

RADICALISATION AND DIALOGUE IN PAPUA

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RADICALISATION AND DIALOGUE IN PAPUA

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Indonesia's easternmost province of Papua saw an upsurge in political violence in 2009, continuing into 2010. One factor was the increased activity of militant activists from the central highlands, many of them members of the West Papua National Committee (Komite Nasional Papua Barat, KNPB). They decided there was no longer any hope of achieving their main objective – a referendum on independence – through peaceful means, and led some to advocate violence and in some cases directly participate in violent acts. Their tactics are decried by many Papuans, but their message resonates widely, and the frustrations they articulate are real. A dialogue between Papuan leaders and central government officials, if carefully prepared, offers the possibility of addressing some longstanding grievances, without calling Indonesian sovereignty into question.

The KNPB had its origins in the growth of pro-independence student activism in Papua following the fall of Soeharto in 1998. As various coalitions formed and fissured, KNPB emerged as a group of mostly university-educated students and ex-students who adopted a militant left-wing ideology and saw themselves as revolutionaries, fighting the Indonesian state and the giant Freeport copper and gold mine near Timika. There were two main consequences to their increased militancy. They moved closer to their highland counterparts in the guerrilla army of the Free Papua Movement (Tentara Pembebasan Nasional/Organisasi Papua Merdeka, TPN/OPM) and they increasingly saw that the only hope of achieving their cause lay in showing the world that Papua was in crisis – and that meant more visible manifestations of conflict.

Violence rose in 2009 in part because it was an election year, and the polls provided a focus for action. It was also because activities abroad – particularly the establishment in October 2008 of a then tiny group called International Parliamentarians for West Papua (IPWP) – encouraged the militant activists to believe that more international support could change the political dynamics at home. Several violent incidents in the provincial capital Jayapura and the university suburb of Abepura in April, around the time of legislative elections, are directly attributable to the KNPB. Its members may also have helped spur violence in the highland district of Puncak Jaya, through

communication and coordination with the local TPN/OPM commander, Goliat Tabuni.

In other areas where violence took place, the KNPB either claimed responsibility when it apparently had no direct role, as in the occupation of an airstrip in the village of Kapeso in Mamberamo Raya. The most dramatic violence in Papua over the last eight months has been the series of shootings along Freeport's main mining road linking the towns of Timika and Tembagapura, aimed at either Freeport vehicles or those of the paramilitary police, Brimob. Many inside and outside Papua believe the security forces themselves are responsible as a way of increasing their numbers and therefore their rent-seeking opportunities in Timika. Crisis Group believes there is a stronger case to be made for the involvement of one or more TPN/OPM commands, because of statements claiming responsibility for some but not all of the attacks and various witness testimonies. But the possibility remains that multiple parties were involved, in what the Papuans refer to as “one plate, two spoons”.

The violence, combined with the activities of the KNPB, has succeeded in raising the profile of Papua both at home and abroad, and has increased interest in the possibility of dialogue between Papuan leaders and Jakarta on a range of issues aimed at resolving the conflict. The path toward dialogue is full of pitfalls, and there are potential spoilers and much distrust on both sides. Many in the central government believe that any discussion of non-economic issues such as greater autonomy or historical grievances will only fuel the push for independence and obscure the positive changes taking place. Not only has there been “Papuanisation” of local government and a commitment to accelerated development, they argue, but the police have gradually replaced the military as the front line of response to separatist activity.

Some Papuan activists believe that dialogue should only take place with international mediation and with the political endgame left open, rather than accepting autonomy and not independence as final. Even some of those who accept Indonesian sovereignty as a given believe that Jakarta has a history of promising but not delivering, and that if it does agree to dialogue, it will be as a public rela-

tions effort without any intention of changing the status quo. But the radicalisation of the KNPB is proof of the dangers of leaving political grievances to fester. Moreover, though many of the Papuan elite disagree with its tactics, the KNPB's message resonates more widely than its small numbers would suggest.

A joint initiative of Papuan intellectuals and researchers at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, LIPI) to outline a road map that would form the basis of a dialogue between the two sides is potentially the most fruitful option on the table to end the conflict. If it is to succeed, it will require acknowledgment that the solution for Papua is more than just economic development, though that is critically important. It will also need public backing from Indonesia's president, Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

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RADICALISATION AND DIALOGUE IN PAPUA

I. INTRODUCTION

The upsurge of violence in Indonesia's easternmost province of Papua beginning in 2009 is attributable in part to the radicalisation of a group of Papuan student and ex-student activists from the central highlands, and its improved coordination with highland-based commanders of the National Liberation Army of the Free Papua Movement (Tentara Pembebasan Nasional/Organisasi Papua Merdeka, TPN/OPM).¹

The radicalisation stems from a sense that peaceful methods have brought no political dividends in terms of movement toward the review of the 1969 UN-supervised Act of Free Choice that brought Papua into the Indonesian republic; that international support is critical if a review is to take place; and that the international community will only pay attention if Papua is in crisis, with convincing evidence of state repression and Papuan resistance.² After a period of relative calm in 2007 and early 2008, a

militant group of highlanders associated with the West Papua National Committee (Komite Nasional Papua Barat, KNPB) decided its only hope of change lay in stirring things up.³

This group may be responsible for some of the incidents in and around the provincial capital Jayapura and some of the violence around the 2009 elections. Its dissemination of information on the shootings in 2009 and 2010 in the area of the giant Freeport copper and gold mine is one of the main indications pointing to the involvement of the late Kelly Kwalik's TPN/OPM unit rather than or perhaps in addition to members of the Indonesian military.

The radical highlanders have had a disproportionate impact in shaping outside perceptions of Papua, particularly given the Indonesian government's restrictions on access. In terms of their own stated goals, they have been strikingly unsuccessful, either in organising mass demonstrations inside Papua or in provoking a state response serious enough to change domestic or international political dynamics. If they have failed to push Papua toward crisis, however, they have been effective in their sophisticated use of the internet and communication technologies, and the sometimes poorly targeted arrests by police in response to their activities has aided their cause.

Papua's higher profile over the last two years has helped increase momentum for a dialogue between the central government and Papuan representatives, based on a "road map" developed by researchers at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, LIPI) and a parallel concept put forward by Papuan intellectual Neles Tebay. It is the most creative and potentially fruitful initiative in years, and it comes at a time when further radicalisation, leading to more violence, is a very real possibility. The road map starts from the premise that Papuan grievances over discrimination, interpretations of history and identity, injustice and marginalisation have to be addressed but within the context of increased autonomy, not independence.

