mental and psychological readiness. However, on the other hand because of the process there are conditions created towards the coveted target. Therefore, what is meant by equilibrium that occurs is participation (integration) or bandwagon according to Kenneth Waltz (2002: 126), apparently there are two kinds, namely hard balancing and soft balance (or fellowship).

Hard balance (balancing), in realist theory Robert Jackson and Georg Sorensen (2007, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*: 59-96) about the relationship of two horizons or

hopes and challenges in Kanaki-New Caledonia, Papua and Cuba...*We as individual countries must be ready to be a voice of the voiceless. Bigger and richer countries must be the burden bearer for smaller nations. In doing so, we demonstrate the willingness to live as a village, a world community of friends and not aggressors. I want to stress that the only way to address this issue is through dialogue and unity. It is our moral responsibility not to fail those who have been victims of past ignorance.* Vanuatu plans a motto: "Vanuatu's Independence and Sovereignty is not complete if there are still Melanesian neighbors who are still colonized" then in 2010 designed Yumi Wantok Bill to support The Independence of Papua. [Retrieved from].

<sup>62</sup>The object of sociology according to Hedi Sastrawan [id.wikipedia.org] is society, seen from the point of view of human relations and processes that arise from human relations in society. In the sense of sociology focusing on relationships between humans and processes that arise from these relationships in society or sociology as humanistic science.

two parties that are processed to be interconnected but in strength and interests that are not the same interest and different power. In international linkages, it will refer to a weaker country and nation; join in coalition against those that lead to counter-coalition (imposing or influential opposing).

In the sense that a stronger power imposes a coalition because it has so much power balance that is supported by certain conditions, then balancing is thus contrary to new words or terms *bandwagon* or *bandwidth*.<sup>63</sup>

The realist theory<sup>64</sup> thus also discussing approaches to possible relationships including international relations of *bandwagon*.

That is referred to by referring to the acting style of weak countries and nations to join stronger joint forces or coalition in the balance of political power (for example Papua which is rich in natural resources force to joins Indonesia because of world political conspiracy, although not at all worthy of respect other than each has a horizon that is not the same and indeed different interests. The term *bandwagon* or *bandwidth* was created by Quincy Wright (1942). It was later 1979 popularized by Kenneth Waltz in a paper entitled *Theory of International Politics*.

In his writing, Waltz disobeyed, developing it with the term *coining* derived from Stephen van Evera (Waltz, 1979: 6) means printing, reproducing, copying in the sense of our topic here can be said to be off the mark.

However, the *bandwagon* or *bandwidth* process occurs when a weaker country determines that the costs borne against the strength of the stronger are more than the benefits. In a sense, the

<sup>63</sup> The term *bandwagoning* in Dutch can mean the same as, *schakelen* (trailer cart), for example, in the New Guinea head of the “*uit schakelen van Netherlands en aanschakelen met Indonesie*”, which Frits Kirihiio had raised during the Dutch-Indonesian confrontation, in the 1960s about Papua, See Drooglever, 2005 : 549, 556 continues with the process of integration with Indonesia in the NKRI. But in action and comfort the willingness of integration (*aanschakelen*) has not been realized at all because what happened during the 50 years of integration is that it further leads the counter-coalition of Indonesia in power to the weak Papuans..

<sup>64</sup> Revealed again by Robert Jackson and George Sorensen, 2007. [Retrieved from].

power of the stronger must enable bargaining and are stimulants, such as the possibility of territorial development, trade agreements, or protection (as language of OTSUS Papua 2001 sound: "*affirmations*") for weaker (countries and nations) by persuading to participate in the glory of those who feel stronger, for example Great Britain and Northern Ireland or Scotland similar as Indonesia faces East Timor, Aceh and Papua.

### **Prediction of Realism**

The results of a prediction of realism have the opportunity to show that silencing and/or suppression of those who succeed against the weak, there is only the possibility of building coalition balancing or making difficulties for themselves by only prioritizing *geographical balancing* or *territorial balancing* (not territorial stability) namely virtual stability because it is surrounded by hatred and hostility both from within oneself and outside parties who do not get along with coercion and oppression, meaning *bandwagon* can be considered dangerous because it is a rival that allows the state to gain power. For conditions in Papua, bandwagon trust is very contradictory because what is more common is the fact that the theory of stability or territorial units is implemented as a Military Operation Area (DOM), oppression, detention, silencing and even disappearance with treason stigmatization or geographic balance targets only.

Stability (or read: balancing) occurs when regulators tighten dominance and influence more strongly the interests of the state even though there is no balance between the deposit costs incurred and the credit costs received (for example, Indonesia which vainly built Timor Leste until the 1998 pre-referendum which was destroyed in pieces except the Giant Statue of "Jesus" in Fatucama Hill east of Dili City. This fact allows the country to be stronger to continue the policy it will be greater challenged so that the cost of action against the weaker is greater and not useful for example if analyzed with there is an opportunity to test the Papua OTSUS Fund which is said to continue to increase from year to year but on the other hand, it does not find the respect or appreciation of the Papuans (who are of different interests).

In the sense of balancing (balance) can take place internally in one country by involving the military and building internal resources to increase power in relation to the strength of the state which is stronger in terms of strength or violence. But besides that, balancing can also take place externally, in this case some weaker countries and nations voluntarily form coalitions with stronger ones because of the balance of power (in the name of stability) despite neglect. For example in this case those who are in a weak state may conclude that stronger countries must be subject to international legal action (check and fair), the military is no exception in any crime, then the possibility of an immunization response is not possible (e.g. some regions in Polynesia and Micronesia or in Caribbean whose interests are met because of such soft balancing policies). In other cases, countries are involved in other methods capable of undermining the tyranny of stronger countries (e.g. Eastern Europe and the Balkans).

Differences or soft contrasts are for equilibrium that have traditionally been known so far and are identified with oppression and/or "violence" or also called military balancing. While world idealism (UN Charter 1945, council, resolution and so on) calls for the balance efficiency of important behaviour in determining the stability of the international system. If equilibrium occurs quickly and efficiently it is very difficult to emerge regional hegemony, as Kenneth Waltz (ditto) concluded. In this order, Mearsheimer (2001, *International Theory: The Three Traditions*) believes that equilibrium is inefficient because free dependents and strategies continue to rise, so what happens is an international system in which the country can "rationally" make an offer for regional hegemony.

In this connection, 'equilibrium' is also a processing ability. According to Hayward, PJ (1996: 484–628) in the world of soft animals, mollusc (snails) is known as a type that is very tolerant of all conditions, but if it has refused then the environment in question is no longer right for living things.

Thus, in biomechanics, equilibrium is the ability to maintain the center of gravity of the body in a support base with little postural

blurring (rules).<sup>65</sup> That is the condition faced by creatures who are very helpless in relation to 'equilibrium' unless endurance is forced (patient suffering) especially what is contested is a creature that is categorized as 'human'. There must be a time to say Nelson Mandela's words: "enough is enough".

Maintaining equilibrium requires the integration of input from various senses of *equilibrioception* (*equal* = same) from the *vestibular* system (*vestibule* = space in the gap), vision, and perception of pressure and *proprioception* (*proprio* = detail of regulations) from *somatosensory* (sensor system) with motor the system is responsible for the power of action. According to Hutchinson (1995) the senses must detect changes in body position with respect to the base (both the moving body and the moving base). The limit of stability can be explained by someone as an *irregular cone* above basic support. In this position, this writing is directed by the author to look more closely at the inner concept of the Papuan people in West Papua, as integrated with the Indonesian in the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), as a result of historical experience due to Prestige and The Power of the Great Power of the World.

As has been shown above in the Formulation of Problems and Objectives, our problem is to get a way out for the protracted and chronic moment that occurs in the Papuan Nations in the West Papua towards all the niches of social life and even culture and the natural environment of existence. A wish that is more dignified is therefore highly coveted for the Papuan Nation in the West Papua.

### Balance of Power

Power balancing is an ambiguous concept and has a number of different interpretations. Martin Wight (1991), interpreted this concept to be nine, namely:

1. An equal division of power distribution;
2. In the form of the principle that power must always be distributed evenly;
3. Existence of distribution of power;
4. The principle of increasing power evenly;

<sup>65</sup> Shumway-Cook, Anson, & Haller (1988). *Archives of Physical medicine and Developmental medicine and child neurology*, 30(1), 64-79.



5. The principle that one party must have a strength margin with the aim of preventing the danger of power being distributed unevenly;
6. Special role in maintaining equal distribution of power;
7. Special benefits that arise from the distribution of power;
8. Excellence;
9. Tendencies inherent in international politics to produce even distribution of power.

Meanwhile, according to Hedley Bull (2002), the balance of power has three positive functions in the modern state system, namely:

1. Preventing a system from being transformed into a universal form of World Empire.
2. The balance of local power can protect the independence of a country in certain areas of the entry of greater power.
3. Proving the conditions in which other institutions, as well as the international order needed, can be developed.

In this regard, Morgenthau (2012) suggests that the concept of balancing power is imperfect in several respects, stating that this concept is: (1) unclear because it has no dose, evaluation and comparison of the existence of credible power. (2) not real because statesmen try to compensate for the vagueness of the concept by aiming for superiority. (3) insufficient in explaining national restrictions since the period 1648 (History of Puritans or Histoire de La Guerre De Trente Ans, 1618-1648: *Période Palatine Et Périodé Danoise*) until 1914 (WW-I).

Furthermore, according to Morgenthau (ditto), power is a form of political elite's foreign political capability that is used to dominate and dominate the thoughts and actions of other elites.

The dimension of power itself consists of several kinds, namely: *First*: Power is no longer seen as monolithic and one-dimensional but rather multi-dimensional. This allows power to increase in one dimension and decrease in the other dimensions. *Second*: Reach of power can be interpreted that the behaviours of certain actors can influence other actors. This causes the actor's power to change from one issue to another. *Third*: The domain of actor power can influence a region strongly, while in other parts of the world the actor has no influence at all. *Fourth*: The weight of the actor's

power can be interpreted as the possibility or probability of an actor in influencing the other actors. *Fifth*: The price to be paid for actor A and actor B is relevant to the estimated influence of each actor. *Sixth*: Are the methods used to influence and various other types of roads. In international relations, there are several ways that can be used to influence other actors namely symbolically, economically, militarily, and diplomacy.

## Closing Remark

The above facts show, among other things, *First*, the existence of Papuans in Western Papua is inseparable from the influence of Prestige and the Power of the Great Powers of the World.

*Second*, even though Indonesia has a tendency for hegemony to dominate the territory, nation and neighbouring countries, without Prestige and the Power of the Great Power (of the World) nothing will happen (Crushing Malaysia, Timor Leste, Nangru Aceh Daru Salam).

*Third*, blaming Indonesia for anything related to West Papua is probably not right either because the source of all this is Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World in this case the US.

*Fourth*, letting the State of West Papua fall into equilibrium whatever its type is the responsibility of Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World in this case the US.

*Fifth*, the efforts of various parties, especially The Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) and The Pacific Island Forum (PIF) as well as The Africa-Caribbean-Pacific /ACP if welcomed by various other parties (the church, International-HR, ETAN, Tapol, etc.) in addition to diplomacy conducted by people from West Papua, they can only succeed if they can arouse Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World in this case the US to act differently.

*Sixth*, any effort to reposition the present state of West Papua returns to its status and position in 1962, of course it needs internal equilibrium between the residence of West Papua which must be guaranteed by the so-

called Prestige and the Power of the Great Powers to remain stable in creating a Nation State for West Papua

*Seventh*, West Papua in turn can emerge as a Nation State with a Melanesian Papuan citizen and the Non-Papua-Melanesia who recognize that country and are subject to the Constitution on the basis of *ius sanguinis* = origin of blood and *ius soli* = rights to land and *ius recognitionis* = recognition rights, according to the International order together with Prestige and the Power of the Great Powers of the World and Indonesia bilaterally can create peace for the world and fellow human beings armed with natural resources possessed by the West Papua as an asset in involvement.

*Eighth*, the West Papua State is in its status as a "Trust Territory" and "None Self Government Territory" in accordance with the open articles in the UN Declaration of 1945, especially Article 78, so there is a great opportunity for West Papua by and through the hands of Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World must return to the United Nations and clear status as befitting a member state of the United Nations.

However, the key is during the continuity of the present towards that prejudice between the Papuan Nations in West Papua and Indonesia even though it has not been touched at all and has been very late, it needs to be assembled, social capital containing: Mutual Trust, Common Understanding Norms and Networks of Cooperation Between People.



# PART III

## Author's Struggle

# 5 Searching for Identity

## Introduction

The author is one of the creators of the FRWP constitution. The author presents the constitution at the Second Papuan National Congress in May-June 2000. The Congress follows what has been organized by the Papua National Committee which was announced on October 18, 1961 or also called the First Papuan National Congress when the area is still the *Nederlands Rijksdelen der Overzee Gebied* (Across the Sea of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, ed. Together with Suriname, the Netherlands Antilles is prepared for its own state in an inner bond with the Kingdom of the Netherlands under the Throne of Orange of Nassau).

The author re-initiated the Independent Committee (from the Papua National Committee) along with Pastor Agustinus Ansanai, Barnabas Yufuwai, and Lawrence Mehuwe as the main figures. In Chapter III Articles 14 (1) and (2) the constitution is said to be:

The Independent Committee of Papua includes alliances and components of the nation which functions to interpret political conditions as the successors of the Papua National Committee in 1961. ... This committee will help to maintain legal truths and principles according to customary laws and

regulations in the Papua-Melanesian Triple Fold Logic,  
Declaration Universal United Nations Human Rights 1948  
and Charter of the United Nations 1945 (p.33).

Achievements of The Committee (as described by Researchers from [van Vollenhoven, 2013](#)), has so far produced a document in the form of the Papuan Basic Guidelines to maintain justice and truth. The author is the main author but also receives advice or views from other Committee members and acknowledges that he has received input (directly or indirectly) from the historical actors and eyewitnesses Herman Wayoi, Protestant Church leaders such as Herman Saud and Herman Awom, Pastor Moninghof, Father Lao Labalajar, Brother Theo v/d Broek from the Catholic Church, Amungme leader (who is also the Deputy of the Papuan Council Presidium) Tom Beanal, human rights activist Yohanis Bonay, religious and intellectual leader Benny Giay, and the Tribal man and Presidium Chairperson of the Papua Council Theys Hio Eluay, Papuan nationalist leader Niclaas Youwe and various related parties in Indonesia call Prof. Dr. Soedarsono Chairperson of SPAMEN-LAN-RI (p.v). Mentioning various names and parties like that, how the Papuan Basic Guidelines really have been positioned legitimately.

In addition (ditto), to strengthen the constitutional authority in question, the author uses the symbol of the Panthéon, namely the temple of the gods on the page on each sheet. Symbols are not very well known in Papua compared to Europe and America as circumference temples in Rome, were founded in the 27th century BC and were offered to the gods (Acts 17:23). In the Western world the design of temples for all deities is a model of city hall, university and state library, signifying the goodness of written law and regulations concerning law. The shape of the temple delivered by this author for all deities follows the design of the Panthéon in Paris which is supported by seven pillars (in contrast to the original pantheon or eight pillars) at the entrance. The Panthéon with the seven pillars presented by the Writer relates to the seven characteristics of the cultural region which are the seven administrative regions in West Papua (as seen on the seven blue lines of the Morning Star flag as well as the elevated / entry staircase symbolizing the Triple Fold Logic of Papua-Melanesian).

## Early Experience of Political Engagement

By justifying the testimony of Meteray above (Chapter I), the author since Jongens Vervolg School / JVV (boarding school for IV to VI class) has an insight into Papua as a nation that has begun to grow. Sociale-forming lessons (knowledge of social formation) every Saturday afternoon in the dormitory provide insight into the nationhood and nationality of Papua. The teachers or sometimes also from the church and government people were invited to present to speak. Knowledge about various social issues through dias (slides/silent films) or films, as well as discussing the topic of newspapers (Pengantara) or magazine news (Triton) as well as light things like dam games, dice, cards, etc. While outside the dormitory, work such as helping villagers exercise their Voting Rights to determine Dorpsraad Members (Village Councils), Streekraad (District Councils). Here, Counseling of Teminaboean and Inanwatan who later elected members of Nieuw Guinea Raad in 1958/1959 namely elected from this District Alexander Sika Onim who at that time served as *bestuur ambtenaar* (district agency) at Arso District in Onderafdeling Hollandia Afdeling Noord Nieuw Guinea.

Then during the education of the Dorps Onderwijs/ODO Opleiding (Junior High School for Teacher Education) of Mollucas Protestanshe Kerk/MPK in Fakfak<sup>66</sup>, the knowledge and learning as intended above was further expanded. One important event was on 1st December 1961 following the Papuan Flag "Morning Star" Raising ceremony alongside the "Tri Colour" Dutch Flag, each accompanied with hymn Wilhelmus van Nassau and Hai Tanah-koe Papoea.

The event that took place in front of the Resident Palace was followed by the declaration of the name of the Nation "Papuan Nation", the name of the State "West Papua State" and the "Mambruk" as State Symbol contents of the Political Manifesto of

<sup>66</sup> Both at VVS and at ODO, as given by testimony by Meteray, the spirit of the Papuans has sprung up with the patterns of national education held, namely a.l. among them there is the *sociale algemene beschavingsschap* (general knowledge of social civilization) or simply called "*sociale forming*."



the KNP Decision at the First Papuan National Congress on 19 October 1961 in Hollandia.

In the same month the *Gerakan Rakyat Irian Barat* (West Irian People's Movement)/GRIP was declared in Fakfak by Galiem Reasa, welcoming Soekarno's Trikora Speech in Jogjakarta on December 19, 1961, to get a reaction of resistance from various groups of indigenous Papuans including in this case ODO-MPK students who were among the signatories to the rejection motion included the author as the Class 2 Chairperson. However, the course of history turned out differently.

The entry of the Indonesian Government starting in 1962 piggybacking of the UN Interim Government (UNTEA) made the atmosphere in Fakfak begin to freeze the wiggles of apathy.

Nevertheless from the lessons learned from the pro-Indonesian people under rumor, that, "Soekarno (First Indonesian President) will bring the Papua Nation Free after the Dutch come out" giving imagined hopes. One of the most important things is education must be pursued as well as what is expected to be by the Resident of the UNTEA-UN a black man from Venusuela South America in Fakfak who also visited ODO-MPK.

In 1963 the author continued his studies at the Public Senior High School for Teacher Education (SGA/SPG) in Merauke. There are Papuan movements which, although not coordinated, create enough atmospheres. The period of economic crisis and famine, especially in 1965 also happened to Merauke, happened desertion of Papuan as members of army and police on a large scale, starting with political escape to Papua New Guinea including civil servants, and students, also friends and fellow students classmate of the author from Public SPG of Merauke.

Manufactured goods such as soap, toothpaste, clothing and various daily necessities are so rare in Merauke, including disturbances by pro-Indonesian civilians and supporters who are mostly Non-Papuan-Melanesian.

After graduated from the SPG in 1967, returned to Sorong and Teminabuan. The life is uncertain. Falling in apathy condition which is does not want to work in this case teaching in elementary school or whatever else. Finally, at the behest of the school supervisor in Sorong with the assistance of the police, the author

along with 3 other friends (Amos Isir, Yairus Wanane and Philip Bosawer) who were also ex-SPG Merauke were dispatched to Merauke. The author was placed teaching in the Kurik Merauke Public Elementary School where 90% of pupils are children of Transmigration from Java. In the past 2 years, the author tried to learn about various things, including understanding Indonesia must begin with understanding Javanese which had indeed begun at the SPG by examining the history of Indonesia and Sukarno as well as other nationalities such as the Mahatma Gandhi struggle in India including history of the world and the struggle of the nations in Africa and the struggle for equal rights of blacks in the Americas. For this reason, History teacher Yuyu Wahyu, BA from West Java is very understanding and expert in our impression, besides the Indonesian Language Teacher Drs. Wahadi Wiro Saputro who is also the Principal. As teachers, they fully understand the vulnerable conditions that exist and the feelings of students who tend to be more apathetic than cooperative.

In 1968 from the Education Office in Merauke, the authors was selected to continuing the education to the PGSLP (First Advanced School Teacher Education) for The Indonesian Language Department in Abepura-Sukarnapura (Jayapura at that time) with the understanding of "Indonesia is besides Java as well as language and culture" become more intense.

Meanwhile the conditions and atmosphere of the Determination of PEPERA is very pronounced. One of the clandestine organizations that is very well known to the author is the Pembela Tanah Air (Defender of the Country), abbreviated as PETANA, which most members are High School Students and students at the Academic Preparation Level (of UNCEN). After the demonstration that took place on 11 April 1969 which failed to demand the adoption of "One Man-One Vote" in the Act of Free Choice as mandated by the New York Agreement (15 August 1962), many prominent of PETANA members fled to PNG while others joined armed guerrillas built by Operasi Papua Merdeka (Operation for the Freedom of Papua (OPM).

In August 1969, the author witnessed at firsthand how the People's Opinion Determination process/PEPERA at the Governor's Palace Dok-V, Sukarnapura which was not very

beneficial for the Papuans. The reality was very frustrating and sad, the author and friends had tears in eyes. But that is a historical fact, PEPERA won by Indonesia in a way that is very detrimental because it does not provide a comfortable socialization space for Papuans of their rights.

As the Best Graduate from the PGSLP, as determined and has happened before, the author must proceed to Sydney University in Australia. But all that changed according to the political atmosphere at that time, the UNTEA-UN policy was reviewed. The possibility of Sydney is being in blocked.

In 1970 with a bitter experience of 1969, while idealism continued to advance, the author accepted both scholarships to the Indonesian Language Department of the Faculty of Letters and Arts (FKSS) Yogyakarta Institute of Teacher Training and Education (IKIP). A determination to know Indonesia is more realized. In Yogyakarta joined the Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI) which was under wing of the Indonesian National Party (PNI).

The death of Sukarno, gave a deeper understanding of Indonesia, including the author's performance in the Drama Putra Sang Fajar (The Son of Dawn) which was staged by the Garuda Patria Theater Group under Sadono as the art director, commemorating the 100th Day of Soekarno's Death.

While attending college, after being no longer active in the GMNI regarding the state pressure (New Order) which was so great towards PNI, the author joined the Theater Workshop of a Drama Group or more so-called Bengkel and Padepokan led by artists and cultural experts, W.S. Rendra. Here, in addition to art, various things are also studied, among others, Javanese, Philosophy, Politics to silat or martial arts skill and kong-fu-chu as well as various patterns of character formation. Besides that, the author also fills his free time by studying at the Yogyakarta Foreign Language Academy (ABA-IPK) which is indeed not far from the Theater Workshop. At ABA until level II and stopped because had to return to Papua (Irian Jaya) after a Bachelor in IKIP according to the scholarship contract.

In addition, the author is also a member of the Yogyakarta Student Association (IMAYO) supporting the Sabang Merauke

movement towards the Federalist State of Indonesia. This movement was then frozen by officials (Kowlihan). Papuan students who were victims of this movement were Frans Mayor from IKIP Yogyakarta and Hassan Bauw from the National Islamic Institute (IAIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

In 1973, the author returned to Papua after a Bachelor of Literature. Political attention is increasingly uncertain, but awareness of Papuan (Iriani) Art and Culture at that time began to burn. Until the establishment of the Mambesak Group led by Arnold Ap, the author while still in Jayapura. Together with artists outside campus, this author had formed the Jayapura Artist Association (Ikatan Seniman dan Artis Jayapura)/ IKASJA as the forerunner of the Arts Council of Irian Jaya (Dewan Kesenian Irian Jaya)/DKIJ. In 1975 the author joined the Indonesian Delegation represented by Irian Jaya (Jayapura) to the Papua New Guinea National Day on September 1<sup>st</sup>. Here on this occasion the author met many ex-Petana friends and ex-classmate of SPG-Merauke as well as ex-soldiers and police members who were detained from Merauke fled to PNG in 1969. From the various styles of cultural appearance by delegates from the Pacific who were present, the author's insights about Melanesia began to grow.

From 1976 to 1979 the author was in Yogyakarta for Second Bachelor Education (S1). At the end of the study in the hands of Dr. Soepomo who introduced to the author of Unda'-Usuk (Rankings) in Javanese Language gave far insight about the strata of society and things related to the Javanese people as the core axis of Indonesia.

Before returning to Papua, by Dr. Soepomo, the author was introduced to the Dutch linguist Dr. W.L. Stokhof then for his efforts can enable the author to pursue language studies. As a result, author can involve in a variety of Language Research held by the Language Center and also by LEKNAS-LIPI in collaboration with Leiden University the Netherlands. The author is guided by researching and writing several languages starting from the Tehit language as the mother tongue.

In 1979 the author and fellow artists initiated the Irian Jaya Dance Festival which for the first time included only components

or regional community domiciled in Jayapura. From here it then expanded by including the 7 existing districts.

From association with Dr. Stokhof, in (1980) the author went to the Netherlands for 1 year Post Graduate Program at Department of South East Asia and Oceania Faculty of Letters, State University of Leiden. Early in 1983 the author succeeded in compiling and editing the book *Aspects and Prospects of Irian Jaya Cultural Arts*, one of the important matters in which was braiding of 7 Papuan Cultural Areas appeared for the first time.<sup>67</sup>

On April 11, 1993 Arnold Ap and Eduward Mofu were killed and there was the largest wave of displacement in history to Papua New Guinea. Observing the various political developments that exist, with the facilitation of a senior at the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, Mr. Pringgo Digdo<sup>68</sup> the author was present and spoke in a discussion about the South Pacific regionalism movement in the Asia-Africa Building Bandung, despite the topic of the author's

<sup>67</sup> Danielo C. Ajamiseba, Ph.D, the first person of Papua who achieved a bachelor's degree up to this level as Chair of the Anthropology Research Centre at Cenderawasih University on page xvii of the 2013 edition stated: "We welcome with a happy heart the book 'Aspects and Prospects of Irian Jaya's Cultural Arts' because it is the first book that contains writings on Irian Jaya's cultural arts written by our own people in our national language. There have been many writings on Irian Jaya's cultural arts in English, Dutch, German and French as seen in section 4 of Chapter I in this book, however these writings are all the work of foreigners and will not be affordable by most of our nation's people who lack or do not master the foreign languages mentioned above. In addition, the writings of these foreigners will certainly be colored by their views as people who are outside the cultural system of Irian Jaya. Now the time has come for people in the system to talk about their own cultural arts. Of course their views as people in their own cultural system or insiders' views (which are distinguished from the views) of outsiders will be different from the views of the foreign writers in question. That is precisely why we consider this book to be very important because of the views of insiders this is what until now has not existed in the sense that it has not been displayed and appeared in the writings; etc.

<sup>68</sup> For his efforts the Papuans (Irian) were recruited to become employees of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and diplomats, including becoming TV-RI broadcasters.

paper on education that also tells about people of Papua (Irian Jaya) who continued their studies at the University of South Pacific (USP) in Suva Fiji. Also the background of this policy is related to the South Pacific Commission 1947.

After the Maluku-Bird's Head Research on a LEKNAS-LIPI Collaborative project with the Dutch Leiden University, the author then continued his Post Graduate study in Australia with the sponsorship of Prof. S.A. Wurm a linguist from the Pacific and Asia Studies-Australian National University (ANU)-Canberra, after 3 months of English Course for Academic Purposes in Sydney.

After returning from Australia in 1986, along with artists and cultural friends residing in Jayapura, the author embodied the establishment of the Arts Council of Irian Jaya (DKIJ) which was approved by the Governor of the Province of Irian Jaya. By sticking to the initial understanding "knowing Indonesia-knowing culture and Java, which is synchronized relationally with Papuan-Melanesian culture" and for that through DKIJ, Papuan-Melanesian culture must remain selectively maintained and promoted. Real efforts include seizing the former Nieuw Guinea Raad building as the Cultural Arts Centre which is a building that for the first time declared the West Papua and West Papua National Events in Hollandia to also carry out various festivals including initiating the Jayapura City Anniversary Celebration March 7, 1910 (which now it continues to be commemorated even though initially the initiators were suspected by interrogation of security forces).

In 1992, the author again received an invitation to Leiden University for doctoral studies but was only appreciated by the Master of Arts because of an Indonesian dispute (President Suharto) with IGGI (Minister Pronk) about misuse of the budget by the Indonesian side. Indonesian students were sent home.

The author returned to Papua to serve the Civil Servants (PNS) as Researchers and Officials at the Regional Development Planning Agency / BAPPEDA of Papua Province and had reached Echelon 3 as the Head of Research Section and then as Secretary of Regional Planning Board/BAPPEDA.

When compiling the dissertation which forms the basis of this book, the author is a Civil Servant/PNS, Retired at Main Structural Position IV/e (Presidential Decree No. 27K/2014) and Functional Main Researcher IV/e (Presidential Decree No. 165 / M Year 2010), Expertise in Other Social Sciences. The career starts with the People's School Teacher Level D/2 1967, in the 1997-2000 era involved in the transformation of Irian (West, Jaya) into Papua; most of the data is empirical of the author himself as Planners, Researchers, Editors and Book Writers, a.o. incised 7 Cultural Areas in Papua (1983) and then spread (2010, 2013) in the framework of Melanesianology and Papuanistics (Copyright Ministry of KUHAM-RI No. 067067, Jakarta, 25 Feb 2014); The 1999 Basic Guide Lines of Papua contains the Constitution and Philosophy of the Triple Fold Logics of Papua Melanesia and 56 other book titles (ISBN and Not ISBN). Hampered by the title of Research Professor from LIPI because not yet been has linked to a Doctoral Degree (S3), which then was achieved in September 2016.

## Period of Year 1997 to 1999

In 1997, the author took an education in the civil service position at the SPAMEN-LAN-RI. In the grace period of the education level of this position, the author worked on the initial draft of Basic Guide Lines containing the Basic State, Charter and Constitution about an ideal country, as a final simulation of education. This work had attracted the attention of the presenters as well as the Chairperson of the LAN-RI SPAMEN at that time.

At the beginning of the Reformation era in Indonesia, the Free Struggle of Papua experienced a change towards Transformation. It was triggered by a letter from the American Congress and the Robert Kennedy Institute to President B.J. Habibie about Human Right Violations in Aceh, East Timor and Irian Jaya as the Daerah Operasi Militer (Regional Military Operations)/DOM targets.

So on July 1<sup>st</sup> in Jayapura the demonstration continued to surge. On September 29, the author was detained at the Jayapura Regional Police Station for attempting to quell the provocation action inviting Papua Massa Long march by a group of people who were potentially riots and potentially resulted in the shooting of Indonesian security forces. Together with the other opponents of

the action, Agus Ansanai, Lawrence Mehue, Barnabas Jufuay, were arrested and later for the same involvement, followed by Theys Hio Eluay, a community leader namely Ondofolo from Sere Sentani - Ex-Member of the 1969 DMP-PEPERA - Ex-DPRD Member of Irian Jaya Province.

This is where the Team members who later formed themselves as the Independent Papua Committee (KIP) chose and crowned Theys Hio Eluay as the Papuan Leader with an oath "Formerly I am Saul, now I am Paul, I used to be DMP-PEPERA now I am fighting for Free Papua".

The leader Theys, the author and other KIP members are not members of the OPM despite same certain interests. Most of the KIP members who were detainees were scholars who were also bureaucrats. The author at that time served at prestagies level as Secretary of BAPPEDA in structural positions and Associate Researcher in functional positions. Here also there are other officials from Jayapura Regency and certain Church Synods. In a sense it is not an OPM member but purely fighting for an intellectual independence of Papua.

From the detainees at the Jayapura POLRES were then handed over to the Jayapura District Attorney for further processing to the Court.<sup>69</sup> Through the Jayapura District Court, this group was later declared free in 2000. Time to be back in the free world pursued the Basic Guide Lines adapted for Papua and would be the material for the Second Papua National Congress for completeness of the Papua Transitional Government planned to be declared in The Second Papua National Congress May 29-June 2, 2000. Also produced a book titled, "Rendez Vous dengan Perjuangan Merdeka Papua (Rendez Vous with the Struggle of Free Papua)". Another book is in collaboration with Laurence Mehue (Chair of KIP) and Constant Nere (border crossers residing in Vanimo/PNG) to produce the *Pulau Fajar Keemasan Melanesia* (Melanesian Down Gold Island) containing the Concept of Bilateral Regional

<sup>69</sup> In one session at the Court against 5 Papuan Presidium Leaders, Dr. Muridan S. Widjojo as expert witness and relieved witness but was prosecuted by the Prosecutor.



Cooperation with Indonesia and Trilateral with Indonesia and Papua New Guinea.

Meanwhile, the author fully supports the idea of the Papuan leader, Theys Hiyo Eluay in raising the Papuan flag "Morning Star" next to the flag of Indonesia "Two Colour" as a symbol of the transformation of the Free Papua Struggle from the hard track to a dignified diplomatic path. That is from the pattern of operation or organization to the pattern of concepts and diplomacy.

In this event and occasion, the Papuan Leader instructed:

1. Organizing the Extra Ordinary Deliberation of Papuan (MUBES) nullifying the 1969 PEPERA Deliberation,
2. Holding the Second Papuan Congress, Announcing the Papua Transitional Government, and
3. Run Peaceful Diplomacy.

In this case, it reemphasized the declaration of the Sorong-Samaray Movement headed by Marten Yusuf Tanawani (a tribal chief from Yapen) and others on the occasion of the 60th Birth Day Anniversary of Theys Hio Eluay, the Leader of Papuan Nation.

The theme chosen for the events of 1<sup>st</sup> December 1999 was titled "Jalan Sejarah, Jalan Kebenaran (The Path of History, the Streat lead to the Truth)", while responding to the Rejection of the 3rd Indonesian President B.J. Habibie against the "asking for Merdeka" of the 100th Papuan Delegation called Team 100 on a naive event called "National Dialogue February 26, 1999".

## Period of Year 2000 to 2010

### Year 2000

The following event after 1<sup>st</sup> December 1999 was the Extra Ordinary Deliberation (MUBES) of Papua to sue the 1969 PEPERA Great Deliberation and the Second Papuan National Congress for the enactment of the Decree of the First Papuan National Congress December 16-19 1961, although it failed to realize the Papuan Transitional Government Declaration for that the declaration concept was prepared by the KIP Team (this author was forced to officially revoke this intention in front of the forum).

The leaders prefer the OTSUS offer rather than MERDEKA (Self-Governing). Consecutively on charges of "treason" due to the Flag raising of December 1, 1999, MUBES February 2000 and the

Second Papua National Congress May 29-June 3, 2000, there was a detention of Theys Hio Eluay PDP Chairperson, Thaha Alhamid PDP Secretary General, Herman Awom PDP Moderator, Don Flassy (this author) as a PDP Member and John Simon Mambor TAPOL member who was also the Chair of the Committee of these 3 political events in question. Further developments take place as follows.

### **Year 2001**

The following newspaper overview illustrates that because this writer has crossed into PNG (for an academic affair at the University of Papua New Guinea/UPNG and to Samarai-Milne Bay for a ritual matters) for this reason, he has requested written permission to the Prosecutor's Office through Lawyers, but neglect continued. For this fact the author did not attend court hearings and was declared as escaping. Anyhow, the truth could not be charged wrong because the author felt mediocre and then returned to Jayapura with the help of friends and lawyers reporting to the Prosecutor's Office and then being detained at the Prosecutor's Detention House on the complex of Abepura Prison for 21 days while undergoing legal proceedings as other fellow of PDP members.

[INDONESIA-NEWS] KMP - Don Flassy Masuk Tahanan Lagi  
**From:** indonesia-p@indopubs.com  
**Date:** Tue Jun 26 2001 - 18:51:28 EDT; X-  
**URL:** <http://www.kompas.com/kompascetak/0106/27/daerah/donf19.htm> >**Rabu, 27 Juni 2001**

### **Don Flassy Imprisoned Again**

Jayapura, Kompas

Terdakwa kasus dugaan makar, Don Flassy, Senin (25/6) dimasukkan lagi ke Lembaga Pemasyarakatan (LP) Abepura, Jayapura, setelah kembali dari Papua Niugini (PNG). Terdakwa menyerahkan diri kepada kejaksaan dan melaporkan keberadaannya di PNG selama satu pekan (The accused of treason, Don Flassy, Monday (6/25) was re-entered into the Abepura Penitentiary (LP), Jayapura, after returning from Papua New Guinea (PNG). The defendant surrendered to the prosecutor's office and reported his whereabouts in PNG for one week, etc.).

As a clarification, the author has submitted a letter to the Prosecutor about the purpose of travelling to PNG which is for academic purposes, namely the Launching of a Book entitled *Proceedings of the International Conference on New Guinea Languages*, collaboration between UPNG-UNCEN, 1995. The letter was delivered through Lawyer, Ms. Latifa Anum Siregar, SH but negligent was forwarded to the Prosecutor's Office. While the trip was also used by the author for a ritual obligation to get sand and stuffs from Sorong West Papua to unite with those of Samarai at Milneabay-PNG.

## Year 2005

### *Yogyakarta Informal Meeting*

Post-Murder of Papuan Leader Theys Hio Eluay has a so much tremendous vacuum at almost the whole wings of Merdeka struggle. The PDP was on the initiative of Deputy Thom Beanal who was controlled by Willy Mandowen who was positioned as the Moderator of the PDP to act in hiding behind the Customary Council. The Customary Council, led by Theys, which was originally by Willy's group and Thom's supporters, had been restricted in its function of not talking politics back into a comfortable hiding place. All members of the PDP and Panel at the lower level (District/7 regions) were there except the remaining The Jayapura Five who were Don A.L, Flassy (the author self), Mr. Herman Awom the PDP Moderator, and Mr. Thaha Alhamid who was PDP Secretary General, and John Simon Mambor who also a PDP member. While Willy Mandowen played an unclear role, especially with Freeport and the ABRI / Indonesian apparatus. Finally, Willy led 18 Amungme people who were held captive on charges of robbing the authorities.

In June 2005 Kabinda (Head of the Maluku and Papua Regional Indonesian State Intelligence Agency/BIN) invited members of the KIP (Papua Independent Committee) together with the Papuan Traditional Government Agency to Informal Meeting with the BIN officials in Yogyakarta. From KIP, there was Lawrence Mehue (Chair), MasJohn Ebbit Suebu (Secretary) and the author himself as the facilitator and spokesperson. In this YIM, KIP tried to make sure that the independence of Papua is synonymous with the big

name and prosperity of the Republic of Indonesia by delivering a position paper (see Chapter Seven).

## Year 2009

### *Jakarta Informal Meeting*

After YIM 2005, many other parties either as PDP sub-structure or loose groups or factions were invited by Indonesian security agencies whether to Jakarta or in Papua for the same purpose. But many also brought welfare problems as a reason for the conflict in Papua.

In 2009, again the District Head of the BIN Papua through the PDP Moderator Mr. Herman Awom, to invite for the Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM). This JIM takes place in three time series that each series lasts for at least 2 weeks. The first and second series took place with only PDP members led by Thom Beanal. After each series, the Papua Team delivered Position Papers (See Chapter Seven).

After that, in the third session of JIM, other factions of the Fighters also participated, including the WPNA (West Papua National Authority) and WPNCL (West Papua National Coalition for Liberation). Even the third series ends with a Letter to the President of the Republic of Indonesia with an emphasis on 7 important points (See Chapter Seven).

In groups, this is the case, but after each series, this author and Brother Martin Zainuddin were invited several times separately even to the BIN Headquarters in Kali Bata. All without being suspicious of beliefs, what is fought for is a truth. If the truth is wronged then it is an act of litigation with God. Such a simple thought.

Another advantage of the series of meetings with BIN officials, both YIM and JIM, was to exchange views and sharing between the faction leaders of the struggle with the PDP and even with elements of the Customary Council. The various freezes between the groups that have been happening have turned into joint forces facing the same challenges.

## Year 2010

After the third series of JIM, the leaders were pleased with 2010 as the Year of Reflection on the 50 Years of the Papuan Political Manifesto since 1961, also TRIKORA (Three People's Command) of Indonesian Aggression Invasion to Papua, and then unanimously agreed that each meeting with Indonesia will temporarily frozen. Time goes hand in hand with the euphoria of the Jakarta-Papua dialogue, which in almost all circles and the media has never stopped reporting. During the retreat for the Leaders of the M/Merdeka Papua Struggle Organization, it seemed to have benefited greatly from the atmosphere and political euphoria (dialogue discourse) that took place.

Chairperson of the Papua Peace Network (Jaringan Damai Papua/JDP) Pastor Dr. Nelles Tebay invited present leaders who had the same view to respond to developing situations and conditions. The unbelievable advantage is that the Leaders agreed to form a Qualification which involved the DAP (Papuan Customary Council).

Then there was a negotiation to form the Collective Leader of the M Papua Struggle. The first breakthrough was to support the Massa under the coordination of the DAP and the Majelis Rakyat Papua (Papuan People's Assembly)/MRP to reject and return the OTSUS. The long march from the MRP office in Abepura to the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Papua (People's Representative Council of Papua) /DPRP in Jayapura carrying a "coffin" read OTSUS with the Red White Flag of Indonesia and Book of RI-Law No.21 concerning OTSUS to be returned by the DPRP to the Government of Indonesia.