¹For related Crisis Group reporting, see Crisis Group Asia Report N°154, *Indonesia: Communal Tension in Papua*, 16 June 2008; Crisis Group Asia Briefings N°66, *Indonesian Papua: A Local Perspective on the Conflict*, 19 July 2007; N° 53, *Papua: Answers to Frequently Asked Questions*, 5 September 2006; N°47, *Papua: The Dangers of Shutting Down Dialogue*, 23 March 2006; N°24, *Dividing Papua: How Not To Do It*, 9 April 2003; and Crisis Group Asia Reports N°39, *Indonesia: Resources and Conflict in Papua*, 13 September 2002; and N°23, *Ending Repression in Irian Jaya*, 20 September 2001. See Appendix A for a map of the area.

²Papua until 1963 had been under Dutch colonial administration and was known as Dutch New Guinea, later West New Guinea (after Indonesia took control it was successively known as West Irian; Irian Jaya, during most of the Soeharto years; and finally Papua, after 2000). The Dutch had promised the territory independence but bowed to U.S. pressure and in 1963 ceded control to Indonesia, pending an act of self-determination. In April 1969 the Indonesian government hand-picked 1,022 Papuan leaders to vote in a UN-sponsored plebiscite through eight regional councils (on behalf of some 700,000 people) under Indonesian military supervision – and widespread intimidation – in what was termed the "Act of Free Choice" on Papua's future. Unsurprisingly, they voted unanimously in favour of integration with Indonesia. Many Papuans question the legitimacy of that exercise, as did many diplomatic observers at the time. See Crisis Group Briefing, *Papua: Answers to Frequently Asked Questions*, op. cit., p. 3.

³The area called the central highlands consists of the districts in and around the mountain chain running through central Papua province, including Jayawijaya, Puncak Jaya, Mimika, Tolikara, Yahukimo, Pegunungan Bintang and Paniai.

The highland radicals generally reject the notion of dialogue without international mediation, and precisely because their goal is to internationalise the Papuan problem, the Indonesian government is unlikely to support any third-party involvement. Proponents of dialogue are hopeful, however, of bringing at least some of the radicals on board, and if a few are willing to give peaceful methods another chance, the others may be marginalised – but only if the Indonesian government is serious about finding solutions that go beyond economic development.

II. RADICALISATION OF THE PAPUAN STUDENT MOVEMENT

To understand the emergence of the highland radicals, it is important to look at how the student movement in Papua evolved after 1998. The following history is necessarily condensed, but it charts the key points in the evolution of a political strategy that moved from promoting Papua as a “zone of peace” to portraying it as a “zone of emergency” and in urgent need of international attention.

A. DEVELOPMENTS AFTER SOEHARTO’S FALL

Ten days after President Soeharto resigned in May 1998, a group of Papuan students gathered in Jakarta to discuss how to take the Papuan struggle for self-determination forward. They formed the Papuan Student Alliance (Aliansi Mahasiswa Papua, AMP) with Demianus Wanimbo, from Bokondini, Tolikara in the central highlands, as head.⁴ From the outset, highlanders, many of them ethnic Dani, Moni and Mee, dominated the movement, in part because of the particularly grim history of human rights violations there in the late 1970s. Buchtar Tabuni, now in prison, said that even as a child, he was urged to avenge the deaths of his relatives.

When I was born, my grandfather planted two trees by the grave of my uncle who was killed by the TNI [Tentara Nasional Indonesia, the Indonesian military], one at his head, one at his feet. He said, “If this child can take revenge, then these trees will flourish.” The trees are still growing today.⁵

Just over a month after AMP was formed, on 2 July 1998, a large pro-independence demonstration took place in Biak, organised by Filep Karma, a local civil servant.⁶ In a violent clash, about a dozen police were wounded, three critically. Then after a tense stand-off, the military moved in on 6 July and opened fire. The full death toll was never known as many bodies were loaded on trucks and apparently dumped.⁷ AMP rallied Papuan students in universities across Indonesia to protest what became known as “Bloody Biak” – and to call for independence.

⁴The losing candidate was Jimmy Ijie from Manokwari who since has become speaker of the provincial parliament of West Papua and one of the most ardent defenders of the Indonesian state.

⁵Crisis Group interview, Buchtar Tabuni, Abepura Prison, 20 January 2010.

⁶See Octovianus Mote and Danilyn Rutherford, “From Irian Jaya to Papua: The Limits of Primordialism in Indonesia’s Troubled East”, *Indonesia*, vol. 72 (October 2001), pp. 115-140.

⁷“Indonesia: Human Rights and Pro-Independence Actions in Irian Jaya”, Human Rights Watch, 1 December 1998.

But the movement quickly began to fracture along several fault lines, one of which was highlanders versus activists from coastal areas such as Serui, Sorong and Biak. In February 1999, the coastal groups broke off and formed the Independent Network for Morning Star Actions (Jaringan Independen untuk Aksi Kejora, Jiajora) and later, the National Papuan Student Front (Front Nasional Mahasiswa Papua, FNMP).⁸ Most of the leaders of the rump AMP were highlanders, with a few exceptions like Merauke-born Hans Gebze, then a student in Semarang, and it focused on “historical rectification” – getting international recognition of the shortcomings of the 1969 Act of Free Choice so that the UN would revoke its acknowledgment of Papua’s integration with Indonesia.⁹

From the beginning, the highland students sought to establish good communication with the TPN/OPM. Their efforts bore fruit in 2000, when Demianus Wanimbo met with Titus Murib, then a leading OPM commander, in Kali Kopi, Timika. They agreed on closer ties between the two movements, on the understanding that the TPN/OPM would leave the political work to the students and the students would leave the armed struggle to the OPM.¹⁰

From 2000 to 2004, AMP considered itself the political wing of the TPN/OPM, a relationship illustrated in June 2001 when Titus Murib’s men took two Belgian filmmakers hostage. In a letter to then President Abdurrahman Wahid, Titus asked that AMP be appointed mediator and said the OPM had given it a full mandate to undertake the political struggle for Papuan independence.¹¹

There was never any real coordination. The only tangible results of the partnership were AMP’s establishment in 2003 of the Voice of Papua Independence news agency (Suara Papua Merdeka, SPMNews), which reported on OPM activities, and a few visits by AMP leaders to the

camps of OPM leaders.¹² But the OPM seal of approval proved to be more a liability than an asset for AMP and made other student organisations wary of joining forces for fear of being tainted by association.

At the same time it was building links to the OPM, AMP was also trying to build its membership, and for help in both ideological training and recruitment, it turned to the young left-wing activists of the Jakarta-based Democratic People’s Party (Partai Rakyat Demokratik, PRD).¹³ Buchtar Tabuni, then a student in Makassar, was one of the many AMP leaders sent for PRD training.¹⁴ The impact of the training was quickly evident in student statements, with a greater emphasis than before on fighting capitalism, neo-colonialism, neo-liberalism and militarism.¹⁵

In August 2004, an attack by OPM leader Goliat Tabuni led to military operations for the next several months around Mulia, Puncak Jaya that caused extensive displacement and damage to local infrastructure. AMP leaders from the highlands who wanted more attention to the effects of the operations realised they needed a united front with students from the coastal areas, but many of the latter saw AMP as too closely linked to the TPN/OPM.¹⁶ As a result, in October 2004, AMP joined with the Komite Solidaritas Papua to form the more broadly-based Papuan Street Parliament (Parlemen Jalanan Rakyat Papua, Parjal), with Jayapura-based highlander Jeffry Pagawak as head.¹⁷

⁸The *Bintang Kejora* or Morning Star flag is the main symbol of Papuan independence. It was first raised on 1 December 1961 as the Dutch territory of West New Guinea prepared for independence; that date has since been celebrated by Papuan activists. The Indonesian government under Soeharto considered raising the Morning Star flag an act of rebellion. For a brief period in 2000, President Abdurrahman Wahid allowed the flag to fly as long as it was under the Indonesian flag. It was quickly banned again, however, and in 2007, a new regulation, No.77/2007, specifically prohibits any regional flag that resembles the symbol of separatist organisations.

⁹Crisis Group interview, Demianus Wanimbo, Jayapura, January 2010. Hans Gebze’s mother comes from Wamena, so he is part highlander.

¹⁰Crisis Group interview, Demianus Wanimbo, Jayapura, 21 January 2010.

¹¹The full story of this incident can be found in “OPM Hostages”, *Alert* (publication of the Southeast Asian Press Alliance, SEAPA), July 2001 and “Risky Business”, *Alert*, August 2001.

¹²SMP News was not the only media initiative of AMP but it lasted the longest, about four years.

¹³The PRD was launched in 1994 as a radical populist organisation opposed to Soeharto that saw workers as having the potential to be “the vanguard in seizing and opening real democratic-liberal space”. Quoted in Edward Aspinall, *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance and Regime Change in Indonesia* (Stanford, 2005), p. 131.

¹⁴Crisis Group interview, Buchtar Tabuni, Abepura Prison, 20 January 2010.

¹⁵See for example the press statement of AMP Malang on 6 September 2004, where they refer to the TNI as the running dog of international capitalism.

¹⁶Crisis Group interview, Demianus Wanimbo, Jayapura, 21 January 2010.

¹⁷Around the same time, highland students held their first formal congress in Timika from 11 to 15 October, with funding from the local government. They agreed to form the Association of Papuan Central Highland Students Across Indonesia (Asosiasi Mahasiswa Pegunungan Tengah Papua Se-Indonesia, AMPTPI), which then opened offices in most of the cities in Indonesia where Papuan students were based. While there was significant overlap between AMPTPI and AMP, the latter was focused on independence whereas AMPTPI was more focused on local issues, such as corruption, illegal logging and creation of new administrative units.

On 1 December 2004, Jeffry joined several other leaders, including Filep Karma, the man who had organised the 1998 Biak protest and who was now identified with a body called the West Papua National Authority, and Yusak Pakage, a highlander from Komite Solidaritas Papua, in a demonstration to commemorate the anniversary of Papuan independence.¹⁸ Police broke up the protest, and Karma and Pakage were arrested and sentenced in May 2005 to fifteen and ten years in prison, respectively. The harsh sentences drew more protests.

Throughout 2005, AMP and the Street Parliament staged a series of protests against the “special autonomy” granted under a 2001 law.¹⁹ On 12 August, they took part in the biggest demonstration since 2000 in Jayapura, organised by the Papuan Customary Council (Dewan Adat Papua, DAP) on Indigenous Peoples Day, with thousands of people flooding into the city. Its success inspired AMP and Street Parliament leaders to press for a broader front in the interest of greater mass mobilisation. In September 2005, the new coalition, called Front Pepera came into being, with Hans Gebze of AMP-Semarang as head and Selvius Bobi of AMP-Jayapura as secretary general.²⁰

Towards the end of November 2005, galvanised by the long-awaited publication of a book by Dutch historian P.J. Drooglever that examined the shortcomings of the Act of Free Choice, Front Pepera launched several actions aimed at trying to persuade the international community to reopen the issue of Papuan integration with Indonesia. They warned that if their demands were not

met, they would launch a strike across Papua that would bring schools, government and all economic activities to a halt.²¹

B. FOCUS ON FREEPORT

The strike never materialised, and Front Pepera shifted its attention to the giant Freeport mine.²² It began the year protesting the arrest in January 2006 of eight Papuans, including Antonius Wamang, who were accused of the fatal shooting of Freeport workers in August 2002. Then on 21 February 2006, security forces clashed with illegal gold panners around Mile 72-74 of the main road linking the mine with the town of Timika. Three men were shot, and angry villagers blocked the road, forcing the mine to stop work for several days.

The mine re-opened on 25 February but a new coalition of activist groups, Solidarity of the Papuan People to Shut Freeport (Solidaritas Rakyat Papua Untuk Tutup Freeport), was established to lobby for a special session of the Papuan provincial parliament that would act to close the mine. The coalition broke down as groups squabbled about how soon the special session should take place.²³ Front Pepera, the Manokwari-based group Sonamapa and the Street Parliament all withdrew and formed a new group, International Solidarity to Shut Freeport, led by Jeffry Pagawak. On 27 February, as Jeffry and his followers staged a roadblock outside Timika by Mile 62 of the mining road, Front Pepera held a demonstration in front of Freeport’s offices in Jakarta. Over the next several days, several acts of vandalism took place and it was not until mid-March that the roadblock was actually dispersed. Jeffry was put on the police wanted list.²⁴

On 15 March, the action moved to Abepura, the suburb of Jayapura where Cenderawasih University is located. Front Pepera and the Street Parliament blocked the road in front of the campus, calling for Freeport’s closure. Led by Selvius Bobi of Front Pepera, the protest was broken up by police the next day and Selvius was arrested, rais-

¹⁸ Papuans argue that as part of the decolonisation process from the Netherlands, the territory of Western New Guinea became independent on 1 December 1961.