In the meantime, together with KIP, the author designed the 10th Anniversary of Gus Dur Backed Papua's Name on January 10, 2010 and later on June 10, the 10th Anniversary of PDP. The two events invited the attention and opinion of the masses of the people of the nation by calling for "the leaders to hold the Third Papuan National Congress in response to the OTSUS results of the Second Papuan National Congress which tormented the people of Papua. The results of the appeals of the Papuan people on both festivities were brought to the DAP Session in Biak in August 1910 to gain legitimacy which, despite being blocked by a group that

foiled the Declaration of the Transitional Administration at the Second National Congress, but the majority vote here supported.

On September 22, 2010, the Coalition Leaders and various people related to the Papuan issue were invited to attend the United States Congressional Hearing in Washington DC. The return of the Leaders was unanimous in their determination to hold the Third Papua National Congress with all its consequences and excesses.

## **Period of Year 2011 to 2015**

### **Year 2011**

In the framework of the Third Papua National Congress in 2011 and at the same time commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Papua Political Manifesto or the First Papuan National Congress October 16-19 1961 which was declared December 1, 1961, the determination of Qualifying Leaders or Collective Leadership was unanimous.

The Committee was formed with their respective duties. The task of the joint author of KIP is to re-draft the draft of constitution and other regulations that were foiled at the Second National Congress in May-June 2000 by certain groups of interest. The task of the author was besides that is to accompany the Team-7 Lobby to the Indonesian Government in Jakarta, in addition to forming the Diplomatic Corps, anticipating all possibilities. Towards 16-19 October this author, along with several others by the Chairperson of the Customary Council Mr. Forkorus Yaboisebut, was sent to spread abroad, especially the US, Europe and the Pacific. The author was assigned to Europe to lobby the European Union Headquarters in Brussels Belgium. The results obtained were significantly positive. When the Third Papua National Congress and UDI were held, the world was indeed ready to welcome. So the confusion caused by the Indonesian apparatus became bright in the eyes of the world.

### **Year 2015**

There is news headlines in the media, 5 KIP Members were arrested on April 14, 2015. From Kontras Sources, they were given testimony that this author was with the Members of the Papua

Independent Committee (KIP) on Invitation and Fees of the Indonesian Minister of Defence met in the Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM) on April 10 2015 In the meeting KIP offered Peace and Papua-Indonesia Cooperation and Negotiations relating to Papua's UDI and FRWP October 19, 2011.

Arriving from Jakarta April 14 2015 held a Press Conference in Obhe residence of Papuan Leaders the Deceased Theys Hio Eluay, at Bestuurpost No. 5 Sentani Jayapura, arrested and detained by Combined Police and Army Apparatus. Here's the testimony:

“On 14 April 2015, five members of the Independent Papua Committee (*Komisi Independen Papua*, KIP) were arrested following a meeting days earlier with the Indonesian Minister of Defence, General Ryamizard Ryacudu.

On 10 April, a meeting was held at the Ministry of Defence in Jakarta between General Ryacudu and a four-person delegation from KIP. The KIP states that it acts as a facilitator for the pro-independence movement Federal Republic State of West Papua (*Negara Federal Republik Papua Barat*/FRWP). The meeting between the minister and Dr Don Flassy, Dr Lawrence Mehue, Mas Jhon Ebied Suebu [[Retrieved from](#)] and Onesimus Banundi [[Retrieved from](#)] was facilitated by Heni Tan Fere, a staff member with the Department of National Unity and Politics (*Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik*, Kesbangpol) in Papua. The travel costs for the four men to attend the meeting were reportedly paid for by the Defense Ministry. The meeting was reported to have been brief but friendly, with the KIP members handing over several letters explaining the mandate and purpose of the KIP and FRWP.

On 14 April, the four KIP members returned to Jayapura. A press conference about the meeting with Ryacudu was arranged by Fere to take place the same day. However, before the press conference could commence, the four KIP members and Fere were arrested by police and taken to Jayapura Regional police station. They were told by police that they had been arrested because of information received alleging that they were connected to the Melanesian



Spearhead Group (MSG). Later the same day, they were transferred to the Papuan Police Headquarters where they were interrogated for four hours. Another man, Elias Ayakeding [Retrieved from], was also arrested the same day, due to his involvement with KIP. While Flassy, Mehue and Fere were allowed to return home and instructed to report to the police headquarters the next morning, Suebu, Banundi and Ayakeding remained in detention.

The next day, on 15 April, Flassy and Mehue were charged with treason under Article 106 of the Indonesian Criminal Code. Suebu and Banundi were charged with treason and rebellion under Articles 106 and 108. Ayakeding was charged with treason and incitement under Articles 106 and 160. While Heni Tan Fere was not charged, police stated that she was still under investigation.

On 5 May, KontraS Papua lawyers reported that the five men had been released on bail but remain under city arrest and are obliged to report to the police once a week. They remain at risk of re-arrest and prosecution.

**Sources:** Information from KontraS Papua lawyers, April – May 2015; Updated: 26 June 2015.

Until the month of submission of the draft of this book, the legal status of the prisoner of makar (treason) was over a year old, without further processing.

## Appears in the article titled *Morning Star Rising? Indonesia Raya and New Papua Nationalism*

Peter King wrote in a paper titled *Morning Star Rising? Indonesia Raya and New Papua Nationalism*. In the article contained in the Journal Indonesia, Volume 73 (April 2002), King wrote, among others:

The official bureaucracy has long been home to secret or not-so-secret OPM supporters and other patriotic "secessionists," including Dr. Don Flassy, one of the Presidium leaders destined to be arrested in November 2000.

Further follow King:

8/96-24 As a senior civil servant on the provincial development planning board, Don Flassy was able to help “validate” the occupation of the Irian Jaya Arts Center building in Jayapura by the Presidium’s militia (Satgas Papua: Satuan Tugas Papua, Papua Taskforce) and its officially sponsored ex-OPM veterans, until a police crackdown in December 2000 ended that occupation.

[(15/103-41 Some have suggested that civil servants take on a greater role in the movement, but that proposal is complicated by the taint of collaboration attaching to anyone in straightforward government service. At the same time, the Dewan Papua platform recommends that the proportion of Papuans in senior civil service positions be drastically increased, and indeed by 2001 all bupati (regency heads) save one were ethnic Papuans. There is a good deal of informal coordination and mutual support between the Presidium leadership and established Papuan bureaucratic statesmen with ties to Jakarta, such as Bas Sueba, currently (at that time) Indonesia’s Ambassador to Mexico. These contacts are tolerated by the central government. On the other hand, a top-secret strategy document originating in the military-dominated Ministry of Internal Affairs and dated June 8, 2000 (that is, only days after Kongres Papua concluded) called for Papuan officialdom to be cleansed of pro-independence figures and actually named Don Flassy, then still serving at the provincial development agency, Bappeda (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah). [(15/103-42 Sure enough, Don Flassy lost his job in 2001)].

Next,

[(21/109-6 4 “The constitution of the ‘State of Papua’ as envisaged in Jayapura,” *Agence France Presse*, January 6, 2000. The document certainly originated with the prolific and proactive constitution drafter and Presidium member, Don Flassy, who was arrested in 1998 for setting up a Papuan Independence Committee which attracted Theys Eluay’s endorsement. Don Flassy proceeded in 1999 and early 2000 to issue a stream of documents in both Indonesian and English under the auspices of this committee and Eluay’s tribal council, including proposals about a “transitional” (sometimes “provisional”) government for Papua, which implied some form of consent from Indonesia. These documents or their kin circulated at both Mubes and Kongres, but were never formally adopted.

Interview, Don Flassy, Jayapura, August 16, 2001. See documents composed by Don Flassy, including "The Papuan Transitional Government," proposed by the Papuan Independent (sic) Committee and supervised by the Papuan Customary Council, Sentani (February 1999), and "Basic Guidelines for the State of Papua," Port Numbay (March 2000). Flassy's proposed currency was a Papuan, not the Dutch, guilder"

A proposal from Don Flassy supporters for the Transitional Government was realized on July 1, in preparing the announcement of independence on December 1, 2000 but was not responded to (King's interview with Franzalbert Joku, Sydney, June 8, 2000).

The Presidium members detained included Secretary General Thaha Al-Hamid, the moderator of the GKI Pastor Herman Awom, and Don Flassy from the Papua Provincial Development Planning Agency/BAPPEDA, and political prisoner John Mambor.

## Witnessing the Morning Star Fluttering

On December 1, 1999 morning, Jayapura became a dead city. School children, office employees even though instructed to enter, they still took time off. Shops closed and streets were deserted. There were a number of cars and buses carrying mass to Imbi Park. Since dawn, Papuans have started walking towards the heart of the city.

At that time, SP walked down the road from Waena to Imbi Park, watching how they were huddled walking while singing towards the city with a distance of 30 kilometres, apparently they were not tired.

That day, the sun was covered in clouds. Since dawn, drizzle poured into Jayapura City. After all, cold isn't a barrier. In the middle of the city, in front of Imbi Park which stands Tugu Yos Sudarso, around 5,000 people have gathered since the night before. Filep Karma was only wearing a piece of cloth with a Morning Star decoration.

Even though he seemed to be shivering, his spirit of freedom defeated the cold. In the stands, it appears Theys Hiyo Eluay, Don AL Flassy, Rev. Herman Awom, Thaha Alhamid, John Mambor, Melcky Mandosir, Bas Yufuway, and a number of other figures.

At 6:00 CET, Don Flassy shouted hysterically. His hands turned upward." Merdeka... merdeka. Thank you Jesus, thank you Jesus," he said repeatedly. At that time, the Morning Star Flag was being raised by three young Papuans, accompanied by the song *Hai Tanahku Papua*. The flag fluttered on a pillar about seven meters high alongside the Red and White flag which was first raised.

Just like that, like a choir, the sound of crying was heard from the mouths of thousands of people accompanied by the flying of the Morning Star. That day, indeed the solemn ceremony was emotionally full.

Since the Morning Star has flown until now, the long journey for Papua to not be separated from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) is full of twists and turns, like drama plays. Special autonomy (OTSUS), is the ending of all the demands of the word *M* (Merdeka). The letter is often mentioned and heard to this day.

OTSUS, which was held in 2001 in response to the Morning Star on December 1, 1999, has been assumed to be limited to money. The police are too busy capturing people who raise the Morning Star flag. Law enforcement officials in Papua include the police, prosecutors, the Financial and Development Supervisory Agency (BPKP), the Supreme Audit Agency (BPK), the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) are very rare, even never bothered by corruptors who spend tens of billions of rupiah in OTSUS funds.

In fact, corruption continues to flare up, development does not work; people's hearts are hurt and scream. It can be with sound, it can be with writing, it can also with symbols of do not agree. If honest, OTSUS is presence because of the Morning Star Flag.

"Do not lie. OTSUS is the biological child of the Morning Star Flag. Because the Morning Star flag is flying only, there is OTSUS," said Secretary General of the Papuan Presidium Council (PDP) Thaha Alhamid.

That is the reality. "Let's wait for law enforcers to do what they do with corruptors who spend OTSUS money in Papua. As long as there is no enforcement of the law, it means that it is predictable that law enforcement officers will take care of frauds in the framework of destroying and laming OTSUS," he continued.

The governor is most responsible, because the governor really knows what to do within the framework of OTSUS. Seven years have seen the people, there has been no change. So, is it wrong if the people shout? "Are the police busy catching the people, because of the flag and not knowing what is behind the flag. This is the main thing. Who is a separatist and who wants to destroy this country," he said.

Seeing OTSUS who has been lying down, it should be an autonomy case. The government seems to have no steps and there is no way out and does not see any other options for how to save OTSUS.

## **Regard OTSUS as Political Negotiation**

For the author, Otonomi Khusus (Special Autonomy)/OTSUS is a political negotiation. If OTSUS fails, then political negotiations also fail. On this Papuan people built a political negotiation with the Republic of Indonesia Government and that destroyed by the government.

As according to Thaha Alhamid PDP Secretary General, "Evaluation or renegotiation or revision is the authority of the government and the legislature. That is with the record, according to the OTSUS Law, every change must be consulted with the Papuan people."

He doesn't want to talk about OTSUS anymore, because from the past until now, it's the same. "We are like talking to a wall, not with a human who has a conscience." President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Vice President Muhamad Jusuf Kalla must be responsible and prove their commitment to the implementation of OTSUS in Papua," he said.

Their promises to the people through OTSUS, which have been running for seven years, have yet to provide adequate changes. In fact, OTSUS is a political solution.

Even though, the central government is often claimed to have given so much authority, including such huge funds. Indonesia is a unitary state so there is no center or region. Existing, regional governments are representatives of the central government. That is, the Governor Barnabas Suebu, is SBY in Papua or Abraham Atururi is SBY in West Papua. "So, don't talk about the regional or

central government, but the government is one because the one whose name is the government," he said.

Researchers from the Indonesian Knowledge Institute (LIPI) Muridan Widjojo revealed that it was very reasonable to reduce the raising of the Morning Star Flag, OTSUS gave its answer. "OTSUS was born because of demands for Papuan independence. Papuans demand independence because of injustice. So, the sequence is indeed long. "If people say the birth of OTSUS because of the Morning Star and the demand for independence, that is certain," he said.

The Chairperson of the Papuan Customary Council, Forkorus Yoboisembut, said that the very basic problem with the OTSUS was that it had inspired and ingrained the Papuans. "So, if you want to be released in a short time, it's impossible. There is murder," he said.

OTSUS did not solve the problem. "It is precisely this matter that must be resolved. OTSUS is given because of political problems," he said.

He likens birds in cages to good food, good sleep, and no rain. However, when flying, it crashes here and there. "That means something is wrong. The problem is there. Even though Indonesia gives billions of rupiah in money, but the bird in the cage continues to move. This question must be resolved and this must be answered by OTSUS," he said. [SP/Roberth Isidorus Vanwi]

## Closing Remark

From the description so far, the author wants to assert himself as a newcomer in the struggle of the M / Merdeka Papua, which was only in 1997-1998. It was a moment of the early days of the Indonesian Reformation and at the same time the stages of the M / Freedom of Papua entering the Transformation order. Even though it does not necessarily end the struggle for guerrilla so far, but in an organized and dignified way the Struggle M / Merdeka Papua has entered into another method of approach other than what has already taken place. The author has been on the Jayapura front since the beginning with a group of KIP members accompanying the Chair of the Papuan Customary Council (Dewan Adat Papua/DAP) whom they have fought in the Jayapura POLRES

Detention to be the Free Papua Leader or more commonly called the Pemimpin Papua (Papuan Leader). Sides of DAP is not want to acknowledge the LMA (Lembaga Masyarakat Adat) formed by the Government (RI-Law No.5 of 1979 concerning Village Government).

The author, thus, is a Career Bureaucrat. His position at that time, 1978 was Secretary of the Regional Development Planning Agency (BAPPEDA) of the Papua Province in Structural Position and Associate Expert Researcher in Functional Position.

The author just was moved after witnessing the brutality of Indonesian security apparatus against the Papuans who were helpless during the July 1, 1998 demonstration which resulted in protests from UNCEN students assembling various Bloody Abepura Episodes since then. It was also particularly the event that a mass massacre in Biak supported the provocateurs Filep Karma at the Water Tower Biak which was reported as bodies washed away by the Tsunami on Aitape Papua New Guinea.

Testimony that is completely contrary to scientific evidence that the current from Aitape is indeed towards the East because it is blocked to the West (what goes to the waters of Biak) by the Tami River and the Mamberamo River which flows eastward into the Pacific Ocean.

Thus in the series of Consolidation with M / Merdeka Papuan Fighters, the author affirmed the position of the author as not a member of the OPM but as well as the OPM, as other Papuans wanted Papua Merdeka / M. So in this direction the author and KIP members take part. KIP's debut is in addition to building awareness of the need for a country for Papuans who have an aura limited to M / Merdeka Papua to understand that Merdeka is having a system or order called Government. Thus, KIP debuted with the draft text and understanding so that it was born, among others, the Basic Guild Lines of Papuan containing the Declaration of the Papuan Nation and the Tri-Fold Logic of Papua-Melanesia, and various others. The main goal is Peace; Papua must be a blessing to the World and Nations

# PART IV

## Towards Independence



# 6 Structuring Re-road of the Papua Nation

## Introduction

On October 19, 2011 the Papuan people incised a new history. At that time, the proclamation of the independence of the Papuan Nation took place with the birth of the *Unilateral Declaration of Independence of the Nation of Papuans* (UDI) and State of FRWP.

Indeed, the declaration was a unilateral declaration. However, this event was considered by the Papuan people as a national political- and state event. They, then, named it "*A Returning Road Map for getting hold of Papuans Political Manifestation December 1, 1961*".

Why is that? Because the Papuans in West Papua have made an effort to turn away from the Indonesian Format Road Map designed for West Irian and Irian Jaya since 1962, 1969 until now the OTSUS Papua 2001-2025 including being aware of Road Maps initiated by LIPI and JDP and various organizations and the other

party has been deadlocked. In the sense that the Papuan people have done “*paving own sitting road*”.

It is possible for various parties to question the validity of the above events. They could also question the presence of FRWP. Well, the following description will dismantle the nature of the road map back to reach the political manifesto on 1 December 1961.

## **The Process of UDI of the Papuan Nation and FRWP**

The process of independence for nations and countries does not have to be harmonious at one style. There are those who are struggling on their own, there are also those who are encouraged by outsiders who also go through a peace agreement to defend the parties but some are only one-sided and that are *Unilateral Declaration of Independence* (UDI).

As has been stated several times before, UDI of the Papuan Nation and FRWP took place on October 19, 2011, namely at the last session of the Third Papua National Congress which was more popularly called KRP-3. On that day, Papuans in the Land of Papua acted on the same things as Kosovo and others. It was an act of rolling out UDI, after failing to obtain a good will to dialogue with the NKRI Government under the Administration of the 6th President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Even so, through the authorized State Institutions include the Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security (MENKOPOLKAM), the Ministry of Home Affairs (KEMENDAGRI) and the State Intelligence Agency (BIN) as well as individual Indonesian statesmen and certain authoritative persons who are not named, there have been various series of meetings since 2005, then during 2007, 2008 and 2009 with a variety of Papuan leaders from the Free Papua struggle line, but there were also many obstacles because the government's attitude was not firm and always hesitant and tended to be worrying.

Nevertheless, by the facilitation referred to, the Leaders of the Free Papua struggle line from the existing diversity could unite and then gather themselves into the container of the Consensus of Papuan Leaders who later became Collective Leaders of the Free Struggle of Papua.

The Collective Leaders consensus were on the main concern in the form of a significant 2010 Population Census about the number of indigenous Papuans drastically not growing or stagnant while non-Papuans from time to time continue to show an alarming rate.

More factually the number of people who are increasingly rivalled is very unbalanced as scientifically shown by David Adam Stott (2011) [[Retrieved from](#)]; raised the question: Would An West Papua Independent Be A Failing State?

In his writing, Stott shows that the composition of the population is even more frightening as can be seen in the following table:

*Table of Composition of Papuan and Non-Papuan Populations in Papua*

	Indigenous (%)	Indonesian settler (%)
1971	887,000 (96%)	36,000 (4%)
1990	1,215,897 (75%)	414,210 (25%)
2000	1,505,405 (68%)	708,425 (32%)
2005	1,558,795 (59%)	1,087,694 (41%)
2010	1,760,557 (49%)	1,852,297 (51%)
2020	2,112,681 (29%)	5,174,782 (71%)

The Papuan Independence Struggle Leaders who are perpetrators of Papuan UDI, however, then obtained moral support from the American Congress after attending the US Congressional Hearing in Washington DC US a year before that namely on September 22, 2010 consensus to held UDI.

The next step is of course carrying out the image of reconciliation through the Papuan Customary Council (DAP) in order to gain support and recognition or legitimacy from the masses of the Papuan people themselves in West Papua (grassroots communities which are not involved in Indonesian administration: bureaucracy, politicians, academics, etc. .)

As in the two events in 2010, namely the 10th Anniversary of Gusdur Kembali Nama Papua (Gusdur Backed the Name Papua) on January 10, 2010 and the 10th Year Anniversary of PDP June 3, 2010, it turns out, the Mass of the Papuan People from 7 Papua Cultural Areas that organized the DAP Annual Conference in Biak in August 2011 welcomed with great enthusiasm by realizing a completely helpless of self. The masses of the Papuan Nation can

legitimize the agreement to the Qualification Leader to hold KRP-3. The Congress took place from 16 to 19 October 2011 and was attended by 5,000 people while the press reported the number of 20,000 people (Cenderawasih Pos, October 20, 2011).

Thus it was noted that the Papuans in the Land of Papua in the course of their democratic history showed that, to channel their legitimate rights, they had held successively:

1. Papua's First National Congress on 16th to 16th. 19, 1961 by the Papua National Committee (KNP) formed by the Volks Raad - Nieuw Guinea Raad under the sponsorship of the Netherlands New Guinea Government resulted of the Papua Political Manifest decision containing the names and attributes of the Papuan Nation;
2. Papua Second National Congress May 29 to June 3, 2000 by a combination of the Papuan Customary Council and PDP on the personal sponsor of Abdurahman Wahid (Gus Dur) who is the 4th President of the Republic of Indonesia to confirm the PDP and receive OTSUS offered by the Indonesian Government not "M";
3. The Third Papuan National Congress on 16th to 19<sup>th</sup> October 2011 was purely by the Papuan people independently on their own awareness, because it was also called the Third Papuan People's Congress (KRP-3) for the coordination of the Qualifications of the Free Papua Struggle Leaders, also called the Papua Collective Leaders. The FRWP also stipulates the 1999 Constitution of West Papua and the Basic Triple-Logic State of Papua-Melanesia as the foundation of the Papuan Nation and the Federal State of the Federal Republic of West Papua.

### **Mechanism of West Papua Congress and UDI**

From the Committee (in 2013) there were reports that, by the Committee and Leaders the Qualifications of order and democratic democracy arranged as follows.

Of the participants whose remaining numbers were cheerleaders or spectators, while the number of 800 people was arranged as follows. 100 participants were the Committee plus Media and Press people, 700 people were representatives from 7

cultural regions. From each cultural area, each person appoints 1 reporter in the sense that there are 7 reporters. In addition to reports from each cultural region, the session also ratified the 1999 Constitution (which was supposed to be ratified at the Second Papuan National Congress in 2000), and the following formed an ad hoc Government Agency. At the same time demote the PDP because the Papuan people have also rejected and returned OTSUS as package of results of Second Papua National Congress.

In this case the President appoints as the Head of State from the Papuan Customary Council or Customary Line while the Prime Minister as the Head of Government is elected from among the Qualitative Leaders or Political Line.

This event takes the traditional pattern of people ensemble occupying the Santo Zacheus Foot Ball Square (a compartment of the Jayapura Catholic Centre in Abepura). Under the thatched roof, and the decoration of young coconut leaves, worthy of a traditional party or Zendingsfeest (evangelistic party) in the past, the political event of the Papuan Nation was held which was also because there was no building that was held for this event.

Although surrounded by an Indonesian combination of defense forces (army), police and security agents complete with war equipment in the form of armored vehicles and weapons ready for combat surrounded the entire field, the ad hoc President and Prime Minister by the Massa of Papuan people were invited to launch UDI Papuan Nation and FRWP at the last session on October 19, 2011. And indeed at the urging of the masses of the Papuan People and only through this media the UDI of the Papuan Nation and FRWP can, properly be held.

But after one hour of UDI and while the people's party was held, then there was an invasion and chaos carried out by the joint forces of the Indonesian police and army by beating, shooting, and detaining and persecuting the masses of Papuan People who were in the arena of the Ball Field. It was reported that on the Papuan side at least 9 people were shot dead, many were injured. Of them 200 young men and women (junior and senior high school students of equal level) were arrested and then released.

The President and Prime Minister along with 3 other fighters underwent legal proceedings to the level of the court then were sentenced to imprisonment for 3 years (2011-2014).

### **Support towards UDI Papuans and FRWP**

Regards to questions and perhaps understanding of: "How far is the support towards UDI Papuans and FRWP?", is a critical statement. To answer this critically, it is not easy because it requires in addition to the hard work of the leaders to also encroach on interest groups among the Papuans themselves to understand the interests of the nation above all personal and group interests, as a paradigm process (not necessarily as an event UMLWP (United Movement for Liberation of West Papua) in the framework of MSG membership in 2013-2015 which is chaotic).

On the other hand it can also be due to the trauma of the mass of the Papuan Nation in the reality of being tyrannized by the combined forces of the Indonesian police and army, of course many are looking for safety to stay away from or join in blame. In addition, there are also other groups who have opposed from the beginning to the Congress not be held, let alone arrive at the UDI of the Papuan Nation and the FRWP, including among them the elements which defeated the Second Papua National Congress in 2000 halting the announce the Papua Transitional Government.

Support from Regional Melanesia, Regional Pacific, Indonesia and the World in this case including Europe, Africa, Caribbean and Latin America as well as Asian countries in order to obtain status as members of the review or members of the regional body of MSG, FIP and to the United Nations requires a diplomatic lobby. The hope of the Papuans in the struggle line of "Merdeka Papua" is not to drag on but soon found a profitable solution.

### **Benefits of UDI and FRWP**

The Benefits of UDI and FRWP among others:

1. In order to maintain the UDI of the Papuan Nation and the FRWP of October 19, 2011, it is appropriate to be the choice to declare the existence of the struggle of the Papuan-Melanesian people in West Papua.

2. In order to explore historical experience, the UDI of the Papuan Nation and the FRWP have a direct and indirect impact on the social life in the West Papua as a result.

3. To design how the current condition in Indonesia is an opportunity for the real realization of Papua UDI and FRWP as a solution formula.

Furthermore, referring to the intended features above can be stated as follows:

*First:* UDI is a natural political step and is justified internationally as an effort to free itself from the pattern of adherence which does not break down on the tendencies of hegemony who want to keep tightening the dominance of other nations and countries as a practice of colonialism and imperialism.

*Second:* UDI is legitimate after peaceful and dignified steps are passed through peace and dignity is passed but not at all responded to the system of the ruling state dominates instead of practicing patterns of indicated genocide that are so frightening as to have resulted in the descending population of Papuan Melanesians drastically and stagnant did not grow, that is until the middle of 2010 the number of indigenous Papuans reached 1,730,336 or 47.89%, while non-Papuans reached 1,882,517 or 52.10% at the end of 2010, indigenous Papuans reached 1,760,557 or 48.73%, while non-Papuan populations reached 1,852,297 or 51.27% (source: Population Census 2010).

*Third:* Learning from history, many countries prefer UDI as a shortcut to avoid neglect and conflict and resistance and also insubordination which are detrimental to the region itself.

*Fourth* : Indeed for Papua not to need to take UDI very much because the meaning of independence for Indonesia itself is fighting occupation on the earth according to the first paragraph of its Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, but instead tending to the bad tendency of hegemony to control the nation and neighbouring

countries namely Papua and Malaysia (including Singapore and Brunei) and Timor Leste and even including rising appetite to annex Solomon Islands to seize the Pacific Ocean (Speech of Prof. Mohammad Yamin in [Syafuruddin, 1999](#)).

*Fifth:* For Papua-Melanesia in the Land of Papua, UDI has been rolled out on October 19, 2011; there has been recognition and sympathy from community units in various countries of the world, especially the Melanesian and Pacific regions and certain circles in the Republic of Indonesia, not to miss the Netherlands.

*Sixth:* It is common that the US which is a Prestige and Great Power of the World so concerned with Kosovo rolling out UDI will certainly also pay attention to the Papuan Nation in West Papua which rolled out UDI on October 19, 2011 because everything departs from the global scenario of the United States during and towards the end of Cold War and peace for the world.

*Seventh:* With no recurring historical trajectory which is also a miserable path, that in WW-II the US restored Philippine independence rather than Papua which was left in shambles and wreckage after the invasion of US allies in suppressing Dhai Nipon's forces then after the Cold War encouraged Kosovo UDI rather than US conduct ethical conduct and remuneration to West Papua which is continues suffering because of US interests by trading Papua in order to take Sukarno's heart in the Cold War era, so now, whatever US interests with Indonesia for any consideration (Islam-ISIS, Communism, Natural Resources, Market Share and Marketing for production, etc.), it must be understood, West Papua and its UDI are different cases.



## Understanding of UDI Papuans and FRWP

The understanding of the Papuan people about the UDI of the Papuan Nation and the NRFPB can be seen as a vision, a challenge, as well as self-correction and the prevention of oneself from conditions which may hinder the future.

### Visionary and Challenges

Adding the explanation above, by pointing to Kijne, we must also remember Soedjarwo Tjondronegoro, Head of the Indonesian contingent at the time of UNTEA (the first Dr. HC alumni of UNCEN in 1964), after the PEPERA Award by Indonesia, in the Report to Foreign Minister Adam Malik (1969) to submit to President Suharto, (Mozes Weror, MUBES-Papua 2000), that:

Kutipan laporan rahasia dari Soedjarwo Tjondronegoro kepada Menlu Adam Malik untuk Presiden Soeharto, berbunyi: *Kita hanya menang PEPERA tetapi kita tidak menangkan masa depan tanah Irian. Apabila daerah2 lain di Melanesia menerima kemerdekaannya tentu mempengaruhi dan bantu kekuatan nasionalisme merdeka yang sudah berakar dalam di masyarakat Irian apabila pemerintah tidak segera membantu anak2 muda Irian* (The quotation of a secret report from Soedjarwo Tjondronegoro to the Foreign Minister Adam Malik for President Soeharto, said: We only won PEPERA but we did not win the future of the land of Irian. If other regions in Melanesia accept independence, they certainly influence and help the power of independent nationalism that has been rooted in the Irian community if the government does not immediately help young Irianese children)).

This is the real essence, even though without all of the above, it is a trigger for Papuans to have a strong desire to get out of their presented towards a happy will when pushed and given opportunities for internationalization by Melanesians (Melanesian Spearhead Group/MSG) and the Pacific (Pacific Islands Forum/PIF) and fellow blacks (African-Caribbean-Pacific /ACP).

Also thankfully as there were nothing happened to the words from Ali Moertopo, the R.I. Minister of Information at that time, "Kalau orang Papua mau merdeka, minta saja Amerika nanti kasih tempat di bulan (If the Papuans want to be Merdeka (free), ask the

Americans, to give them place on the moon)"<sup>70</sup>, it is truly an insult but also must be a challenge at an even time. "The Papuan nation does not need to ask from the United States to get a place on the moon, because October 19, 2011 had already announced the UDI Papua and FRWP", after the Free Papua Quality Leaders attended the US Congressional Hearing session on October 28, 2010 in Washington DC. Then just live through any process related to this. In the senses that are all things will return to the Papuans themselves.

In this connection, it still returns to I.S. Kijne, when laying the first stone of a civilization dormitory or also called the stone of civilization in Aitumeri Mieï, he prophesied:

*"Di atas batu ini saya meletakkan peradaban Bangsa Papua. Sekalipun orang memiliki kepandaian tinggi, akal budi dan ma'rifat tidak akan memimpin bangsa ini, bangsa ini akan bangkit memimpin dirinya sendiri (On this rock I put the Papuan civilization. Even though people have high intelligence, reason and wisdom will not lead this nation, this nation will rise up in its own right)." Aitumeri-Mieï, 26 October 1926. (Risalah GKI-1986).*

At Hollandia Binnen (Abepura) front of Harapan Church on anniversary of GKI 26 October 1960, he uttered:

*"Barang siapa yang bekerdja di tanah ini, dengan setia, djudjur dan dengar-dengaran akan kehendak Tuhan, ia akan melihat dari satu ke tanda heran yang lainnja. Kita hanja memegang kemudi, tetapi Tuhan sadjalah yang menentukan arah angin dan arus gelombang (Whoever works in this land, faithfully, honestly and listening to the will of God, will watch from one sign to another wonder. As we only hold the steering wheel but God alone determines the direction of the wind and the wave currents)", Hollandia-Binnen, 26 October 1960 (Risalah GKI-1986).*

## **The Black Goat at the Papuan National Level**

Meanwhile there are also groups including the author who initially put Indonesia on the wrong side, even though this view can be said to be untrue as well, because, the mistake was actually

<sup>70</sup> Exactly PEPERA began in August 1969; the United States orbited Apollo 11 on the Moon.

also on the other side including the Papuans who had at least four times ignore opportunities. Discussed as in the following characters:

### ***First Character***

For Papua, the *First Opportunity*, namely the Papua National Committee formed by Nieuw Guinea Raad (Papua Council) in 1961, neglected to form a government because it rejected the concept of the State proposed by, Nicolas Tanggahma from Electoral District Fakfak. *Second Opportunity*, in PEPERA 1969, the Papuans are afraid of risking rejecting foreign elements to only want to say "independence" and "self-state" and "not be a part of anyone", except Eduard Hegemur, again from Electoral District Fakfak who speaks loudly in another tone. *Third Opportunity*, on the occasion of February 26, 1999 that is the Tim Seratus (100 Team of Papuan) in the what is caked by National Dialogue, did not strategically declare the demands of "Independent and State of Own" instead asking from Indonesia, so, it was clearly rejected with the words "go back home and reflect again". The *Fourth Opportunity* was at the Second Papuan National Congress May-June 2000, the Papuan Leader failed to announce the Transitional Government by rejecting the Concept of the Transitional Administration from KIP (design by this author), although it was very possible.<sup>71</sup>

### ***Second Character***

It is also worth the accusation addressed to the Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World in this case the US because without its POWER, Indonesia could only be on a wish that did not materialize as Iraqi who immediately had to leave Kuwait in the late 1980s as an ex-province. Indeed, Indonesia was once confronted with realizing power and dream hegemony (Palapa Promise) in destroying Malaysia.

The intention is failed. Although for that Indonesia (Soekarno) was angry and left the United Nations on December 31, 1964 as a protest against Malaysia, which he called a neo-colonist.

<sup>71</sup> This grand and prestigious event was also attended by foreign envoys and foreign ambassadors.

However, the Indonesian threat was ignored, because on January 7, 1965 Malaysia was even officially accepted as a member of the UN Security Council, as noted by the Indonesian Diplomat at the UN, DR. H.C. Johan B.P. Maramis (1970).

US also by Allied Forces under the command of General Mac Arthur invaded Papua (Hollandia and Biak) to reach the Philippines and towards the duty of paralyzing Japan in World War II then only re-establishing the independence of the Philippines (Manchester 1993, Douglas Mac Arthur, Conqueror), forgetting the freed Papua in 1943 and wearing the trumpets helped paralyze the Japanese occupying army. Then for the sake of Cold War politics to trade Papua to Sukarno so as not to become a communist followed by Indonesian remuneration to give concessions to Freeport gold mining management (Numberi, 2013 *Quavadis Papuan*: xiv) destroyers of the natural environment and humans extinction of Papuan.

Through diplomacy that is built, it will inspire the world, especially the nations and allied countries of Melanesia/MSG and the Pacific Islands/PIF region to encourage the US to hear (US State Secretary Hillary Clinton's 2008 speech in New Zealand) and be willing to win UN public opinion for UDI Papua and FRWP include reviving HR 2410, SEC. 1123 on West Papua or any other efforts.

### *Third Character*

From the experience, it seems that many Papuans, even those who very prominent have not been able to distinguish what are M /Merdeka Papua and Papua M/Merdeka. According to the author, as to be straightened out, M / Merdeka Papua is the same as Freedom (Free) while Papua Merdeka/M is the same as Independence. When correlated the first is a temporary process and the second is a patent condition. Many Papuans are only shocked at the first level because they have a vague understanding of the condition of the intended patent.

In the euphoria level, the spirit built by the Papuans in abroad makes those in the country so burned out, only if they are told that the Papuan Flag is flying and the OPM Office is open in either any spots, Oxford, Vanuatu, Fiji, Brisbane, and the

Netherlands and places others. The Papuans are burn in conditions not aware of the truth story and the made-up. One has to ask, Benny Wenda and Otto Mote and others. What you have achieved with International Parliament for West Papua/IPWP, is also what with International Lawyer for West Papua/ILWP so that you were rush from Europe and America to the Pacific just for the United Movement for Liberation of West Papua/UMLWP. The act, that has caused casualties among youth Papuan (KNPB) and many people. Why is this, even though the Unilateral Declaration of the Papuan Nation and the FRWP has been held?

### Mirage

Whatever is good about natural potential in this case Papua as the Province of Indonesia, which was previously given *pet name* Irian (West, Jaya) which also has people (or according to the majority of Indonesians) has superior musical talent and also voices like Nowela, Edo Kondologit or previously like the Black Brothers Music Group and others, also in the field of foot ball sports such as Boaz Solossa, Patrik Wanggai, Ferdinando Pahabol, Riki Kayame, etc., which continue to struggle to maintain self-esteem as artists and athletes, said "Defending the Indonesian nationality". It's okay to say that, even if it's just a mirage. Why is that said?

Because as it is also shown<sup>72</sup>, Papuans are seen as black, with relatively low human resources, primitive and poor people, who often raise the Kejora flag as a means of resistance, which demands a referendum and independence from the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, which also causes mysterious shooting, and inviting human rights violations.

Papuans here are just *nf* (non-factors), which are variables that need not be taken into consideration. Not the human, but the important is the belly of the earth.

<sup>72</sup> The edult people of Papua today who are consist of 253 ethnic groups, with their own characteristics, but tend to decrease in population rather than increase, as shown statistics in 2010.

From the experience of late May 2015, the NKRI did not feel any guilt when Persipura was kicked out of the match at AFC 2015 towards the FIFA world championship AFC Cup 2015, [[Retrieved from](#)]).

The name Papua<sup>73</sup>, by Indonesia in its struggle known as Irian (West, Jaya), however, was only because of the pressure of the Papuan people in this case the Papuan Leader Speech of Theys Hio Eluay, on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1999 "return the name Papua" at the dinner greet with world humanist figure, KH Abdurahman Wahid. The 3rd President of the Republic of Indonesia on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2000 returned the name "Papua" by annulling the names of infidelity and slavery "Irian".

So actually by exchanging the name, to some Papuans, it is understood, as, Indonesia has been in a position to recognize the existence of Papua which is indeed not Irian (West, Jaya) any longer and of course also no longer part of Indonesia as contained in the documents of NKRI.

But apparently this was missed because there was no difference between control of Papua and control of Irian. It was the same after the Second Papuan National Congress May-June 2000 the Leaders (Theys Hio Eluay and Tomas Beanal) because of certain stakeholder pressures (Willy Mandowen, Agus Alua, cs.),<sup>74</sup> had failed to announce the Transitional Government which was the main reason of this political event, namely the Second Papuan National Congress was held.

<sup>73</sup> The term "Papua" is so taboo before and during the New Order, let alone being called, dreams are forbidden. Even after the name, the term or the word "Papua" is returned even though Papuan officials, birocrates and politicians remain loyal and obedient using "Irian". See Raweyai Yorrys Th at Reference, even though it was already in 2002, still loyal to using Irian Jaya (Indonesia) was added to the Papua Council Presidium (Presidium Dewan Papua-Irian Jaya).

<sup>74</sup> The same group and its accomplices appeared at the DAP Conference in Biak in August 2010 attempting to cancel the will of the people to launch KRP-3 to realize the UDI Papua and NFRPB which apparently did not stop here because it would reappear in 2013 to bring UMLWP to block the NFRPB legitimating by Papuan People's Representatives of 7 Cultural Areas in KRP-3.

## Comments on the Level of Indonesian Nation

Meanwhile, according to Meteray (2014) also, the spirit of being an Indonesian today for a society that is very diverse in terms of ethnicity, culture, religion, language, geography, education and economics is not merely a matter of pride and not something "easy". This condition is exacerbated in addition to serious intolerance and weak law, unequal distribution of natural resources has led to a tendency for separation, for example the Greater Borneo / United Dayak ideals and Eastern Indonesia /KTI, also Indonesia will become a secular religious state (Djuyoto [Suntani, 2007](#), ditto also "Obama Doctrine" *The Atlantic magazine* March-April 2016).

Not a regret that various attempts to make Papuans as part of Indonesia have failed. This phenomenon is very interesting and challenging. In the Meteray (2013) study, which confirms that the Indonesian-Melanesian people between "Indonesian-ness" and "Papua-ness" are often questioned when "Papua is hit by conflict", referring to the 2007 LIPI statement (in [Soewarsono, 2007](#)), why has Indonesia been independent for 62 years, Indonesia's nationalism in Papua is being questioned again?