¹⁹ Law 21/2001 on Special Autonomy for Papua was supposed to give Papuans more power to manage their own affairs and a greater share of locally-raised revenues. Many provisions were implemented slowly, poorly or not at all, eroding whatever good will was generated by the law. Jakarta lost most of what little credibility remained in 2003, when President Megawati Soekarnoputri divided Papua into two – Papua and West Papua provinces – without going through the procedures mandated by the 2001 law. Many Papuans saw the election of President Yudhoyono as a chance to give autonomy a new start, but the new administration was very slow in turning attention to Papua. In May 2007, a presidential instruction on accelerated development for Papua and West Papua, Inpres 5/2007, was finally issued

²⁰ Organisational members included AMP, Dewan Musyawarah Masyarakat Koteka (DeMMAK), Parlemen Jalanan Rakyat Papua, Asosiasi Mahasiswa Pegunungan Tengah Papua se-Indonesia (AMPTPI), Front Nasional Mahasiswa Papua, Solidaritas Mahasiswa dan Pemuda Papua-Bali, Koalisi Perjuangan Hak-Hak Azasi Sipil Rakyat Papua and others. See report, “Aksi-Aksi Menentang Freeport: Laporan Monitoring dan Investigasi”, Persatuan Bantuan Hukum dan HAM Indonesia (PBHI), Jakarta, May 2006.

²¹ “Mari Membangun Persatuan Dalam Upaya Mewujudkan Mogok Sipil Nasional!”, press release, Front Pepera Papua Barat, 25 November 2005.

²² Freeport’s mining operations began in 1972 at the Ertzberg mine. After this site had been more or less depleted, an even more lucrative deposit was identified at the nearby Grasberg site in 1988 and began producing in 1990. The Grasberg mine has the world’s largest known recoverable copper deposit and largest gold deposit (www.fcx.com/operations/grascomplx.htm).

²³ In dispute was whether the special session should take place before or after the election for governor of Papua province. Front Pepera and the more militant groups wanted it held immediately; others believed it should be held only after the election.

²⁴ “Aksi-Aksi Menentang Freeport”, PBHI, op. cit.

ing tensions further. Violent clashes broke out, resulting in three police and a military intelligence officer being beaten and stabbed to death; a fourth police officer died of his injuries later in the week. Police pursued the rioters into their dorms and arrested dozens. They also named Hans Gebze of Front Pepera and Jeffry Pagawak of the Street Parliament as the ringleaders.

On 3 September, apparently in an act of solidarity with the students trying to force the mine closure, men linked to Goliat Tabuni and Titus Murib opened fire on a Toyota vehicle used by Freeport security's Rapid Response Team around Mile 69 of the mining road.²⁵

In the aftermath of the Abepura riots, some of the student activists fled abroad or into the hills. Jeffry joined Titus Murib and helped organise the TPN/OPM Congress in Kuyawage in October 2006 where Titus was named "supreme commander" of the TPN/OPM – a somewhat misleading designation given the highly decentralised nature of the organisation (and one that he no longer holds). On 1 December 2006, Jeffry appeared in a video beside Titus, reading a statement that said the OPM would never lay down its arms until Papua was independent and saying the only route to independence was through a referendum.²⁶

C. FORMATION OF THE KNPB

The highlander student movement was less visible in 2007 and few acts of violence were reported.²⁷ Front Pepera had faded from view and many of its leaders were in hiding. The independence movement seemed to have lost ground as other issues, from local elections to the creation of new administrative districts, took prominence. By 2008, the more radical highlanders, led by Benny Wenda in Oxford and Victor Yeimo, Buchtar Tabuni and others in Papua, had already decided that the strategy to

make Papua a "peace zone" had failed.²⁸ It was clear to them that the only route to independence lay through international diplomacy to persuade the United Nations to reject the 1969 Act of Free Choice and thus secure a legal basis for a new referendum. But as long as Papua was relatively quiet, there was no pressure to change the political status quo. The international community had to see that Papua was in crisis.

Benny Wenda was in a position to play a key role. The Wamena-born activist had been head of the pro-independence Koteka Tribal Assembly (Dewan Musyawarah Masyarakat Koteka, Demmak), established around 2000 and later one of the groups represented in Front Pepera. On 8 June 2002, he was arrested and charged with having masterminded the attack on 7 December 2000 on a police station in Abepura in which two policemen and a guard were killed. In an all-too-frequent display of excessive force in retaliation, Brimob paramilitary police raided dormitories of highland students near the university, arresting close to 100 and savagely beating dozens. The Ninmin Dormitory in particular, which housed the office of the militant National Committee of West Papua Youth (Komite Nasional Pemuda Papua Barat) came in for particular assault. In the end, one student was shot and killed, two later died from the beatings inflicted and "Bloody Abepura" became a watchword for post-Soeharto human rights abuse.²⁹ Almost a decade later, in April 2009, the same police station would come under attack and the same dormitory would be raided in response – and Benny Wenda's influence would be a factor.

At the same time he was charged with organising the 2000 attack, Benny was also accused of taking part shortly before his arrest in a clandestine meeting between TPN/OPM members and some 40 student activists in which new attacks on police stations were planned, and of carrying a false passport.³⁰ He claimed innocence, saying he was in Papua New Guinea at the time,

²⁵ Newspaper accounts at the time said the perpetrators were unknown, but one of Tabuni's men confirmed OPM involvement in a Crisis Group interview, January 2010. The pro-independence SPM News also acknowledged its role in a headline "TPN/OPM attacks Freeport, two Indonesian policemen successfully killed", ["TPN/OPM Serang Freeport, Dua Polisi Indonesia Berhasil Dibunuh"], 3 September 2006. This was followed by a headline the next day, "Pursued by the TPN/OPM, PT Freeport-Rio Tinto readies a helicopter for the military and police", ["Kejar TPN/OPM, PT Freeport-Rio Tinto Sediakan Helikopter Untuk TNI/Polri"], 4 September 2006.

²⁶ The video is in Crisis Group's possession.

²⁷ The 2007 State Department Human Rights Report on Indonesia records a few flag-raisers arrested; the arrest of an activist for dissemination of an SMS message; and the confiscation by the local public prosecutor of a book alleging genocide, but no use of violence by security forces.

²⁸ The "peace zone" was a non-violent strategy pioneered by the Justice and Peace Office of the Jayapura diocese of the Catholic Church. It aimed to free Papuans from fear and feelings of inferiority brought about by discrimination and to restore their dignity as a people. See "Membangun Budaya Damai Menuju Papua Tanah Damai", Sekretariat Keadilan dan Perdamaian, Jayapura, 19 November 2002. Victor Yeimo had been a student in Surabaya who became a leader of AMP and Front Pepera. Buchtar Tabuni had studied at the Industrial Technology Academy in Makassar. He was secretary-general of a more moderate wing of AMP called AMPTPI.

²⁹ For a full account of the incident, see "Violence and Political Impasse in Papua", Human Rights Watch, July 2001, p. 15.

³⁰ "Kronologis Peristiwa Seputar Penangkapan Ketua Dewan Musyawarah Masyarakat Koteka (Demmak) Atas Nama Sdr. Benny Wenda, S.Sos", Diary of OPM (www.westpapua.net/news/02/06/220602-bwenda.htm), 23 June 2002.

although that would not have precluded him playing an organising role. But before the trial concluded, he escaped from Abepura prison and made his way to London, where he received political asylum.

He eventually settled in Oxford where he set up the Free West Papua Campaign together with British activist Richard Samuelson, and maintained active ties with supporters of independence inside and outside Papua. Together with Samuelson, he was the driving force behind the establishment of a group called International Parliamentarians for West Papua (IPWP) that was officially launched on 15 October 2008. Wenda and his supporters realised that if the key to independence was UN intervention, support from a few Pacific island nations like Vanuatu was not enough. Mobilising parliamentary support in powerful countries was critical, and the model was clear. In a letter to supporters, Samuelson wrote, “a decade ago the International Parliamentarians for East Timor group played a very significant part in bringing East Timor to international attention. We very much hope that IPWP will do the same for West Papua”.³¹

The official date of IPWP’s launching was announced on pro-independence websites well in advance. While Wenda had to remind his euphoric followers that Papua was not going to become independent on 15 October, he portrayed IPWP as a major step forward in the internationalisation of the Papua issue.³² The fact that only two UK parliamentarians joined, one of them from the district where Wenda lived, was immaterial both to him and his followers – and to the Indonesian government, which was deeply concerned about its impact at home.

Meanwhile, Wenda’s colleagues in Papua, including Buchtar Tabuni and Victor Yeimo, set up IPWP-West Papua and on 16 October organised a demonstration to which over 300 people came, according to police estimates; activists put the numbers at well over 1,000.³³

³¹ Quoted in “15 Oktober Bukan Moment Kemerdekaan Papua Barat”, West Papua Today (<http://wptoday.wordpress.com>), 8 October 2008. For further analysis of IPWP see Muridan S. Widjojo, “Benny Wenda, IPWP dan sikap pemerintah Inggris”, Pusat Penelitian Politik, LIPI Center for Political Studies (www.politik.lipi.go.id), 1 November 2008.

³² Ibid.

³³ The flyers had called for the demonstration to take place in front of the provincial parliament but police had blocked the road, so one group of about 150 gathered in front of Cenderawasih University at 9am but was broken up by police. They moved to a place called Expo Waena, where they were joined by another group of about the same size coming from Sentani. Sebby Sambon, one of those arrested, said there were about 400 from the university and over 1,000 at Expo Waena. Testimony of Sebby Sambon, 17 December 2008 in case dossier of Sebby Sambon, No.Pol. BP/03/1/2009/Dit Reskrim.

Police had obtained flyers distributed beforehand calling for peaceful action in support of the IPWP and threatened to arrest those who took part. They nevertheless acknowledged afterwards that there was no violence or threat of violence by the demonstrators.³⁴ Buchtar and Victor organised another demonstration on 20 October, but this time the police broke it up and took both men and several others into custody; they were released later the same day.

The organisers were not discouraged. They understood that they were only going to get support if there was evidence of an “awakening” within Papua. The international community had been deceived by the “peace zone” campaign to think that everything was fine. The highland leaders decided to declare Papua an “emergency zone” and at the same time call for a boycott of the 2009 elections.³⁵ Their rationale was as follows:

Every successful election has been used as proof of the Papuans’ loyalty toward Indonesia and their desire to be colonised for another five years. [...]

Now international support in the form of the launching of IPWP is an indication that even if the Act of Free Choice was once recognised by the international community, they nevertheless doubt its validity because of the mounting reports of violations and intimidation when it was conducted. Papuans must understand that it is not enough to undertake support actions and raise the Morning Star flag when IPWP is launched, but they must also find ways to threaten Indonesian legitimacy in Papua, if not to eradicate it completely. One targeted way of doing this that is now under discussion among Papuan activists is to boycott the 2009 elections. [...]

It would be strange indeed and would become a matter of public ridicule if IPWP works as hard as possible to convince the rest of the planet that West Papua has been snatched by Indonesia and that its people have the right to a referendum and a new act of self-determination, while at the same time ... elections are carried out successfully in Papua.³⁶

³⁴ Testimony of Yuvenalis Takamully in case dossier of Buchtar Tabuni, No.Pol. BP/50/XII/2008/Dit Reskrim. One witness did say that tensions rose when trucks driven by KNPB’s security detail, called Penjaga Tanah Papua or PETAPA, confronted the police blockade and revved their motors as if suggesting they would run the blockade. Tensions were defused by some of the Papuan leaders present.

³⁵ “KNPB Surat Pemberitahuan Soal Rencana Perayaan 1 Desember 2008”, press release, KNPB, 20 November 2008.

³⁶ “Dukungan Parlemen Internasional Harus Disambut Dengan Boikot Pemilu 2009!”, Pamphlet No. 8, *Kontak Papua*, 16 October 2008.