In addition Meteray (2011) has also shown one of the comments of the former care taker (official) of the governor of Papua Province, Syamsul Rivai concerning the actions of the Papuan people in Jayapura (Bintang Papua, 22 Oct. 2011, in [Meteray 2011](#)):

*"Silahkan berkumpul, mengeluarkan pendapat itu sah-sah saja, tapi jangan menyinggung NKRI, perjuangan melenceng dari aturan yang berlaku, apalagi mencoba mendirikan negara dalam negara. Jika itu yang terjadi maka akan ditindak tegas (Please gather, issue on opinion that is fine, but don't offend the NKRI, the struggle deviates from the prevailing rules, let alone trying to establish a state within a state. If that happens then it will be dealt with firmly)"*

Meteray (2011) also highlighted the Member of Commission I of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Helmy Fauzi in connection with the Third Papuan People's Congress on October 19, 2011 at Abepura Jayapura, saying:

*"Kok tidak bisa sih mensejahterahkan rakyat Papua. Kok mereka masih saja miskin. Ini yang harus diperiksa secara komprehensif. Menurutnya Menkopolkham juga perlu menjelaskan apakah*

benar informasi yang berkembang bahwa BIN sudah mengetahui ada rencana lain dibalik acara tersebut. Jika benar sudah tahu dan tidak tercegah bisa dianggap pengabaian. "Itu Pengabaian. Kalau early warning sudah diberikan, harus ada cegah dini dong." Helmy kuatir bibit-bibit pembangkangan justru tumbuh subur di sekolah-sekolah negeri di sana. " Inilah kalau misalnya ada new layers dari resistance movement, ini tanda-tanda bahaya. Ini artinya pembangkangan terhadap merah putih di sana dilakukan oleh generasi baru yang hidup dan tumbuh di sekolah-sekolah negeri," Ujarnya. "Ini ada permasalahan apa, ini yang harus kami pelajari. Ini harus diantisipasi jangan sampai ada new layers yang berkembang sebagai wujud ketidakpuasan atas apa yang terjadi di Papua. Harus ada alarm call, bahwa ada masalah di Papua. (How come we can't prosper the people of Papua? How come they are still poor? This must be examined comprehensively. According to him the Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security also needs to explain whether the information is developing that BIN already knows there are other plans behind the event. If you already know and are not prevented it can be considered neglect. "That is neglect. If an early warning has been given, there must be an early prevention. "Helmy worried that the seeds of defiance would flourish in the public schools there. "This is if for example there are new layers of resistance movement, these are danger signs. This means that the red and white balance there is done by a new generation that lives and grows in public schools," he said. "What is the problem; this is what we must learn. It must be anticipated not to have new layers developed as a form of dissatisfaction with what happened in Papua. There must be an alarm call, that there is a problem in Papua)-(Bintang Papua, 22-10- 2011)".

In addition, Meteray (2012) also touched on the statement of a Professor of the Institute of Domestic Administration, Prof. Dr. Ngadisah, MA on June 28, 2012 who questioned the large amount of funds in Papua:

*....terdapat sejumlah keheranannya terhadap Papua, yakni kenapa di Papua selalu terjadi konflik pembangunan seiring keberadaan Freeport, kenapa dengan begitu banyaknya dana yang mengalir ke Papua tapi masyarakatnya masih miskin terus (35%)?, kenapa dari sekian banyaknya program pemerintah tapi masyarakat di sana konflik terus?. "Seolah hanya ada ratapan dan penderitaan*



*yang tidak pernah berakhir. Padahal kita berharap Papua hidup damai sejahtera dengan suku lain di luar Papua (... there are a number of astonishment towards Papua, namely why in Papua there has always been a development conflict over Freeport's whereabouts, why with so many funds flowing to Papua but the people still being poor (35%)? there is a continuing conflict? "As if there is only lamentation and suffering that never ends. Even though, we hope that Papua will live in peace with other tribes outside Papua)".<sup>75</sup>*

Even a theater artist from Batak, Lena Simanjuntak in her thin book (80 pgs) entitled *Kidung Danau Toba dan Danau Sentani* (Song of Lake Toba and Song of Lake Sentani), (2014: 6, 7) forms jokes but satire:

*"Hmm....., orang Papua tidur di atas emas. Tetapi kenapa miskin?" ....kemudian.... "Gurauan ini sebenarnya adalah pergumulan saya bahkan ratapan saya terhadap Tanah Papua. Kenapa "Sorga kecil jatuh ke bumi" seperti kata Franki Sailatua dalam lagunya Tanah Papua, penuh dengan kekerasan, HIV/Aids, minuman keras, putus sekolah, anak-anak terlantar, narkoba, dan lain-lainnya? Semakin saya mencoba menghayati dan mendalami kehidupan, baik melalui pandang mata atau bergaul dengan keluarga atau teman-teman dari para perempuan yang bergabung dalam teater, membaca berita atau buku untuk mengerti kehidupan dan lingkungan saudara-saudara di Papua, makin sulit bagi saya untuk mengatakan, "Persoalan yang ada di Papua bukan persoalan saya. Saya orang Batak. Bukan urusan saya mengurus orang Papua". Nurani saya terus dikejar oleh perasaan, "Saya harus peduli terhadap Papua ("Hmmm ..., Papuans sleep on gold. But why is it poor? "..., then ..."* This joke is actually my struggle and even my lament for the Land of Papua. Why "Little heaven fell to earth" as Franki Sailatua said in his song Tanah Papua, full of violence, HIV/AIDS, liquor, dropping out of school, neglected children, narcotics, etc.? The more I try to live and explore life, either through the eyes or by hanging out with family or friends from women who join in the theatre, read news or books to understand the life and environment of the

<sup>75</sup> The statement was in the form of a relatively similar complaint as also conveyed by Jokowi's Cabinet Minister of Defence, General (Ret.) Ryamizard Ryacudu at a meeting with the KIP Delegation on behalf of NFRPB, 10 April 2015 in Jakarta.

brothers in Papua, the more difficult it is for me to say, "The problems in Papua are not my problem. I am a Batak person. It's not my business to take care of Papuans. "My conscience continues to be pursued by the feeling, "I must care about Papua)!".

These various statements reflect how the elites and professionals responded to the Indonesianness of the Papuans as essence.

The author was so impressed with Lena Simanjutak's statement, indeed concerned, but what could I do? Sympathy alone is not enough, not a general matter, let alone "about the Batak people" or about anyone, although the Police Liboran Sitorus who is a Bataker (2013-2016) from his violating the law still wants to share with Papuans in Sorong. All of them are repeated to the Papuans themselves.

In Papua, awareness of Indonesia emerged when Papuan awareness had blossomed and grew slowly through a long process (Meteray, 2012) but also a total different interest. The Meteray study not only found Papuan awareness in Papua to be stronger than Indonesia in late 1962, but also according to the author of the Meteray statement proving the existence of Indonesianism in Papua was a process of band going (hard balance) or the wagoning band (the existence in directionless carriages) was greatly influenced by the behavior, character and behavior and performance of the Indonesian people who first entered Papua. Acub Zaenal (I love the Army, 1998) stated his guilt (?):

*"...betapa orang Indonesia termasuk saya sendiri selaku mantan Panglima dan Gubernur harus malu kepada orang Irian karena telah menggasak habis barang-barang mewah peninggalan Belanda kepada orang Irian, karena barang-barang seperti itu tidak terdapat di Indonesia....."*

(... how Indonesian people, including myself, as a former Commander and Governor must be ashamed of the people of Irian for having exhausted the luxury of Dutch heritage with the Irian people, because such items were not found in Indonesia ...)

## **The attitude of superiority and the nature of narrow primordials**

The existence of Papuan-Melanesian people inhabiting the West Papua State as shown in the Episode of the Black Got above is due to the basic culture and uneven history of acculturation. This has created what is meant by the Attitude of Superiority and the Nature of Narrow Primordial's both ethnicity and regionalism even has elements of belief or religion, even though it is barely monitored.

Examples of conditions that are created because of the attitudes and characteristics referred to include how coastal people interact with those from the interior and mountains. This is, likewise, those in the north, with those in the south, especially in terms of Protestant and Catholic, although the problem of conflict with Islam is almost completely inaudible. However, based on the past experience, for example in the enclaves of Islam in Kaimana, Fakfak, Bintuni Bay and Raja Ampat with the presence of Indonesian administration it was a time to balance themselves because in the Dutch administration if there was less attention. While about the inland, north-south and even Catholic-Protestant beaches there were recorded retaliatory attitudes, for example John Gebze, who was a Southern and Catholic person while he was Regent of Merauke District, skeptical of the northern people, most of who were Protestants.

A kind of retaliation occurred during Governor Lucas Enembe who, with authority in his hands innocently deactivating various career bureaucrats in their field, was made an Staf Ahli (Expert Staff) without any clear qualification. They then replaced by new people, especially from the interior who were judged on the requirements and stages of bureaucratic administration.

Regarding the attitude and the nature intended of the case for the free struggle for Papua, it seems very clear. For example, Marten Karet who claimed to be the President of the Republic of West Papua New Guinea had earned donations from the Ayamaru community and the Bird's Head Region as well as those who were sympathetic even though they could not be held accountable after the concerned migrated to the Netherlands.

Still in the identical two-along the way friends as the Founder of the West Papua Republic of 1971, Zeth Runkorem who is Biak and Yakob Prai who is Tabi-Mamta (Mamberamo-Tami) then clashed with subordinates to slaughter each other destroying the hopes of the Papuan people in West Papua who longed for real independence. There was an attraction between fellow of north, Saireri Bay and Tabi. The main sublime because is of the mentors Markus Kaisiepo (Biak) and Niclaas Jouwe (Tabi) fighting while in the exile at Delft City of the Netherlands and each with each followers.

In line with that, Benny Wenda and his supporters abroad without being asked to be held accountable for the progress of the development of the Political Lobby, the people, especially the youth, were burning only because the OPM office was set-up in foreign countries. Without questioning the results of the work accounted for, support flows but on the other hand is creates terror. West Papuan residents, both peace-loving Papuan-Melanesian and Non-Papuan-Melanesian peoples, have lost sympathy because of the brutality and vandalism made by supporters of Free Papua fighters abroad. Even to become a member of the MSG (Melanesian Spearhead Group) of the figures with its plus-plus (Papua Council Presidium/PDP, West Papua National Authority/WPNA, Liberation Movement for West Papua/LMWP) because its ambition still appears under the name UMLWP (United Liberation Movement for West Papua) during the June 2014 MSG Summit session in the Solomon Islands argued with FRWP which is legitimated of the Papuan People of 7 Cultural Areas through KRP-3, 19-10-2011.

In a KIP discussion in Jakarta in April 2015, Yoab Syatfle (Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of FRWP) informed that: "On the basis of mutual respect, President of FRWP, Forkorus Yaboisembut ordered us to revoke the FRWP application that we submitted to the MSG Secretariat. For FRWP Membership in MSG and waiting for opportunities to compete in other regional or international forums." Because it is not a country or state, UMLWP is accepted by MSG with the status of "observer" with limitations, only voices to represent the interests of Papuans who are abroad, if they want to voice the interests of Papuans in the Country, they

must consult with 5 Governors of Melanesia Province in Indonesia.(Majalah Jubi, Juni 2015).

## Stepping basic

If it is said to be the result of a summary, systemic cumulus, organizing peaks or whatever terms have similarities with this, then that is what should be juxtaposed for the political actions of the Papuan Qualified Leaders who are members of the Papua Collective Leaders with the people launched Papua UDI and FRWP in Tanah Papua, October 19, 2011 in response to the facts faced and the demands of the Papuan People in the West 3.000.000,-of Papua as a mandate or legitimacy.

In various meetings, especially at the Commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of Gusdur Return the Name Papua and the 10 Years of PDP respectively on 10 January 2010 and 3 June 2010 and later the Mass of the Papuan People in the Plenary Session of DAP in Biak on 15 August 2011, the mandate was legitimate

For a variety of understandings over a period of one year of consolidation, the Series of Organizing Actions took place until the Great Papuan-Melanesian Nation in West Papua took place from Sunday 16 October 2011 to Wednesday 19 October 2011, located on the soccer field of Saint Zacheus.

In triggering UDI of Papuans and the FRWP repositioned the political present to its original base, namely reaching the Papuan Political Manifesto on October 19, 1961 (ed. 1949-1962) realizing a declaration on the Papuan Names and Symbols on December 1, 1961 with the raising of the Papuan National Flag "Morning Star" accompanied The National Anthem of Papua "Hi My Land of Papua" which was supposed to have to lead to the Own Government of West Papua which is Free and Sovereign in 1970.

The colours and forms of UDI Wednesday, October 19, 2011 in the Field of Saint Zacheus was declared the Independence of the Papuan Nation and the formation of the FRWP after the President's formation and the election of the Prime Minister to create an ad hoc Government by Representatives of 7 West Papua Culture Representatives through 7 spokespersons representing 700 participants along with a cheerleader totalling over 5,000 a' 20,000s.

To underlie the knowledge and as an indication that the UDI of the Papuan Nation and the FRWP have a basis, successively presented the basic documents in the form of Proclamatie van Nieuw Guinea December 27, 1949, then the Papuan Political Manifesto of October 19 1961 and after that display the manuscript of the Declaration of Papuan Independence and FRWP October 19, 2011 (while the Papuan Charter and Constitution were discussed separately in Chapter Four), each of which is:

### ***“Proclamatie van Nieuw Guinea” 27 December 1949***

Immediately after the Sovereignty of the Indonesian Nation and the United States of the Republic of Indonesia (RIS) was announced on December 27, 1949 as a Result of the Round Table Decision, the Resident Noord Nieuw Guinea J.P.K. van Echoud as administrator (official) or caretaker Gouverneur van Nieuw Guinea on behalf of the Queen, announces *Proclamatie van Nieuw Guinea* in Malay and Dutch, as the following:

New Guinea Proclamation 1949 <sup>76</sup>  
By Caretaker Governor of New Guinea  
text in Malay

## PROKLAMASI

Penduduk Nieuw Guinea

Berdasarkan keputusan-keputusan dari konfrensi Medja Boendar pada hari ini kedaulatan atas Indonesia akan diserahkan kepada Republik Indonesia Serikat, ketjuali apa jang dulu disebut Residensi Nieuw Guinea.

Mulai hari ini kami semua mendjadi penduduk dari Gubernemen Nieuw Guinea, dimana pemerintahan umum dilaksanakan atas nama Ratu jang dimuliakan.

Kita memandjatkan doa kehadiran Jang Maha Kuasa akan memberi kita kemakmuran dan keamanan dibawah pimpinan Ratu Juliana.

Hollandia, 27 Desember 1949  
Pedjabat Gubernur Nieuw Guinea  
ttd  
J.P.K. Van Eechoud

<sup>76</sup> Commisi Indo-Nederland

## PROCLAMATIE

Ingezetenen van Nieuw Guinea Ingevolge de besluten ter Ronde Tafel Conferentie genomen, Zal op dezedag aan de Republik Indonesia worden overgedragen, met uit zondering van de voormalige Residentie Nieuw Guinea. Vanaf deze dag zijn allen ingezetenen van het Gouvernement Nieuw Guinea<sup>77</sup>, alwaar het algemeen bestuur Zal Worden uitgevend door het Gouvernement in naam van onze geierbiedigge Koningin.

Smeken wij den allerhoogste Zijn Zegen te schenken aan dit land en bidden wij dat hij ons onderleiding van haar majesteit Koningin Juliana moge voeren naar voorspoed en vrede

Hollandia, 27 december 1949  
De Waarnemen  
Gouverneur Van Nieuw Guinea  
was getekend  
J.P.K. Van Eechoud

<sup>77</sup> Gouvernement van Nederlands Nieuw Guinea (Dutch Special Autonomy Government) 1949-1970.



Text in English

## PROCLAMATION

Residents of New Guinea Following the decisions taken at the Round Table Conference, this day will be handed over to Republic Indonesia, with the exception of the former Residence New Guinea. From this day on, all are residents of the New Guinea Government, where the general administration will be issued by the Government in the name of our discerning Queen.

We beseech the Most High to give His Blessing to this land and we pray that he may lead us to lead our Majesty Queen Juliana to prosperity and peace

Hollandia, December 27, 1949

The Perception Governor of New Guinea

was signed

J.P.K. Van Eechoud

Besides J.P.K. van Eechoud gained respect as Bapa Papua (Father of Papua) from Papuans ((Jan Derix, *Bapa Papoea, Jan P.K. van Eechoud, een biografie*, Venlo 1987). On this basis, Papua Land began to be built both physically and mentally for a definite future.

From that time until 1960 (10 years) was built one Province city, 6 Residence City, dozens of Sub-Residence Cities, and hundreds of District Cities.

As quoted from *Stichting Nieuw Guinea*, (1956, *Vademecum van Nieuw Guinea*) a cursory picture is obtained as follows: Schools of general and vocational education which were previously not implemented even did not concern the Government at this time being a priority strengthened by the participation of the private sectors (churches and foundations) in the form of subsidies or legal texts, called, Lagere Onderwijs Subsidie Ordonantie (Lower Education Subsidy Ordinance)/LOSO and Middelbare Onderwijs Subsidie Ordonantie (Secondary Education Subsidy Ordinance) /MOSO.

Elementary Education was in the form of 3-year Dorp School (Village School), Vervolg School (Connection School) /VVS (Boarding for Dutch Language School) in Merauke, Fakfak, Saoka-Sorong, Teminaboean, Korido-Biak and Yoka-Hollandia. VVS for boys (Jongens) is called JVVVS, for girls (Meisjes) called MVVS and there is also Openbare Vervolg School (Public Connection School)/OVVS in Fakfak specifically for Muslim pupils. Junior high school secondary education in the form of Primere Middelbare School (Primary High School)/ PMS in Kotaraja-Hollandia, Biak and Sorong, Papua Vrijwilligers Korps (Papuan Volunteer Corps)/PVK Military Education in Arfai-Manokwari, General Education Agricultural Cluster at Amban Manokwari, Police Education at Kayo Batoe Hollandia, Opleiding Dorp Onderwijs (Village/Elementary School Teacher Education)/ODO in Serui, Fakfak, Merauke, Tiom and Ifar-Sentani. Zeevartschool (Shipping Education) in Hamadi-Hollandia; Health Education at Dok-II-Hollandia; For Lagere Technische School (Basic Engineering School)/LTS or vocational education in Kotaraja-Hollandia, and in Biak. High school level education in the form of Civil service "Opleiding School voor Inheemse Bestuur Ambtenaren (Education School for Indigenous Administration Officials)/OSIBA,

Kweekschool for Secondary School Teacher Education at Hollandia Binnen, Hogere Burgere School (Senior Citizen School)/HBS at Noordwijk (Dock V) -Holland. As for Medicine and Communication, it is taken at South Pacific University in Suva. About the Department of General and Law, Politics, Economics and State Administration to various Universities in the Netherlands, especially at Leiden University and for Agricultural Sciences taken in Wageningen.

Facilities in the form of hospitals, including Nurses, Mother and Baby Midwives (SIMAVI) and Public Health Services are also simultaneously run cantered and controlled by Centraal Zieken Huis (Central Hospital) Dok II Hollandia.

All the programs referred to are contained in the Tien Jaar Plan and Vijf en Twintig Jaar Plan (Plan for Ten Years of Development and Twenty-Five Year Development Plans) towards West Papua Independence in 1970.

Cities grow into metropolitans complete with housing, shopping facilities, health facilities, electricity, clean water system, and various other city-proper facilities such as transportation facilities, sea-air-road transportation and so on. Mokmer Biak airfield is the main one equipped with hotel facilities, shopping and modern-day arrangements of the era.

Some of the monumental buildings of the time and the city model, even though they were already eaten by age, still seemed to be traceable from existing relics and still had time to be saved.

### **Political Manifesto of Papua 19 October 1961**

The following is the Papua Political Manifesto produced by the Papua National Committee formed by the Volksraad, Nieuw Guinea Raad (Papua Council):

## MANIFESTO POLITIEK PAPOEA

Kami jang bertanda tangan di bawah ini, penduduk tanah Papoea bahagian Barat, terdiri dari berbagai golongan, suku dan agama, mereka terikat dan bersatu padu sebagai satu bangsa dan satu tanah air:

### MENJATAKAN:

1. Berdasarkan fasal 37 Piagam Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa bagian a dan b;

2. Berdasarkan malumat akan kemerdekaan bagi Daerah-Daerah dan Bangsa-Bangsa jang belum berpemerintahan sendiri, sebagai termuat dalam Resolusi jang diterima oleh Sidang Pleno Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa dalam Sidangnja jang ke-15, dari 20 september 1960 sampai 20 december 1960 no. 1514 (XV);

3. Berdasarkan hak mutlak dan kita pada tanah Papoea bahagian Barat atas tanah kita;

4. Berdasarkan hasrat dan keinginan bangsa kita akan kemerdekaan sendiri, maka kami dengan perantaraan Komite Nasional dan Badan Perwakilan Rakjat kita Nieuw Guinea Raad mendorong Gubernement van Nederlands Nieuw Guinea dan Pemerintah Nederland supaja mulai 1 November 1961<sup>78</sup>:

- a. Bendera kami dikibarkan di samping bendera Nederland;
- b. Njanjian Kebangsaan kami "Hai tanah-koe Papoea" dinjanjikan atau dilagukan di samping Wilhelmus;
- c. Nama tanah kami mendjadi PAPOEA BARAT dan
- d. Nama bangsa kami mendjadi PAPOEA.

Atas dasar-dasar ini kami mendjadi bangsa Papoea menuntut untuk mendapat tempat kami sendiri, sama seperti bangsa-bangsa merdeka dan di antara bangsa-bangsa itu kami bangsa Papoea ingin hidup sentosa dan turut memelihara perdamaian dunia.

Dengan ini kami mengundang semua penduduk jang mentjintai tanah air dan bangsa kita Papoea menjetudju Manifesto ini dan mempertahankannja, oleh karena inilah satu-satunja dasar kemerdekaan bagi kita bangsa Papoea.

Hollandia, 19 oktober 1961.

Komite Nasional Papoea,

Tertanda:

<sup>78</sup> But officially it can only be realized in the Declaration of December 1, 1961.

## [MANIFESTO POLITIC OF PAPUA

We, the undersigned, the inhabitants of the West Papua land, consisting of various groups, tribes and religions, are bound and united as one nation and one homeland:

### DECLARE:

1. Based on article 37 of the United Nations Charter, parts a and b;

2. Based on the announcement of independence for the regions and Nations that have not been self-governing, as contained in the Resolution received by the United Nations Plenary Session at its 15th Session, from 20 September 1960 to 20 December 1960 no. 1514 (XV);

3. Based on our absolute rights and the land of West Papua on our land;

4. Based on the desires and demands of our nation for independence, we, through the intercession of our National Committee and the People's Representative Council of New Guinea, pushed the Governor of Netherlands New Guinea and the Netherlands Government so that from 1 November 1961

a. Our flag is raised next to the Netherlands flag;

b. Our National Song "Hai Tanahku Papua" is sung beside Wilhelmus;

c. Our land name is WEST PAPUA and

d. The name of our nation is PAPUA.

On these grounds we become a Papuan nation demanding to have our own place, just like independent nations and among these nations the Papuans want to live in peace and contribute to the maintenance of world peace.

We hereby invite all residents who love our homeland and our nation Papua to approve this Manifesto and defend it, because this is the only basis of independence for us Papuans.

Hollandia, October 19, 1961.

Papua National Committee,

Signed:]

W. Inury - ketua	Z. Zonggenauw - anggota
N. Jouwe - ketua muda	B. Gebze- anggota
M.W. Kaisipo - sekretaris	N. Tanggahma - anggota
S. Malibela - anggota	F. Jufuway- anggota
Th. Meset - anggota	F. Torey - anggota
A.S. Onim - anggota	B. Kunjab - anggota
E.J. Bonay - anggota	-

Then from that, the results of the Manifesto were only manifested in the Declaration of December 1st, 1961 in the form of the Raising Papuan Flag "Morning Star" next to Dutch Flag the "Tri Colour" accompanied by "National Anthem Wilhelmus van Nassau and Hai Tanah-ku Papua".

The Manifesto and Declaration that are unfortunately not supplemented by articles of Notification or Statement of Freedom and Sovereignty because the dominant leaders reject the State Concept proposed by Nicolas Tanggahma, a representative from Fakfak.

This manifesto was promulgated by the Dutch Government in Government Decree Number 48 of 1961. Although there was no "sovereignty statement" on this spirit, the Papuan people believed that in 1970 there would certainly be their own Independence and Sovereignty as stated in the Ten Year Development Plan and Twenty-Five Years Development Plan was designed by the Government of the Netherlands (Cabinet de Qui).

### **The “Negara Republik Papua Barat”**

However, due to the breakdown of world political intervention from 1962-1969, it seems that the reality of Self Determination in 1970 could not be achieved. Therefore on July 1, 1971, to complete the Declaration of the Papoea National Committee in 1961, Zeth Rumkorem and Jacob Prai with the power of Free Papua Operation (OPM) as a base, declared the Republic of West Papua at Victoria Headquarters (Marvic) between the border of West Papua and Papua New Guinea.

In this case Zeth Rumkorem assumed the position of President and Jacob Prai assumed the position of Chair of the Senate. Rumkoren was supported by Markus Kaisiepo while Prai was

supported by Niclaas Jouwe. Both of them supported both of them were domiciled in Delft of the Netherlands. However, history shows that the state did not survive because the two conflicting leaders claimed each other, then again fragmented into small organizations and factions that threatened each other. The two leaders moved abroad. The last Rumkorem was to the Netherlands while Prai settled in Sweden.

### **The “Negara Melanesia Barat”**

Furthermore, in 1987 by questioning the results of the 1969 Rome Communique between the Netherlands and Indonesia on the sponsorship of the United States witnessed by the United Nations about the 25-year development period of Papua which presented the Foundation for Development of West Irian / FUNDWI and then Irian Jaya Joint Development Foundation / IJ-JDF to be obliged to determine their own fate (according to the status of the "Trusty Territory") of the UN at least according to Papuans). Dr. Thomas Wapai Wanggai declared the West Melanesian State. This effort failed because besides not getting the legitimacy of the Papuan people in the sense that it was not through a process like the Deliberation or Congress because the security conditions in Papua during the New Order were not conducive. Also, besides the term West Melanesia is indeed strange to most Papuans in the context of the country.<sup>79</sup>

The political conditional situation of the Free Papua struggle only developed rapidly after the Reformation took place in Indonesia 1997-1999 and Papua slammed the wheel towards the transformation of the struggle in the form of peaceful diplomacy.

<sup>79</sup> The constituents are called the Kelompok Bintang Empat Belas (Fourteenth Star Group) because they have a flag with 14 Stars based on a release by scribbling from the Bible Old Testament Book of Exodus Article 14. This group then splits into West Papua National Authority/WPNA and others join West Papua National Liberation Movement/WPNLM.

## **Papua Political Reactions in the Beginning of Reformation Era**

Consecutively through 3 political events after the failure of the 100 Papuan Delegation Team under the coordination of the Irian People's Reconciliation Forum (FORERI) in the National Dialogue which was rejected by the request of "beggar M" from the Indonesian President B.J. Habibie, the Papuans answered on the command of the Papuan Leader Theys Hio Eluay organizing successively the Papuan Flag-raising Event alongside the Indonesian Flag on December 1, 1999 followed by the Papua Great Assembly (MUBES) February 26, 2000 and the Second Papua National Congress May 27-June 3, 2000.

The Congress which was supposed to announce the Transitional Government but failed because the group of domination (Willy Mandowen, c.s. of FORERI intrigue) succeeded in influencing the Papuan Leader, rejecting the State Concept proposed by this author on behalf of the Papua Independent Committee/KIP replaced by the Papua Presidium Council (PDP) formed by MUBES to accept the Special Autonomy Concept offered by Indonesia. The PDP still sounded for some time, but after the Papuan leader, Theys Hio Eluay being killed in November 10, 2001, not much emerged because it had symbioses to be member of the Papuan Customary Council (DAP) by confirming PDP Deputy Chairperson who had before been elevated to become a Political Linr Leader.

The 1999 Constitution (Basic Guide Lines, 1999) follows the Concept of the Transitional Government which should have been ratified and announced by the Papuan Nation in the Second Papuan National Congress in 2000 just held at the KRP-3 sessions, became the foundation of UDI and FRWP in October 19, 2011.

In addition to continuing to be disturbed by elements of opponents of the Papuans themselves, the Indonesian government through its various agents also did not remain silent with breaking patterns. However, from the existing developments, there seems to be a tendency to better arrange opportunities rather than designing disasters.



## Unit of Movement for M Papua

### Pencinta Tanah Air (PETANA)

Strength of the movement that is more equated with *clandestine* (underground movement) is Pecinta Tanah Air (Lovers of the Motherland)/PETANA. This was more in the form of moral movement because it avoids clashes and violence.

As the author experiencing, there was involving more students of junior high school and senior high school, and also Preparation Level Students at Cenderawasih University especially in Sukarnapura (Jayapura) at that time. More activities in the campaign and mass movements in facing the Plebiscite or PEPERA 1969 which among others, organized the Papua Mass Demonstration on 11 April 1969 in Sukarnapura. The demonstration was demanding that the Plebiscite according to the New York Agreement to be implemented in "One-man-One-vote". The Peace Demonstration was presented to the Representative of the UN Secretary General Ortisanz then long march to the West Irian Parliament Building which on the way was blocked by General Sarwo Edhi as the Commander of the Trikora at that time. As a result of this event, there were many arrests and detention and also border crossings to Papua New Guinea, including many members of PETANA. Although as the main movers of several names such as Marilak Mehue who is the Chair of Petana from the Joint High School of Dok V and Sefnat Tesia from the SPG Abepura and dozens of other names still remain in Sukarnapura. PETANA members, who fled abroad, mostly spread in the Pacific countries.

### Operasi Papua Merdeka (OPM)

The Strength of the Free Papua Political Movement OPM (Operasi Papua Merdeka) as discussed before is an institution which by the interests of the Indonesian Government is called the Organisasi Papua Merdeka also abbreviated as OPM as well understood (Djopari, 1993). Names and terms as also apply to GAM (Free Aceh Movement), Fretilin for Independent East Timor and others. About OPM is actually an operating body that is broad in scope and includes but does not have clear bureaucracy or administration. More is a mass movement because it is also called

the Liberation Movement for West Papua, although it is very rarely used.

OPM membership is also not organized even though all people are subject to stigma with this term when acting against the Indonesian Government's untruthfulness.

The word or term OPM is very often used by the Indonesian Government apparatus as a stigma of separatism towards Papuans moderate-minded. For example, if this author is charged with word or term OPM, then it is not true, because it does not feel like being a member. The path of movement that the author and other people live in an effort to keep up the "identity" of the Papuan people is not because as a member of the OPM but solely is a calling of conscience.

The operation was first launched by Permenas Awom against the Battalion Casern of Brawijaya at Arfai Manokwari in September 1965. Awom himself was a former member of the Papuan Vrijwiligers Corps (Papuan Voluntary Forces)/PVK with the rank of sergeant. Whereas before Arfai Headquarters is the PVK Headquarters that has been occupied by Brawijaya Forces at the time of the Operation. After the attack, the power of the Operations began to spread to the wilderness of Vogelkop Tanah Papua, relying on guerrilla warfare. But then shrinking was not meaningful after Awom surrendered to Major General Acub Zaenal who was stationed in Manokwari with a special mission, conquering Awom with his troops. Awom fell into the hands of Acub Zaenal ending with the disappearance of the sea journey between Manokwari & Biak (2010).

Meanwhile, as mentioned above, after PEPERA 1969, Zeth Rumkoren's pair - Yakob Pray on 1 July 1971 supported by the OPM, declared the Republic of West Papua at Victoria Headquarters somewhere in the wilderness between Papua and Papua New Guinea (PNG). This declaration is based on The 10-year and 25-year Development Plan for Special Autonomy for the Netherlands Nieuw Guinea 1949-1970 from the Kingdom of the Netherlands (RTC de Hague and Cabinet of de Quay).

There were significant resistance which can be followed from various reports, but also later this resistance forces disintegrate in small factions which devour each other as the two Leaders

involved in the acute disjunction of each other become President, then each resigns abroad. Zet Rumkorem through Markus Kasiepo obtained a politics of falsehood in the Netherlands, while Yakob Prai through Niclaas Youwe could be safe in Sweden. In the homeland, the Republic of West Papua is fragmented in factions who do not mean that for this reason Indonesia calls it various terms, namely Organisasi Papua Merdeka (The Free Papua Organization) /OPM, Gerakan Pengacau Liar (the Wild Disorder Movement)/GPL Pasukan Sipil Bersenjata (the Armed Civil Force)/PSB, etc.

The fragments also grow and breed abroad, besides being the source of a bad image for the growth of Papuan political resistance in the country. Although it differs from all of them, according to Tom Beanal (2005 on the principle of Kelly Kwalik and Goliath Tabuni) there is a real army built in resistance that was truly military to fight for the Civil Government as the end result.

Although it still adds to the name of the OPM, it is only adds to the identity of the resistance: Tentara Pembebasan Nasional (the National Resistance Army)/TPN-OPM. This group built militant forces in the heart of the Land of Papua.

More about OPM can be read besides in Djopari (1993) also in Otto Ondawame's dissertation at ANU-Canberra entitled "One People, One Soul": West Papuan Nationalism and the Free Papua Organization (OPM) / Free Papua Movement.

### **Presidium Dewan Papua (PDP)**

One product from Musyawarah Besar (Extra Ordinary Deliberation)/MUBES Papua February 26, 2000 is formed the Presidium Dewan Papua (Papua Presidium Council)/PDP at the Central (Provincial?) Level and the Papua Council Presidium Panel at the Regional (District?) Level. In addition, the Papuan Customary Government was also formed which if said to be this medium Centre which for the Regions was not mentioned.

The main tasks of the two institutions of the results of the MUBES which were inaugurated at the Second Papuan National Congress are not clearly described by the designer, Mr. Willy Mandowen, MA. In addition to being very contrary to the 3 policies of the Papuan Leader Theys Hio Eluay delivered at the

Flag of December 1, 1999 entitled "Jalan Sejarah Jalan Kebenaran (The Path of History-the Path of Truth)", especially the third appeal: "Holding a Congress Announce the Transitional Government of Papua"

Besides the PDP organization being controlled by 2 Collective Chairmen namely Theys Hiyo Eluay with Tomas Beanal there are also 3 Moderators namely Franzalberth Yoku, Pastor Herman Awom and Dr. Benny Giay (later resigned) with a Secretary General Thaha Alhamid and Deputy Secretary General Agus Alua, MA., where the tasks are more regulated by a Mediator, namely Willy Mandowen, MA.

The author himself as a member of the functional line (bureaucracy) also with an unclear role but may feel satisfied with the activities of consigning state products charged by the Papuan Leader who is also the Chair of the DAP to KIP.

As mentioned above, the Papuan Presidium Council (PDP), is a body or presidium formed or precisely orchestrated by hands not revealed who played in the 2000 Great Conference of Papua (MUBES). MUBES itself was intended to nullify the decisions of the Irian People's Consultative Assembly (PEPERA) or Plebiscite in 1969 which had been cruelly forced to win Indonesia in the implementation of the New York Agreement between the Netherlands and Indonesia by the United Nations which was initiated by the US. By the Government of Indonesia was regulated by Law-No. 12 In 1969 the embryo had been prepared long ago (The Liang Gie and F. Soegeng Istanto, 1966, "Pertumbuhan Pemerintahan Propinsi Irian Barat Dan Kemungkinan2 Perkembangan Otonominja Dihari Kemudian (Growth of the Government of West Irian Province and the possibility of the development of autonomy in the future)").

The results of this MUBES were the PDP brought to the Second Papuan National Congress held on May 29 to June 3, 2000. Here, the PDP was formally appointed which was only a trick of a certain group to avoid this Congress from its original intention of declaring Papuan Independence with announce the Transitional Government in accordance with the points of the Port Numbay Declaration of October 26, 1999 and the Declaration of the Event of the Morning Star Flag raising in December 1, 1999.

The leaders, Theys Hio Eluay and Thom Beanal (Chair and Deputy Chairperson of the PDP) at the Second Papuan National Congress by elements were made helpless, so they were unable to discuss the Constitution and independent material including the Transitional Government prepared by KIP.

The development after the Second National Congress was that the Leaders were arrested and detained, then put on trial for three demands, namely the raising of the Papuan Flag on 1 December 1999, MUBES Papua February 29, 2000, and the Second Papuan National Congress May 29-June 3, 2000.

While the legal process in the Court is still ongoing, Theys is invited to attend a reception for Indonesian Heroes Day November 10, 2001 at the Special Forces Corps Headquarters (KOPASUS). On the way home after the reception, the Papuan leader who was the PDP Chair was killed or precisely strangled to death by the reception organizers. Outraged by this fact, the PDP's guts were shrinking and then symbiosis within the DAP.

Toothless militancy! The manoeuvre activities of the PDP and the Panel PDP became messy. Deputy Chair Tom Benal, who had previously been held high by supporters as Political Line Leaders for this fact, took over the position of Chairperson of the DAP.

Except for those who sympathize with the DAP, Pastor Herman as the Moderator, Thaha Alhamid and Agus Alua as Secretary General and Deputy Secretary General, and this author still retain themselves as PDP members on the sidelines of the participation of Willy Mandowen as the Mediator.

When traced carefully, it is the success of the scenario to create how all this can be perfect and total.<sup>80</sup> But apparently here also applies the formula "the more tripe, the more molested", because even though there are obstacles, the noble intention continues. So, because of the ambiguous and chaotic conditions naturally, the faction or resistance organization (M/Merdeka Papua) of non-PDPs flourished.

Nevertheless, one output that can be recorded is from the results of the PDP and the PDP Panel meeting with the Dutch

<sup>80</sup> In the book Synchronization of Law Number 45/1999 vis Law Number 21/2001, Jakarta, Balai Pustaka, this writer calls the parties referred to as "Abunawas" aka "liar".

Parliament which officially visited Jayapura after the Second Papua National Congress. From the meeting PDP proposed that there be rectification of history of Papua and be supported by the Dutch delegation. Thus, then Professor Drooglever from the Royal Dutch Historical Institute for his scientific study succeeded in compiling *Een Daad van Vrije Keuze: De Papoea's Westelijk New Guinea van de grenzen van het zelfbeschikingsrecht*, 2005 which has also been translated into Indonesian and English as evidence rectification of history.

"Meat has been on the plate, just how the Papuans eat it, with knives and forks or by hand depending on the Papuans themselves," said the Secretary of the Political Affairs of the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta during a meeting with the KIP Team (after YIM 2005) to confirm the results of scientific studies of Drooglever is meant.

### **Format and Struggle Movement besides OPM and PDP**

Political reality of the struggle for M/Merdeka Papua is factually pegged in the factions of the political struggle that flows and lasts until 2005 due to the weakness of the PDP. The MUBES product agency and the Second Papua National Congress have turned themselves into a DAP because of safety reasons. The factions of struggle along with it emerged not only claiming but also disrupting the fairness of the struggle.

Instead of inviting sympathy as it should have gone so far, even non-Papuan sympathizers but also the Papuans themselves turned to being passive and antipathetic. Until 2006, there emerged Ex-14 Star of West Melanesian Republican activists Wanggai 1986, Ex OPM Rumkorem-Prai 1971, PDP 2000 formed West Papua National Authority (WPNA) by appointing Evangelic Edison Waromi S.H. became President of the Executive Board and Evangelic Terryanus Yoku as President of the Legislative Board based in the City of Hollandia-Port Numbay, while at the same time as the main mentor of the OPM Group with output from the same elements formed the West Papua National Council for Liberation WPNCL with Chairman General Richard Juweni based in the wilderness of Tabi-Mamta Tanah Papua and Secretary

General Andy Ajamiseba based in the Island State of Vanuatu on the Pacific.

Starting in 2007, Benny Wenda's movement in the United Kingdom formed intensively forming Oxford and London-based International Parliament for West Papua (IPWP) and International Lawyer for West Papua (IWP) impacting the land of Papua with the formation of the Komite Nasional Papua Barat (West Papua National Committee/KNPB).

In this regard, the Papua Independent Committee (KIP) which emerged since the Pre-2000 Congress and the 2000 Congress remained constant as an impartial observer, although it always set leadership under the DAP as the main basis for recruitment both theoretically and practically, for example by drafting work guidelines, giving consideration to the Chairperson of the DAP, giving explanations to outside parties and so on, including controlling Papua's diplomatic missions.

### **Papua Independent-National Committee**

In the context of modern politics, the struggle for aspiration in Papua has also arrived at the workings of delegating authority and profession while not leaving the element of togetherness as a nation of heterogeneous people and various cultural backgrounds characterized by the mosaics culture of Papua-Melanesia; for that tasks are entrusted to a work entity called the Committee.

The Papua National Committee formed by Nieuw Guinea Raad both from board members and from other technocrats and other independent individuals with regard to existing heterogeneity; cf. The Manifestation of Papuan Politics.

Thus Nieuw Guinea Raad, or often called the Papuan Council, has formed the Papua National Committee (KNP) to formulate the possibilities of the future of the Papuan nation along with complete identity on October 16-19 1961 in Hollandia. The Papua National Committee in its two-day marathon meeting, on October 18-19 1961, succeeded in rolling out three points about the Papuan national identity, namely:

1. Name of Our Nation: Papua;
2. Name of Our Country: West Papua

3. The State Symbol consists of the Morning Star Flag, the National Hymn "O My Land of Papua" and the "Mambruk" Symbol of Gaura Regia-Victoria Papuana (Crown Pigeon).