Many highland activists, including those from the more moderate Association of Papuan Central Highland Students Across Indonesia (Asosiasi Mahasiswa Pegunungan Tengah Papua Se-Indonesia, AMPTPI), rejected the appeal, however, and exhorted their colleagues to take part as candidates – and several won seats in the provincial and *kabupaten* legislatures.³⁷

In November 2008, Buchtar Tabuni, Victor Yeimo and others formed another coalition, the West Papuan People's National Action Committee (Komite Aksi Nasional Rakyat Papua Barat, KANRPB) with a view toward carrying out the new political program – election boycott and “emergency zone” campaign. About the same time, on 19 November, the same men set up an organising committee to coordinate what they hoped would be the largest demonstration in Papuan history on 1 December, the day celebrated by Papuan activists as their independence day. The committee was called the West Papua National Committee (Komite Nasional Papua Barat, KNPB), with Buchtar Tabuni as head. With very little time, they tried to put together a structure that could mobilise the Papuan population not just for 1 December 2008 but for future actions as well, and they exhorted people to take to the streets to show the international community that Papua was in crisis.³⁸ They also mounted a largely unsuccessful effort to get Papuan students to return to Papua from universities on Java and elsewhere to take part in the campaigns.³⁹

From Oxford, Benny Wenda took charge of mobilising independence supporters abroad to mount demonstrations on 1 December in front of Indonesian embassies in their respective countries. As the day approached, Benny confidently predicted that in Papua, hundreds of thousands would turn out.⁴⁰

But as it turned out, the numbers were disappointing. In front of about 1,000 people, Buchtar and his colleagues read a “Declaration of the Papuan People”. Saying that Papuans were a separate nation of Melanesians rather than Malays like Indonesia, it urged the governments of Indonesia, the U.S., Netherlands, Australia, Britain and the UN to recognise that Papua had been independent from 1 December 1961 and the Act of Free Choice was illegal.⁴¹ It said West Papua was facing an emergency “because the people of West Papua face a serious threat of annihilation”. That night, police issued a warrant for Buchtar Tabuni's arrest and took him into custody two days later on charges of rebellion and incitement – for the 16 October demonstration. Sebyy Sambon, another participant in the protest, was arrested on 17 December but later released on a technicality.⁴² Buchtar was eventually sentenced to three years in prison for incitement. Little did Indonesian authorities realise that among the pro-independence advocates, these were the moderates, and their arrest paved the way for a more radical leadership.

³⁷ A *kabupaten* is an administrative unit below a province and is headed by a *bupati*. It used to be translated “regency” but is now more commonly referred to as “district”. In Papua, however, *distrik* refers to the unit below a *kabupaten* that elsewhere in Indonesia is called *kecamatan*. To avoid confusion, the term *kabupaten* and *distrik* will be used throughout this report.

³⁸ Crisis Group interviews, student activists, Jayapura, January 2010.

³⁹ Their goal was to get 573 students back, but only a few dozen returned. Some were reportedly worried about the planned actions turning violent, like “Bloody Abepura”. One group checked with Mathias Wenda, an OPM leader, who knew nothing about the call to students to return. Crisis Group communication via email with Jayapura-based activist involved in planning the “exodus”, January 2010.

⁴⁰ “Seruan Demonstrasi Terbesar Dalam Sejarah Papua”, The Great Benny Wenda (<http://thegreatwenda.wordpress.com>), 25 November 2009. The other groups he said would join were the Dewan Adat Papua, KNPB, Otoritas Nasional Papua Barat, Aliansi

Mahasiswa Pegunungan Tengah Papua Indonesia, West Papua National Authority and International Lawyers for West Papua.

⁴¹ “Deklarasi dan Kibarkan Bendera dari Kata Hatiku”, Andawat Papua, (<http://andawat-papua.blogspot.com>), 1 December 2008.

⁴² Sebyy Sambon maintained throughout that he had no role in organising the demonstration but because of his language skills, he was asked to read out a statement in English from the IPWP. He also served as security coordinator for the demonstration, where he said his main role was to try and prevent any clashes between demonstrators and security forces. During his interrogation by police he said that Papua did not have to separate from Indonesia as long as there could be “dialogue with dignity” between the two sides and justice for human rights violations. When confronted with a video in which he refers to himself as part of the “younger generation struggling for independence” he said “independence” could have many meanings, including full freedom of expression, freedom of association and other basic rights. Testimony of Sebyy Sembon, 18 December 2008, in case dossier of Sebyy Sembon, op. cit.

III. ACTIONS OF THE KNPB

With Buchtar in prison, Victor Yeimo took over as KNPB head. In November 2008, at the time the “emergency zone” campaign was being discussed, it was clear that some within the highland group were making a case for violence. Since Indonesian authorities had refused to resolve the question of Papua’s political status through dialogue and even the provincial parliament was not serious about pursuing it, any peaceful way forward was blocked, they argued.⁴³ The only alternative was closer cooperation with the armed struggle. It is not clear what stance Victor Yeimo took in those discussions, but after he took control of KNPB, he began to act as a kind of information officer for the three main highland TPN/OPM commanders – Kelly Kwalik from Timika, Goliat Tabuni from Puncak Jaya and Etius Tabuni from Wamena. Moreover, the accounts of their activities on his English-language blog, <http://opeeem.blogspot.com>, suggested a degree of political coordination, especially in terms of the election boycott, with OPM attacking polling booths in several areas.

But again, the radicals were unsuccessful. KNPB mounted an appeal to hold an anti-election demonstration at the provincial parliament on 11 March 2009, but only a few hundred showed up, far below expectations, and some of the activists began to lose hope that they would be able to raise the political temperature in Papua sufficiently to maintain the momentum for international advocacy.⁴⁴ The timing was critical, because Benny Wenda and his colleagues were planning to launch a new group, International Lawyers for West Papua (ILWP), from Guyana in early April and they needed to demonstrate mass support. At this point, more radical splinters began to appear among the highlanders – what Buchtar Tabuni called *partai tambahan* (additional parties) – who decided to up the ante. They had no illusion of generating a Papuan uprising; they hoped that a heavy-handed response of the security forces would turn into a Papuan version of the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in Dili, East Timor – a “super Santa Cruz”, according to one – which could then radicalise the masses.⁴⁵

⁴³ “KNPB Surat Pemberitahuan Soal Rencana Perayaan 1 Desember 2008”, op. cit.

⁴⁴ Media estimates of the crowd were in the hundreds; KNPB itself said 2,500 people took part. <http://wptoday.wordpress.com/2009/03/11/ribuan-massa-knpb-duduki-dprp-tolak-pemilu-2009-dan-tuntut-referendum>.

⁴⁵ Crisis Group interviews, student activists, Jayapura, January 2010. On 12 November 1991 Indonesian troops opened fire on East Timorese protestors marching to the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the then provincial (now national) capital.

A. ACTIONS IN NABIRE

On 3 April 2009, several hundred people – 10,000 according to exaggerated accounts on several pro-independence websites – organised by the KNPB gathered in front of the Nabire election commission office and listened to speakers exhorting Papuans not to participate in the elections, calling for a referendum on self-determination, and supporting the ILWP. Nabire, in the west of Papua province, is home to Victor Yeimo, but the actions were apparently coordinated by the Nabire field coordinator for the KNPB, Zeth Giyai. When they got no response from the election commissioners, the group marched to a nearby park in front of the old district council building, set up a kind of wood-and-tarpaulin shelter as their command post (*posko*) and unveiled banners that read “Special Autonomy in Papua Has Failed, We the Papuan People Demand a Referendum, not an Election”, “The People of West Papua Support the Launching of ILWP in America” and “Review the 1969 Act of Free Choice and Prosecute All Human Rights Violations To the End”.

The Nabire police were determined to crack down on KNPB activity so close to polling day, when all security forces were on high alert and individual careers could be at risk if any disruptions occurred. Early on 6 April, they raided the KNPB post and reportedly seized several knives and bows and arrows, a Morning Star flag, and several banners bearing the Morning Star logo. They also arrested fifteen men deemed to be supporters and sympathisers of the organisation, all of whom were later charged with rebellion.

Later that morning KNPB held another demonstration. When police from the Nabire district command were sent to negotiate an end to it, they were met with a shout of “Attack!” from a woman leader, Monika Zonggonau (also seen as Monika Migau), followed by a hail of rocks and arrows.⁴⁶ Four police received minor injuries and a vehicle at the scene was damaged. Police fired warning shots, then reportedly shot into the crowd, injuring six people.

Of the fifteen arrested at the KNPB post, all but two were poorly educated or completely uneducated Papuan farmers or labourers who happened to join in the demonstration but had no previous affiliation with KNPB and no

The full death toll was never known, but the anger within East Timor and internationally changed the political dynamics and immeasurably strengthened the independence movement.

⁴⁶ Testimony of Jejen Yusendi, 28 May 2009, in case dossier of Frans Koutouki et al, op.cit., and “Di Nabire, Aparat Bentrok Dengan Pengunjuk Rasa”, *Cenderawasih Pos*, 7 April 2009. Monika Migau was accused of incitement at the time but was apparently never arrested.

known previous involvement in radical activity. They also had no access to lawyers after they were taken into custody. While the content of their interrogation depositions seems to reflect some pre-packaging on the part of the police, there is also information that rings true.⁴⁷ One suspect, for example, said that he and his friends had been rounded up by a group of about ten Papuan students who had come from back from Java and Bali and instructed them to take part.⁴⁸

The fifteen men arrested were brought to trial a few months later, and the verdict was handed down on 7 September 2009. The judges acknowledged that the men had played no role in planning the demonstration or making the banners. Most did not know what the demonstration was about when they walked into it but joined when they saw other members of their ethnic group (Mee) taking part. When a witness claimed that one of the suspects had yelled "This is Papua, I want independence!", the judges ruled that such a cry could not by itself be deemed a criminal act or evidence of rebellion; it was rather an emotional expression of the moment. All fifteen were acquitted – suggesting they never should have been arrested in the first place.

B. THE 9 APRIL ATTACK ON THE ABEPURA POLICE STATION

Immediately after the Nabire demonstrations, trouble broke out in Abepura in the early hours of 9 April 2009, election day. Around 1am, a few dozen people from the central highlands massed in front of the Abepura police station, site of the 2000 attack, armed with bows and arrows and Molotov cocktails. Police opened fire with live ammunition, wounding five, one of whom later died of his injuries.⁴⁹ Police then raided Asrama Ninmin, the dormitory used by highlanders that had been a target after the 2000 attack. They arrested eight students but later let them go. The only people tried for the attack were the four wounded in the shooting, and the case was a shambles.

According to the interrogation deposition of one of the suspects, the attack had been planned earlier that night in a house in the Tanah Hitam area of Jayapura. Some twenty people from the central highlands took part in a meeting led by Viktor Yeimo of the KNPB and agreed on the police station as a target. Those present were divided into two groups for the assault, one in the front to use arrows and one in the back to throw firebombs. Molotov cocktails were prepared, and the attack began around 1am.⁵⁰ In court, however, the same suspect said he had not taken part and had no idea it was being planned. He happened to pass by the station as he was going home and was shot as he was watching the incident unfold.⁵¹

Another Wamena-born student who had just returned to Papua from central Java a week earlier said in his interrogation deposition that he joined the attack after receiving a short text message that said "Friends, gather at once, there is an action to disrupt the election, and before going to Abe, meet near Junior High School No. 4".⁵² The same student, while acknowledging receiving an SMS message, later denied in court that he had actively taken part. He said he had never been questioned; the deposition was a complete fabrication.⁵³ Instead, he said, he too was shot as he was returning home.

While the depositions of three of the four suggested that they had been given Molotov cocktails before the attack, even though they were shot before they had a chance to throw them, prosecutors did not even try to claim that the fourth, Jhoni Hisage, had taken part. He had been drinking with friends and recalled vaguely seeing people running but he said he was drunk and could recall no pertinent details.⁵⁴

A police witness testified that about 11:30pm on 8 April, he and others at the police station got word that an attack was imminent. They went on patrol and saw a group of

⁴⁷ See testimonies of suspects in case dossier of Frans Koutouki et al, op. cit. The pre-packaging is evident when the same questions, with the exact same answers, appear in different depositions; where the information is unique to one person's testimony, it may be more reliable.

⁴⁸ Testimony of Derias Anouw alias Anoubo, 6 April 2009, in dossier of Frans Koutouki et al, op. cit.

⁴⁹ Andi Gobay, Dino Abugi, Yance Yogobi and Jhoni Hisage were arrested after being shot; they were later tried and acquitted. Eri (Erik) Logo, 23, died of his wounds in a Jayapura hospital on 22 April 2009. See "Jenazah Erik Tiba di Wamena", *Papua Pos*, 24 April 2009.