The Papua Independent Committee (KIP) was formed as an escalation of alignments and the colours of the struggle for the aspirations of Papua to be in the midst not because of development disappointments, positions, or because of the interests of adat, the church and any other affiliations. This colour can be seen in the Papua National Reconciliation which was summarized in two meetings, each of which took place on the Sixth Floor of the Regional Government Bank Building (now Bank Papua); the first took place on August 1, 1998 on the initiative of Ondofolo Theys Hio Eluay and Yoris Raweyai on behalf of the Institute of Lembaga Masyarakat Adat and Dewan Adat (Indigenous Peoples and Customary Council) Irian Jaya, while the second took place on September 1, 1998 in scientific seminars and on the initiative of academics and government experts joined in Association of Ikatan Sarjana Ilmu Pemerintahan Indonesia (Indonesian Government Bachelor of Science).

The name adopted by the non-affiliates is the Komite Independen Simpatisan HAM Papua (Papuan Human Rights Sympathizer Committee); this name changes after going through various debates and working patterns that exist.

On September 28, 1998, four members of this body were summoned and investigated and then detained by police at the Jayapura POLRES cell on an initiative to be held to hold a meeting on October 1, 1998 with the aim of avoiding misinterpretation and not being caught up in provocations including solicitation and provocation to long march and raising flags on Mandala Square on October 1, 1998. Accusations include the invitation circulated using Papuan National and State emblem headbands: Morning Star flag and Mambruk symbol (Goura Regia-Victoria Papuana) besides being associated with the PKI Movement day of 30 September (G30S); the second accusation was dismissed but the first accusation was caught, Don A.L. Flassy Facilitator, chairman Augustinus Ansanay, member Lawrence Mehue, and members Barnabas Jufuay detained with treason articles for subsequent proceedings to court; Ondofolo Theys Hiyo Eluay who led the



Team of Nine Adat Heads to Jakarta to face ousted President Suharto and new President Habibie after expressing his appreciation and aspirations for Papua to be rushed back because of this detention but finally he also became entangled and detained together; also together with Samuel Yaru, the OPM leader who invited Papuans to march to Mandala Square to distribute the Morning Star flag on October 1, 1998, but had been foiled by KIP members. The court took place on six figures but was acquitted.

After obtaining a definite name and task as a manifestation of the re-establishment of the Papuan Council on 29 July 1999 in response to the Indonesian Government's response to the Papuan aspirations by the Nine Team and especially the 100 Papuan Delegation Team to the National Dialogue on 26 February 1999. KIP was tasked to prepare and operate Re-certify products that have been initiated by the Papua National Committee in 1961 concerning the national and state equipment of the Nation and State of Papua. As a follow-up after Yusuf Marten Tanawani, the leader of the Sorong-Samarai Movement announced the Port Numbay Declaration, together with other elements. In a row, KIP carried out the Preparation of the Basic Material of the Nation and State of Papua, the preparation and implementation of the Commemoration of the 36th Anniversary of the Papua Declaration on December 1, 1999, the raising of the Papuan flag "Bintang Kejora" along with the Indonesian National Flag "Dwi-Warna". 7 Points of Papuan Political Statement and the initiation of Papuan Political History, holding the Papua MUBES 2000, and the Second Papua National Congress 2000 and other national activities are before the organized format. From this activity, KIP facilitator, Don A.L. Flassy was netted in the detention of 5 Papuan Political Maestros with Ondofolo Theys Hiyo Eluay, Thaha Mohammad Alhamid, Reverend Herman Awom and John Simon Mambor who were investigated, detained in police and prison detention, tried but sentenced to free even to the level of appeal.

Membership and work patterns of KIP and study products that have been summarized were supposed to be brought to MUBES and Congress to be determined as a continuation of the work and decisions of the Papua National Committee on 19 October 1961 to become a Nation Decree, but because the work pattern is hard

based on sponsorship the basic matter was not on the agenda except only euphoria and the speeches of cheers without meaning other than passing statements for statements of rejection, reviewing them again for review, and the same thing was accusing and blaming all the Dutch-Indonesian-US and the United Nations, while the eyes of the world await with high enthusiasm, what really is the crucial decision for the fate of the Papuan Nation at the Second Papuan National Congress in 2000. The results of the Second Papua National Congress were almost NIL.

The Papua Independent Committee, confirmed by the Papuan Customary Council with the task of filling out all forms of draft legislation for the Papuan Nation in the future. Thus, the tasks and achievements of KIP's work are based on the Letter of Duty of the Papuan Leaders (See the 1999 West Papua Constitution).

## **Stages of Dialogue and Series of Consultations with NKRI**

Stages of Dialogue and Series of Consultations with NKRI sorted as follows:

### ***YIM (Yogyakarta Informal Meeting)***

In 2005 the National Intelligence Agency (BIN) through the Coordinator of the Maluku and Papua Regions invited the Papuan Customary Government (Ondofolo Philipus Ohee) and KIP members (Lawrence Mehue, Bas Jufuay, Don AL Flassy, and Mas John Ebbid Suebu) exchanged views on the Papuan struggle in Yogyakarta. This golden opportunity was not wasted because the BIN officials who were present at that time, KIP explained about the importance of "Free Papua/M" because it would have a logically positive political impact but even more economically for the NKRI as stated in the booklet produced by KIP entitled "Pulau Fajar Ke-Emas-an (Dawn of the Golden Island)" in 1999, among others, also included the division of Economic Inclusive Zones/EIZ and Economic Exclusive Zones/EEZ, Bilateral Cooperation with Indonesia, Trilateral Indonesia-Papua-PNG, Multilateral with the Global Region and the Draft of Constitution of West Papua. In this case there is nothing hidden but stated transparently. The

following is the "Potential Paper" submitted by KIP in YIM June 13, 2005:

Yogyakarta Informal Meeting (YIM), 13 Juni 2005 dengan Petinggi BIN difasilitasi oleh BIN Wilayah Maluku-Papua, Letkol Budi Santoso.

Tempat: Hotel Samirono Baru, Sleman, Yogyakarta.

Kutipan dari *position paper*:

---

### Objectivitas Papua dan Tatanan ke Depan

Papua sebagaimana juga rakyat dan masyarakat lain di Indonesia dalam semangat NKRI memiliki bawaan aspirasi yang mungkin berlainan dengan yang lain yaitu Aspirasi Merdeka dan Berdaulat (M) sebagai bangsa dan negara sendiri. Membandingkan dengan rakyat dan masyarakat Aceh yang adalah penyokong dan Pendiri Negara Indonesia Serikat (RIS) dan NKRI saja tidak luput dari memiliki kekhususan berupa aspirasi yang berlainan, ini juga pada Maluku yang dalam forum Jong Ambon ikut mendeklarasikan Soempah Pemoeda. Pendek kata ada kekhususan itu pada semua komponen daerah di NKRI juga akan halnya Papua.

Bahwa *fire flame* (titik api) aspirasi (M) ini telah menjadi biang lala pembangun-an selama 40 tahun berupa kesejahteraan yang tertunda sementara catatan tentang pelanggaran HAM begitu signifikan menjadi perhatian dunia (Kongres Amerika, PBB, Uni Eropa, Forum Pacific, Belanda, Irlandia, LSM Internasional, dll).

Dengan Reformasi Indonesia yang memberi angin terhadap Transformasi di Papua terasakan dalam tuntutan kesejahteraan, HAM dan aspirasi M terformulasi dalam tatanan yang lebih baik dari pada sekedar bergirilya dan praktek kekerasan menjadi tatanan organisasi yang lebih memudahkan bagi dialog diplomasi dan pendekatan-pendekatan lain yang memperhatikan *mutual beneficiary* (kebersamaan) antara sesama, antara kepentingan serta bagi tujuan masa depan yang lebih cerah bagi Indonesia dan Nusantara. Tidak sekedar menyalahkan, menuntut saja dengan tanpa mencari solusi, hadir dalam anggapan sebagai yang mengalahkan atau menaklukkan dan menanamkan benih pemberontakan sebagai yang tidak rela menerima penak-lukan. Paradigma harus diroboh sesuai tuntutan perubahan itu sendiri sebagaimana tema kampanye Presiden terpilih 2003/2004. Tidak sekedar pejabat mencantumkan NKRI di balik nama dengan

pengakuan yang berlebihan dan dibuat-buat sementara perbuatannya terutama dalam hal ini melakukan tindak Korupsi dan praktek KKN lainnya secara sadar dan berkesinambungan. Pengakuan diri sebagai paling NKRI telah memberi peluang untuk semena-mena melakukan KKN sementara dengan membawa masalah Papua sebagai tameng kepentingan untuk mengelabui Pemerintah Pusat dan para agen penyalur dana.

Untuk kepentingan masa depan yang lebih cerah dengan mempertimbangkan masalah Papua (Aspirasi M) sudah mendunia dan tidak terbandung bukannya lantas mencari kambing hitam atau *loosing-face* (menyelamatkan muka) melainkan perlu dicari jalan keluar dalam rangka mutual beneficiary antara NKRI dengan Rakyat Papua bersama dengan aspirasinya. Dalam arti, sementara diplomasi sedang dibangun dengan pihak luar, KIP telah mau melihat ke dalam dari kepentingan bersama NKRI yang walau bagaimanapun sudah terbangun selama 40an tahun.

Dengan pemahaman sadar bahwa “Bicara tentang Papua tidaklah mungkin tanpa Indonesia (NKRI)”. Pemikiran akan *mutual beneficiary* harus menjadi acuan untuk tidak terjadi *loosing face* sebagaimana yang dialami dengan TIMTIM. Para Pejuang Saroja terkapar tanpa penghargaan karena pendekatan yang salah. Akan halnya Papua, apabila memang terjadi M menjadi suatu kenyataan semua tatanan dalam rangka *mutual beneficiary* telah jelas implementasinya. Rakyat Papua bukan hanya Melanesia-Papua tetapi ada Cina, Jepang, Belanda, Inggris, India, Arab, Afrika dan tentu juga Indonesia. Ciri membaaur yang tertata dan sudah menjadi tatanan itu bukanlah hal baru karena sudah tertata sejak Para Pendiri mencetuskan Nama Bangsa Kami Papua yang berarti jamak dapat secara feksibel terdiri dari berbagai asal bangsa dan suku bangsa (etnisitas) meskipun suku-suku bangsa (pendukung 250an bahasa) Melanesia-Papua adalah yang dominan.....dst.

Demikian Yogyakarta Informal Meeting (YIM) Juni 2005 hendaknya berkelanjutan secara sistematis terbangun menjadi sebuah pilihan yang terjadi sebagai inisiatif NKRI mengantisipasi tuntutan dunia baru Papua menuju perubahan (Konsep Pemerintah Tatanan Baru sebagaimana antara lain diajukan dalam buku Sinkronisasi UU-RI Untuk Papua: Indonesia Tampil Beda-

Provinsi-Provinsi OTSUS Diurus Menteri Khusus Papua, karya  
Don A.L. Flassy, terbitan Balai Pustaka Jakarta 2004.

Yogyakarta, Juni 2005.

**KOMITE INDEPENDENT PAPUA,**

**Ketua:**

**Drs. L. M. Mehue.**

**Fasilitator:**

**Don A.L. Flassy, MA.**

**Anggota:**

**Mas John Ebbit Suebu**

**Translation Text:**

**Yogyakarta Informal Meeting (YIM), June 13, 2005 with BIN officials facilitated by BIN Maluku-Papua Region, Lt. Col. Budi Santoso.**

**Place: Hotel Samirono Baru, Sleman, Yogyakarta.**

**Quote from position paper:**

.....  
Papua's Objectivity and Future Order

Papua as well as other people and communities in Indonesia in the spirit of the Republic of Indonesia has innate aspirations that may be different from the others namely the Independent and Sovereign Aspirations (M) as their own nation and state. Comparing with the people and the societies of Aceh who are the supporters and Founders of the United States of Indonesia (RIS) and NKRI alone did not escape from having specificities in the form of different aspirations; this was also in Maluku, which in the Jong Ambon forum declared Soempah Pemoeda. In short, there is specificity in all regional components in the Republic of Indonesia as well as Papua.

That the fire flame (fire) of aspirations (M) has become the source of 40 years of development in the form of delayed welfare while the record of human rights violations is so significant in the world (American Congress, United Nations, European Union, Forum Pacific, Netherlands, Ireland, International NGOs, etc.).

With the Indonesian Reformation that gives a wind towards Transformation in Papua it is felt in the demands of prosperity, human rights and aspirations that are formulated in an order that is better than just rolling and the practice of violence becomes an organizational order that makes diplomacy dialogue and other approaches that pay attention to mutual beneficiaries (togetherness) between others, between interests and for the purpose of a brighter future for Indonesia and the Archipelago. Not just blame, just demand without seeking a solution, present in the presumption as the one who defeated or conquered and planted the seeds of rebellion as those who were not willing to accept conquest. The paradigm must be changed according to the changing demands themselves as the theme of the 2003/2004 President-elect campaign. It is not just officials who include the

Unitary Republic of Indonesia behind the name with excessive confession and temporary contrivance, especially in this case doing acts of Corruption and other CCN practices consciously and sustainably. Self-recognition as the most NKRI has provided an opportunity to arbitrarily carry out temporary CCN by bringing the Papuan problem as a shield of interest to deceive the Central Government and fund channeling agents.

For the sake of a brighter future by considering the issue of Papua (M Aspiration) has been global and unstoppable instead of looking for scapegoats or saving faces, it is necessary to find a way out in the framework of mutual beneficiary between the Republic of Indonesia and the Papuans along with their aspirations. In a sense, while diplomacy is being built with outsiders, KIP has been willing to look inward from the common interests of the NKRI which, however, have been built for 40 years.

With a conscious understanding that "Talking about Papua is not possible without Indonesia (NKRI)". The thought of a *mutual beneficiary* must be a reference for not losing the face as experienced by TIMTIM. The Saroja Fighters were lying without appreciation due to the wrong approach. As for Papua, if M happens to be a reality all the arrangements in the framework of mutual beneficiary have been clearly implemented. The Papuan people are not only Melanesia-Papua but there are Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, English, Indian, Arabic, African and of course Indonesia. The blended character that is organized and has become an order is not new because it has been arranged since the Founders sparked the Name of Our Nation Papua which means plural can be flexibly composed of various origins of nations and ethnicities despite ethnic groups (supporting by 250 languages) Melanesia-Papua is the dominant ... etc.

Thus the June 2005 Yogyakarta Informal Meeting (YIM) should be systematically built into an option that occurred as an initiative of the NKRI to anticipate the demands of the new world of Papua towards change (New Government Concept as among others proposed in the book titled Synchronization Law for Papua: Indonesia Performance Different - Provinces of OTSUS Administered by Special Minister of Papua, written by Don AL Flassy, published by Balai Pustaka Jakarta 2004.



### Three Series of Dialogues with BIN: 2007, 2008 dan 2009

In the year 2007, 2008 and 2009, in addition to the systematic movement to realize the Papua-Jakarta Dialogue (Indonesia) officially initiated through academic channels and government lines, various other institutions also seemed to compete to gather community units, organizations and components for the same purpose.

The Papuan Land of Peace Movement was realized by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Papua New Deal Policy by the President of the Republic of Indonesia, but along with that there were also conflicts including the Papuan People's Assembly (MRP) torn into the MRP of Papua Province and MRP of West Papua Province. There was also a statement: "Return OTSUS" but the Government responded by presenting the Acceleration Unit for the Development of Papua and West Papua/UP4B and various other patterns and various acts including arrest, detention, torture, murder, disappearance and other violence as reported to the International World, among others, the Human Rights Session in Geneva April-May 2012 and loudly voiced by the World Council of Churches (WCC).<sup>81</sup>

Among those mentioned above, the Papua Peace Network initiated by Pastor Dr. Neles Tebai clung to the Scientific Team of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) under Dr. Muridan S. Widjojo and his colleagues managed to roll out a prestigious document, entitled *Papua Road Map: Negotiating the Past, Improving the Present and Securing the Future*, 2008, Jakarta, who also clung to

<sup>81</sup> 14 developed countries highlight the problem of human rights violations in Papua. At the UN Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review (UPR) working group meeting, 23 May 2012, as a four-year report mechanism (2008-2012) in Switzerland, Indonesia was again highlighted. The fourteen countries are the United States, Australia, Britain, Italy, Japan, Germany, Canada, South Korea, Mexico, Norway, France, New Zealand, Spain and Switzerland. It turned out that the number of countries that highlighted human rights issues increased quite sharply compared to evaluations carried out in 2008: only five countries highlighted the problem of human rights violations in Papua.

the written work of Pieter Drooglever, *Act of Free Choice: The Papuans of Western New Guinea and the limitations of the right to self determination* year 2005 which is busy talking about.

Besides in 2007 and 2008 various parties from the Free Papua Struggle Line were summoned to Jakarta for the same purpose either individually or in groups. In 2009, again the Maluku-Papua BIN invited the remaining PDPs to Jakarta to speak heart-to-heart with LITBANG BIN in Jakarta under General Sasmita and BIN Deputy Chairman General Azad. On this occasion the PDP was represented by Tom Beanal as Deputy Chairperson of PDP/DAP, M. Thaha Alhamid as PDP Secretary General, Rev. Emeritus Herman Awom as PDP Moderator, Don A.L. Flassy as a Member and Representative of the Professional Group at the PDP and Martin Zainudin an activist and entrepreneur from Sorong. This meeting is a series that is conducted several days during the 2 weeks of the meeting. After 3 months later, next to the First Series Meeting, it was followed up with the Second Series Meeting still with the same components from Papua namely all from the PDPs.

Specifically for this purpose, the PDP has written in, requesting security guarantees to the American Ambassador through the Political Secretary even though it was only a handwritten letter by Deputy Chairperson of PDP Thom Beanal, this was as being directed. See here follows:

Jakarta, 10 November 2009

To  
The Ambassador  
U.S.A.  
in  
Jakarta.

His Excellency,

We inform to his excellency that since June until September 2009, Presidium Dewan Papua together with Dewan Adat Papua were invited by Badan Intelijen Negara (BIN) to discuss and share about political and security matters include the future of Papua. The discussion held five times.


For information they invite us again to have the second round discussion begin next week November 2009. In our discussion with BIN we explain our reason for sovereignty and separation based on NYA 62 and declare that Papuan need international dialog between RI - Papua under guidance by international body, we avoid dialog only among Papua and Indonesia without third party. Our standpoint was clear and open for Indonesia as mention above; it was known too by vice head BIN - Mr. Mohamad ASAD.

For the security and safety for our life we ask his excellency to protect us if one day we are in dangerous position and situation.  
The name of our delegation that meet with BIN are as following:

1. Mr. Thom Beanal
2. Mr. Thaha Mohamad Alhamid.
3. Rev. Herman Aywom
4. Mr. Andy Manobi
5. Mr. Don A. Flasy
6. Mr. Leo Imbiri
7. Mr. Jan Piet Yarangga
8. Mr. Daniel M. de Fretes
9. Mr. Forkorus and the others.

We hope that U.S.A. will bridge over Papua and Indonesia for an international dialog like Aceh, Timor Timur, Kosovo and Palisario. --  
May our request could be given attention by his excellency.  
Thanks,

Yours Faithful  
Presidium Dewan Papua

  
Thom Beanal  
Vice Chairman (elected)

domotes -

Further the First Series and the Second Series Meeting were accompanied by a Position Paper which was given the title: *Kesepahaman Yang Bermatabat* (A Dignified Understanding).

The participants in addition to listening to what the NKRI Government wanted through officials and BIN officers who, among others, were present Deputy Chief Bin General Asad, also revealed the fact of the will of the Papuan Nation through the various modes of struggle that existed during the time. Also agreed that there Government actions against the misuse of power, authority and position in the Land of Papua to not be seen as omission. Ending the Second Meeting Series, agreed the following meeting (Third Meeting Series) where also presented by WPNA and WPNCL.

Each position paper at the first and second sessions of the meeting and the Letter to the President of the Republic of Indonesia in the third session is as follows:

## **Surat dan Tuntutan Reposisi**

### **1). Dokumen Posisi ke-I**

#### **KESETARAAN MARTABAT MANUSIA DALAM SALING MENGAKUI DAN MENGHORMATI MELALUI DIALOG UNTUK HIDUP DAMAI DAN BERDAMPINGAN**

Sejarah dunia mencatat, dan juga berikan pelajaran bahwa perbedaan istimewa konflik ialah satu realita yang telah ada, tetap ada, dahulu kini dan akan datang. Namun sejarah dunia, juga memberi pelajaran dan mencatat bahwa perbedaan dan konflik itu tidak abadi bisa diselesaikan menuju perdamaian melalui perundingan saling memberi, saling menerima dalam kesetaraan saling mempercayai baik ucapan lebih istimewa tindakan/perbuatan.

Antara Papua dengan Indonesia dalam keberadaan masing-masing pada konteks sejarah penjajahan dan politik bisa disebut serupa tapi tidak sama, karena walaupun dijajah oleh satu penjajah namun penanganan penyelesaian politik ditempuh pendekatan beda melalui internasional bukan perundingan internal.

Kebersamaan Papua dengan Indonesia fakta politik dan militer menguraikan sebagai keterpaduan hasil operasi militer - Tri Komando Rakyat pada tataran lapangan serta diplomasi di tingkat atas pada tataran internasional, seperti dijelaskan oleh Presiden Soeharto, di hadapan masyarakat Irian Jaya / Papua di Taman Mini Indonesia 31 Agustus, 1992. Menurut Jenderal Soeharto bahwa tanpa operasi militer Trikora pasti usaha diplomasi sia-sia, dan saudara-saudara tidak akan pernah berkumpul dan kangen-kangen di sini bersama saya sekarang ini, ucapan beliau sambil senyum, jangan lupa itu ya!

Selama hampir 50 tahun Papua di dalam Indonesia terhitung 1963 sampai kini ada hal-hal yang secara jujur dan saling mengakui harus disebutkan bahwa rakyat dan orang Papua tetap bergolak, ini beda dengan daerah bergolak lain di Indonesia pasca 27/12/49, yang lain sifatnya temporer sebaliknya Papua dahulu Irian (hampir) bersifat konstan. Sudah barang tentu ada, penyebab antar kedua belah pihak, tidak mungkin hanya satu pihak penyebabnya, maka pasti penyelesaian masalah dibereskan antara kita atau melalui perantara.

Penyebab utama dan pertama antara, Papua dengan Indonesia sesungguhnya sudah banyak disampaikan oleh orang Irian kepada tataran terendah sampai tataran tertinggi, baik sipil juga militer - sebaliknya Papua telah menerima jawaban dan janji dari tataran terendah sampai tataran tertinggi baik sipil juga militer. Proses komunikasi politik - informasi kebijakan ini sudah ada sejak tahun 1969 sampai hari ini. Dalam kenyataan Papua tidak pernah baik dan bergolak secara damai menjadi

perhatian dan opini nasional istimewa merembet rebut opini internasional.

Jawaban atas dinamika politik oleh orang Papua di tanah Papua terhadap Indonesia telah berdenyut sejak 1964, 1977, 1984, 1999/2000, 2001, 2003 bahwa sudah barang tentu pasti ada sesuatu yang hakiki telah hilang bukan teknis praktis serta telah merambat masuk ke tataran psikologis-kejiwaan politik, hukum, kebangsaan yaitu hilang kepercayaan dan harapan dikarenakan terlalu banyak janji yang sudah alami inflasi dan degradasi moral. Kepercayaan dalam filsafat dan teologi adalah kehormatan dan martabat manusia suatu existensi tidak tertukar ataupun tergadai. Alhasilnya sebagai ikutan Indonesia (Pemerintah dan Militer) tidak percaya Papua karena bisa melepaskan diri sebaliknya Papua tidak percaya Indonesia. Inilah hal/kenyataan utama sifatnya bukan teknis pragmatis tapi psikologis politik. Antara RI dan Papua sudah saling hilang kepercayaan, sehingga apapun dan seindah janji manis Indonesia kepada orang Papua tetap saja tidak dipercaya, demikian pula sebaliknya orang Papua bicara dan janji apapun pihak Indonesia tidak pernah percaya. Inilah kondisi psikologis politik dan realita kejiwaan pragmatis ketatanegaraan antara Indonesia-Papua, jauh lebih berbahaya dari senjata maupun bedil. Kebuntuan ini mendesak dan perlu diatasi didasarkan pada pemulihan kepercayaan antara kedua belah pihak dengan saling bicara dan istimewa berbuat terhadap hal-hal yang tabu sekalipun diletakkan padameja percakapan bermartabat serta kesetaraan!

#### USUL DAN MASUKAN BAGI MENURUNKAN HAMBATAN PSIKOLOGIS POLITIK ANTARA PAPUA - INDONESIA MELALUI:

1. Mendesak perlu ada usaha konkrit menghilangkan ketidakpercayaan antara kedua belah pihak (bukan satu pihak) serta bertahap melepaskan kecurigaan menuju saling menerima perbedaan juga persamaan.
2. Menghargai secara terhormat semangat dan prinsip demokrasi sebagai instrumen menyatakan pendapat secara terbuka tanpa tekanan, yang bermartabat.
3. Mengakui dan menghargai latar belakang dan nilai sejarah budaya, sejarah politik yang beda, tetapi menyumbang kekayaan dalam universalitas peradaban manusia.
4. Kedua belah pihak seyogianya wajib melalui prinsip Hak Asasi Manusia menyelesaikan/ membicarakan masalah residu politik masa lalu, melibatkan aktor-aktor sejarah berkepentingan.
5. Kebuntuan sejarah politik Papua dalam Indonesia - dan Indonesia ada di Papua dapat dirundingkan secara elegant dan terhormat melalui pendekatan *comprehensive non partial* -

menjauhi kekerasan dan penggunaan kekerasan.

6. Dialog terbuka maupun tertutup sebagai prinsip resolusi konflik politik abad 21, diterima sebagai model dan metode tunggal dalam kesetaraan dan saling menghormati antara kedua pihak, mendudukan pelurusan sejarah, dilakukan berkelanjutan oleh pemerintah Indonesia dengan rakyat Papua pemilik hak wilayah bukan satu kali saja.

7. Hakekat dialog terbuka - tertutup antara Papua dengan Indonesia patut dimediasi pihak ketiga yang adil oleh lembaga terhormat internasional baik di Indonesia ataupun di luar Indonesia tanpa syarat pendahuluan secara berjenjang.

8. Kehormatan dan kemuliaan serta kemanusiaan antara kedua pihak dalam sejarah adalah lebih utama - tinggi dari pada material dan finansial. Seyogianya dan patutlah pekerjaan *invisible hand* dalam praktek *mission impossible* dihilangkan sama sekali serta dibuang karena kemajuan teknologi super canggih menelanjangkan itu. Terpuji apabila, Papua dilihat sebagai subjek bukan objek untuk operasi militer - intelijen karena pasti membawa aib dan cela. Dialog perdamaian ialah mahkota utama penyelesaian residu sejarah politik, hapuskan saling mencurigai dan saling jaga- menjaga demi Indonesia baru - Papua baru, satu babakan sejarah kontemporer.

9. Pengakuan dan penerimaan institusional kepada Dewan Adat Papua dan Presidium Dewan Papua, satu realita kekuatan social politik berakar-mempunyai pengaruh di akar rumput-sebagai partner penyelesaian politik Papua atas dasar mandat rakyat.

Demikian beberapa masukan pendahuluan berupa pandangan awal yang disampaikan atas dasar demokrasi dan kemanusiaan mencairkan kebuntuan dan kecurigaan. Semoga berguna dan medatangkan awal baru, satu perundingan ke depan yang diharapkan. Kiranya POLKAM-BIN atas permintaannya sudilah kiranya menerima pandangan ini.

Terima kasih.

Jakarta, 29 Juni 2009

An. Rakyat Bangsa Papua,

The image shows three handwritten signatures and stamps. On the left is a signature that appears to be 'Don A.L. Flassy' with a circular stamp below it. In the middle is a signature 'Pat. Herman Awom' with a rectangular stamp below it that reads 'LED INBRI'. On the right is a signature 'Andy Penny Mahoby' with a rectangular stamp below it that reads 'ANDY PENNY MAHOBY'.

## **Translation Text:**

### **Letters and Reposition Demands**

#### **1). 1st position document**

## **EQUALITY OF HUMAN STATUS IN MUTUAL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND RESPECT THROUGH THE DIALOGUE FOR PEACEFUL LIFE AND ADVICE**

---

World history records, and also teaches that the special difference in conflict is one reality that has existed, is still present, then now and will come. But the history of the world, also gives lessons and notes that differences and conflicts are not eternal can be resolved towards peace through mutual giving, mutual acceptance in equality of mutual trust in both speech more special deeds/actions.

Between Papua and Indonesia in their respective existence are in the context of colonial history and politics can be called similar but not the same, because even though colonized by one colonizer, the handling of political resolutions is taken through a different approach through international rather than internal negotiations.

The togetherness of Papua with Indonesia political and military facts describes the integration of the results of military operations - the Tri Komando Rakyat at the field level and diplomacy at the international level, as explained by President Soeharto, in front of the Irian Jaya / Papua community at the Indonesia Mini Park on August 31 1992. According to General Soeharto, that without the military operation Trikora must have been in vain for diplomacy, and you will never gather and miss here with me now, he said with a smile, don't forget that!

For almost 50 years Papua in Indonesia from 1963 until now there are things that honestly and mutually acknowledge that it must be stated that the people and nation of Papuan remain turbulent, this is different from other turbulent regions in Indonesia after 12/27/49, the others are temporary otherwise Papua used to be Irian (almost) constant. Of course there are, causes between the two parties, it is not possible for only one party to cause it, and so the problem solving is resolved between us or through an intermediary.

The main and first cause between Papua and Indonesia has actually been delivered by many Irianians to the lowest level to the highest level, both civilian and military - on the contrary Papua has received answers and promises from the lowest level to the highest level both civilian and military. The process of political communication - this policy information has been around since 1969 to this day. In reality, Papua has never been



good and turbulent peacefully, and special national opinion and attention spread to seize international opinion.

The answer to the political dynamics of Papuans in Papua on Indonesia has been pulsing since 1964, 1977, 1984, 1999/2000, 2001, 2003 that of course there must be something essential that has disappeared not practically technical and has spread to the psychological level - psychology politics, law, nationality, namely loss of trust and hope due to too many promises that have experienced inflation and moral degradation. Trust in philosophy and theology is the honour and dignity of a human being that is not confused or pawned. As a result, Indonesia (the Government and the Military) joined in not believing in Papua because it could release itself otherwise Papua did not believe in Indonesia. This is the main thing / reality that is not pragmatic but psychologically political. Between the Republic of Indonesia and Papua, they have lost their trust, so that anything and as beautiful as Indonesia's sweet promise to Papuans is still not trusted, and vice versa the Papuans speak and promise whatever the Indonesian side never believes. This is the psychological condition of politics and the pragmatic psychological reality of the administration between Indonesia and Papua, far more dangerous than weapons or rifles. This impasse is urgent and needs to be addressed based on the restoration of trust between the two parties by talking to each other and special actions towards things that are taboo even if they are placed on a dignified and equality conversation!

**PROPOSAL AND ENTRY FOR REDUCING PSYCHOLOGICAL OBSTACLES OF POLITICS BETWEEN PAPUA - INDONESIA THROUGH:**

1. Urgent need for a concrete effort to eliminate distrust between the two parties (not one party) and gradually release suspicion towards accepting differences in equality.

2. Respect honorably the spirit and principle, democracy as an instrument of expressing opinions openly without pressure, which is dignified.

3. Recognize and appreciate the cultural background and historical values, different political histories, but contribute to the wealth in the universality of human civilization.

4. Both parties should be obliged through the principles of Human Rights to resolve / discuss past political residue issues, involving historical actors of interest.

5. The impasse of Papua's political history in Indonesia - and Indonesia in Papua can be negotiated elegantly and honorably through a comprehensive non-partial approach - avoiding violence and the use of violence.

6. Open and closed dialogue as the principle of 21st century political conflict resolution, accepted as a single model and method of equality and mutual respect between the two parties, occupying historical alignment, carried out continuously by the Indonesian government with the Papuan people.

7. The right to open-closed dialogue between Papua and Indonesia should be mediated by a fair third party by an international respected institution both in Indonesia and outside Indonesia without the preliminary conditions in stages.

8. Honor and glory and humanity between the two parties in history are more important - higher than material and financial. It should and should be the work of the invisible hand in mission impossible practices completely eliminated and discarded because of the advances in super-sophisticated technology that extend it. Praised if, Papua is seen as a subject not an object for military operations - intelligence because it certainly brings disgrace and reproach. Dialogue on peace is the main crown of resolving political history residues, abolishing mutual suspicion and mutual guarding for the sake of a new Indonesia - new Papua, one chapter of contemporary history.

9. Recognition and institutional acceptance of the Papuan Customary Council and the Papua Council Presidium, a reality of rooted political social power - has an influence at the grassroots - as a partner for Papua's political settlement on the basis of the people's mandate.

Thus some preliminary inputs in the form of initial views conveyed on the basis of democracy and humanity unfolded the impasse and suspicion. Hopefully it will be useful and bring new beginnings, one expected future negotiation. It is hoped that POLKAM-BIN at his request may accept this view.

## 2). Dokumen Posisi ke-II

### **KESETARAAN MARTABAT MANUSIA DALAM SALING MENGAKUI DAN MENGHORMATI MELALUI DIALOG UNTUK HIDUP DAMAI SERTA BERDAMPINGAN PADA PRINSIP SALING MEMBERI - MENERIMA TIMBAL BALIK SECARA TERHORMAT ISTIMEWA MENGUNTUNGKAN BERSAMA**

(Serial Kedua)

Kutipan Pidato Anwar Sadat di Kneset Israel pada 20 Nov. 1977

*You have to face reality bravely, as I have done. There can never be any solution to a problem by evading it or turning a deaf ear to it. Peace cannot last if attempts are made to impose fantasy concepts on which the world has turned its back and announced its unanimous call for the respect of rights and facts. For the sake of our peoples and for the sake of Me, civilization made by man, we have to defend man everywhere against rule by the force of arms so that we may endow the rule of humanity with PH the power of values and principles that further the sublime position of mankind...*

Menyadari benar bahwa demi menuju Indonesia baru - Papua baru yang ada dan hidup secara damai, terhormat, bermartabat, kesetaraan, dalam persaudaraan kebangsaan antar tetangga saling menolong juga berhubungan dalam semua bidang kehidupan sebagai warga dunia dan bangsa beradab maka kami menyatakan pikiran - sikap - solusi penyelesaian masalah politik, keamanan, social, ekonomi, budaya istimewa sejarah sebagai lanjutan dari pandangan, pendahuluan tertanggal 29 Juni 2009 lebih terarah dan focus sebagai berikut adalah :

A. Pemerintah dan militer serta intelijen telah tepat waktunya menerima - mengakui PDP & DAP,. satu existensi Institusi politik riil berpengaruh kuat dan nyata membawa aspirasi politik - hukum dari rakyat bangsa Papua Melanesia, mandat politiknya dipilih - ditetapkan sekitar 9000 anggota pada Kongres Papua II (2000) datang dari semua kampung, distrik, kabupaten, kota, istimewa semua elemen masyarakat (pemuda, wanita, mahasiswa, cendekia, agama, LSM, Tapol/ Napol, pejuang Papua M) dari seluruh tanah Papua, PNG, Pasifik, Eropa serta wakil kedutaan negara asing. Secara demokratis yuridis politik, legitimasinya kuat karena diakui, disetujui, didanai oleh Presiden RI KH. Abdurrahman Wahid

panglima tertinggi TNI. PDP & DAP memikul tanggung jawab politik rakyat bangsa Papua Melanesia diperjuangkan berciri - citra DAMAI melalui Dialog dan Lobby pada tataran Indonesia ke dalam maupun ke dunia internasional keluar, serta keberadaannya telah dikenal, diketahui, didekati, didengar oleh dunia atas prinsip Demokrasi - HAM - Hak bangsa pribumi PBB.

Pengakuan terbuka terhadap PDP-DAP seyogyanya prasyarat maupun syarat bagi dialog politik terkait semua urusan Politik existensi Papua kini dan yang akan datang - tanpapengakuan - maka RI hanya lakukan percakapan, perundingan, pernyataan antara RI dan RI dirinya sendiri, sesungguhnya bukan dialog tapi monolog absurditas mencari Godot atau seperti orang bicara sendiri terhadap / ke muka sendiri dalam cermin; suatu pemahaman prinsipil dari arti dan makna dialog politik standard. Berpandangan dialogis moderat sesungguhnya tinggalkan / lepaskan axioma - adegium politik lama bahwa bicara - akui PDP & DAP, itu sama dengan akui kemerdekaan Papua; kemerdekaan itu suatu proses dan dinamika sejarah yang gerak secara vertikal — horizontal menuju keseimbangan atas dasar saling berkepentingan.

B. Mendukung penuh terutama sangat hormati sikap dan pernyataan Menlu A.S Hillary Clinton tanggal 23 April 2009 di hadapan Kongres A.S. bahwa pemerintah Obama akan lakukan pembicaraan - pembahasan Otonomi (khusus) Papua dengan Pemerintah Indonesia dan Presiden terpilih nanti, ini artinya masalah Papua - Indonesia - Amerika Serikat telah diangkat dari intern menjadi urusan pada tingkat diplomasi internasional. Dalam hubungan ini PDP & DAP mengajak kita semua Indonesia - Papua, dukung serta terbuka terhadap inisiatif pemerintah Amerika Serikat, khususnya pelurusan sejarah demi kehormatan dan nama besar Indonesia yang cinta damai seperti tercantum pada preambule dan batang tubuh UUD'45 turut memelihara perdamaian dunia. Terhadap pernyataan terbuka dari kelompok massa, masyarakat, LSM, bahwa OTSUS sudah gagal serta diketahui dan diakui internasional atas kebenarannya maka PDP & DAP usul dan sarankan dalam proses pelurusan sejarah lebih tepat dalam perundingan Indonesia - Amerika, pemerintah Indonesia menawarkan Papua menjadi konfederasi temporer di Indonesia tinggalkan lepas OTSUS gagal sekaligus redefinisi - reformasi - reposisi - restrukturisasi dan reduksi teritorial militer di tanah Papua sehingga tidak memberi gambaran kepada dunia bahwa Papua adalah teritori diduduki apalagi dikontrol militer. Juga cabut semua UU dan PERPPU yang berciri makar, karena tidak reformis melanggar HAM dicopy dari UU kolonial Belanda abad 18, 19, khususnya PP No.77/Thn. 2007 berkarakter militeristik rezim ORBA.

C. Mendukung penuh dan amat menghargai RUU 2014 tentang Papua Barat dengan semua rincian beserta temuan historik, politik, diplomasi, militer, HAM istimewa rekomendasi penugasan kepada Menlu dan

Presiden Amerika Serikat untuk penyelesaian Politik terkini Papua, pelaksanaan OTSUS serta spesifik PEPERA 69 terkait NYA 62 seperti dinyatakan oleh Ketua sub Komisi Internasional urusan Azia Pasifik (E.F. Hunkin) di New Zealand tanggal 23 Juni 09 termasuk pernyataannya bahwa setelah Pemilu - Pilpres dan terbentuk pemerintahan baru beliau bersama beberapa anggota kongres akan kunjungi Papua kasual janji pemerintah Indonesia. Kami (PDP-DAP) minta hendaknya pemerintah Pusat maupun Daerah bersama militer pada waktunya memberi keleluasaan kepada Kongres AS ke Papua (Jayapura, Biak, Manokwari, Sorong, Timika, Wamena, Nabire, Merauke) sehingga melepaskan kesan buruk bahwa Papua itu teritori tertutup, dimana rakyat Papua terbuka bukan rekayasa, dapat bertemu dan berdialog. Kami berpendapat larangan kepada mereka pasti merugikan negara dan bangsa Indonesia secara umum tidak terukur dan kontra produktif terhadap politik luar negeri kita.

D. Mendukung penuh dan sangat menghargai serta salut atas penerawangan visioner dari Presiden Jend. (Purn) DR.SUSILO BAMBANG YUDHOYONO tanggal 31 Agustus 2009 menyatakan - umum - terbuka : "Bentuk Demokrasi dan UUD 45 bukan kitab suci agama sehingga bisa diubah" statemen politik konstitusi teramat bijaksana terhadap keberadaan masa kini istimewa masa depan Indonesia, setelah beliau mempelajari - melihat - merasakan keadaan internal maupun internasional yang saling tarik menarik berimbas menekan RI tercinta. Kesadaran politik beliau menyadarkan dan membangunkan terhadap jargon politik klasik ultra nasionalis fanatik bahwa semula di Indonesia itu harga mati karena sebenarnya ini salah bisa membahayakan dan ancaman atas keselamatan - eksistensi negara sendiri sebab melawan kodrat Ilahi, karena pada hakekatnya Negara - bangsa - pemerintah adalah organisme yang tumbuh berproses pada lingkungan, waktu, sejarah tidak statis - beku. Sudah pasti dan tentunya pernyataan politik Presiden keluar sebagai hasil dari koleksi data informasi, pengkajian, resultants bersama rekomendasi akurat dari DIN-WANHANNAS-LEMHANAS memperhatikan dinamika interaksi dari semua progress social, budaya, hukum, ekonomi, politik, pertahanan termasuk sejarah yang telah terjadi di Indonesia dekade ini terutama pasca Timor Timur, NAD, Papua, Yogyakarta, Bali, Sipadan, Ambalat, Moro, kemiskinan, hutang besar negara, alutsia dan lain-lain.

Menyambut penuh pernyataan politik istimewa dari Presiden SBYmaka PDP & DAP Papua amat mendukung perubahan bentuk negara - system pemerintahan menjadi tiga pilihan utama yaitu Federasi, One nation two system karena sudah nyata untuk NAD, Yogyakarta, Bali, Riau, Maluku (OTSUS Kelautan), Sulut (OTSUS Ekonomi) serta Konfederasi in temporia di Indonesia bagi Papua, selanjutnya reviewkonstitusi menjadi konstitusi federal sehingga pluralisme - kebhinekaan, minoritas punya tempat mengingat NKRI titik berat dalam arti konstitusi - hukum tata Negara

ialah "ketunggalan" sama dan sebangun identik sentralistik.

Presiden SBY telah pahami dan sadari arti serta nilai pesan politik dan budaya dari lirik lagu Klaus Meine vocalic Scorpion tahun 1990 - 'Wind of Change' .... I follow the Moskva, down to Gorky park, listening to the wind of change'. Perubahan itu bagaikan angin dirasa tapi tidak terlihat sehingga Isaac Newton merumuskan bahwa Kairos adalah faktor determinan perubahan itu sendiri terhisap terhadap negara, bangsa maupun pemerintahan tanpa kecuali.

E. Dialog Papua - Indonesia itu penting tapi juga perlu lebih penting berprinsip dan berbasis pada pikiran pokok terintegrasi (yang) tidak terpisahkan pengakuan pemerintah terhadap PDP & DAP tentang keputusan Kongres Papua II - pembicaraan antara Pemerintah Amerika Serikat dan Pemerintah RI tentang otonomi Papua - spirit dan konstitusi RI bisa dirubah; merupakan hakekat satu keterpaduan kesatuan yang simbiosis mutualistik tidak terpilah-pilah tapi komprehensif simultan dalam satu nafas beserta tindakan kerja politik bersama terdesak waktu menuju kebaikan semua di Indonesia di sini maupun di Papua di sana.

Menurut pandangan PDP & DAP bahwa dialog Papua - Indonesia butuh penengah, mediator, wasit yang adil, jujur, tidak berpihak dari komunitas internasional atau lembaga internasional bermartabat, berwibawa yang berkemampuan menegosiasikan - selaraskan antara kepentingan Indonesia bersama dengan / atau kepentingan Papua di sisi lain. Seperti kesepakatan ditandatangani antara Pemerintah Philipina - autoritas Moro- Pemerintah Malaysia melalui International Contact Group di Kuala Lumpur 10/9/2009 - Sudah ada banyak bentuk - contoh tinggal good will politik untuk melompat jangan tinggal di tempat sambil buying time karena perjuangan Papua adalah satu idiologi diturunkan dari satu generasi ke generasi lain in plant dalam kultur lagu dan tarian. Sebagai bukti bahwa RI berkemauan baik maka pemerintah pusat /militer sesegera mungkin lepaskan tidak intervensi menyetujui semua Perdasus-Perdasi hasil produk MRP - DPRP yang 'digantung' selama 6 tahun lebih disahkan - ditetapkan termasuk lagu (Hai tanah ku Papua) dan benders (Bintang Kejora) seperti dituntut rakyat bangsa Papua, kiranya dalam tahun 2009 - 2010. Langkah utama keputusan politik penyelesaian Papua melalui dialog internasional dengan perantara internasional sampai bisa mencapai perdamaian yang diterima masyarakat internasional sesungguhnya memberi RI penghargaan tinggi pelopor perdamaian, tidak tertutup kemungkinan dan kuat RI bisa diberikan hadiah Nobel perdamaian.

Pokok-pokok pikiran, pandangan, usulan penyelesaian masalah, utamanya sikap politik Papua didasarkan serta diletakkan di atas prinsip universal demokrasi - konvensi HAM PBB - konvensi Hak-hak Bangsa Pribumi PBB yang telah diterima sertadiratifikasi Indonesia, melalui

Masukan kedua ini hasil dari kajian perkembangan terakhir pasca pemilu serta pilpres dimana terbentuk pemerintahan Presiden SBY ke II (2009 - 2014). Kiranya bermanfaat untuk DEPDAGRI serta khusus bagi DEPARLU merumuskan kebijakan politik serta menskenariokan diplomasi politik luar negeri tentang kasus politik internasional Papua terintegrasi NYA 62 satu residu politik internasional dari kebijakan politik AS masa perang dingin, secara istimewa bagi Lembaga Kepresidenan Indonesia; hal mana dalam rangka memenuhi permintaan dan undangan kembali kementerian POLHUKAM - Badan Intelijen Negara (BIN). Masukan ini tidak berpretensi menggurui tetapi pikiran-pikiran obyektif dan konstruktif terutama solusi politik khusus ke depan sesuatu yang sifatnya mutual benefit.

Kiranya bermanfaat dapat digunakan oleh Kementerian POLHUKAM-BIN dan Lembaga Kepresidenan RI dalam penyelesaian politik Papua, atas perhatian serta penerimaannya dihaturkan terima kasih. Kita yakin teguh bahwa kebenaran dan keadilan serta perdamaian yang menang.

Herrmann  
 Pet. Hermann Anwar. R. Theodor Klotz Albrecht

Herrmann  
 Andy Mandel

J. L. Flessy  
 J. L. Flessy

Don A.L. Flassy, (2019). ITU DIA, This is it, Papua...

**Translation Text:**

**Letters and Reposition Demands**

**2). 2nd position document**

**EQUALITY OF HUMAN STATUS  
IN MUTUAL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND RESPECT  
THROUGH THE DIALOGUE FOR LIVING PEACEFUL  
AND ASSEMBLY  
IN THE PRINCIPLES OF EACH GIVING - RECEIVING  
THE RETURN  
HELPFULLY PRIVATE, TOGETHER**

(Second Serial)

Quotes of Anwar Sadat's Speech in Israeli Knesset on Nov. 20.  
1977

*You have to face reality bravely, as I have done. There can never be any solution to a problem by evading it or turning a deaf ear to it. Peace cannot last if attempts are made to impose fantasy concepts on which the world has turned its back and announced its unanimous call for the respect of rights and facts. For the sake of our peoples and for the sake of Me, civilization made by man, we have to defend man everywhere against rule by the force of arms so that we may endow the rule of humanity with PH the power of values and principles that further the sublime position of mankind.....*

Realizing that in order to lead a new Indonesia - a new Papua that exists and lives peacefully, respectfully, with dignity, equality, in the brotherhood of nationality between neighbors helping each other also relates in all areas of life as citizens of the world and civilized nations, we express our thoughts - solutions resolving political, security, social, economic, historical and cultural issues as a continuation of views, the introduction dated 29 June 2009 is more focused and focused as follows:

A. The government and the military and intelligence have the right time to accept - recognize PDP & DAP „ an existence Real political institutions have a strong and real effect on bringing political aspirations - the law of the people of the Melanesian Papuan nation, their political mandate is chosen - around 9,000 members at the Second Papuan Congress (2000) came from all villages, districts, districts, cities, all elements of society (youth, women, students, scholars, religion, NGOs, political prisoners / political prisoners, Papuan fighters) from all the land of Papua, PNG, the Pacific, Europe and representatives of foreign



embassies. Democratically juridical politics, its legitimacy is strong because it is recognized, approved, funded by the President of the Republic of Indonesia KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, the TNI commander in chief. PDP & DAP bear the people's political responsibility Melanesian Papuans are fought for - DAMAI imagery through Dialogue and Lobby at the level of Indonesia into and into the international world comes out, and its existence has been known, known, approached, heard by the world on the principles of Democracy - Human Rights - Rights indigenous peoples of the United Nations.

Open recognition of the PDP-DAP should be a prerequisite and condition for political dialogue related to all matters of Papuan existence and present - without recognition - then the Republic of Indonesia only conducts conversations, negotiations, statements between the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of Indonesia itself, not a dialogue but a monologue of absurdity Godot or like someone talking to himself / herself in the mirror; a principle understanding of the meaning and meaning of standard political dialogue. A moderate dialogueist view actually leaves / releases the axioma - the old political adegium that speaks - acknowledging PDP & DAP, that is the same as recognizing Papuan independence; independence is a process and dynamics of history that moves vertically - horizontally towards balance on the basis of mutual interests.

B. Full support, especially very appreciative of the attitude and statement of US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on April 23, 2009 before the U.S. Congress. that the Obama administration will hold discussions on Autonomy (specifically) of Papua with the Government of Indonesia and the President-elect later, this means that the problem of Papua - Indonesia - the United States has been raised from internal affairs at the level of international diplomacy. In this connection the PDP & DAP invites us all Indonesia - Papua, supports and is open to the initiative of the United States government, especially the rectification of history for the honor and big name of peace-loving Indonesia as stated in the preamble and torso of the 1945 Constitution to maintain world peace. Regarding open statements from mass groups, communities, NGOs, that OTSUS has failed and is known and recognized internationally for its truth, PDP & DAP suggest and suggest in a more accurate process of historical alignment in Indonesia-American negotiations, the Indonesian government offers Papua a temporary confederation in Indonesia leaving off OTSUS failed at the same time redefinition - reform - repositioning - restructuring and reducing military territory in Papua so as not to give a picture to the world that Papua was occupied territory let alone controlled by the military. Also pull out all the laws and PERPPU characterized by treason, because the reformists did not violate human rights copied from the 18th, 19th

century Dutch colonial law, especially PP No.77 / Yr. 2007 has the militaristic character of the ORBA regime.

C. Full and very appreciative of the 2014 Bill on West Papua with all details along with historical findings, politics, diplomacy, military, special human rights recommending assignments to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the President of the United States for the latest Papuan resolutions, implementation of OTSUS 69 and specific PEPERA 69 related to NYA 62 as stated by the Chairperson of the Asia Pacific International Business Sub-Commission (EF Hunkin) in New Zealand on June 23 09 including his statement that after the Election - the presidential election and his new government were formed along with several congressional members going to visit Papua promising the Indonesian government. We (PDP-DAP) requested that the Central and Regional governments together with the military give time to the US Congress to Papua (Jayapura, Biak, Manokwari, Sorong, Timika, Wamena, Nabire, Merauke) to release the bad impression that Papua is a closed territory, where the Papuan people are open, not engineering, can meet and have dialogue. We argue that the prohibition on them will certainly harm the country and nation of Indonesia in a general way that is not measurable and counter-productive towards our foreign policy.

D. Fully supports and appreciates and salutes the visionary vision of President Jend. (Ret) DR. SUSILO BAMBANG YUDHOYONO dated 31 August 2009 - public - open: "Forms of Democracy and the 1945 Constitution are not religious scriptures so that they can be changed" very wise constitutional political statements to the present special existence of Indonesia's future, after he studied - see - feel the internal and international conditions that attract each other affect the beloved Republic of Indonesia. His political awareness awakened and awakened to the fanatical classical political jargon of ultra-fanatical that in Indonesia the price was dead because in fact this could be dangerous and a threat to salvation - the existence of its own country because it opposes divine nature, because in essence the nation - the government is an organism growing process in the environment, time, history is not static - frozen. Certainly and certainly the President's political statement came out as a result of a collection of information, assessment, resultants and accurate recommendations from DIN-WANHANAS-LEMHANAS paying attention to the interaction dynamics of all social, cultural, legal, economic, political, defense progress including the history that has occurred in Indonesia this decade, especially after East Timor, Aceh, Papua, Yogyakarta, Bali, Sipadan, Ambalat, Moro, poverty, big debts from the state, defense equipment and others.

Welcoming full of special political statements from the President of SBY, the PDP & DAP Papua strongly supported changes in the shape of

the state - the government system became the three main choices, namely the Federation, One nation two system because it was evident for NAD, Yogyakarta, Bali, Riau, Maluku (OTSUS Marine), North Sulawesi (OTSUS Ekonomi) and Confederation in Temporia in Indonesia for Papua, then review constitution becomes a federal constitution so that pluralism - diversity, minorities have a place to remember the NKRI the emphasis in the constitutional sense - constitutional law is identical and unified centralistic "unity".

President SBY has understood and realized the meaning and political and cultural message of the 1990 lyrics of Klaus Maine vocalic Scorpion - 'Wind of Change' .... I followed the Moskva, Gorky park down, listening to the wind of change '. The change was like the wind felt but it was not visible so Isaac Newton formulated that Kairos was a determinant factor of change itself being sucked into the state, nation and government without exception.

E. Papuan - Indonesia Dialogue is important but also needs to be more principled and based on an integrated main mind (which) is inseparable from the government's recognition of the PDP & DAP regarding the decision of the Papuan Congress II - talks between the Government of the United States and the Republic of Indonesia regarding Papuan autonomy - spirit and the Indonesian constitution can be changed; is the essence of the unity of simultaneous but united but comprehensive mutual symbiotic unity in one breath along with the action of political work together pressed for time towards the good of all in Indonesia here and in Papua there.

In the PDP & DAP's view that the Papua - Indonesia dialogue requires mediators, mediators, referees who are fair, honest, impartial from the international community or dignified, authoritative international institutions capable of negotiating - harmonizing Indonesian interests along with / or Papuan interests on the other side. As an agreement was signed between the Philippine Government - Moro-authority The Malaysian Government through the International Contact Group in Kuala Lumpur 10/9/2009 - There are already many forms - for example, political good will to jump, don't stay in place while buying time because the Papuan struggle is an ideology handed down from one generation to another in plants in song and dance culture. As proof that the Republic of Indonesia is well-intentioned, the central / military government as soon as possible does not intervene to approve all the Perdassus-Perdasi products of the MRP - DPRPs that have been "hanged" for more than 6 years are validated - including songs (Hai land of Papua) and benders (Morning Star ) as demanded by the people of Papua, in 2009 - 2010. The main steps of resolving Papuan political decisions through international dialogue with international intermediaries to achieve peace received by the

international community actually gave the Republic of Indonesia a high appreciation for the peace, possibility and strong RI Nobel peace prize.

Principles, views, proposals for solving problems, especially Papua's political attitudes are based and placed on the universal principle of democracy - the UN human rights convention - the convention of the Rights of the Indigenous Nations of the United Nations that has been received by Indonesian officials, through peaceful international dialogue against violence, intimidation, terror, engineering, coercion of will. Our choice (PDP & DAP) is that political settlement is not and is not at all military because the military settlement has failed) proven in East Timor, NAD and not the era anymore.

This second input is the result of a review of the latest developments in the post-election and presidential elections in which the government of President SBY II was formed (2009 - 2014). It would be useful for the Ministry of Home Affairs and specifically for DEPARLU to form political policies and standardize foreign political diplomacy on the case of Papua's international politics integrated NYA 62 one international political residue from US Cold War political policies, especially for the Indonesian Presidential Institution; which matter in order to fulfill the request and invitation of the Ministry of POLHUKAM - the State Intelligence Agency (BIN). This input does not pretend to be patronizing but objective and constructive thoughts, especially special political solutions, in the future, something that is mutually beneficial.

Come on with the Pro Moto Humanity, Pro Democracy, Pro Human Rights, Pro History in an elegant way Indonesia-Papua stepped into a new future - leave old ways that are wrongly dishonest-towards peaceful co-existence side by side - because under heaven there is no the eternal and the dead price but what applies is the dynamics and dialectics of history.

It may be useful to be used by the Ministry of POLHUKAM-BIN and the Presidential Institution in Papua's political settlement, thanks for their attention and acceptance. We firmly believe that truth and justice and peace win.

The positive advantage in the M / Merdeka Papua warriors is the result of the Third Meeting Series, an agreement was made to compile a Letter entitled *Proposal Reposition to the President of the Republic of Indonesia* with concrete contents: (1) Returning to the Republic of Indonesia by creating an Indonesian Federal State; (2) Realizing One Nation Two System for the Islamic State of Aceh / NAD and (3) Positioning Papua for the Confederation in Temporaria (Position Ready for Special Action) which because of violations of the 1962 New York Agreement, returned to status 1 until December 18, 1961 to obtain Independence according to the desired shape.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>82</sup> This refinement was even though indirectly but had received a response from the President S.B.Y. in a meeting at the Bogor Palace in 2009.

**Dokumen Posisi ke-III, Tuntutan Reposisi.  
Surat kepada Presiden Republik Indonesia.  
Kepada  
Yang Mulia Dr. Susilo Bambang Yudoyono  
Presiden Republik Indonesia  
di – Jakarta.**

**Perihal: Tindakan Reposisi Bagi Perubahan Indonesia.  
(setelah dua serial Pertemuan dengan BIN di Jakarta)**

Dengan hormat,

Kami yang bertandatangan di bawah ini Konsensus Nasional Papua, atas nama Rakyat Bangsa Papua menyatakan bahwa setelah mengikuti proses perkembangan demokrasi di Indonesia diawali oleh Reformasi di tahun 1998 telah menumbangkan ditaktor militer orde baru dengan pola Dwifungsi ABRI yang menghasilkan demokrasi palsu, pelanggaran HAM berat, militeristik, KKN selama 32 tahun. Melalui diskusi, pembahasan, rapat, pertemuan internal Rakyat Bangsa Papua tentang Reformasi Indonesia dan dinamikanya selama 10 tahun, perkenankanlah kami menyampaikan pandangan, penilaian istimewa tuntutan politik radikis kepada Presiden Republik Indonesia sekitar hal-hal pokok utama dan pengaruhnya kepada OTSUS di Papua.

Penilaian, tuntutan serta tindakan politik yang perlu mendapat perhatian Presiden Republik Indonesia untuk segera dilakukan koreksi dan penyempurnaan fundamental adalah sebagai berikut:

1. Reformasi di Indonesia hanya baru pada menurunkan Presiden Soeharto, personal belum meniadakan nilai dan sistim rezim ORBA, itu masih tetap berlaku secara filosofis teristimewa empiris.
2. Personil, institusi dan birokrasi sipil maupun militer, teristimewa legislatif masih belum bergeser meninggalkan doktrin dan sistim lama sekalipun jargonnya menyebutkan reformasi birokrasi, institusi dan nilai.
3. UU dan Peraturan Pemerintah masih banyak yang sentralistik, baru beberapa yang desentralistik, tetapi ada pasal-pasal karet konstruksi multitafsir yaitu kata putus akhir selalu oleh Pemerintah Pusat. Akhir-akhir ini sudah mulai ada kecenderungan kuat untuk sentralisasi kembali dalam arti bertentangan dengan semangat dan filosofi reformasi oleh kaum feodalis-borjuis-militer-ilmuan yang berdomisili di Jakarta.
4. Desentralisasi otonomi yang ada masih bersifat ide karena dalam pelaksanaan masih terselubung praktek sentralisasi disebabkan UU Pusat yang diacuh masih banyak yang produk sentralistik Orde Lama maupun Orde Baru atau kalaupun ada UU Pusat baru, spirit dan rohnya masih sangat sentralistik berakibat terjadi stagnasi dalam penyelenggaraan

pemerintahan otonom spesifik Peraturan Daerah (contoh: Perdasi, Perdasus untuk Papua).

5. Mentalitas teristimewa pengetahuan politisi, parpol, birokrat, lembaga pendidikan dan cendekiawan Indonesia belum banyak berubah karena tidak terdidik bagi perubahan sehingga tidak dewasa, sebagai akibat dan hasil dari 32 tahun indoktrinasi yang membentuk pola berpikir dan pola berbicara istimewa pola bertindak yang masih sentralistik.

6. Militer Indonesia secara khusus Angkatan Darat belum berubah karena masih tetap menganut doktrin teritorial yang membayangkan pemerintah sipil, sedangkan realita Indonesia adalah negara kepulauan sehingga tetap tercipta kontradiksi dengan kenyataan geografis maupun geopolitik dalam hal ini sesungguhnya Angkatan Laut yang dikedepankan dalam sistem pertahanan. Sementara itu Polisi Republik Indonesia belum banyak banyak bergeser dari pola ABRI Orde Baru menjadi aparat sipil.

7. Menurut pandangan dan pengalaman dari penderitaan pahit Rakyat Bangsa Papua dalam NKRI, sepanjang hal-hal sebagaimana dikemukakan di atas itulah penyebab utama mandeknya Otonomi di Indonesia terutama dalam hal ini Otonomi Khusus Bagi Provinsi Papua (UU-RI No. 21 Tahun 2001). Pandangan dan penilaian kami tentunya tidak subyektif karena memang senada dengan kenyataan yang dikemukakan Ketua Asosiasi Gubernur se-Indonesia, Sutiyoso bersama Fadel Muhammad bahwa: "Otonomi Indonesia masih setengah hati, lepas kepala pegang ekor", maka yang mutlak dilakukan adalah memberikan kepercayaan penuh suatu pelimpahan kewenangan kepada provinsi otonom mengurus semua hal tanpa intervensi langsung maupun tidak langsung teristimewa melakukan tindakan distorsi sistim dan nilai dengan sengaja oleh Pusat; demikian juga yang akan diperjuangkan oleh Gusman Ketua DPD bahwa Pemerintah Pusat hanya urus dua hal yaitu Keuangan dan Politik Luar Negeri, selebihnya dilimpahkan kepada Provinsi Otonom serta Departemen yang tidak perlu dihapuskan. Khusus terhadap Papua yang memiliki sejarah politik internasional berbeda dengan bagian (provinsi) lainnya di Indonesia, kami menuntut atas nama demokrasi, hukum dan HAM serta keadilan mutlak bagi Presiden Republik Indonesia untuk mengambil langkah serta tindakan politik nyata sesegera mungkin terhadap hal berikut:

- a. Mencabut semua UU dan Peraturan Pemerintah (Pusat) yang sengaja ataupun tidak sengaja menstigmatisasi kata "makar" dan "separatis" yang selama ini memasung secara sengaja dan berencana hak demokrasi terutama HAM menurut konvensi Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa sudah diratifikasi Pemerintah Negara Republik Indonesia.

- b. Mencabut semua terminologi maupun jargon politik di Indonesia tentang kata kerja ataupun kata benda Separatis, Makar dan GPK dalam semua pernyataan pemerintah khusus militer dan intelijen yang merupakan dasar bagi militer dan kepolisian (ABRI) melakukan operasi militer sebagai proyek terbuka maupun tertutup serta kepentingan ekonomi-finansial lain didalamnya. Terminologi seperti itu bersifat rasialis, diskriminatif dan anti HAM serta ethnic cleansing terutama anti Panca Sila dan Pembukaan UUD'45..
- c. Mencabut dan membatalkan segera PERPU Nomor 77, Tahun 2007 yang berkarakter militeristik rezim Orde Baru sangat kental security approach absolut merupakan suatu pelanggaran hukum, demokrasi dan HAM teristimewa Hak-Hak Bangsa Pribumi menurut Konvensi Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa berhak memperoleh right of selfdetermination yang memang telah diakui dan diratifikasi Pemerintah Republik Indonesia.
- d. Merubah dan mendesign baru filosofi, nilai, sistim, metode, cara tindak dan kerja institusi-personil intelijen Indonesia dengan melepaskan inteligen milliter approach Orde Baru yang militeristik diganti Civil Inteligen Approach menggunakan metode ilmiah dan pendekatan hukum, hal mana melalui approach-dialog dan demokrasi. Perubahan itu wajib signifikan antara pernyataan dan tindakan bukan sekedar simbolis kamuflase belaka terutama dengan meniadakan karakter-citra badan intelijen ala Nazi dan Nippon yang ada di seluruh negeri Indonesia.
- e. Menyetujui dan mendesak untuk dicabut terminologi "NKRI harga mati supaya diganti dengan NRI harga hidup" karena di sana ada demokrasi, penghargaan terhadap HAM serta kebebasan mengeluarkan pendapat serta pilihan politik secara bebas tanpa rasa takut di bawah ancaman militer-inteligen.
- f. Menyetujui dan mendesak untuk dicabut segera UU Perintah Perang "Trikomando Rakyat" tanggal 19 Desember 1961 guna merebut, invasi, aneksasi Tanah Papua serta membubarkan Negara Boneka Papua demi menghilangkan pemahaman bahwa Indonesia hingga sekarang menduduki Negara dan Bangsa Papua yang distigma sebagai Negara Boneka Papua buatan Belanda sebagaimana juga Negara Boneka Malaysia buatan Inggris melalui Dwikora yang terus memicu kebencian Bangsa Malaysia terhadap Bangsa Indonesia, juga Komando Seroja merebut Timor Timur menyebabkan RI adalah kolonialis-imperialis setelah Timor Leste berdaulat. Rakyat Bangsa Papua minta segera kembalikan Negara Kami yang bukan boneka, karena Papua tidak pernah melakukan agresi teritorial.



Sehubungan dengan itu kami mendukung penuh pernyataan Presiden Republik Indonesia tertanggal 31 Agustus 2009 bahwa: "Bentuk Demokrasi dan UUD 45 bukan kitab suci sehingga bisa diubah", maka kami mendesak untuk segera dilakukan perubahan bentuk negara serta sistim pemerintahan dalam 3 pilihan utama yaitu:

- (1). Federal, karena sesuai fakta budaya, geografis, ras dan sejarah politik 27/12/1949;
- (2). One Nation Two System sehingga NAD tidak lepas dari NRI berdasarkan MoU Helsinki;
- (3). Confederation In Temporary bagi Papua di Indonesia sesuai pelanggaran New York Agreement 1962, kembali ke status 1 s/d 18 Desember 1961.





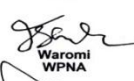







Hal utama adalah revisi/amandemen UUD45 yang masih sentralistik secara filosofis menjadi UUD Federal Indonesia melalui Dekrit Ampres Presiden Republik Indonesia sebagai sebuah langkah strategis tindakan politik penyelamatan negara menjadi suatu kebutuhan segera sebelum terlambat.

Kami mendukung dan mendesak terwujudnya Pernyataan Presiden Republik Indonesia dalam melakukan 3 pilihan tersebutkan di atas bukan lagi untuk didiskusikan dan diperdebatkan apalagi diseminarkan tetapi mendesak penting adalah pilihan bagi penetapan segera. Untuk itu kami yakin Yang Mulia Presiden Republik Indonesia pasti berani secara sadar terukur melakukan itu semua demi Indonesia yang menuju perubahan dan jaya.

Atas kesungguhan Presiden Republik Indonesia mengambil langkah bijak ini kiranya menjadi pengabdian mulia bagi Indonesia; Tuhan memberkati Yang Mulia Presiden Republik Indonesia.

**Jakarta-Port Numbay, 1 Desember 2009.**

**Atas Nama Rakyat Bangsa Papua,  
Konsensus Nasional Papua,**

 Tom Besenal PDP	 Mohammad Thaha Alhamid PDP	 Pendeta Emr. Herman Awom PDP
 Terry Yoku WPNA	 Waromi WPNA	 Don A.L. Flassy PDP/KNP
 Franz Kaplessa WPNA	 Leo Imbiri DAP	 Zadrak Taima DAP/KIP
 Y.P. Yarangga DAP	 Andy Maroby PDP	 Martin KIP

**Tembusan Kepada:**

1. **Yang Mulia Ketua MPR-RI.**
2. **Yang Mulia Ketua DPR-RI.**
3. **Yang Mulia Ketua DPD-RI.**
4. **Pihak-Pihak Kepentingan Lain Yang Berkenaan.**

Translation Text

**Third Position Document, Reposition Demands.  
Letter to the President of the Republic of Indonesia.**

**[To**

**His Excellency Dr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono  
President of the Republic of Indonesia  
in Jakarta.**

**Subject: Reposition Acts for Change in Indonesia.  
(after two series of Meetings with BIN in Jakarta)**

With Respect,

We, the undersigned, the Papuan National Consensus, on behalf of the Papuan People stated that after following the process of democratic development in Indonesia initiated by the Reformation in 1998 it overthrew the new order military tractors with the dual function of the Armed Forces which produced false democracy, gross, militaristic human rights violations , CCN for 32 years. Through discussion, discussion, meeting, internal meeting of the Papuan People regarding the Indonesian Reformation and its dynamics for 10 years, please allow us to express our views, the special assessment of political demands on the President of the Republic of Indonesia around the main points and their influence on OTSUS in Papua.

The judgments, demands and political actions that need the attention of the President of the Republic of Indonesia for immediate correction and improvement of the fundamentals are as follows:

1. Reformation in Indonesia was only new to bringing down President Soeharto, personal has not negated the value and system of the ORBA regime, it still applies philosophically in particular empirical.

2. Personnel, institutions and civil and military bureaucracies, especially the legislature, have not shifted from leaving the doctrine and the old system even though their jargon mentions bureaucratic, institutional and value reform.

3. There are still many central laws and government regulations, only a few are decentralized, but there are multi-interpretive rubber articles, namely the final term is always by the Central Government. Recently there has been a strong tendency to re-centralize in the sense that it is contrary to the spirit and philosophy of reform by the feudalist-bourgeois-military-scientists who are domiciled in Jakarta.

4. The existing decentralization of autonomy is still an idea because in the implementation it is still shrouded in centralized practices due to the Central Law which is still referred to by many centralistic products of the Old Order and the New Order or even if there is a new Central Law, spirit and spirit are still very centralistic resulting in stagnation in governance autonomous specific Regional Regulations (example: Perdasi, Perdasus for Papua).

5. The special mentality of the knowledge of politicians, political parties, bureaucrats, educational institutions and Indonesian intellectuals has not changed much because it is not educated for change so it is not mature, as a result and results of 32 years of indoctrination that form patterns of thinking and special patterns of speech that are still centralized.

6. The Indonesian military in particular the Army has not changed because it still adheres to the territorial doctrine that overshadows the civilian government, while the reality of Indonesia is an archipelagic country so that contradictions with geographical and geopolitical realities continue to be created in this case in the defense system. Meanwhile, the Republic of Indonesia Police did not shift much from the New Order ABRI pattern to the civilian apparatus.

7. According to the views and experiences of the bitter suffering of the Papuan People in the Republic of Indonesia, insofar as the matters stated above are the main cause of the stagnation of Autonomy in Indonesia, especially in this case the Special Autonomy for the Papua Province (Law-RI No. 21 of 2001). Our views and judgments are certainly not subjective because they are in line with the facts presented by the Chairperson of the Association of Governors in Indonesia, Sutiyoso and Fadel Muhammad that: "Indonesian autonomy is still half-hearted, off the head holding the tail", then what is absolutely necessary is giving full trust in delegation the authority of autonomous provinces takes care of all matters without direct or indirect intervention, especially by intentionally carrying out distortion of systems and values by the Center; Likewise, Gusman, the Chairperson of the Regional Representative Council, will also fight for the Central Government to deal only with two matters, namely Finance and Foreign Policy, with the rest delegated to the Autonomous Provinces and Departments which need not be abolished. Particularly for Papua which has a different international political history from other parts (provinces)

in Indonesia, we demand that in the name of democracy, law and human rights and absolute justice for the President of the Republic of Indonesia to take real steps and political actions as soon as possible to the following:

- a. Revoke all (Central) Government Laws and Regulations that intentionally or unintentionally stigmatize the words "treason" and "separatists" which have been deliberately and deliberately planning democratic rights, especially human rights according to the United Nations convention ratified by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia.
- b. Revoking all terminology and political jargon in Separatist, Makar and GPK verbs or nouns in all government statements specifically military and intelligence which are the basis of the military and police (ABRI) carrying out military operations as open and closed projects and financial-economic interests others in it. Terminology like that is racist, discriminatory and anti-human rights as well as ethnic cleansing, especially anti Panca Sila and UUD '45 Opening.
- c. Revoke and cancel PERPU Number 77, in 2007, which has a military characteristic of the New Order regime, which is very strong in absolute security approach, is a violation of law, democracy and human rights, especially the Rights of the Nation according to the United Nations Convention entitled to the right of self-determination. and ratified the Government of the Republic of Indonesia.
- d. Changing and designing new philosophies, values, systems, methods, ways of acting and working Indonesian intelligence institutions by releasing militaristic replaced New Order intelligence approaches. The Civil Intelligence Approach uses scientific methods and legal approaches, through approaches to dialogue and democracy. This change must be significant between statements and actions not merely symbolic of camouflage especially by eliminating the images of Nazi and Nippon-style intelligence agencies that exist throughout the country of Indonesia.
- e. Approve and urge to revoke the terminology "NKRI dead price so that it is replaced with NRI for living prices" because there is democracy, respect for human rights and freedom of opinion and political choice freely without fear under the military-intelligence threat.
- f. Approved and urged to immediately revoke the Law on the War of "People's Command" on 19 December 1961 to seize, invade, annexation of the Land of Papua and dissolve the Papuan Puppet State in order to eliminate the understanding that Indonesia until now occupied the stigmatized Papuan State and Nation as a Dutch Papuan Doll as well as the British-made Malaysian Doll Country

through Dwikora which continued to trigger the hatred of the Malaysian Nation towards the Indonesian Nation, also the Seroja Command seized East Timor causing the Republic of Indonesia to become a colonialist-imperialist after East Timor's sovereignty. The Papuan people ask to immediately return our country which is not a puppet, because Papua has never carried out territorial aggression.

In this connection we fully support the statement of the President of the Republic of Indonesia dated 31 August 2009 that: "Forms of Democracy and the 1945 Constitution are not holy books so that they can be changed", so we urgently need to change state forms and government systems in 3 main choices:

(1). Federal, because according to cultural, geographical, racial and political history facts 12/27/1949;

(2). One Nation Two System so that NAD cannot be separated from NRI based on the Helsinki MoU;

(3). The Confederation In Temporary for Papua in Indonesia according to the violation of the 1962 New York Agreement, returned to status 1 to December 18, 1961.

The main thing is the revision / amendment of the 1945 Constitution which is still centralistic philosophically to the Indonesian Federal Constitution through the Ampres Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia as a strategic step in political action to save the country as a necessity immediately before it is too late.

We support and urge the realization of the Statement of the President of the Republic of Indonesia in carrying out the 3 choices mentioned above, not to be discussed and debated, let alone disseminated but urgently important, is the choice for immediate determination. For this reason, we believe that His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, must have the courage to be consciously measured to do it all for the sake of Indonesia that is changing and prosperous.

For the sincerity of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, taking this wise step would be a noble dedication to Indonesia; God bless His Majesty the President of the Republic of Indonesia.]

Upon returning the Papua M fighters with PDP, WPNA and WPNCL labels formed the Papuan National Consensus initiated by youth and KIP with the support of Pastor Dr. Nelles Tebay of the Jaringan Damai Papua (Papua Peace Line)/JDP have carried out several consolidations.

During 2010 Papua M Fighters locked away from all forms of contact with Jakarta due to various interests including a retreat to face the Jubilee or 50 Years of the Papuan National Declaration which occurred on October 19, 1961 and the Declaration of Names and Symbols of the Nation December 1, 1961. Dewan Adat Papua (Papuan Customary Council)/DAP, which now led by Forkorus Yaboisembut S.Pd., present himself, also WPNCL. Even DAP emerged dominantly by gaining strength and support from KIP, Youth and Students, Intellectuals and Papuan mass, including limited and planned consultations with various personalities of prominent statesmen and institutions based in Jakarta and other major cities in Indonesia including abroad.

Two embryos of events occurred in 2010 by holding the GUSDUR-10 Year Celebration of the Return of the Name Papua on 10 January 2010 and on 3 June 2010 the 10th Anniversary of the Papuan-II Congress and PDP. Bearing from the two events, enthusiasm and the demands of the Mass of the Papuan Nation both domestically and abroad urged the realization of the Third Papua National Congress.<sup>83</sup>

The matter also happened because it was triggered by the fact that through a vigorous dialogue was built to get the concession of what model and compensation how it was needed to build a new relationship between Papua and Indonesia<sup>84</sup> only "like pigeons miss the moon" or "like far grill from the fire" in the sense that it was not achieved because of the arrogance of Jakarta which was originally supposed to be full of hegemony which has therefore applied the Indonesian territorial concept since 1962 in Papua which thickly made memoriam passionate in the Papuan people.

<sup>83</sup> All of these Constellations can be followed in the Basic Guidelines for the Papua version Consensus Leadership, 2010, see Chapter. VI. *Constitution vis a vis Constitution: Indonesia 1945 Versus Papua 1999.*

<sup>84</sup> Muridan S. Wijoyo in Meteray, (2012), xxvii.

## Preparation and Implementation of the Third Papuan Congress

Ahead of the Third Papua National Congress or more popularly called KRP-3, various activities were held and the most important of them were Political Organizational Consolidation and important practical activities in the Formation of the Diplomatic Mission, Formation of Committees, Formation of Negotiation Team, Congress Materials and other supporting activities. Some prominent are as follows:

### Consolidation of M Struggle Organizations

In this specific case, the role and legitimacy of the Papua Consensus is seen to be backed up by DAP, PDP, WPNA, WPNCL and mass organizations including unaffiliated OPM members (floating masses). Of course it is worthy and commonplace for Papuans to be suspicious and disparaging, not accepting precedence and various other negatives having to be eroded cleanly to see the common interest of the 50-year occupation issue which has produced genocide for the Papuan nation in all aspects and methods so that the population of Papua has stagnated and even declined dramatically compared to the population of Papua New Guinea. That of which was in the 1958 census had a population of 850,000 adults in 2010 which had become nearly 8 million souls while in West Papua only reached no more than 3 million souls and that together non-Papuans and certainly tend to decrease from the appropriateness rates available.

The appropriateness of the question is, where 5 million more people are. Was it killed or indeed stagnant because it was hampered by the pattern of development during the present of Indonesia in this country?

Reality becomes a common awareness so that it is worth getting another alternative way. Then the only right way is to hold the 3rd Papuan National Congress, to get legitimacy, choice and decision on the desire and hope of the people of Papua.

All organizational interests and tendencies must be focused on the success of the intended moment. Through the DAP information about plans to realize the hopes and desires of the Papuan Nation

were conveyed and forwarded through the Dewan Adat Wilayah (Regional Customary Council)/DAW network and the Dewan Adat Suku (Tribal Customary Council)/DAS as well as the PDP through PDP Panels in the regions and other components in their respective ways.

Consensus in these times is more self-established as the Papua Leaders Forum or more precisely the Papua Collective Leaders Forum.

There was strong solidarity built up and impressed strongly among leaders who did have the same fundamental ideological needs of "Independent and Sovereign of Papua". This all-important common goal thus annuls all personal and group interests and dilutes the rigid relations that have been built up by both Papuans and outsiders' engineering and orchestras.

It seems increasingly crystallized between interest groups that are pro KRP-3 and those that were not on the eve of the Opening Session of the DAP Plenary Session in Biak on 15 August 2011 and continued like that until the UDI Papua was held on 19 October 2011 even after that, a.o. emerged with 2 different membership applications to become participants of the MSG Summit even though the United Movement for Liberation of Papua (UMLP) was formed on the initiative of a interest group to combine FRWP as a state with the organization of activist groups. For this gesture, by studying Rumkorem-Prai, the FRWP revoked its own application, was accepted or did not become a member of MSG, it was not a problem, as long as it did not repeat its bitter experience of becoming an organization.

## **Diplomatic Mission**

In order to disseminate information on all matters in the form of excesses and access to struggles that have occurred and achieved to the outside to various countries, a Diplomacy Team called the Diplomatic Mission is formed directly controlled by the Qualitative Leaders or Collective Leaders.

Diplomatic Mission works by linking people with capacity and capability abroad to act as the mouthpiece of Papua, regardless of whether they are Papuans or other nations. Many advances include sharing information, especially about the UDI Papuans



and the FRWP through Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu and Australia in the Pacific, in Europe, Britain and Africa through the Netherlands and directly from the US specifically for North and South America including Caribbean. Again, in a sense it does not have to be the Papuans themselves but anyone who understands Papua and is willing to help.

The role of the Diplomatic Mission is very valuable before and temporarily continues until after that, so, KRP-3 is not lonely from monitoring of the outside world both within Indonesia and abroad to foreign countries by giving various impressions and comments so that UDI Papuans and FRWP soon become world knowledge, spread and evenly distributed.

The Diplomatic Mission reaffirms the position of certain individuals in the European Union, in the Pacific and in the US including lobbying the United Nations. This position was later confirmed as ambassadors and business attorneys after the UDI Event became reality on October 19, 2011.

### **Negotiation Team**

For special negotiations with the Government of Indonesia both directly and indirectly, the Leaders formed Team 7 consisting of 7 people under the leadership of Rev. Mother Ketty Yabansabra, M.Th accompanied by the author from KIP. The team even though they did not meet directly with the President S.B.Y but through related Ministers such as the Minister of Home Affairs and the Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security and BIN various meetings took place. As a result the Indonesian Government did not prohibit but also did not allow, aka floating.

In the sense of this floating condition, it was a politically feasible calculation and step to roll out the UDI of the Papuan Nation and the FRWP and indeed, it did very well.

### **Congress materials**

Concerning the Congressional Material, what is noteworthy is that the main objective of the Congress is to complete the important homework that has not been completed even at all untouched by the 1961 First Papuan National Congress (KNP formed by NGR) in the Manifesto Papuan Politics October 16-19

1961 and the Second Papua National Congress (PDP) May 29-June 3, 2000 which tolerated OTSUS to replace Papua M aka Independence.

In KRP-3, all lines want the completeness of the nation which has not yet been handled at the First Papuan National Congress and the Second Papua National Congress in the form of (1) Determination of the Constitution; (2) Forms of Government and (3) Declaration of Returning to the Political Status of the Papuan Nation in West Papua on the 1st of December 1961.

For this reason, the specific steps are taken from the Government of Indonesia Keynote Speaker, Report of the Organizing Committee, General Leaders' Views, General Views of Regional Envoys, Ratification of the 1999 Constitution, Appointment of President and Election of Prime Ministers, and then the performances of UDI of the Papuan Nation and FRWP as the topest.

## **Liberalism Democracy in Procedures and Processes of KRP-3**

Because the rejection of the Uncen Chancellor Prof. Dr. Berth Kambuaya on the request letter from the KRP-3 Committee to make the UNCEN Auditorium a venue for organizing the Committee must determine the alternative considering that the masses of the people have flooded coming from all over the Land of Papua. The Papuan People flock to Jayapura before the day is set which is October 16-19-2011.

Rather than because the venue for this important event being cancelled, the Committee chose the original Papuan-Melanesian methods, namely this grand event held in an open field. Thus, the Santo Zacheus Ball Field a compartment of the Catholic Centre in Padanbulan Hollandia Binnen (Abepura) has been used as a venue.

The "sabuah" long houses were built in exactly the festive style folk events such as at the traditional initiation program, Zendingsfeest or the like. The people are formed in 3 circles or chambers. The first circle or outside room is a mass of people crowded or called fans totalling more than 5000 people or reported 20-09-2011 by Daily Cepos or The Jakarta Post 20,000 people, the

second circle is Media Press and the Committee is 100 people. Furthermore, the third circle is the Assembly Participants totalling 700 people representing 7 cultural regions or indigenous territories (DAP Region). Each Customary/Cultural Region appoints 1 reporter, so there were 7 reporters. In a sense, all regions with any consideration have the right 1 vote of equal representation.

Although closely guarded by heavy equipment of Indonesian military and police combined with preparations for war, the atmosphere in the arena of the trial continued to be orderly since Sunday 16 October 2011 to Wednesday 19 October 2011.

For the sessions, the Session Leaders are elected, the Session Rules are stipulated, while the Session Agenda as submitted contains: Keynote Speaker by the Director General of Regional Autonomy of RI-Home Affairs Ministry representing the Government of Indonesia but because it does not appear until the last minute, followed by the General View of the Papuan Leadership Reports from Regional Representatives (DAPW), and subsequently Endorsement of Constitution, National Attributes then Other Important Political Steps.

After going through various general sessions, commissions and plenary sessions, on Wednesday, October 19, 2011, the Session Appointed the President of the Head of State of the Customary Path and Chosen the Prime Minister of the Head of Government from the Political Pathway. Furthermore, the President and Prime Minister urged by the Papua People of participants in KRP-3 holding the Unilateral Declaration of Independence /UDI of the Papuan Nation and the Federal Republic of West Papua / FRWP as a total completeness of KRP-3, October 16 - October 19, 2011.

The events of UDI were thus the result of the process of "M / Merdeka Papua" (Freedom), namely by manifesting "Papua M/Merdeka (Independence)" in creating peace declaration of the FRWP as *Belligerent*.

## UDI of Papua Nation and FRWP

Following are the texts and contents of the UDI of Papua Nation October 19, 2011 and FRWP as a step back towards reaching the Papua Political Manifesto on October 19, 1961 and Declaration of December 1, 1961:

## DEKLARASI NEGARA FEDERAL REPUBLIK PAPUA BARAT

Pada hari ini Rabu, 19 Oktober, 2011 pada Kongres Nasional Papua Ketiga, masyarakat Papua di Negeri Papua Barat menyatakan:

I.

Proklamasi pemulihan dan restorasi kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan Papua Barat pada 1 Desember 1961 yang hilang karena pencaplokan Indonesia.

II.

Memberlakukan Konstitusi Negara Federal Papua Barat dengan membentuk Pemerintahan Federal Negara Papua Barat dalam bentuk mengangkat Presiden Kepala Negara dan memilih Perdana Menteri Pemimpin Pemerintahan.

III.

Pemerintah Negara Federal Papua Barat menjamin hak-hak hidup dan hak usaha dari semua orang di Negeri Papua Barat.

IV.

Indonesia segera mengakhiri pendudukannya atas Papua Barat secara damai dan bermartabat sebagai bangsa beradab dan anggota Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa.

V.

Bangsa-Bangsa Anggota PBB kiranya mengakui kemerdekaan bangsa Papua sederajat dengan kemerdekaan bangsa lain di dunia.

VI.

Dewan Keamanan PBB segera mendaftarkan Negara Federal Papua Barat menjadi negara anggota tetap Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa.

VII.

Memberi Mandat Resmi kepada Pimpinan Nasional Papua untuk menjalankan kekuasaan Eksekutif, Legislatif, Yudikatif dan Panglima Pertahanan dan juga segera setelah ini dalam waktu selambat-lambatnya satu tahun melaksanakan Pemilihan Umum untuk memilih Perdana Menteri Pemerintahan definitif.

Rakyat Papua Barat sangat menghargai pemahaman Anda tentang ketidakadilan sejarah yang telah kami alami dan sangat berterima kasih atas dukungan dan pengakuan pemerintah Anda untuk pemulihan hak-hak kedaulatan kami.

Tuhan memberkati kita semua

Dengan Tulus



Ketua Dewan Adat Papua

Forkorus

Yaboisembut,

SPd.

Eksekutor Presiden West Papua

CC: 1. Sekretaris Jenderal PBB; 2. Presiden Amerika Serikat; 3. Presiden Indonesia; 4. Kerajaan Belanda

### **English Texts:**

#### **DECLARATION: FORMING FEDERAL STATE OF WEST PAPUA**

On this day Wednesday, 19 October 2011 at the Third National Papua Congress, the people of Papua in Country of West Papua declare:

I.

Proclamations recover and restore the independence and sovereign of West Papua on December 1, 1961 which was lost to Indonesia annexation.

II.

Going into effect Constitution of the Federal State of West Papua by forming Government of Federal State of West Papua in the form of lifting The President as Leader of State and elect The Prime Minister as Head of Governance.

III.

Government of Federal State of West Papua guarantees the rights of live and rights of endeavor of everyone in the Country of West Papua.

IV.

Indonesia immediately terminates its occupation of West Papua pacifically and prestigious as civilized nation and member of the United Nations.

V.

The Nation Members of the United Nations to confess the Independence of the nation of Papua parallel with the other independences in the globe.

VI.

United Nations Security Council immediately register the Federal State of West Papua becomes the permanent or regular member state of the United Nations.

VII.

Authorized the mandate to Papua National Leadership for run of the power of governance, Legislative, Judicative and Commander in Chief of Defence and also as soon as during one year carry out the general Election to chosen the Prime Minister of definitive Governance.

The People of West Papua greatly appreciate on your understanding of the historic injustice that we have suffered and are most grateful for your government's support and recognize for restoration of our sovereign rights.

God Bless us all

Sincerely



Forkorus Yaboisembut, SPd. Head of Papua Customary Law Council  
Executor of Presidency of West Papua

CC: 1. Secetary General of United Nations; 2. The President of United States; 3. The President of Indonesia; 4. The Kingdom of Netherland]

Finishing everything after carrying out UDI, it was closed with a prayer service, and then continues with people's party held with dances and great joy. After half an hour later, at exactly 17.00 EIT, the armed forces of the Indonesian security and defense began to attack, and ensued chaos.

There were arrests, persecution, some were injured and even 9 people died immediately. However, due to good coordination, all events were recorded perfectly, especially on the international side. The umpteenth episode of Bloody Abepura Tragedy happened again, this time on October 19, 2011.

The President and the Prime Minister were arrested and persecuted along with thousands of others, including 200 young people, young students and senior students of young ages.

The process took place, many of which were released, but the President and Prime Minister along with 3 other fighters continued to be detained and prosecuted, tried and sentenced to 3 years in prison. Now, when this article is appointed, the punishment process has ended, and then the steps of diplomacy are to get recognition that leads to the permanent membership of the United Nations. The approach is taken between Papuans themselves, to the Government of Indonesia, and especially to the Melanesian Regional namely Melanesian Spearhead Group/MSG and Pacific Regional Member States namely Pacific Islands Forum/PIF also the fellow black ethnic groups of Africa-Caribbean-Pacific/ACP.

The Great Event of the Papuan Nation in Tanah Papua which took place from Sunday 16 October 2011 to Wednesday 19 October 2011, located in the field of Saint Zacheus, is not a sudden occurrence but is very tested as structured, gradual and can be sorted out in dignity.

This period since 1997/1998 to 2000 the Struggle for Free and Independence of Papua has undergone a transformation that has rolled on the tracks of the Reformation which hit the Republic of Indonesia with the fall of the New Order which was a 32 year NKRI Non-Democratic Authoritarian Government Order presenting deterioration and atrocities in Indonesian democracy including in Papua.

It is one of the last 10 years since the Second Papuan National Congress in 2000 and also after the killing of the Papuan leader,

Ondofolo Theis Hiyo Eluay Chair of the Papuan Customary Council elected in the February 2000 Extra Ordinary Deliberation (MUBES) of Papua and ratified in the Second Papuan National Congress May-June 2000 as Chair of the Papuan Presidium Council (PDP).

## The Internationalizing Process of UDI-Papua and FRWP

The exact definition of the term or the word internationalization really does not yet have the right unless it is associated with products and marketing in the sense of the development of the business world in this case economic interests. Although understandable, it is a process of action to bring, introduce or make things that are local and limited at the national level to the attention and interest of the world between nations.

About UDI Papua and FRWP according to Paul Masta<sup>85</sup> [Retrieved from] by citing the President of FRWP, there are 3 main agendas:

1. *International Political Lobby*

*My officials are making International Political Lobby for socialization and introduction of the Federal Republic of West Papua to member countries of the United Nations in Pacific, European Union, United States of America, Africa, Asia, Latin America and Middle East. We make lobby to get their support and recognition of the Federal Republic of West Papua as executive government.*

2. *Officials of the Federal Republic of West Papua will make Negotiation with officials of Indonesia Government.*

*Federal Republic of West Papua is executive government that civilized and respect of the International mechanism is ready to make negotiation with Indonesia government. This negotiation only between both government and also negotiation mediate by United Nations.*

3. *International Court of Justice.*

*Federal Republic of West Papua is executive government has authority to bring Indonesia government into International Court and Justice. Indonesia took over West Papua by force and we called Indonesia annexation of West Papua. If Indonesia*

<sup>85</sup> The NFRPB Ambassador to Pacific resides in PNG.

*government is not recognize the Federal Republic of West Papua, we bring Indonesia into International Court and Justice because unilaterally declared of the Federal Republic of West Papua is accordance with International mechanism.*

Thus, UDI of the Papuan Nation and FRWP are because this process can be of concern to the world. So in this case UDI of the Papuan Nation and the FRWP in stages have the potential to become a concern from the local level to the attention of the Indonesian National Level, Melanesia Regional (MSG and PIF and ACP), to other interests and then to the UN, explained as follows:

### **UDI of Papuan Nation and FRWP for the National Level of Indonesia**

The official attitude of the Indonesian Government towards the UDI of the Papuan Nation and the FRWP seems to have never been conveyed except in the form of repressive and punitive actions through relevant agencies and institutions in this matter the Police to conduct TTPH namely Tangkap (Arrest), Tahan (Resist), Periksa (Examine) and Hukum (Punishment) handed to Prosecutors to lead to the Court and end in Judgment with Prison.

In a sense, all actions and up to the steps taken by UDI of the Papuan Nation and FRWP instead of the Government of Indonesia did not know because it had been conveyed as already indicated above. Even for KRP-3 there is a Letter from the Government of Indonesia, willing to be a Keynote Speaker with Number: B.962 / Ses / Polhukam / 10/2011, October 11, 2011, reply to the letter from the Committee of KRP-3 Number: 19-SU / TKRNRPB / IX / 2011 dated September 11, 2011 which was directly delivered by the Committee through Team 7 for which the Director General of the Regional Autonomy of the Ministry of Home Affairs represented the Government of Indonesia, although later until the last second of the hour was determined, not present (Letter below).





**KEMENTERIAN KOORDINATOR  
BIDANG POLITIK, HUKUM DAN KEAMANAN  
REPUBLIK INDONESIA**

Nomor : B.962 /Ses/Polhukam/10/2011 Jakarta, 11 Oktober 2011  
Sifat : Segera Lampiran-Perihal Penugasan Dirjen Otda Kemdagri  
Untuk Membuka dan menjadi  
*Keynote Speaker* pada KRP-III di  
Auditorium Uncen Jayapura Kepada Yth,

**Menteri Dalam Negeri**

**U.p. Sekjen Kemdagri**

Di

**Jakarta**

1. Menunjuk Surat Undangan Tim Kerja Rekonsiliasi Nasional Rakyat Papua Barat (TKRNRPB) yang ditujukan kepada Presiden RI Nomor : 19-SU/TKRNRPB/ IX/2011 tanggal 11 September 2011 perihal Undangan selaku *Keynote Speaker* pada Kongres Rakyat Papua-III (KRP-III) Tahun 2011 di Jayapura Provinsi Papua.
2. Atas pertimbangan Menko Polhukam dan untuk membangun kepercayaan (*trust building*) terhadap Panitia KRP-III, diharapkan kepada Mendagri untuk menugaskan Dirjen Otda Prof. Djohermansyah Djohan mewakili Pemerintah Pusat membuka dan sebagai *Keynote Speaker* pada acara Kongres Rakyat Papua-III/2011. Waktu pelaksanaan pembukaan pada Hari Senin tanggal 17 Oktober 2011 pukul 09.00 WIT bertempat di Auditorium Uncen Jayapura. Topik yang akan disampaikan "Pandangan Politik Negara dan Pemerintah RI terhadap Status Politik Pemberlakuan OTSUS bagi Provinsi Papua dan Papua Barat". (Undangan terlampir).
3. Demikian untuk menjadi maklum dan atas kerjasamanya diucapkan terima kasih.

**A.N. MENTERI KOORDINATOR  
BIDANG POLITIK, HUKUM DAN KEAMANAN  
SESMENKO**

**HOTMANG RADJA PANDJAITAN**

Tembusan Yth :

1. Menko Polhukam (sebagai laporan);
2. Mensesneg RI;
3. Gubernur Papua;
4. Pangdam XVII/Cendrawasih;
5. Kapolda Papua



Finally, the KIP Delegation sent by the President of FRWP fulfilled the invitation to exchange opinions on the 10<sup>th</sup> of April 2015 with the Minister of Defence (MENHAN)-RI, but when the KIP members returned to Jayapura was arrested, detained and underwent legal proceedings (In Dutch :) "aan valen" means to invade the state or which is translated as "makar (treason) of Article 106 of the Criminal Code. Very well done, but not very well right Sinar Harapan's latest reported developments June 29 2015 16:26 (inside Vidi Batlolone/James Manullang/Dany Putra/CR-46) JAKARTA - Indonesia suffered a diplomatic defeat at the Summit of Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) 20th in Honiara, Wednesday-Friday (24-26 / 6), in the Solomon Islands, the coachman debates occur as follows:

Forum itu memang meningkatkan status Indonesia menjadi anggota asosiasi negara-negara melanesia. Namun, forum tersebut juga mengakui Organisasi Pembebasan Papua Barat sebagai pengamat. Padahal, status ini sebelumnya disandang Indonesia.

"Indonesia diterima sebagai anggota, tetapi organisasi pembebasan Papua Barat dianggap sebagai pengamat. Ini berarti Indonesia dan Papua kini dianggap sejajar," ucap aktivis Papua Resource Center, Amiruddin Al-Alrahah, kepada SH di Jakarta, Senin (29/6). [*The forum did improve Indonesia's status as a member of the Melanesian countries' association. However, the forum also recognized the West Papua Liberation Organization as an observer. In fact, this status was previously carried by Indonesia.*

*"Indonesia is accepted as a member, but the West Papua liberation organization is considered an observer. This means that Indonesia and Papua are now considered equal," said the Papua activist Resource Center, Amiruddin Al-Alrahah, to SH in Jakarta, Monday (6/29).]*

Ia mengatakan, hasil KTT tersebut merupakan perkembangan baru dalam pergerakan politik pembebasan Papua. Selama ini, simpati dan respek terhadap pergerakan Papua hanya diakui lembaga-lembaga swadaya masyarakat atau lembaga nonpemerintah. Namun, kini sekumpulan gerakan itu diakui resmi oleh negara-negara melanesia.

Menurutnya, hasil itu menunjukkan kekalahan diplomasi. Namun, pemerintah Indonesia justru memanipulasi berita, seolah-olah KTT itu menguntungkan Indonesia. "Ini karena

Indonesia memandang enteng," serunya. [He said, the outcome of the summit was a new development in the political movement for the liberation of Papua. During this time, sympathy and respect for the Papuan movement were only recognized by non-governmental organizations. However, now a group of movements is officially recognized by the Melanesian countries.

According to him, the results showed a defeat of diplomacy. However, the Indonesian government actually manipulated the news, as if the summit had benefited Indonesia. "This is because Indonesia looks lightly," he said.]

Indonesia sangat yakin United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) berbeda dengan Gerakan Papua Merdeka. Padahal menurut Amiruddin, kelompok-kelompok pembebasan Papua, baik yang berada di dalam maupun luar negeri, saling berhubungan. "Perjuangan Papua ini bukan gerakan yang dibangun kemarin sore," ucapnya. [Indonesia is very confident that the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) is different from the Free Papua Movement. Even though according to Amiruddin, Papuan liberation groups, both inside and outside the country, are interconnected. "This Papuan struggle is not a movement that was built yesterday afternoon," he said.]

Even with the attitude of looking for scapegoats or a tendency to blame others, this debate takes place as follows:

"..... Menurutnya, organisasi yang mendukung kemerdekaan Papua Barat tidak masuk menjadi anggota MSG. "Dia (Organisasi Papua Barat-red) tidak masuk. Justru kita yang bisa masuk dalam MSG. Dia memang berupaya masuk. Kita tahu Australia dan Malaysia mendorong dia untuk maju," tuturnya.["... According to him, an organization that supports the independence of West Papua is not a member of the MSG. "It (West Papua organization-red) did not enter. Instead, we can enter the MSG. It did try to enter. We know Australia and Malaysia encourage it to move forward," he said.]

At most, like a familiar habit, one will run into the same old paradigm (snarling if doesn't look for scapegoats):

".....Jangan Ganggu NKRI; Anggota Komisi I DPR dari Fraksi Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra), Elnino Husein Mohi menjelaskan, memang beberapa pekan lalu, menteri luar negeri (menlu) menjelaskan mengenai masuknya Indonesia ke MSG. Namun, ia tidak menjelaskan OPM menjadi pengamat dalam MSG. "Menurut saya, tidak ada

masalah RI atau warga negara Indonesia (WNI) di organisasi dunia mana pun asalkan tidak mengganggu sedikit pun ideologi bangsa, yakni Pancasila, NKRI dari sabang sampai Marauke, dan Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, serta UUD 1945.” [ *“... Don’t disturb the NKRI; Members of the House of Representatives Commission I from the Garuda Indonesia Movement (Gerindra) Faction, Elnino Husein Mohi explained, indeed a few weeks ago, the foreign minister (foreign minister) explained about Indonesia’s entry into the MSG. However, she did not explain that OPM was an observer in the MSG. “In my opinion, there is no problem for the Republic of Indonesia or Indonesian citizens in any world organization as long as it does not disturb the nation’s ideology at all, namely Pancasila, NKRI from Sabang to Marauke, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, and the 1945 Constitution.”]*

There are also tones like Frans Magnis Suseno SJ<sup>86</sup> (Suara Pembaruan, 9 Jan 2012) follows:

Apa yang akan dibawa oleh tahun 2012 bagi Papua? Tahun 2011, tak lain dari tahun-tahun sebelumnya, merupakan tahun buruk bagi Papua. Timika yang tidak tenang-tenang, brutalitas aparat terhadap Kongres Papua III di Abepura, penyiksaan (menu-rut saya rutin!) di Wamena (yang hanya diketahui karena ada orang latah bikin video).

Ini hanya contoh-contoh paling akhir. Ada kesan bahwa orang-orang Papua mendapat perlakuan seakan-akan mereka belum diakui sebagai manusia. Kita teringat pembunuhan keji terhadap Theis Eluay dalam mobil yang ditawarkan kepadanya untuk pulang dari sebuah resepsi Kopassus. [What will 2012 bring to Papua? In 2011, none other than previous years, was a bad year for Papua. Timika was not calm, the brutality of the authorities against the Papua III Congress in Abepura, torture (I think routinely!) In Wamena (which was only known because there were people who were making videos).

*These are just the latest examples. There is an impression that Papuans are treated as if they have not been recognized as human beings. We are reminded of the heinous murder of Theis Eluay in the car offered to him to go home from a Kopassus reception]*

<sup>86</sup> The writer is a minister and professor at the Driyarkara School of Philosophy.

Situasi di Papua adalah buruk, tidak normal, tidak beradab, memalukan, karena itu tertutup bagi media asing. Papua adalah luka membusuk di tubuh bangsa Indonesia.

Mengapa sampai kita membiarkan situasi seperti itu berlangsung?

Mempersalahkan OPM? Menggelikan! OPM tidak mempunyai kemampuan untuk memisahkan Papua dari RI. Atau karena orang-orang Papua dicurigai mau lepas dari RI? Kalau begitu maka Indonesia yang harus malu. Sudah 49 tahun Papua secara efektif di bawah kekuasaan Indonesia, kok masyarakat Papua belum juga bisa merasa sebagai warga Indonesia? Jangan-jangan segala omongan dan tindakan tentang “Irian” dulu hanyalah kedok imperialisme picik sedangkan terhadap orang-orang Papua sendiri siapa yang peduli? Ingat, kalimat pertama Undang Undang Dasar kita juga berlaku bagi orang-orang Papua.*[The situation in Papua is bad, abnormal, uncivilized, shameful, because it is closed to foreign media. Papua is a rotting wound in the body of the Indonesian people.*

*Why do we allow such a situation to take place?*

*Blaming the OPM? Ridiculous! The OPM does not have the ability to separate Papua from the Republic of Indonesia.*

*Or because Papuans are suspected of wanting to escape from the Republic of Indonesia? If so, Indonesia must be embarrassed. It has been 49 years that Papua has been effectively under Indonesian rule, how come the Papuans cannot yet feel as citizens of Indonesia? Could it be that all the talk and actions about “Irian” were only the guise of shortsighted imperialism while those of the Papuans themselves cared? Remember, the first sentence of our Constitution also applies to Papuans.]*

**Papua Bisa Lepas? [Can Papua be Released?]**

Padahal kekhawatiran bahwa Papua bisa lepas dari RI adalah tanpa dasar. Papua bukan Timor Leste. Kalau Timor Leste, di hati kecil kita selalu tahu bahwa kita tidak berhak berada di situ. Papua lain. Lain bukan karena act free of choice 1969 yang memang penuh manipulasi (tetapi: apakah waktu itu ada kemungkinan sebuah jajak pendapat yang tidak manipulatif?).*[Even though the concern that Papua could escape from Indonesia is without foundation. Papua is not Timor Leste. For Timor Leste, in our little hearts we always know that we have no right to be there. Not like Papua. Another is not because of the 1969 act free of choice which was indeed full of manipulation (but: is there a possibility of a manipulative poll?).]*

Melainkan karena hukum tak tertulis dunia pasca kolonial: Bahwa batas-batas yang ditarik bekas kuasa-kuasa kolonial tidak boleh diganggu-gugat (yang baru ada satu kekecualian, Sudan Selatan tahun lalu, dan kasusnya amat berbeda dari Papua). Papua bersatu sah dengan Indonesia karena termasuk Hindia Belanda dulu. Hal itu diakui dunia internasional. Itu perlu diperhatikan oleh semua yang bersatu rasa dengan Papua. Segala usaha ke arah suatu Papua Merdeka menipu orang Papua dan hanya akan membawa penderitaan dan maut bagi masyarakat Papua.*[But because the unwritten law of the post-colonial world: That boundaries drawn from former colonial powers must not be contested (only one exception was South Sudan last year, and the case is very different from Papua). Papua united legitimately with Indonesia because it included the Dutch East Indies. It is recognized internationally. That needs to be considered by all who unite with Papua. All efforts towards an independent Papua deceive Papuans and will only bring suffering and death to the people of Papua.]*

Indonesia tak pernah akan melepaskan Papua dan dunia internasional tidak akan mendukung Papua Merdeka. Jangan sampai tertipu karena di Amerika atau Inggris ada beberapa politisi yang, katanya, mendukung kemerdekaan Papua. Mereka tidak relevan. Amerika Serikat maupun Eropa tidak berkepentingan dengan Papua, melainkan dengan sebuah Indonesia yang demokratis, kuat dan mantap. Mereka tidak pernah akan mengambil risiko bermusuhan dengan Indonesia hanya demi Papua.*[Indonesia will never let go of Papua and the international world will not support Free Papua. Do not be fooled because in America or Britain there are some politicians who, it said, support Papuan independence. They are irrelevant. The United States and Europe have no interest in Papua, but with a democratic, strong and stable Indonesia. They will never risk being hostile to Indonesia just for the sake of Papua].*

Akan tetapi, Indonesia harus hati-hati juga. Kalau Luar Negeri, melalui media mendapat kesan bahwa Indonesia melakukan genosid terhadap penduduk asli Papua, situasi internasional bisa menjadi serius bagi Indonesia. Genosid? Tentu tidak seperti genosid 1992 di Ruanda. Tetapi kalau orang-orang asli Papua makin banyak yang meninggal karena AIDS, TBC dan penyakit-penyakit lain, kalau mereka terus ketinggalan, miskin dan tersingkir, kalau

mereka mengalami nasib sama seperti orang Indian di Amerika Utara atau Aborigines di Australia, kita akan ditelanjangi di depan dunia beradab sebagai bangsa yang biadab, bangsa pembunuh orang-orang Papua, meski tidak memakai senjata tajam. *[However, Indonesia must be careful too. For Foreign Affairs, through the media got the impression that Indonesia was genocides against indigenous of Papuans, the international situation could be serious for Indonesia. Genocide? Certainly not like the 1992 genocide in Ruanda. But if more and more indigenous Papuans die of AIDS, tuberculosis and other diseases, if they continue to miss, poor and excluded, if they suffer the same fate as Indians in North America or Aborigines in Australia, we will be stripped naked in front of the civilized world as a savage nation, the nation that killed the Papuans, even though we did not use sharp weapons.]*

### **Banting Stir [Turn the steering wheel]**

Maka sudah waktunya pemerintah kita betul-betul banting stir dalam kebijakan terha-dap Papua. Yang pertama adalah:kita harus berhenti menyangkal bahwa ada masalah. Yang paling penting adalah sebuah dialog terbuka antara Pemerintah Nasional kita dengan orang-orang Papua yang tidak termanipulasi. Selain kemerdekaan, maka tak ada apa pun yang tidak boleh dibahas dan dipertimbangkan kemungkinannya.

Tentu beberapa langkah mudah dapat disebutkan. Penarikan militer non-organik seperti yang direncanakan adalah langkah ke arah yang betul. Pendekatan kekerasan harus diakhiri (sesuatu yang tidak mudah karena kita tahu dari daerah-daerah lain bahwa aparat kita belum mampu membawa diri secara beradab). Kekerasan hanya dibenarkan melawan serangan fisik langsung. Peristiwa seperti Abepura tahun lalu tidak boleh terulang. *[Then it is time for our government to really stir in policy towards Papua. The first is: we must stop denying that there is a problem.*

*The most important thing is an open dialogue between our National Government and non-manipulated Papuans. Apart from independence, there is nothing that should not be discussed and considered the possibility.*

*Of course a few easy steps can be mentioned. Non-organic military withdrawals as planned are steps in the right direction. The approach to violence must be ended (something that is not easy because we know from other regions that our officials have*

*not been able to carry themselves out civilized). Violence is only justified against direct physical attacks. Events like last year's Abepura cannot be repeated.]*

Yang paling perlu: Pemerintah, aparat pengamanan lama-kelamaan harus menjadi dewasa. Artinya, harus mampu bersikap lebih rileks. Mengapa mesti panik kalau bendera bintang kejora muncul? Mengapa tidak, seperti pernah diusulkan Presiden Abdurrachman Wahid, bendera itu dinyatakan bendera daerah saja, selesai. Kalau orang, seperti baru saja di Abepura, menyatakan diri merdeka, apa harus panik, apa harus pukul dan membunuh, membawa diri seperti binatang? Sudah cukup kalau seperlunya mereka diminta mempertanggungjawabkan diri di depan pengadilan.

Bereskan dong masalah Freeport. Sudah banyak sekali gagasan yang pantas untuk diperhatikan. Jelaslah dong, di dekat salah satu sumber kekayaan nasional dan internasional paling raksasa tidak boleh ada kantong-kantong kemiskinan. Kalau Freeport mau diizinkan terus, pastikan bahwa kita Indonesia memperoleh keuntungan ekonomis maksimal, dan bahwa pencemaran lingkungan dibatasi pada tingkat minimum.

Bangun infrastruktur yang diperlukan masyarakat Papua, pastikan agar masyarakat Papua tersedia kesempatan pendidikan bermutu, batasi kemungkinan pendatang memperoleh KTP.

Tetapi yang terpenting adalah dialog tulus-terbuka dengan saudara-saudari Papua sendiri dan tanyakan apa yang mereka harapkan. *[The most necessary: Government, security forces must eventually become adults. That is, it must be able to be more relaxed. Why should we panic if the Morning Star flag appears? Why not, as President Abdurrachman Wahid once suggested, the flag was just declared a regional flag, finished. For people, like just in Abepura, declaring themselves independent, what should panic, do they have to beat and kill, bring themselves like animals? It is sufficient if they are required to be held accountable before the court.]*

*Settle the Freeport problem. There have been many ideas that deserve attention. Obviously, near one of the most giant sources of national and international wealth there must not be pockets of poverty. If Freeport wants to be allowed to continue, make sure that we Indonesia gets maximum economic benefits, and that environmental pollution is limited to a minimum level.*



*Build the infrastructure needed by the Papuan people, make sure that the Papuan people have the opportunity for quality education, limit the possibility of migrants obtaining a KTP (Citizen Identity card).*

*But the most important thing is open-hearted dialogue with the Papuan brothers themselves and ask what they expect.]*

## **JIM April 2015**

Jakarta Informal Meeting held in the era of the 7th Indonesian President Joko Widodo took place on the initiative of the Indonesian Defence Minister Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu by covering the costs of travel and lump sums. By promoting the 4th Sila of the Pancasila which is *Permufakatan*, Jim April takes place in a friendly atmosphere. After the direction from the Minister, this author as the Spokesperson for the KIP Team introduced himself and the Team and then conveyed the main points of thought as referred to by JIM. After all, follow up on the President's FRWP Proposal and Letter to the NKRI President, both SBY and Jokowi. For this reason the Team equips itself with a Mandate Letter from the President of FRWP, Number: 07 / P-01 / MANDAT-NRFPB / IV/15, Date: April 4, 2015, based on Article 14 of the FRWP 1999 Constitution, concerning the Papua Independent/National Committee. The KIP team presents the position paper as follows:

## MENGAGAS PERKAWANAN LESTARI PAPUA DAN INDONESIA

### Latar Belakang

Sejarah berlalu dan berlangsung dari titik edar, membekaskan fakta bahwa ada Nasionalisme Papua dan ada Nasionalisme Indonesia. Berbagai studi Ilmiah terutama dari LIPI senantiasa mempertanyakan kenyataan kebersamaan Indonesia dan Papua sejak 1963 dengan penyerahan Papua dari Belanda kepada UNTEA PBB kemudian 1969 dari PBB kepada Indonesia. Peristiwa yang disebut integrasi Papua ke NKRI dalam pemahaman Papua adalah invasi 1962 dan aneksasi 1963. Paham dasar Papua adalah “Merdeka” 1 Desember 1961 di luar negara manapun sesuai Nasionalisme Papua yang telah bertumbuh damai dan bermartabat ketimbang menerima Nasionalisme Indonesia yang berlangsung tidak damai cenderung kasar. Inilah yang berlangsung maka terjadilah kegagalan peng-Indonesia-an atas orang Papua maka tidak heran terdapatlah apa yang disebut “Warga Negara Ganda Orang Papua” (Meteray, 2012). Tidak ada yang salah dalam hal ini karena memang adalah kodratnya bahwa, kedua nasionalisme sama-sama telah disemai, lalu bertumbuh dan mendapatkan kesejatiannya. Nasionalisme Papua disemai sejak 26 Oktober 1926 ketika bahasa Melayu diakui dan dijadikan bahasa resmi oleh Gereja (pengantar liturgi dan pelajaran sekolah) dan Pemerintah (administrasi) di Nieuw Guinea sedang Nasionalisme Indonesia bersemi dan mendapatkan tempatnya ketika bahasa Melayu dijadikan bahasa Indonesia selain bangsa dan tanah air sejak 28 Oktober 1928. Upaya meng-Indonesia-kan orang Papua baru pada 1945 dan terlebih lagi baru pada 1962-1969 seturut berbagai kisah terkait.

### Kondisi Objektif

Reformasi Indonesia 1998/1999 memberi pencerahan akan perjuangan kesejati Papua maka langkah Transformasi diambil dengan mengedepankan diplomasi damai dan bermartabat sesuai kaidah adat-istiadat dan agama sebagaimana disuarakan Pemimpin Papua Theys Hiyo Eluay yang mewujudkannya lewat Pengibaran Bendera Indonesia Dwi Warna dan Bendera Papua Bintang Kejora satu tiang sebelah menyebelah, pada tanggal 1

Desember 1999. Dengan maksud perkawanan dan saling menghargai dimulai dari titik ini. Namun setelah Kongres II 2000 tepatnya 10 Oktober 2001, Pemimpin Theys terbunuh sebagai martir Papua. Setelah satu dekade OTSUS berlangsung ternyata memperlebar kesenjangan, dan yang maha penting adalah pada sensus 2010 angka penduduk Papua mengejutkan karena jumlah 3.200.000 jiwa itu hampir 50% adalah pendatang. Yang bila dibanding dengan PNG pada sensus 1958 adalah sama-sama 8.500 jiwa orang dewasa (pemilih) namun pada tahun 2010 telah menjadi 10.000.000 jiwa. Selain terkungkung pendidikan bermutu rendah, pelayanan kesehatan buruk, pelayanan publik tidak optimal, marjinalisasi, HIV/Aids, dsb. yang kesemuanya bermuara pada bahaya “genosida” yaitu “pembasmian etnis Papua”. Takut dan khawatir akan kenyataan menuju kepunahan maka harus diambil langkah walau beresiko sekalipun. Mungkin saja informasi ini tidak sama dengan para orang yang menganut “asbes (asal bapa senang)” tetapi inilah realitanya.

### **Langkah dan Upaya**

Langkah-tindak penyelamatan dimaksudkan, meskipun tidak serta-merta karena sementara Dialog dan Pelurusan Sejarah terus ramai disuarakan, secara bertahap BIN pada tahun 2005 di Yogya dan di Jakarta 2007, 2008 dan 2009 telah melangsungkan seri pertemuan dengan Para Pemimpin Politik dan Idealisme “Merdeka Papua”. Sementara tahun 2010 terjadi konsolidasi ke dalam kemudian ada undangan untuk hadir di US Congressional Hearing di Washington 10 September 2010. Berbagai materi, kesan dan pesan membulatkan tekad untuk meretas jalan.

Atas legitimasi Bangsa Papua lewat Kongres Nasional Papua ke-III atau Kongres Rakyat Papua/KRP-III 16-19 Oktober 2011, ditempuh formula Internasional “*Unilateral Declaration of Independence/UDI* Bangsa Papua dan Negara Federasi Papua Barat/NFPB atau disebut juga Negara Federal Republik Papua Barat/FRWP”. Langkah sepihak inipun bukannya Pemerintah Indonesia tidak mengetahui karena untuk itu telah diutus bernegosiasi berbagai tim antara lain Tim 7 dan mendapat surat izin dari Presiden RI melalui Mengko Polkam dan menugaskan Dirjen OTDA Depdagri membuka KRP-III. Bahkan sesudah

peristiwa itu pun, telah pula mengutus Tim yang sama melaporkan kepada Pemerintah Indonesia langkah UDI yang telah ditempuh.

### **Antisipasi Kita**

Sebuah UDI dimanapun misalnya Kosovo 2008, juga terjadi pada bangsa lain termasuk AS 1776 dan Indonesia 1945, bagaimanapun akan tetap bergulir sehingga menjadi pengakuan dunia. Dengan UDI Papua Barat, memang sebagaimana layaknya tidak tinggal di tempat karena setidaknya sudah menjadi buah bibir rakyat dan negara-negara Melanesia yang tergabung dalam *Melanesian Spearhead Group/MSG* yang tentu pasti menjadi isu *Pacific Islands Forum/PIF* dan lambat laun juga akan tiba ke PBB. Pertanyaannya: “Apakah Indonesia merelakan persabatannya dengan Papua yang sudah berlangsung hampir setengah abad lebih begitu saja diakhiri karena kemauan dan dorongan dominan pihak luar?”. Ketimbang demikian, kita atur dengan mempersiapkan kedua bangsa kita agar tertampung dengan sejahtera dalam dua negara dan dua bangsa yang bersahabat, Indonesia dan Papua yang saling memahami. Ekses sudah dipastikan terjadi kalau Indonesia tidak mengambil langkah karena bila demikian akan menyuburkan kesombongan orang Papua yang tidak perlu diuraikan pasti berbahaya bagi sebagian rakyat Papua sendiri maupun yang non-Papua. Kita hindari Pelanggaran HAM, dengan mengedepankan hanya ada damai.

### **Kehendak Kita**

Atas kenyataan dan prospektif demikian, kami dari Komite Independent Papua (KIP) menghadapkan kiranya ada langkah inisiatif bagi pertemuan segi tiga, NKRI, NFPB/FRWP dan pihak Netral (badan dunia atau bangsa negara manapun) dalam forum yang dapat kita sebut Konferensi Meja Bundar/KMB versi 2000-an secepat mungkin sebelum bergulir hal-hal dikuatirkan. Tujuan akhir adalah pengakuan dan penyerahan “Kedaulatan” sebagai inisiatif damai.

Demikian dapat disampaikan, maka atas pengertian dan pemahaman damai, kami menyampaikan terima kasih. Kiranya Tuhan memberkati segala maksud baik kita.

**[Translation Text:**

**ASSEMBLING SUSTAINABLE FRIENDSHIP  
OF PAPUA AND INDONESIA**

**Background**

*History passed and lasted from the point of circulation, confirmed the fact that there was Papuan Nationalism and there was Indonesian Nationalism. Various scientific studies, especially from LIPI, have always questioned the reality of the togetherness of Indonesia and Papua since 1963 with the surrender of Papua from the Netherlands to the UNTEA UN then 1969 from the United Nations to Indonesia. The event called Papuan integration into the Republic of Indonesia in understanding Papua was the invasion of 1962 and annexation of 1963. The basic understanding of Papua was "Freedom" December 1, 1961 outside of any country in accordance with Papuan Nationalism which had grown peaceful and dignified rather than accepting Indonesian Nationalism which was peaceful. This is what happened, so there was a failure of Indonesianization of the Papuan people, so it was not surprising that there was what was called "Dual Papuan Citizens" (Meteray, 2012). There is nothing wrong in this matter because indeed it is its nature that, both nationalism is equally sown, then grow and get their authenticity. Papuan nationalism was sown since October 26, 1926 when Malay was recognized and made the official language by the Church (introduction to liturgy and school lessons) and the Government (administration) in Nieuw Guinea while Indonesian Nationalism blossomed and got its place when Malay was used as Indonesian besides the nation and homeland since October 28, 1928. Efforts to Indonesian the Papuans were new in 1945 and even more so in 1962-1969 according to various related stories.*

**Objective conditions**

*The 1998/1999 Indonesian Reformation gave enlightenment to the struggle for the authenticity of Papua so that the Transformation step was taken by establishing peaceful and dignified diplomacy according to the rules of customs and religion as voiced by Papuan Leader Theys Hiyo Eluay who made it through the Indonesian Flag raising. next door, on December 1, 1999. With the intention of friendship and of mutual respect is starting from this point. However, after the 2000 Second Congress to be exact, October 10, 2001, Theys leader was killed as a Papuan martyr. After a decade of OTSUS progressing it turned out to widen the gap, and*

*the most important thing was that in the 2010 census the population of Papua was surprising because the number of 3,200,000 people was almost 50% were migrants. What if compared to PNG at the 1958 census was 8,500 adults (voters), but in 2010 it was 10,000,000. Besides being confined to low quality education, poor health services, not optimal public services, marginalization, HIV / AIDS, etc. all of which lead to the danger of "genocide" namely "extermination of ethnic Papuans". Fear and worry about the reality of extinction must be taken even though at risk. Perhaps this information is not the same as those who adhere to "asbestos (as long as the father is happy)" but this is the reality.*

### **Steps and Efforts**

*The rescue measures were intended, though not immediately because while the History Dialogue and Arrangement continued to be widely voiced, BIN in 2005 gradually in Yogya and in Jakarta 2007, 2008 and 2009 a series of meetings with Political Leaders and Idealism "Merdeka Papua " While in 2010 there was an internal consolidation and then there was an invitation to attend the US Congressional Hearing in Washington on September 10, 2010. Various materials, impressions and messages were determined to hack the road.*

*For the legitimacy of the Papuan Nation through the Third Papua National Congress or the Papuan People's Congress / KRP-III October 16-19 2011, the International formula "Unilateral Declaration of Independence / UDI was adopted by the Papuans and West Papua Federated States / NFPB or also called the Federal Republic of the Republic West Papua / FRWP ". Even this one-sided step was not the Indonesian Government did not know because for that it had been negotiated by various teams including Team 7 and received a permit from the President of the Republic of Indonesia through Mengko Polkam and assigned the Director General of OTDA Ministry of Home Affairs to open KRP-III. Even after that incident, the same Team also reported to the Indonesian Government the steps taken by UDI.*

### **Our Anticipations**

*A UDI anywhere, for example Kosovo 2008, also occurs in other nations including the US 1776 and Indonesia 1945, however it will continue to roll out so that it becomes world recognition. With UDI West Papua, indeed as it deserves not to stay in place because at least it has*

become a byword of the people and Melanesian countries who are members of the Melanesian Spearhead Group / MSG which certainly must be an issue of the Pacific Islands Forum / PIF and will eventually arrive at the UN . The question: "Did Indonesia give up its friendship with Papua which had lasted almost half a century more than just ended because of the willingness and encouragement of the outside parties?". Rather than that, we arrange by preparing our two nations to be accommodated in prosperity in two countries and two friendly nations, Indonesia and Papua that understand each other. Excesses have been ensured to occur if Indonesia does not take steps because if so, it will nurture the arrogance of Papuans who do not need to be described must be dangerous for some Papuans themselves as well as non-Papuans. We avoid human rights violations, by putting forward only peace.

### **Our Will**

For such facts and prospects, we from the Independent Committee of Papua (KIP) are presuming that there are initiatives for triangle meetings, NKRI, NFPB / FRWP and Neutral (world bodies or any nation) in a forum that we can call Round Table Conference / The 2000 version of KMB was as fast as possible before rolling things out worried. The ultimate goal is the recognition and submission of "Sovereignty" as a peaceful initiative.

This can be conveyed, so for understanding and understanding peacefully, we express our gratitude. May God bless all our good intentions.]

Port Numbay-Jayapura, 26 Februari 2015.

**KOMITE INDEPENDEN PAPUA,**

**Lawrence M. Mehue**

**Mas John Ebbit Suebu**

-----  
**Ketua,**

-----  
**Sekretaris/Anggota,**

**Ones Banundi**

**Don A.L. Flassy**

**DAP/Anggota**

**Fasilitator/Anggota**

**Tembusan (sebagai Laporan) kepada Yth:**

**PYM. Presiden FRWP dan YM. PM FRWP**



The meeting lasts for 1 hour and ends with a message and hope will continue to completion. JIM went well, but upon returning, the Team was arrested by the Combined Police and Army at Sentani-Jayapura Airport. After being held in custody at the POLDA cell, they were released as a city prisoner but until now (this writing) there has been no police follow-up. We even, do not know, how to teach this as A NO Human Right Violation?.

## **UDI Papuans and FRWP for the Pacific Region**

For the Pacific Region, the UDI of Papuan Nation and FRWP are certainly not lonely, but the support statement is a process of lobbying and diplomacy. Especially is how this issue is managed well in the Melanesian Spearhead Group/MSG and also in the Pacific Islands Forum/PIF. Here is some information.

### ***Melanesian Spearhead Group/MSG***

The support of Melanesian Countries in the South Pacific who are fellow Melanesians is diverse. But apparently Vanuatu was the only one who started a bold step since it could accommodate refugees of Papuan fighters until the last 2013, Moana Carcasses Kalosil Prime Minister could raise the Papuan issue at the UN as reported by Catherine Graue (Sept. 30, 2013; [[Retrieved from](#)]). This fact is the second time because previously it has also been appointed by the Prime Minister (PM) Barak Sope in the 2000 Millennium Summit. It should also be added that in addition to PM Barak Sope, also President Bernard Dowiyogo of the Republic of Nauru (Micronesia) expressed his support for Free Papua.

Then after struggling since 2005 to become a member of MSG and FIP, it can only be achieved in 2015, although limited Status of Reviewers do not represent Papuans in West Papua, they also have not directly touched UDI Papuans and FRWP.

Specifically about MSG, Bradford Theonomy and Charles Kadamana from Solomon Star (June 26 2015) reported the following:

West Papuan Group Denied Full MSG Membership  
ULMWP to be observer, Indonesia gains Associate status

HONIARA, Solomon Islands (Solomon Star, June 26, 2015)  
– United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP)  
will only represent West Papuans living outside the  
province in the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG).

That was the basis of their acceptance as observers in the  
MSG Leaders' Summit in Honiara yesterday during the  
leaders' retreat at the Heritage Park Hotel.

On the other hand, MSG leaders accepted Indonesia's bid  
to be an associate member.

Both Indonesia and ULMWP lodged membership bids to  
the MSG prior to this week's summit.

Although the official communique of the meeting, which  
leaders signed last night has not been released until today,  
PNG Prime Minister Peter O'Neill has gone his way to  
unofficially announced the decision

"Today is a very important day for peace and goodwill for  
our brothers and sisters living in Indonesia's Melanesian  
provinces," Mr O'Neill said yesterday as he left the meeting.

"Following discussion between the Leaders of Melanesian  
Spearhead Group countries, the group has decided that  
Indonesia is to be admitted to MSG as an associate member,  
and be represented by the elected leaders of these  
Melanesian provinces," Mr O'Neill added.

"Further to this, the United Liberation Movement for West  
Papua (ULMWP) will be given observer status as a  
development partner representing the welfare of  
Melanesian people living outside.

"Papua New Guinea welcomes the decision that reaffirms  
representation at the sub-regional level must be made by  
mandated leaders that have been elected by their people.

"This decision by MSG will pave the way for Indonesia  
and Papua New Guinea to engage in consultation within the  
framework of agreement with Indonesia.

"I look forward to having deeper conversations with  
Indonesia and in the true spirit of being part of a regional  
family.

"We are all partners in facilitating peace and security in  
our region.

"I believe we have the respect of Indonesia for the honesty  
and genuine nature of our offer to offer cooperation on this  
sensitive, issue. I further believe that groups such as  
ULMWP appreciate that our intentions are genuine."

The MSG meeting will end today with the release of the communique.

Leaders will then join Papua New Guinea to officially open their newly built chancery building in Honiara.

ULMWP is an extension of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua, which is an activist non-executive organization because of that the FRWP refused to join. FRWP submitted its own application to attend as a country but fellow Melanesian Brothers still did not respond because various matters were still regulated with Indonesia. ULMWP obtains observer status but does not represent Papua within the country.

Another important special thing is in this connection, even because of Papua's internal shock in the government in Melanesia, especially in this case in Vanuatu. According to the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (2015-06-30):

“...When prime minister Joe Natuman lost a no-confidence motion in Vanuatu's parliament on Thursday to be replaced by archrival Sato Kilman, there would have been cheerful faces in Jakarta. Just last week Natuman had sacked Kilman as foreign minister, at least partly because of his support for Indonesia being offered associate status in the Melanesian Spearhead Group /MSG”

Unfortunately, although it has not directly touched UDI of the Papuan Nation and FRWP October 19, 2011, according to the report of Pacific Scoop (04-2015, [[Retrieved from](#)], there is also ambiguity in the MSG States about Papua, except Vanuatu. Thus, it says:

The MSG leader's relationship with West Papua has been ambivalent. The exception is Vanuatu. Vanuatu has been consistent in its support of West Papua. It is the one country in the world where everybody knows the issue of West Papua. It has raised concerns about West Papua in international fore. The former Prime Minister of Vanuatu, Moana Carcasses Kalosil raised the issue at the United Nations General Assembly and again at the Commonwealth Heads of Governments meeting in Sri Lanka.

Thus, the study of this interesting case is not just here, because the Episode remain continues.

## *Pacific Islands Forum*

According to Report of West Papua Action in Auckland New Zealand (22 April 2015, [[Retrieved from](#)]), in 2000, West Papuan leaders were allowed to attend the 31st Pacific Islands Forum (PIFs) summit as a member of the delegation from the State of Nauru.

At the intended gathering, the Government Forum agreed to have a historic statement expressing deep concern about the situation of human rights and ongoing violence in West Papua. Furthermore the PIF communiqué also included expressing concerns about human rights, by recognizing Indonesian sovereignty over West Papua.

In the year 2007, the communiqué included only referring the intention to the PNG Prime Minister 'to convey the discussions that took place in the Forum on Papua to the President of Indonesia. "Since then the PIF communiqué has not yet involved the matter of West Papua".

In the sense that is when compared to Nauru, there are potential opportunities for other Pacific countries outside Australia and New Zealand to open a voice about the UDI of the Papuan Nation and FRWP. And this phenomenon has begun to flourish in 2013 and so on; countries like Tonga, Palau, and New Zealand have also voiced their voices.

## **UDI Papuans and FRWP for Other Interests**

What are meant by other interests are not national, nor regional or other restrictions. For this reason, it is critically reviewed from the perspective of the various involvements of the state, activists and NGOs and several other interested parties.

## *Netherlands and the European Union*

Despite having a historical emotional connection with Papua so far the Dutch Government has not given any response regarding the UDI of the Papuan Nation and the FRWP even though for the masses of the Dutch people there has been a positive reaction. Among them is urging the Government to re-claim the status of Papua suspected by the US so that the UN does not complete humanitarian duties in accordance with Article 78 of the Charter of

the United Nations against Papua. While no one is too attractive, the potential for support can be played by the Netherlands for the European Union, remembering that the situation of human rights violations in Papua has disturbed the European Parliament.

### *The United States of America (US)*

In Chapter V, Wave of Power of World Power in the Land of Papua has actually alluded to various matters relating to West Papua. However, so far it has not been specifically about UDI Papuans and FRWP.

In this connection what is expected from the US is an ethical obligation towards the Papuan Nation which must be acknowledged as the right of existence and its status as a nation that can be placed in its position between Australia (Pacific), Indonesia (Asian) and even China or Russia.

Indeed, it is an embryo of the understanding and action of the UDI of the Papuan Nation and the FRWP is US morale supporting through the American Congress presenting the Free Papua Qualified Leader in the Congressional Hearing on September 22, 2010 in Washington. Inside consolidation by delaying all contact with Jakarta.

Since returning from Washington the consolidation has been carried out for almost 1 year, then the KRP-3 was held and produced the UDI of the Papuan Nation and FRWP.

According to Global Security.org (2011, [[Retrieved from](#)]), because US interests show an ambivalent attitude, the following is against the Free Struggle of Papua:

2011 US support for Indonesia's strong stand against Papuan separatists put added pressure on the independence movement to seek a negotiated settlement. But there were concerns that the U.S. is not putting equal pressure on the Indonesian side to peacefully resolve the conflict. While visiting Indonesia, U.S. Defence Secretary Leon Panetta reiterated the U.S. commitment to closer ties with Indonesia and voiced support for Indonesia's strong stance against a separatist movement in the eastern province of Papua. But U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Kurt Campbell said the warming relationship had not stopped the U.S. from speaking out against possible human rights abuses by the military in Papua.

However, whatever interests as stated above and before about attraction interests, of course for the US and other Strength Competitors, it must be a serious concern, that, Papua is no longer a bargaining tool so that the absolute right to gain independence and sovereignty is due to that has held UDI October 19, 2011 as a fruit of struggle and results of democracy.

### ***Australia and New Zealand***

Regarding the views and acceptance of the Australian Government towards the UDI of the Papuan Nation and the FRWP, it is not too widespread when compared to the Public in Australia.

But to listen more deeply, be given an overview of the Free Papua Struggle between the position of Australia and the NKRI by Sartika Manggabarani (2012, "Papua Conflict in the Context of Indonesia-Australia Relations" UNHAS: 12-13) with regard to 42 Papuan Refugees in 2006 by boat from Merauke to Cape York Australia, as follows:

Keputusan yang diambil oleh pemerintah Australia tersebut bukan tanpa alasan, karena Papua dalam kacamata Australia memiliki nilai strategis sebagai *buffer zone* bagi pertahanan keamanannya. Oleh karena itu Australia merasa lebih aman jika Papua menjadi merdeka dan berada dalam pengaruhnya untuk menjamin stabilitas pertahanan dan keamanannya. Sehingga dapat disimpulkan bahwa Papua lebih baik berada dalam pengaruh Australia daripada menjadi bagian NKRI yang sedang mengalami krisis politik[*The decision taken by the Australian government is not without reason, because Papua in the eyes of Australia has strategic value as a buffer zone for its defence and security. Therefore Australia feels safer if Papua becomes independent and is in its influence to ensure the stability of its defence and security. So it can be concluded that Papua is better off under Australian influence than being part of the NKRI which is experiencing a political crisis*].

Selain itu, keberadaan Papua yang begitu dekat dengan Australia ini membuat Australia sangat tertarik dengan potensi-potensi yang ada di Pulau tersebut contohnya seperti Sumber Daya Alamnya sendiri sangat berlimpah akan emas, tembaga, minyak, perak, dan juga biji besi. Hal-hal tersebut begitu bernilai tinggi bagi Australia dan apabila

dilihat secara kinerja perkembangan pemerintah Indonesia yang sepertinya selalu mengabaikan dalam hal ini mengenai perkembangan daerah bagian Timur Indonesia yang bisa dilihat cukup lamban [*In addition, the existence of Papua which is so close to Australia has made Australia very interested in the potentials on the Island, for example, its natural resources are very abundant in gold, copper, oil, silver and iron ore. These things are of high value to Australia and when viewed in a performance manner the development of the Indonesian government seems to always ignore this in the development of the eastern part of Indonesia that can be seen as slow*].

Pada tanggal 13 November 2006, pemerintah Indonesia dan Australia menandatangani sebuah perjanjian kerjasama keamanan baru yang dikenal dengan nama Perjanjian Lombok (*The Lombok Treaty*). Dokumen ini mencakup bidang yang luas yakni; Pertahanan, Penegakan Hukum, pemberantasan terorisme, kerjasama intelijen, kerjasama maritim, keselamatan dan keamanan penerbangan, penyebaran senjata pemusnah massal, tanggap darurat bencana alam, dan pengertian antar masyarakat dan manusia [*On November 13, 2006, the governments of Indonesia and Australia signed a new security cooperation agreement known as the Lombok Treaty. This document covers a broad field, namely; Defense, Law Enforcement, eradication of terrorism, cooperation in intelligence, maritime cooperation, flight safety and security, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, emergency response to natural disasters, and understanding between people and humans (people to people link)*]-“Kerjasama Kerangka Keamanan Indonesia-Australia Ditandatangani” [[Retrieved from](#)].

After UDI of Papua and FRWP were held, there was a moral movement and massive support from the Australian people, both indigenous (Origin Australian) and those who were not. As broadcast by the Bintang Papua Daily (28 August 2013) even in a city like Manokwari, the Papuan era of welcomed the movement of the Freedom Flotilla Ship sailing from Australia with activists from Free Papua and Aboriginal (Australian) who care about Papua, reportedly had sailed from Australia to PNG waters. Furthermore, from PNG they continued shipping to Papua, precisely in the south, namely Merauke. The Freedom Flotilla event which had enlivened the media and almost tenses the Canberra-Jakarta

relations was one of the concrete proofs of the support of the Australian People.

Regarding the Political Parties and the level of Parliament there is no doubt that the Green Party has only been limited as the signing of the MOU in Melbourne last May 2015 with the FRWP represented by Dr. Jack Rumbiak, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Migration and Trade.

Meanwhile, about New Zealand there is not much recorded, but various sympathetic movements have been rolled out by the Maori Nation who is indigenous people here, while the Government is not yet known. But there is an important note about statement of Helen Clark's, the Prime Minister at that time (now UNDP official) at the 31st FIP Summit in Tarawa-Kiribati that:

*"If a large Australia can liberate a small East Timor, so, a small New Zealand promises to liberate a large West Papua".*

As told by Martin Raklung Mehue who was present at this event together with Franzalberth Joku, Niclaas Meset and Paul Masta (now FRWP Ambassador to the Pacific). The presence of the West Papua Team from the PDP on this occasion was as on an invitation to the delegation of President Bernard Dowiyogo of the Republic of Nauru.

Furthermore, Clark also emphasized that:

*"....the issue of observer status for West Papua at the Forum had not been discussed in the leaders' retreat. The Forum's policy is that "Pacific Island territories on a clear path to self-government or independence" are eligible for observer status at Forum meetings....."*

### ***Opportunities in Asia***

What is meant here is mainly China, which of course will have an impact on other strong countries in East Asia such as Japan, North Korea, South Korea as well as Russia in the interests of fellow communists, which in many respects world policies, join hands. Southeast Asian countries (ASEAN) that is having at least a direct or no relationship with Papuan issues such as Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore even including the Philippines are within



this scope. China occupies a central position both for fellow Asian and US and following in this order Australia, New Zealand and even the European Union in which there is the Netherlands and also United Kingdom.

China can be said to be a thick friend of Indonesia, but the history of Indonesian savagery towards Chinese descendants in Indonesia during Suharto's New Order until the beginning of the Reformation certainly remains a picture of a dark period that is not forgotten. So from this point of view and other interests, touching with Papua is especially the case for the interests of natural resources, which if possible do not have to go through Jakarta with complex patterns and various considerations and other conditions would be better avoided. It would be very easy to deal directly with an independent and sovereign Papua State not below Jakarta. In addition, of course, the warmer one is the matter of the "South China Sea" which has become a struggle with Indonesia, certainly giving other thoughts to China to side with the Indonesian article in West Papua. China's Veto Rights seem to have the potential to become an opportunity for West Papua to "get a windfall" partisanship if it becomes a matter of voting at the UNGA.

The same intention is of course also in the UK and the Common Wealth group including in this case Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, Singapore, and of course the MSG group which also included in the scale of PIF and ACP-EU. All of the latter is under the US of course.

In the meantime, it is pleased with this that Noam Chomsky, a Professor of Modern Linguistics (Tag-mimic) from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who was also an important US senator in ETAN for East Timor's Independence, according to reports: <http://youtu.be/EaaaeHFKXI4> in early December 2013 accusing the US and Australia of committing a major scandal over the Papua problem. The accusation was revealed in an interview conducted by YouTube and published on social media on December 8, 2013. Chomsky said that the resistance in West Papua would continue even though it would not succeed. To reduce the resistance, Chomsky suggested the western side (Australia and the US) must take responsibility and action on the conditions that occur.

Hamid Ramli (2014 September 21 Countries Behind the Free Papua Movement in Kompasiana) point to Chomsky's accusation made after 2011, US President Barack Obama on his way to Bali in the context of the ASEAN Summit and East Asia Economic Summit, Obama, put himself in Australia.

Obama announced an important decision, namely the US would place 2,500 marines in Darwin, North Australia. According to Obama the presence of US forces in Darwin in order to offset China's movements in the Southeast Asian region. US and Australia both have interests in Papua. The US through PT Freeport, while Australia in addition to the question of the similarity of the indigenous Papuan race to ethnic Aborigines, also has a number of logging companies operating in the Papua New Guinea region, and not impossible for Australia to target timber in the forests of Papua. Besides of course an independent and sovereign Papua can directly constitute a buffer zone for Australia against any excess from the north.

China in terms of natural resources of Papua has owned a China Fe Company in Sorong and joined the UK in Bintuni Bay in this case the BP-Tangguh Gas Company.

### ***30 UN Member States oppose NYA and PEPERA***

What is meant is that opportunities for support can also come from at least 30 countries recorded in UNGA in 1969 against the implementation and results of PEPERA. Even the Ghana State proposed an initiative to compile a proposal on how it should be. As for UN data (Provisional A / PV.1812, November 19, 1969, Twenty-Fourth Session, UNGA) there are 29 other countries that support the initiative of the Ghana State, namely: Barbados, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Dahomey, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Ghana, Guyana, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Niger, Panama, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia.

Like Ghana, not all countries have diplomatic relations with Indonesia. However, to achieve them, systematic diplomacy is needed. In addition, there are also new countries after 1999 and

after the Cold War there must also be those who know and understand the problem of West Papua, just how to approach.

### *Support of NGOs*

Regarding the support of international NGOs, the numbers are not certain, but Kompasiana (2013, [Retrieved from]) provides significant figures as follows:

"..... Because of the incessant campaign of Papua at that time, the International Parliamentarians for West Papua (IPWP) and International Lawyers for West Papua (ILWP) were established by human rights observers, politicians and lawyers and law and political activists.

Support for an independent Papuan struggle is not only in claims from several countries, it is said that some foreign NGOs also play and support the independence struggle of Papua, as reported by a social media account on [Global Conspiracy@ konspirasiglobal Twitter in early July 2012] reported by www.itoday.co.id mentions dozens of foreign NGOs in several countries participating in supporting Papua's independence either directly or secretly.

For example in the UK there is West Papua Association, Tapol the Indonesian Human Right Campaign, Forest People Programme, National Union of Student, The Foundation for Endangered Languages, Down to Earth, World Development Movement, Colombia Solidarity Campaign, Oxford Papua Right for Campaign, and Cambridge Campaign for Peace.

In Australia, there are also reportedly several NGOs including Australia West Papua Association, International Volunteer for Peace, Medical Association for Prevention of War, Pax Christi, dan Religious Society for Friends (Quakers).

While in the Netherlands there is West Papuan Women Association in the Netherlands, Children of Papua, Foundation Pro Papua, West Papua Courier, Movement Peace-Human Right-Communication and Development, PaVo-Papuan People Foundation, The Netherlands Centre for Indigenous People.

In New Zealand there is Indonesia Human Right Committee, Peace Movement Aotearoa, Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, Section-Aoteorea, Peace Foundation-Aoteorea, Christian World

Service, Disarmament & Security Centre, Global Peace and Justice Auckland, Pax Christi Aotearoa, The New Zealand Council of Economic and Culture rights, Women for Peace, The Alliance Party.

In Ireland there is West Papua Action-Irelandia, Just Forrest-Irelandia, Tibet Support Group-Irelandia, Afri-Irelandia, Committee of 100-Finlandia, East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign-Irelandia, Cuba Support Group-Irelandia, Latin America Solidarity Centre-Irelandia, Trocaire, the Catholic Agency for World Development-Irelandia, Forest Friend Ireland/Cairdena Coille-Dublin, Alternatives to Violence-Belfast.

Where in United States and Canada there is East Timor Action Network (ET AN), International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Indonesia Human Rights Network-USA, Papuan American Student Association-Washington DC-New York-California- Texas and Hawaii, West Papua Action Network (WESPAN)-Canada, Canadian Ecumenical Justice Initiatives-Canada, Canadian Action for Indonesia & East Timor-Canada, Canadians Concerned About Ethnic Violence in Indonesia-Canada.

Belgian, Nepal, and Sweden KWIA-Flanders (Belgian), Coalition of the Flemish North South Movement-Brussels Belgium, Nepal Indigenous Peoples Development and Information Service Centre (NIPDISC)-Nepal, Anti-Racism Information Service-Switzerland, Swedish Association for Free Papua-Sweden.

In France, Germany, Norwegian and Denmark there is Survival International-France, German Pacific-Network-German, Regnskogsfondet-Oslo, Norwegian-International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs-Denmark.

Whereas in Fiji, Uganda, and Timor Leste there is Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC)-Fiji Island, Â Foundation for Human Right Initiative (FHRI) Uganda, International Platform of Jurists for East Timor.

But the truth of the support of various foreign NGOs on the activities of Free Papua has not yet been confirmed. Of course is also in relation to the UDI of the Papuan Nation and FRWP.

## **The Important Meaning of UDI of Papua and FRWP for the UN**

UDI Papua if it enters the UN domain will experience the same thing, for example as with Kosovo UDI, it can be submitted in a quote from Lillian Goldman Law Library (2008) as follows:

Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo:

On 8 October 2008 the Member States of the United Nations General Assembly voted in favour of referring the legality of Kosovo's declaration of independence on 17 February 2008 to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague. In its vote, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution in which, referring to Article 65 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice Court, it requested the to render an advisory opinion on the following question.

*"Is the unilateral declaration of independence by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo in accordance with international law? "*

A Decade was of American Foreign Policy 1941-1949 and Statute of the International Court of Justice, June 26, 1945  
CHAPTER IV. ADVISORY OPINIONS, Article 65:

1. The Court may give an advisory opinion on any legal question at the request of whatever body may be authorized by or in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations to make such a request.

2. Questions upon which the advisory opinion of the Court is asked shall be laid before the Court by means of a written request containing an exact statement of the question upon which an opinion is required, and accompanied by all documents likely to throw light upon the question.

The resolution recalls the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo's declaration of independence from Serbia that took place on 17 February 2008 and underlines the fact that this act has been received with varied reactions by the Members of the United Nations as to its compatibility with the existing international legal order, On receiving a request for an advisory opinion, the Court itself draws up a list of those States and organizations that may be able to furnish relevant information.

## Opportunities for UDI of Papuan Nation and FRWP

Regarding the future of West Papua, UDI Papua and FRWP are pleased, there is something interesting to note from Camellia Webb-Gannon (2013 September 17, Is an Independent West Papuan State Possible? [[Retrieved from](#)]). According to him, in reviewing the Colonial attitudes that must be overcome and replaced with international support for West Papua.

*The very unpredictability of politics is the greatest hope for those seeking an independent West Papuan state. Here, some of the key issues occupying West Papuan nationalists and observers of the region's politics are addressed, including whether West Papuans are entitled to their own state; whether such a state would be politically and economically viable; and what chance Papuans have of forging their national vision into a constitutional reality.*

Camellia Webb-Gannon went further:

*Do West Papuans Have a Right to Their Own State?*

*Although the answer to this question is politically unpalatable for Indonesia and the countries that have, to date, supported Indonesia's "territorial integrity" (West Papua inclusive), under international law, West Papuans preserve the right to choose political independence.*

*The right to self-determination is enshrined in treaty law through the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, both of which declare: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."*

So, he continues: Could West Papuans Govern Themselves if Given the Chance?

*This question smacks of a residual colonial mentality and resounds of fiscal self-interest. Yet it is a question regularly posed, and often answered in the negative, by observers of West Papua's independence movement. One may think, however, that Australia, for instance, might consider the money it could save by no longer funding and training many of the Indonesian troops and police deployed in West Papua to suppress "separatism."*

*To be sure, an independent West Papua would face significant obstacles during and after an inauguration of self-rule. With a history of Jakarta-engineered divide and rule tactics targeted at foiling West Papuan attempts to politically consolidate as well*

*as exacerbating tribal and regional enmities, West Papuans are already on the back foot in state making.*

*A strong culture of civil resistance is developing amongst a cadre of well-educated and internationally connected West Papuan leaders with the potential to utilize their skills in a Papuan state. Interim government structures are generating a host of viable ideas about indigenously appropriate governance, and constitutional options. If given the opportunity to self-govern, there is no reason why West Papuans would be less able to function in this capacity than their neighbours in the formerly Indonesian state of East Timor.*

So far, he is asking again: Will Indonesia Relinquish West Papua?

*Although West Papuans should have the right to determine their own political future, and do have the capacity to govern a viable state, the likelihood of such an opportunity arising for them to do so is uncertain. And in the event of a referendum on independence, given that the migrant Indonesian Austronesian population in West Papua outnumbers the West Papuan.*

So for that it has become an answer that West Papua already has a basic state order (1999 Constitution and Government of Federal Model) its independence rights must not be restored by means of such a "referendum" for the following international reasons:

FIRST : For West Papua Plebiscite was implemented in 1969 according to the 1962 New York Agreement but was rigged by Indonesia and the United Nations did not make a commendable solution, so it violated Article 78 of the United Nations Charter and opposed the proposal of 30 countries supporting the 19 November 1969 Ghana Proposal.

SECOND : Like Kosovo on February 17, 2008, the Papuan Nation has held a UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) and FRWP (Federal Republic of West Papua) October 19, 2011 on the legitimacy of the Papuan Nation in KRP-3 which absolutely does not challenge International Law, all of which take place in a democratic and dignified manner with the knowledge of the Indonesian Government even

though it was wronged viciously by the Indonesian Government itself.

THIRD : Based on the First and Second reasons, the Papuan Nation and the FRWP only need "recognition", in the presence of the United Nations Security Army and the UN Interim Government Supervisory of the Handover of Power from the Republic of Indonesia to FRWP.

## The Latest Developments

From the 2016 UNGA, the Initial Notes held in September are as follows:

...Pidato Enam Negara Pasifik, mengangkat isu Papua dalam pidato mereka terkait dengan desakan perlunya misi pencari fakta Perserikatan Bangsa-bangsa ke Papua untuk menyelidiki pelanggaran HAM yang dituduhkan terjadi di sana, serta tuntutan untuk diberikannya kesempatan menentukan nasib sendiri bagi rakyat Papua. ebelumnya, enam negara Pasifik memanfaatkan kesempatan berpidato dengan menyinggung secara singkat masalah Papua. Perdana Menteri Solomon Islands, ketika mendapat giliran berpidato di Sidang Umum PBB pada 23 September, mengatakan pelanggaran HAM di Papua untuk memperjuangkan penentuan nasib sendiri adalah dua sisi mata uang yang sama[....*The speech of the Six Pacific States raised the issue of Papua in their speech related to the insistence on the need for a United Nations fact-finding mission to Papua to investigate the alleged human rights violations there, as well as demands for the opportunity for self-determination for the Papuan people. reviously, six Pacific countries took the opportunity to give a speech by briefly addressing the issue of Papua. The Prime Minister of Solomon Islands, when he got a turn to address the UN General Assembly on September 23, said human rights violations in Papua to fight for self-determination were two sides of the same coin*].

"Banyak laporan pelanggaran HAM di Papua menekankan melekatnya antara hak untuk menentukan nasib sendiri yang menghasilkan pelanggaran langsung HAM oleh Indonesia dalam upaya untuk meredakan segala bentuk oposisi," kata dia. Hal yang sama disuarakan oleh Presiden Marshall Islands, Hilda Heine, yang mendesak



Dewan HAM PBB melakukan investigasi kredibel dan independen atas pelanggaran HAM di Papua. [*"Many reports of human rights violations in Papua emphasize the attachment between the rights to self-determination which results in direct human rights violations by Indonesia in an effort to defuse all forms of opposition," he said. The same thing was voiced by Marshall Islands President Hilda Heine, who urged the UN Human Rights Council to conduct credible and independent investigations into human rights violations in Papua*]

Dalam nada yang lebih lembut, Presiden Nauru, Baron Divavesi Waqa, menyerukan dilaksanakannya rekomendasi Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) yaitu mengadakan dialog konstruktif dengan Indonesia terkait dengan tuduhan pelanggaran HAM di Papua.

Hal yang sama disampaikan oleh Perdana Menteri Tonga, Samiuela 'Akilisi Pohiva. Ia mendesak adanya dialog konstruktif dengan pemerintah Indonesia terkait masalah HAM di Papua. [*In a softer tone, the President of Nauru, Baron Divavesi Waqa, called for the implementation of the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) recommendation to hold constructive dialogue with Indonesia in relation to allegations of human rights violations in Papua. The same was conveyed by the Prime Minister of Tonga, Samiuela 'Akilisi Pohiva. He urged constructive dialogue with the Indonesian government regarding human rights issues in Papua*].

Perdana Menteri Vanuatu, Charlot Salwai Tabimasmas, menegaskan, PBB harus mengambil langkah konkret terkait keprihatinan atas pelanggaran HAM di Papua. Sementara Perdana Menteri Tuvalu, Enele Sosene Sopoaga mendesak PBB mengambil langkah nyata menemukan solusi bagi otonomi penduduk asli Papua.

Menurut Sopoaga, prinsip penentuan nasib sendiri harus dihormati. Dan pelanggaran HAM di Papua akibat keinginan untuk mendapatkan hak penentuan nasib sendiri adalah realitas. "Realitas ini tidak bisa terus-menerus diabaikan," kata dia [*The Prime Minister of Vanuatu, Charlot Salwai Tabimasmas, stressed that the United Nations must take concrete steps regarding concerns over human rights violations in Papua. While the Prime Minister of Tuvalu, Enele Sosene Sopoaga urged the United Nations to take concrete steps to find a solution for the autonomy of indigenous Papuans.*

*According to Sopoaga, the principle of self-determination must be respected. And human rights violations in Papua due to the*

*desire to get the right to self-determination are reality. "This reality cannot be continually ignored," he said].*

Editor : Eben E. Siadari, SATUHARAPAN.COM - The Indonesian delegation expressed condemnation and regret at the steps of a number of Pacific countries that raised the issue of violations of Human Rights (HAM) in Papua at the 71st General Assembly of the United Nations at the UN headquarters in New York, September 20-26

Regardless of Indonesia's Rights of Answer, Palau soared, it was even the first of 16 PIF member states and others (ACP) with a more advanced step (Sept. 26), calling for (UN) *Peace Resolution* for the West Papua problem:

"Additionally, we join others to advocate for an amenable resolution to the problem in West Papua ", Palau 71\_PW\_en.pdf

This submission has the potential to become a UNGA's agenda that ends in Voting. If the majority of UN members agree, there will be broad implications. In connection with that, Vidhyandika D. Perkasa, Jakarta | Fri, September 30 2016 | 8:51 a.m. with the headline *Settlement of Papua issues deserves national priority* submitted the following solution:

Solving the Papuan complexity indeed needs a breakthrough, such as a dialogue, rather than business as usual. Jakarta must have the courage to deal with sensitive issues instead of sweeping them under the rug. Ignoring such issues and further delaying the dialogue will only exacerbate the damage done by the internationalization of Papua.

We do not allow Indonesia to be on the wrong path again because it will be very detrimental. From all of them, the step "Indonesia-Papua Round Table Negotiating by facilitation of a neutral international party", is the best way, more if forced by a third party. So, once again "*Aut viam inveniam aut faciam* (There is either finding or making a way)" is worthy of travel, towards lasting friendship that is peaceful and dignified.

## Closing Remark

Starting from the explanation above, it can be conveyed several assertions, namely:

*First*, UDI for a nation is justified internationally if for certain things there is a neglect or condition of certain obstacles to normally give the nation the ruling subordinate the right of independence by the ruling nation.

*Second*, UDI Papua took place as an ultimate of 50 years of physical struggle experience which eventually transformed into a diplomatic, peaceful and dignified struggle in the form of dialogue and hearings and so on.

*Third*, UDI Papua becomes a demand for the legitimacy of the Papuan People to the "M / Merdeka Papua" Struggle Leaders in the KRP-3 mechanism to realize "Papua Independence/Merdeka".

*Fourth*, the President and Prime Minister along with three other fighters undergoing the 3-years Indonesian Prison Law from 2012-2014, have paid off in full.

*Fifth*, the resolution of all problems in the form of Recognition of the Government of Indonesia as well as the Melanesia (MSG) and Pacific (PIF) regions and the harmony of ACP blacks (Africa - Caribbean - Pacific) and EU (European Union).

*Sixth*, it will be very perspective if the recognition process becomes the initiative of the Indonesian Government to avoid various conditions that are not desired for the convenience of the civilian public both parties defend.

On the condition that the UN Security Council understands that the Indonesian Government is in accordance with its nature, that it has absolutely no ability for negotiation unless it may occur at the behest of outsiders. So this special condition must be understood by fellow Regional in the Pacific at the MSG, PIF and ACP-EU.

Isn't the forced integration of West Papua into Indonesia due to international intervention? Well, as well as having to understand the fact that the Papuan Nation has held a Papua UDI and FRWP, there is no other effective way to avoid conflicts as well as human

rights violations except with direct UN-Security Council intervention in Papua when creating a dignified peaceful solution between Indonesia and Western Papua (FRWP).

# Finale

## Conclusion

With all these explanations above, the author has finished reporting the results of the research as an attempt to find scientific truth. This report is only possible because the author takes a very respectful attitude towards humanity. The truth presented is of course departing from the perspective of the author. When viewed from another perspective, it is not impossible that this truth will get criticism.

The author highly appreciates the differences in results caused by differences in perspective. The author, in fact, throws away the question why it's not the same. In this context the author reaffirms the conclusions of this study, namely:

*First*, Papua, a plural form in the Papua-Melanesian mix but also the summary of Papua *Volken* (ethnic groups in New Guinea); a universality of prominent autonomous aspects interrelated in hidden structures forming a synergic mosaic of circular giving each other for mutual interest in the principle of love, loyalty, and honest sustainability in the spirit of one nation, one soul and one solidarity.

Furthermore, how Papua for Indonesia is the extra work of all parties giving a balanced space to rival cohesive (cohesiveness) to be productive and beneficial for both parties, Indonesia and Papua. So, we are required to understand the concept of culture in Papua-Melanesia, there is a strong interrelation, although it does not seem obvious because it appears mosaic but is summarized in reason and nuance.

*Secondly*, the existence of Papuan-Melanesian Federalism in the Unitary of the Republic of Indonesia can provide opportunities for access but can also be an excess impediment. It would be difficult to refute this fact. At the same time, there are at least four things that need to be discussed further, namely: (i) Federalism in Indonesia as a Special Case for Papua-Melanesia is indeed confined and depressed because of NKRI Unitary which solely focuses on the stability of the region or territory with the aim of maintaining sovereignty over territories so that they escape responsibility and liability obligations, (ii) in a position of imbalance, federalism units tend to stretch out the Unitary adaptive embrace that is more compelling one colour and the pattern will push choices apart or which can be said to be potentially cohesive; (iii) the existence of the NKRI Unitary will exist in measures which are always tested for the closeness of the emergence of the emergence of federalism which, although threatened by fragility, is the smallest unit in this case the village; (iv) Papua-Melanesian federalism which indeed was originally integrated did not really have a burden in the NKRI Unitary which was swayed by Federalism in Indonesia, but it was a problem how the separation process would proceed smoothly.

*Third*, since 1999 there has been a Constitution of a Dream State at least so, namely the West Papua State which was dreamed of in spite of being exchanged for Special Autonomy.

In the history of the journey of ethical efforts contained in the RI Law of 2001, it is also a dream in the sense that it continues to be disturbed so that it also ends in a dream or even dreams that cannot be conveyed.

The Prophet of Papua, Rev. I.S. Kijne on the first page of the Malay Language textbook *Kota Emas, Itu Dia* (Golden City, That is It), Volume IV, 1954 wrote: "Jang dimimpi walau tak akan djadi,

pasti abadi (*What is dreamed even though it will not be, it will last forever*). And the Papuans together with their brothers the Indonesian people are in the aroma and mood of the dreams presented by a system that calls itself and we also know the name, "Indonesian Government".

*Fourth*, there are at least eight things related to the influence of the power of the great world powers on the existence of the Papuan nation, namely: (i) the existence of the Papuan people of the Papuans in Western Papua can not be separated from the influence of Prestige and the Power of the Great World powers; (ii) even though Indonesia has a tendency for hegemony to control the territory, nation and neighbouring countries, without Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World, nothing will happen (Crushing Malaysia, East Timor, Nangru Aceh Daru Salam), (iii) blaming Indonesia for anything related to the West of Papua may not be the whole right either because the source of all that is Prestige and the Power of the Great Power (of the World) in this case the US; (iv) let the West Papua State fall in equilibrium regardless of its kind is the responsibility of Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World in this case the US, (v) the efforts of various parties, especially the Melanesian Unions (Melanesian Spearhead Group/MSG) and Pacific Island Forum (PIF) and Africa-Caribbean-Pacific/ACP if welcomed by various other parties (church, international commission for human rights-, ETAN, TAPOL, etc.) in addition to diplomacy by people from The West Papua alone can only succeed if it can arouse Prestige and the Power of the Great powers of the World in this case the US to act differently, (vi) any effort to reposition the present-day West Papua back to its status and position of 1962, certainly needs internal equilibrium between residents in the Papua and West Papua Province who must be guaranteed the so-called Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World to remain stable in creating will of a Nation State for West Papua, (vii) West Papua in turn be able to emerge as a Nation State with a Papuan-Melanesian and non-Papuan-Melanesian citizen who recognizes that country and is subject to the Constitution on the basis of *ius sanguinis* = origin of blood and *ius soli* = land rights or *ius recognitionia* = recognition rights, according to the international order along with

Prestige and the Power of the Great Power of the World and Indonesia bilaterally can create peace for the world and fellow human beings armed with natural wealth of West Papua is owned as capital in involvement, and (viii) the West Papua country as a "Territory of Trust and "None Self Government Territory" in accordance with the open articles in the Declaration The UN 1945 in particular Article 78, then there is a great opportunity for the West Papua by and through the hands of Prestige and the Power of the Great powers of the World, they must return to the United Nations and clear status as befitting a member state of the United Nations.

*Fifth*, from the description so far, the author wants to assert himself as a newcomer in the struggle of the M/Freedom Papua, which was only in 1997-1998. It was a moment of the early days of the Indonesian Reformation and at the same time the stages of the struggle of M/Freedom Papua entering the Transformation order. Even though it does not necessarily end the struggle for guerrilla so far, but in an organized and dignified way the Struggle of M /Freedom Papua has entered into another method of approach other than what has already taken place. The author has been on the Jayapura front since the beginning with the group of KIP members accompanying the Chair of the Papuan Customary Council (DAP) whom they have fought in the Jayapura POLRES Detention to be the Free Papua Leader or more commonly called the Papuan Leader. DAP sights not want to acknowledge by the LMA formed by the Government (Law-RI No. 5 of 1979 concerning Village Government).

The author is a Career Bureaucrat (The position of that time, 1978 is Secretary of the Regional Development Planning Agency (BAPPEDA) of Papua Province in Structural Position and in Functional Position as Associate Expert Researcher. Newly the author was moved after witnessing the brutality of helpless Papuans on the July 1 1998 Demonstration which resulted in protests from UNCEN Students assembling various Bloody Abepura Episodes since then, especially the events of the mass slaughter in Biak supporting the provocateurs Filep Karma at the Water Tower in Biak which was reported as corpses washed away by the Tsunami held in Aitape.



Testimony like that is completely contrary to scientific evidence that the sea current from Aitape is indeed towards the East because it is blocked to the West (how can go to the waters of Biak) by the Tami River and the Mamberamo River whose eastward direction enters the Pacific Ocean.

Thus in the series of Consolidation with M/Freedom Papuan fighters, the author affirmed the position of the author as not a member of the OPM but as well as the OPM, as other Papuans wanted Papua M/Independence. So in this direction the author and KIP members take part. KIP's debut is in addition to building awareness of the need for a country for Papuans who have an aura limited to M/Free Papua to understand that Merdeka is Independence which having a system or order called Government. Thus, KIP debuted with the draft text and understanding so that it was born, among others, the Basic Guildlines or Papuan Guidelines containing the Declaration of the Papuan Nation and the Tri-Folds Logic of Papua-Melanesia, and various others. The main goal is Peace; Papua must be a blessing to the World and Nations.

*Sixth*, about UDI some assertions can be conveyed, namely; (i) UDI for a nation is justified internationally if in certain cases there is a neglect or condition of certain barriers to normally grant the right of independence by the ruling nation to the subordinate nation; (ii) The Papua UDI took place as an ultimatum of 50 years of physical struggle experience which eventually transformed into a diplomatic, peaceful and dignified struggle in the form of dialogue, hearings, etc. (iii) The UDI Papua becomes the demand for the legitimacy of the Papuan People to the "M/Merdeka Papua" Quality Leader in the KRP-3 mechanism to realize " M /Papua Merdeka"; (iv) The President and Prime Minister along with three other fighters undergoing the 3-year Indonesian Prison Law from 2012-2014, have been paid in full; (v) resolution of all problems in the form of Recognition of the Government of Indonesia as well as the Melanesia (MSG) and Pacific (PIF) regions as well as the harmony of ACP blacks (Africa - Caribbean - Pacific) and EU (European Union), (vi) if the process recognition became the initiative of the Indonesian Government to avoid various

conditions not desired for the convenience of the civilian public of both parties.

All of the conclusions above lead to a general conclusion: if Indonesia views maintaining Papua as its territory, then this intention is actually not to be obeyed, because it will imply a wrong move which has taken place, for that needs to be straightened out. "*Aut viam inveniam aut faciam* (It is good to find or make a path)".

# End Notes

## Theoretical Notes

This written work uses Grand Theory which is focused on the Hidden Structure theory to examine research problems in the formulation of the problem above. With the theory of Hidden Structure, the author seeks to find, obtain and understand the answers to questions in the formulation of the problem above. Hidden Theory has extraordinary uniqueness, because this theory is like a scalpel used by a doctor in the operating room and a sharp knife will help doctors to work quickly and precisely with very satisfying results. With the theory of Hidden Structure, the author is also very quick to explore the hidden issues of Papua which have been the source of political conflicts for the Papuan Nation and the Indonesian Nation. This theory is very helpful in analyzing and understanding the main problems that exist in the relations between the Indonesian Nation and the Papuan Nation which always defend themselves or claim to each other.

With this theory, the author is able to uncover hidden problems which have not been known by both parties (Indonesia and Papua), because they both stand in the position of political egoism, without opening themselves to accepting and understanding each other's existence. If the two nations respect and accept each other, then political conflict will not occur in the lives of two nationalities.

This theory is very suitable for analyzing and applying it to resolve political conflicts and get the right solution, so that Papua and Indonesia both benefit in ensuring the position of the Papuans within Indonesia. About Papua within or out of Indonesian side in terms of opportunities and obstacles revealed by Claude Levy Strause's structuralism of binary opposite, as in the following Table.

*Table of "binary opposite": Papua in versus out of Indonesia. Flassy, (2017).*

Domain	Papua within Indonesia	Papua out of Indonesia
Papua identity	-immerst in unitary	-real and measurably maintained.
Mentality	-dishonest, CCN, Alcohol, Narcotics, HIV / Aid, individualism.	-honest, healthy mentality, communal (nostalgic edenic).
Reality	-not real, pretend.	-real / realistic, innocent.
Population	- tends to become extinct (700.000 of 3.000.000 souls).	-chance to increase (1958 800.000 souls, should be the same as PNG which has now 7,000,000 souls.
Endemic Fauna-Flora	-polluted and extinct.	- opportunities to be protected - recover.

From the "binary opposite" table shown above it is revealed that the dark side or the missing side is not realized, according to the hidden structure theory. The use of the hidden structure theory when connected with the theory of structuralism produces a precise and interesting analysis, because the Hidden Structure attempts to enter into the problems of the Papuan Nation and the Indonesian Nation, then issues various hidden, positive and negative things, then presents them transparent and analyzed from the structure of the two positive and negative poles for the Indonesian Nation and the Papuan Nation, so that there will be a way out that is balanced or equal for the two nations. Even by mapping the problem structurally from an ethical and emotional perspective, it will open the veil of the problems of nations of different races and cultures to understand that there has actually been a historical error that only fosters long hatred and conflict

that does not benefit the two nations, because Papua and Indonesia remain adhering to different principles that actually only harm both nations.

Meanwhile the Hidden Structure theory reveals a structure that is not visible in the problems faced by the Papuans and the Indonesian Nation. Even with the "binary opposite" method of Claude Lévi-Strauss's Structuralism Theory can be clearly revealed the existence of Papua in the NKRI how its perspective. The core structure for the Papuan Nation and the Indonesian Nation is to reconstruct past history focusing on the title that the author adopted in this dissertation, namely: "Peta jalan balik Bangsa Papua di Negeri Papua Bagian Barat: *"Sebuah Keputusan Damai Pemulihan Jati Diri (The Roadmap to the Revival of the Papuan Nation in West Papua: "A Peaceful Decision on the Restoration of the Self")"*".

### Political Notes

In this section, the author wants to return to the story of Soedjarwo Tjondronegoro who came to Adam Malik in (1999), when the Indonesian Nation won the PEPERA. The report submitted is a hidden document for the Papuan nation for 31 years (1969) and can be revealed in the 2000 Papua-Mubes by Mozes Weror (see Chapter VI, B.1), which in essence is: Indonesia may win the 1969 PEPERA, but cannot win Irian land, if fellow Melanesians accept Papuan independence, then the power of independent nationalism that has been rooted in the Papuan nation will be stronger, the Government must help the young generation of Papua.

Soedjarwo Tjondronegoro seems to have provided a prophecy for the Papuan Nation since 1969, now it has been clearly answered for the Indonesian Nation and the Papuan Nation, that truth has never been defeated, an independent nationalism of Papua has full support from fellow Melanesians through the MSG forum and in Pacific harmony through PIF.

In fact, Indonesia has indirectly supported Papua to be united with allied countries of Melanesia, thus the nationalism of the Papuan nation continues to rise and surge to fight for its independence through Pacific regional unity. This can be seen

from the formation of the "Unification of Melanesia" felt vibrant from the Southwest-Pacific, thrilling the Archipelago, rising 5 Melanesian Republics (South Maluku, North Maluku, NTT, NTB and Moro) in referring to East Timor, being struck Sorong to Samarai merging MSG in PIF harmony.

In a sense, it appears that the Federalist interests of Papua-Melanesia and also Federalism in Indonesia find it difficult to find a place in the Unitary State of Indonesia. This study shows that there is a tendency for federalism to exist so that at the same time there is conscious separatism in Indonesia and if it does not immediately re-establish the Federalist-Liberal Republik Indonesia Serikat (United States of Indonesia) RIS or the name "Indonesia" will only be a memory.

That the state of nature of unitary (unity) that is thus contrary to the value of authenticity not only for Papua-Melanesia but also the nature of federalism in Indonesia. So the luckiest step to end all conflicts and contraries that have the potential to destroy Indonesia will be very appropriate. Return to the spirit of the RIS in accordance with the 1949 Round Table Conference Decision to autonomous of identity or self in an Indonesian federalism.

Thus the Unitary Republic of Indonesia is actually not appropriate for the condition of Indonesia as an archipelago with multi ethnicity, multi-cultural and multi-religious. If looking at the history of the formation of the Indonesian state, long before that Mohammed Hatta (1st Vice President) had remind President Soekarno that Indonesia was more suitable to use Federal state forms because of different ethnic groups and cultures, so that each region could develop its area. But the concept offered by Muhammad Hatta was rejected by Soekarno while maintaining the concept of a unitary state. If seen actually Muhammad Hatta is a visionary who has thought about the condition of Indonesia in the future. Now it has happened, that every region in Indonesia is trying to improve its status as an autonomous region, this actually leads to the form of a federation that was once offered by Muhammad Hatta in the 1940s. The concept of a federal state is more suitable to be implemented in Indonesia, so that it grows all regions in equitable development so that prosperity is achieved for

the people in all regions of Indonesia, so that there is no region in Indonesia that feels left out by the government.

### Practical Notes

After the author completes the discussion of the dissertation entitled "Peta Jalan Balik Bangsa Papua Di Negeri Papua Bagian Barat: Sebuah Keputusan Damai Pemulihan Jati Diri (The Roadmap to the Revival of the Papuan Nation in West Papua: "*A Peaceful Decision on the Restoration of the Self*")", scientific and practical contributions can be presented to all parties, including the Nation of Papua and the Nation of Indonesia to put themselves in see Papuan issues with a positive outlook, without thinking about and placing their own selfishness which will harm both parties.

For this dissertation work, it is possible to create an understanding of Papua and Indonesia in Papua not only required for Papuans but also Indonesian citizens in general and related parties through the campus world including UNCEN.

In order to further create a life of peace and prosperity, mutual respect between fellow human beings in West Papua by promoting dignity and human rights not only *tolerance* but also *solidarity*.

There is also a sincere assessment that what is worth highlighting is not only *right or wrong is my country*, but also *right is right-wrong is not right*.

Then further can be realized the road of peace and dignity for Papua and Indonesia in looking at the new world in a fair and proper manner in a peaceful and dignified manner. When Timor Leste - the Republic of Indonesia has occurred "*Per Memoriam ad Spem* (Through Memories towards Hope)" then between FRWP - NKRI is set in force "*Aut viam inveniam aut faciam* (It is good to find or make a path)".

Based on this dissertation study, presumably there is a very large scientific contribution for the Nation of Papuan and the Nation of Indonesia, is to implement the "Rescue Valve" as a social belt that functions as a Safety value to save the Nation of Papua and the Nation of Indonesian to end prolonged conflict for more than 50 years which has wasted a lot of energy, claimed lives and property on both sides. The conflict will end through the recognition of the existence of the two nations.

At the end of this dissertation, the important contribution that was shown was through this scientific work the young generation of the Nation of Papua and the Nation of Indonesia would find historical straightening in the form of "scientific work presented" so that they would not be skeptical about the political conditions in Papua. Even through this dissertation the history of the Papuan people can be well understood by various parties both within the country, but also abroad to put Papua's political problems in the right position for a dignified settlement according to international standards.

Completion of a dissertation with a topic that touches the political realm is usually avoided even feared to be touched because it contains political consequences that also impact on the safety and security of everyone. However, the author realizes with great heart, that all this time the good intentions of the Papuan people and the Indonesian people to hold a dialogue on the rectification of history that has long been an important agenda to resolve the conflict in Tanah Papua has never been realized until now then the author felt called as a scientist trying to present this scientific work as a historical rectification work to declare the existence of the Papuan-Melanesian Struggle in Western Papua to design how the present conditions in Indonesia as an opportunity for a real realization of the position of the Papuan nation in Indonesia, thereby ensuring prophecy from the prophet of Papua Rev. I.S. Kijne, when laying the first stone of a civilization dormitory or also called the stone of civilization in Aitumeri Mie, he said the words:

*"Diatas batu ini saja meletakkan peradaban Bangsa Papua. Sekalipun orang memiliki kepandaian tinggi, akal budi dan ma'rifat tidak akan memimpin bangsa ini, bangsa ini akan bangkit memimpin dirinya sendiri. (On this rock I put the Papuan civilization. Even though people have high intelligence, reason and wisdom will not lead this nation, this nation will rise up in its own right)"* Aitumeri-Mie, 26 Oktober 1926. (Risalah GKI-1986).

By looking at the prophecy above, the Papuan people and the Indonesian people who are religious people who believe in the greatness of God will see in the future, that God will also work before, now and will come in resolving the problems of the Papuan



people and the Indonesian people through peaceful and dignified ways to the independence of Papua.

Only then conclude this paper, we ask whether this information has reached the countries and nations of the world members of the United Nations, especially fellows in the MSG, FIP and ACP-EU that whether it still need to call on the Indonesian Government to carry out constructive dialogue with Papuan people who have undergo all stages? Parties must be encouraged to transform to come to a point of acknowledging each other's existence, the Indonesian Nation and the Papuan Nation, without burdening.

# References

- Aditjondro, G.J. (1993). Penggelapan Nasionalisme Orang PAPUA (Darkening of the Nationalism of the PAPUA People), in Historiografi Indonesia (Makalah Seminar), Salatiga, Indonesia.
- Aditjondro, G.J. (1999). 'Penggelapan Nasionalisme Orang Papua (Darkening of the Nationalism of the PAPUA People) (Irian)', in Historiografi Indonesia. Jakarta: Elsham.
- Aditjondro, G.J. (2000). *Cahaya Bintang Kejora: Papua Barat dalam Kajian Sejarah, Budaya, Ekonomi, dan Hak Asasi Manusia* ((The Morning Star Light: West Papua in Historical, Cultural, Economic and Human Rights Studies). Jakarta: Elsham.
- Alderson, K., & Hurrell, A. (2002). On international society. In A. Hurrell, S. Hoffman, & H. Bull (Eds), *The Anarchical Society*, Columbia University Press.
- Ballard, C.F. (2009). The art of encounter: Verisimilitude in the imaginary exploration of interior New Guinea, 1863–1876. In M. Jolly, S. Tcherkézoff, & D. Tryon, (eds), *Oceanic Encounters*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Blust, R.A. (1978). Eastern Malayo-Polynesian: A sub-grouping argument. In L. Carrington & S. Wurm (eds.). *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics. Fascicle 1: Western Austronesian*, vol. Fascicle I, p.220. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Series C-61.
- BPS. (2010). *Sensus Penduduk*, Population Census.

- Broek, T., & Szalay, A. (2001). Raising the morning star: Six months'. In the developing independence movement in West Papua. *Journal of Pacific History*, 36(1), 77–92. doi. [10.1080/00223340123100](https://doi.org/10.1080/00223340123100)
- Broek, T.P.A., & Ariawinangun, D. (2001). Memoria passionis di Papua: kondisi sosial politik dan hak asasi manusia: gambaran (Memoria passionis in Papua: socio-political conditions and human rights: a picture), *Issue 10 of Seri memoria passionis di Papua2000*. Sekretariat Keadilan dan Perdamaian (SKP), Keuskupan Jayapura [dan] Lembaga Studi Pers dan Pembangunan (LSPP). Jakarta-the University of Michigan.
- Cheng, J.T., Tracy, J.L., & Henrich, J. (2014). *The Psychology of Social Status*, New York: Springer.
- Clifford, J.G. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Clifford, J.G. (1983). Local knowledge: Further essays in interpretive anthropology . New York: Basic Books .
- Clifford, J.G. (1988). Works and Lives: The Anthropologist As Author, Stanford University Press
- Clifford, J.G. (1995). *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, American Anthropologist.
- Clifford, J.G. (2000). Clifford Geertz: Work and Legacy.
- Djopari, J.R.G. (1993). *Pemberontakan Organisasi Papua Merdeka* (Rebellion of Free Papua Organization). Jakarta: Grasindo Gramedia Widiasarana.
- Djopari, J.R.G. (2009). *Pemekaran Papua Positif bagi Rakyat Papua* ((Division of Papua is Positive for the Papuan People) in Alua Agus (2002, "Renegotiating Boundaries: Local Politics").
- Djuyoto, S. (2007). *Tahun 2015 Indonesia "Pecah"*. In 2015 Indonesia "broke, Jakarta: Pustaka Perdamaian.
- Domke, W.K. (1989). Power, political capacity, and security in the global system, containe. In R.J. Stoll & M.D. Ward (eds) *Power in World Politics*, Lynn Rienner.
- Drooglever, P.J. (2005). Een Daad van Vrije Keuze: De Papoea's van Westelijk Nieuw-Guinea en de grenzen van het zelfbeschikingsrecht (Act of Free Choice: The Papuans of Western New Guinea and the limitations of the right to self determination), ING. Amsterdam: Boom.
- Dumupa, Y.F. (2006). Berburu Keadilan di Papua: Mengungkap Dosa-dosa Politik Indonesia di Papua Barat (Hunting Justice in Papua: Revealing Indonesia's Political Sin in West Papua), With a foreword by Johnson Penjaitan. Yogyakarta: Pilar Media.
- Fueter, E. (1922). *World History, 1815–1930*. United States of America. Harcourt, Brace and Company.

- Flannery, T. (2000). *Throwim Way Leg: Tree-Kangaroos, Possums and Penis Gourds: On the Track of Unknown Mammals in Wildest New Guinea*. Berkeley, CA: Grove Press.
- Feil, D.K. (1986). *The Evolution of Highland Papua New Guinea Societies*. Cambridge: Univ. Press.
- Flassy, Don., A.L., & Stokhof, W.A.L. (1979). A note on Tehit Birds Head Irian Jaya. Nusa.
- Flassy, T. (2012), *Sejarah Pemerintahan Provinsi Papua*, History of Provincial Government in Papua), Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.
- Flassy, Don., A.L. (1983, 2007, 2013). *Aspek dan Prospek Seni Budaya Papua*, Aspects and Prospects of Papuan Cultural and Arts, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Flassy, Don., A.L. (1999). *Tri Ganda Logika Papua/Triple Fold Logic of Bangsa Papua*. Jayapura: Komite Independent Papua.
- Flassy, Don., A.L. (1991). Struktur Sosial di Wilayah Bahasa dan Budaya Toror Bagian Barat dan Tengah Doberai Irian Jaya: sebuah Sketsa Struktur Sosial di Nieuw Guinea ((Social Structure in Languages and Cultures Area of the Western and Central Parts of Toror Doberai Irian Jaya: a Sketch of Social Structures in New Guinea). MA Thesis: Leiden University.
- Flassy, Don., A.L. (2001). Sinkronisasi UU-RI No. 21/2001 versus UU-RI No. 45/1999: Tegakkan Wibawa dan Wujudkan Kedamaian di 7 Wilayah Satuan Adat Papua; Acang Alternatif: 7 Provinsi, 1 Kota Ibu Kota Khusus, 3 Kota Transito, Menteri Khusus Urusan Papua; Sebuah Pencerahan Synchronization of RI-Law No. 21/2001 versus RI-Law No. 45/1999: Enforce Authority and Realize Peace in 7 Papua Customary Unit Areas; Alternative Acting: 7 Provinces, 1 Special Capital City, 3 Transito Cities, Special Minister of Papua Affairs; An enlightenment. , With a foreword by D. Asmuruf, Jayapura.
- Flassy, Don., A.L. (2005). Tri Ganda Logika (Triplefold Logic) Papua-Melanesia: Filsafat Dasar Konstitusi Negara Kebangsaan Konfederasi Papua. Unpublished manuscript held in collection of author.
- Flassy, Don., A.L. (2007a). *Etno Artistik Sentani: Motif-Gaya Rias*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Flassy, Don., A.L. (2007b). *Folk Tales-Ceritera Rakyat Tanah Papua*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Flassy, Don., A.L. (2010). *Pedoman Dasar Papua/Basic Guid Lines of Papua*. Jayapura: Komite Independent Papua.
- Giay, B. (2000). Menuju Papua Baru: Beberapa Pokok Pikiran Sekitar Emansipasi Orang Papua (Towards a New Papua: Some Principles of Mind around the Emancipation of the Papuans), Waena, Deyai.

- Giay, B.G. (1986). Kargoisme di Irian Jaya, (Cargoism in Irian Jaya). The Rebels and Cargoistic Ideas in Irian Jaya, *Catalyst*, 9, 2: 131-146. Jayapura: Region Press.
- Gracia, Paramitha. (2009). Keterkaitan Power, Balance of Power, and Hegemonic Stability. in *Jurnal THI IV*. Diakses dari [[Retrieved from](#)].
- Hayward, P.J. (1996). *Handbook of the Marine Fauna of North-West Europe*, Oxford: University Press.
- Hutchinson, K.J. (1995). Changes in the mean center of balance during balance testing in young adults, *Physical Therapy*, 75(8), 699–706. doi. [10.1093/ptj/75.8.699](#)
- Kamma., F.C. (1972). *Koreri, messianic movements in the Biak-Numfor Culture Area*. KITLV. Translation Series 15 The Hague, Martinus Nihoff.
- Kamma., F.C. (1976, 1977). Dit woderlijke werk (This wodrous work). Oegstegeest: Raad van de Zending der Ned. Hervormde Kerk.
- KIP, Komite Independent Papua. (1999). *Pulau Fajar Ke-emas-an, Sebuah Tawaran Kerjasama Multilateral*. (The Island of Golden Dawn, An Offer of Multilateral Cooperation), Unpublished manuscript.
- KIP, Komite Independent Papua. (1999). *Basic Guidelines State of West Papua, Port Numbay (Jayapura): The Independent Committee West Papua*. Unpublished manuscript.
- KIP-Dok.FRWP.(1998-1999). *Vademecum of Political Struggle and Rendez vous with The West Papua Independence. A Psychosomatic Description*. Port Numbay: The West Papua Independent Committee.
- KIP-Dok.FRWP. (1999). *Tri Ganda Logika Bangsa Papua (Triple Folds Logic of Papua) in Pedoman Dasar Bangsa Papua (Papua Basic Guid Line)*. Port Numbay: The West Papua Independent Committee.
- KIP-Dok.FRWP. (1999). *Pedoman Dasar Bangsa Papua (Basic Guid Line of Papua Nation)*. Port Numbay: The West Papua Independent Committee.
- KIP-Dok.FRWP. (2005). *Konstitusi vis a vis Konstitusi, Constitution vis a vis Constitution: Indonesia 1945 – Papua 1999*. The West Papua Independent Committee.
- KIP-Dok.FRWP. (2012). *Pedoman Dasar Bangsa Papua, Basic Guid Line of Papua Nation*, Port Numbay: The West Papua Independent Committee.
- KIP-Dok.FRWP. (2014). *Kewarganegaraan FRWP, Citizenship of FRWP*. The West Papua Independent Committee.
- KIP-Dok.FRWP. (2015). *Keuangan Negara, Negara Republik Federal Papua Barat, “State Finance” of the Federal Republic of West Papua*. Road Map IV The West Papua Independent Committee.
- KIP-Dok.FRWP. (2015). *Pemerintahan dan Negara, Negara Federalis Papua Barat, Government and State” Federalist State of West Papua*. Road Map V The West Papua Independent Committee.

- Komite Nasional Papua. (1961). *Manifesto Politik Papua, Papua Political Manifesto*, 19 Oktober 1961.
- LIPI. (2011). *Empat Akar Masalah Papua Versi LIPI, Four Roots of the Problems of Papua Version of LIPI*. TEMPOInteraktif.Jakarta, Sabtu, 29 Oktober.
- Lillian, Goldman, Law, Library. (2008). 127 Wall Street. New Haven. CT 06511.
- Lumintang, Onnie., M. (2017). Academic Responsibility of Don Augusthinus Lamaech Flassy's Dissertation. Presented at the promotion of doctorate Don Augusthinus Lamaech Flassy at Cenderawasih University, Jayapura, 28 September 2017.
- Mampioper, A. (1972). *Jayapura Ketika Perang Pacific, Jayapura During the Pacific War*. Tifa, Pusat Katolik Jayapura.
- Mansoben. (1994). Sistem politik tradisional di Irian Jaya, Indonesia, Studi Perbandingan, *Traditional political system in Irian Jaya, Indonesia, Comparative Study*, Leiden, PhD. thesis, University of Leiden.
- Mansoben. (2009). 'The Uniqueness of Papua Cultures'. In Conference on Bio Diversity in Papua, Jayapura.
- Mansoben. (2010). Proceedings of International Conference on Papuan Culture Diversity in The Mosaic of Indonesian Culture. Jayapura, LRP.
- Mearsheimer. (1991). *International Theory: The Three Traditions*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Mearsheimer. (2001). *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, New York, W.W. Norton & Company.
- Meteray, B. (2011). Penyemaian Dua Nasionalisme Papua dan Indonesia di Nederlands Nieuw Guinea pada masa Pemerintahan Belanda, 1925-1962, Jakarta, Disertasi-UI.
- Meteray, B. (2012). *Nasionalisme Ganda Orang Papua*, Jakarta, Kompas.
- Meteray, B. (2013). Penguatan Keindonesiaan di Antara Orang Papua, *Makalah*, pada September di Universitas Indonesia dan Universitas Pancasila.
- Meteray, B. (2014). Kontestasi nasionalisme Papua dan nasionalisme Indonesia, *Makalah*, dalam acara Seminar Akhir Tahun dengan tema: "Integrasi Sosial Ekonomi, Sosial Budaya dan Sosial Politik Papua ke Indonesia: Tinjauan Akademik" LIPI Jakarta 18 Desember.
- Mills., C., Wright. (1956). The Power Elite. *Commentary Magazine*, 14 February. [Retrieved from].
- Miedema, J., Ode, C., & Dam, R.A.C. (1998). Preface. In J. Miedema, C. Ode, & R.A.C. Dam (eds). *Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, Indonesia: Proceedings of the Conference*. Leiden, 13–17 October 1997.
- Morissan, A.C., Farid, W., & Hamid., U. (2012). *Metode Penelitian Survei, Survey Research Methods*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group.
- Modelski, G. (1972). *Principles of World Politics*. Free Press.

- Mohammad, H. (1928). *Indonesia Vrije, Indonesia Merdeka*. Sebagai pleidoi di depan pengadilan Belanda. Den Haag.
- Morgenthau, H. (2012). *The Concept of the Political*. Palgrave Studies in International Relations.
- Muhidin, A.S., & Winata, H. (2016). *Manajemen Kearsipan Archival Management*. Bandung Archival Management, Pustaka Setia.
- Muller, K. (1991). *Irian Jaya, New-Guinea*, Singapore: Periplus Editions Inc.
- Muridan., S.W. (2010). *Papua Road Map: Negotiating the Past, Improving the Present and Securing the Future*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, Code: BM411.
- Nurinwa, K.S., & Hendrowinoto, A. (1988). *Acub Zainal, I Love The Army*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Numberi, F. (2013). *Qua Vadis Papua*. Jakarta: Buana Ilmu Populer.
- Ohff, H.J. (2008). *Empires of enterprise: German and English commercial interests in East New Guinea 1884 to 1914*. PhD University of Adelaide, School of History and Politics.
- Ondawame, O. (2001). *One People, One Soul*. West Papuan Nationalism and the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM)/Free Papua Movement. PhD Dissertation: The ANU.
- Oram, N.D. (1972). Samarai. In *Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea: 1028–1029*. Carlton, Victoria, Melbourne Uni: Press in association with the UPN.
- Parson, T. (1949). *The Structure of social Action*. Glencoes, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Paul, T.V., Wirtz, J.J. & Fortmann, M. (2005). *Great+Power Balance of Power*. United States of America: State University of New York Press.
- Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, (2000). *Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara, Guidelines for State Policy/ GBHN*. Tap MPR No.II/MPR/2000. Jakarta.
- Pemerintah Provinsi Irian Jaya. (2001). *Program Pembangunan Daerah, Regional Development Program/PROPEDA*, Provinsi Papua Tahun 2000/2001–2004/2005. Jayapura.
- Pemerintah Provinsi Irian Jaya. (2001). *Pola Dasar Pembangunan Daerah Provinsi Irian Jaya Tahun (Basic Pattern of Regional Development of the Province Irian Jaya Year) 2000/2001–2004/2005*. Jayapura.
- Petocz, R. (1994). *Mamalia Darat Irian Jaya. Irian Jaya Land Mammals of Irian Jaya Year*. Jakarta: WWF, PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Petocz, R. (1995). *Konservasi Alam dan Pembangunan di Irian Jaya, Nature Conservation and Development in Irian Jaya*. Jakarta: WWF, PT. Gramedia Pustaka.
- Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa, (1945). *Piagam Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa Charter of the United Nations*.
- Pike, K.L. (1967). *Language in relation to a unified theory the structure of human behaviour*. The Hague – Paris, Mouton.

- Pospisil, L. (1958). *Kapauku Papuans and Their Law*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No.54. New Haven, Conn. [\[Retrieved from](#)
- Poulgrain, G. (2015). *The Incubus of intervention: Conflicting Indonesia Strategies of John F. Kennedy and Allen Dulles*. Selangor-Malaysia: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.
- Pouwer, J. (1959). *Loosely Structured Societies in Netherlands New Guinea*. Hollandia: NG Studien.
- Pouwer, J. (1966a). *Types of kinship and descent Kinship and descent in Mimika and Asmat*. Wikipedia.
- Pouwer, J. (1966b). *Toward a configurationally Approach to Society and Culture in New Guinea*. In *Polynesian Society* pp.267-286.
- Pouwer, J. (1966–1976). *Gender, Ritual and Social Formation in West Papua*. New Zealand. Wikipedia.
- Pullan, W. (2000). *Structure*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Ramlan, S. (1992). *Memahami Ilmu Politik, Understanding Politics*. Jakarta: Grasindo.
- Raweyai, Y. (2004). *Mengapa Papua Ingin Merdeka, Why Papua Want Freedom*. Jakarta: Desanti Grafika.
- Ronald J.M., & Hank, N. (1982). *Melanesia, Beyond Diversity*, Volume 2 Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- Rumbiak, Y.P. (2005). *Otonomi khusus bagi Provinsi Papua: menyelesaikan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia dan membangun nasionalisme di daerah krisis integrasi Indonesia, Special autonomy for the Papua Province: resolving human rights violations and building nationalism in the area of the Indonesian integration crisis*. Papua International Education: Political Science.
- Russell, W.A.J.R. (1998). *The Portuguese Empire, 1415-1808: A World on the Move*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Scott, J. (2012). *Teori Sosial: Masalah-Masalah Pokok dalam Sosiologi, Social Theory: Basic Problems in Sociology*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Sharp, A. (1960). *The discovery oif the Pacific Islands*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Silzer, P.J., & Heikkinen, H. (1984). *Index of Irian Jaya languages*. Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Soekarno, A. (1933). *Menuju Indonesia Merdeka, Towards an Independent Indonesia*. [\[Retrieved from\]](#).
- Soekarno, A. (1954). *Di Bawah Bendera Revolusi, Under the Flag of the Revolution*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung.
- Soekarno, A. (2001). *Indonesia menggugat: Pidato pembelaan Bung Karno di muka hakim colonial. Indonesia sued: Speech for the defense of Bung Karno before the colonial judge*, Yayasan Untuk Indonesia.



- Soewarsono, H.H., & Windarsih, A. (2013). *Jejak Kebangsaan: Kaum Nasionalis di Manokwari dan Boven Digoel*, Jakarta, Obor.
- South Pacific Commission. (1947). *South Pacific Commission*. R-Day Canberra.
- Stewart, dan Strathern. (2000). *Warfare and Compensation among the Duna of Papua New Guinea*. (Senri Ethnological Reports, 13.) Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Stokhof., W.,A.,L. (1988). *IRIS-ISIR Project*. Leiden.
- Stoll, R.J. (1989). State Power, World Views, and the Major Powers, in Stoll and Ward (eds). *Power in World Politics*. Lynne Rienner.
- Stott, D.A. (2011). Would an independent West Papua be a failing state?. *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*. 9(37), 48-69.
- Sumule, A. (2003a). Swimming against the current: The drafting of the special autonomy bill for the province of Papua and its passage through the national parliament of Indonesia. *Journal of Pacific History*, 38(3), 353–369.
- Sumule, A. (2003b). *Mencari Jalan Tengah: Otonomi Khusus Provinsi Papua, Looking for a Middle Path: Special Autonomy for the Papua Province*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Syafruddin, E. (1999). *Pidato Prof. Mohammad Yamin, Speech of Prof. Mohammad Yamin*. in Dokumen Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia: Sekretariat Negara-RI.
- Taylor, A.J.P. (1954). *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe 1848–1918*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Timmer, J. (2000a). The return of the kingdom: *Agama* and the millennium among the Imyan of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. *Ethnohistory*, 47(1), 27–63.
- Timmer, J. (2000b). *Living with Intricate Futures: Order and Confusion in Imyan Worlds, Irian Jaya, Indonesia*. PhD Thesis University of Nijmegen, Nijmegen, Centre for Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Nijmegen.
- Timmer, J. (2003). Narratives of Government and Church among the Imyan of Papua / Irian Jaya, Indonesia', State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Discussion Paper 2003/5, Canberra, State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University. [[Retrieved from](#)].
- Timmer, J. (2004a). Melanesia in review: Issues and Events, 2003 – West Papua, *The Contemporary Pacific*, 17(2), 409-419.
- Timmer, J. (2004b). Government, church, and millenarian critique in the Imyan tradition of the religious, Papua/Irian Jaya, Indonesia. In H. Jebens (ed.). *Cargo, Cult & Culture Critique*, (pp.117-136). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Timmer, J. (2005). Melanesia in Review: Issues and Events, 2004 – Papua. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 16(2), 448–456.

- Timmer, J. (2007). Erring decentralization and elite politics in Papua. In H.S. Nordholt & G.v. Klinken (eds). *Renegotiating Boundaries, Local politics in post-Suharto Indonesia*, (pp.459–482). Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Timmer, J. (2009). A brief social and political history of Papua (1962–2004). In A.J. Marshall & B.M. Beehler (eds). *The Ecology of Papua*. Hongkong: Periplus Editions.
- Timmer, J. (2013). The threefold logic of Papua-Melanesia: Constitution-writing in the margins of the Indonesian nation-state. *Oceania Publications*, 83(3), 158–174. doi. [10.1002/ocea.5018](https://doi.org/10.1002/ocea.5018)
- Toje, A. (2010). *The European Union as a Small Power: After the Post-Cold War*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Toynbee, A.J. (1926). *The World After the Peace Conference*, Humphrey Milford and Oxford University Press.
- United Nations. (1969). General Assembly Provisional Verbatim Record of the Eighteen Hundred and Twelfth Meeting, Held at Headquarters, New York, On Wednesday, 19 November, at 10.30 a.m.
- United Nations. (2010). *Index to Proceedings of the General Assembly 2008/2009*, Subject Index. New York, USA: 138.
- Vesna, D. (2002). *When the Stakes are High - Deterrence and Conflict Among Major Powers*. University of Michigan Press.
- Waltz, K.N. (1979, 2010). *Theory of International Politics*, McGraw-Hill.
- Webster, C. (1931). *British Diplomacy 1813–1815*, Selected Documents Dealing with the Reconciliation of Europe.
- White, S. (1989). The Force of Ethnology: Origin and Meaning of Melanesia/Polynesia. *Anthropology Event*, 30(1), 256-287.
- Wight, M. (1966). *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays dalam the Theory of International Politics*. London, G. Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Wight, M. (1991). *International Theory: The Three Traditions*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Wilcox, F.O. (1945). The Yalta voting formula. *The American Political Science Review*, 39(5), 943-956. doi. [10.2307/1950035](https://doi.org/10.2307/1950035)
- Wonda, S. (2007). *Tenggelamnya Rumpun Melanesia, Sinking of the Melanesian Ethnicity*. Yogyakarta: Galang Press.
- Wright, Q. (1942). *A Study of War*. University of Chicago Press.
- Wurm, S.A. (1967). Linguistics and the prehistory of the south-western Pacific. *Journal of Pacific History*, 2, 25-38.
- Wurm, S.A. (1975) *New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study, 1: Papuan languages and the New Guinea Linguistic Scene*. Pacific Linguistics, C.38. Canberra: ANU.
- Wurm, S.A. (1977) *New Guinea area Languages and Language Study, 3 Language, Culture, Society, and the modern world*, Pacific Linguistics, C40. Canberra: ANU.

- Wurm, S.A. (1982). *Papuan Languages of Oceania*. ARS Linguistica 7. Stuttgart: Gunter Narr Verlag Tübingen.
- Wurm., S.A., & Hattori, S. (1981) *Language Atlas of the Pacific area I: New Guinea area, Oceania, Australia*, Stuttgart, Geo Center.

ISBN: 978-605-7736-62-8 (e-Book)

KSP Books 2019

© KSP Books 2019



### Copyrights

Copyright for this Book is retained by the author(s), with first publication rights granted to the Book. This is an open-access Book distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0>).





## Don Augusthinus Lamaech Flassy

Don Augusthinus Lamaech Flassy was born in the village of Seribau District of Teminaboean, West Papua, on August 28, 1947, the son of the couple Simon Tesia and Salomina Flassy. Called Don, Agus is also Thinus, bearing the fam or clan name Flassy since mama Salomina was divorced by father Simon and subsequently under the care of uncle Anton Hendrik Flassy as guardian. He is known as a planner, researcher, author, editor, political activist, artist, cultural activist, teacher, lecturer and also bureaucrat. In his last position, he was the Secretary of the BAPPEDA of Irian Jaya Province 1997-2001. He had won Structural Position of the Main Trustee and Functional Position of the Expert Researcher of Other Social Sciences, Stage IV/e. Now, even though he has retired as a civil servant, he still has a cool position as Secretary of the Papua Institute for Science and Technology (LIPTTEK). Since November 2017, the husband of Yuliana Christivora Welikin, SE., MM, Father of two sons (Don Rodrigo Athur Douglas Flassy, S. Sos. And Don Steven Patrick Flassy) and one daughter (Vanda Oliva Angela Flassy) has officially become Doctor in social Sciences. He defended his dissertation entitled: Peta Jalan Balik Bangsa Papua di Negeri Papua Bagian Barat: "Sebuah Keputusan Damai Pemulihan Jati Diri (The Roadmap to the Revival of the Papuan Nation in West Papua: "A Peaceful Decision on the Restoration of the Self")" in the Cenderawasih University Postgraduate of Doctor Social Sciences, Jayapura. Education was starting from Elementary School in SR Seribau (Class I to III) 1955, Dutch Language Connection School at JVVVS (Class IV to VI) 1957 in Teminaboean, continuing Junior High School 1963 in ODO Fak-Fak, Senior High School 1967 in SPG Merauke and Semi-Academic 1970 in PGSLP Sukarnapura. Before becoming a doctor, Don Flassy studied at the Indonesian Language and Literature Department, FKSS-IKIP, Yogyakarta (graduated baccalaureate in 1973 and undergraduate in 1979) continue to Advance education at Department of Southeast Asia and Oceania, Faculteit der Letteren Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, Netherlands (obtained an M.A. degree in 1992). As a writer, he has produced many books and will continue to write.

KSP Books

e-ISBN

978-605-7736-62-8

© KSP Books 2019