⁵⁰ Testimony of Yance Yogobi, 11 April 2009, in Koalisi Masyarakat Untuk Keadilan dan Perdamaian Papua, "Dokumen Kasus Penyerangan Mapolsek Abepura Tanggal 09 April 2009", Jayapura, undated. Yogobi, an ethnic Dani, was a student at the Science and Technology University in Jayapura at the time.

⁵¹ "Putusan No.391/Pid.B/2009/PN.JPR" in Koalisi Masyarakat Untuk Keadilan dan Perdamaian Papua, "Putusan Kasus Penyerangan Mapolsek Papua", undated, p. 20.

⁵² The Indonesian text was "Kawan-kawan segera kumpul di Abe malam ini ada aksi gagalkan pemilu dan sebelum masuk ke Abe kita kumpul di dekat SMP 4 Kodya Jayapura". Testimony of Dino Abugi, 3 May 2009, in "Dokumen Kasus Penyerangan Mapolsek Abepura", op. cit.

⁵³ "Putusan No.391/Pid.B/2009/PN.JPR" in Koalisi Masyarakat Untuk Keadilan dan Perdamaian Papua, "Putusan Kasus Penyerangan Mapolsek Papua", undated, p. 19.

⁵⁴ Testimony of Jhoni Hisage, 9 May 2009, in "Dokumen Kasus Penyerangan Mapolsek Abepura", op. cit.

about 30 people running toward the station, shouting and doing war dances. He said he and his men fired warning shots into the air after they heard the sound of an explosion and one of the attackers shot an arrow at the station.⁵⁵ There is no confirmation of warning shots, however, and those wounded seem to have been hit as soon as the shooting began. The attackers ran after the first shots were fired.

The judges concluded that it was impossible to determine from the evidence presented whether the accused were carrying Molotov cocktails; no witnesses could clearly identify them as having been among the attackers. All were acquitted on 18 January 2010.

C. BURNING OF THE RECTOR'S OFFICE AT CENDERAWASIH UNIVERSITY

About half an hour after the police station attack on 9 April, the rectorate at nearby Cenderawasih University was set on fire. Guards at the university called the fire department but its trucks were out of water, and because word had spread of a "shoot on sight" order from the police after the attack on the police station, students and faculty were afraid to approach the building.⁵⁶ Police only arrived on the scene at 6:15am. The building burned for some six and a half hours without any attempt to extinguish it. The first floor, which housed all student, faculty and staff documents, was completely gutted. The second floor, which housed financial records, was partially burned, and the third floor, with the offices of the rector and assistant rector, was untouched. Some NGO accounts of the fire suggested that it was part of a larger campaign on the part of security forces to create conflict; other sources suggested that students were unhappy with efforts by the rector to restrict political activities on campus.⁵⁷

But a 13 April statement by Victor Yeimo that appeared on the KNPB website West Papua Today cast a different light on the incidents.⁵⁸ He said both the police station and rectorate attacks were purely the work of the "West Papuan people". Jakarta lacked the political will to solve the Papua issue. Many Papuans, he said, felt they were

not Indonesians and that West Papua was not a part of the Indonesian republic. Others felt that candidate lists in the upcoming legislative elections were dominated by migrants from other parts of Indonesia in a way that was not in accordance with the spirit of "special autonomy". Elections were not the solution to the Papuan problem. Moreover, he continued, even animals would not tolerate the brutal treatment Papuans received at the hands of the Indonesian authorities, citing as an example the shooting of Opinus Tabuni on 9 August 2008 in Wamena and the failure of the police to name the killer.⁵⁹

The attack on the university, he said, was prompted by old grievances related to a structure that allowed "campus bourgeoisie" who kowtowed to the authorities to dominate university life and by the rector's discrimination toward certain ethnic groups. The latter factor was the subject of another posting the next day on the same website entitled "Main Reason for the Burning of the Cenderawasih University Rectorate". While the KNPB was not taking responsibility, it could explain why the rectorate became a target. The current rector was from Sorong and was allegedly giving all opportunities for jobs and further education to his Sorong cronies. Promising young lecturers from other ethnicities were being passed over for scholarships but were afraid to raise their concerns for fear of being fired. Cenderawasih graduates were increasingly narrow-minded as a result and turned into lackeys of the Indonesian state. The university curriculum had no connection with Papuan needs and the campus had become a nest of the security apparatus.⁶⁰

D. THE RAID ON VICTOR YEIMO'S HOME

On 18 April 2009, police raided Victor Yeimo's home in Nabire. From his hiding place, Victor sent around a text message condemning police "brutality" and saying police themselves bore ultimate responsibility for the attacks because they inflamed the populace by cutting off all channels for democratic expression.⁶¹ He repeated the assertion in earlier statements that the two attacks on 9 April were carried out spontaneously by Papuans and not by the KNPB as an organisation.⁶² But the statement left open the possibility that individuals from the KNPB had been involved.

⁵⁵ "Putusan No.391/Pid.B/2009/PN.JPR" in Koalisi Masyarakat Untuk Keadilan dan Perdamaian Papua, "Putusan Kasus Penyerangan Mapolsek Papua", undated.

⁵⁶ "Rangkaian Peristiwa Menjelang", Koalisi Keadilan dan Perdamaian Tanah Papua (<http://koalisi-adildamai.tabloidjubi.org>), 9 April 2009.

⁵⁷ Crisis Group interviews, Papuan human rights organisations and church sources, July 2009. For the suggestions about security forces involvement, see Tim Kerja Konsensus Nasional Bangsa Papua, "Laporan Konflik Kekerasan di Tanah Papua", 3 August 2009.

⁵⁸ "Pernyataan Umum Dibalik Penyerang Mapolsek Abepura & Pembakaran Kampus Uncen", West Papua Today (<http://wptoday.wordpress.com/>), 13 April 2009.

⁵⁹ Opinus Tabuni was shot during a celebration of UN World's Indigenous People Day in Wamena attended by thousands from the central highlands and at which the Morning Star flag was raised.

⁶⁰ "Alasan Utama Pembakaran Gedung Rektorat Universitas Cenderawasih", West Papua Today (<http://wptoday.wordpress.com>), 14 April 2009.

⁶¹ "Di Nabire, Rumah Victor Yeimo diserbu Polisi", West Papua Today (<http://wptoday.wordpress.com>), 19 April 2009.

⁶² *Ibid.*

Police suspicions of the KNPB were heightened on 30 May when KNPB secretary Demus Wenda told a reporter that the KNPB was responsible for most of the major political acts, violent and non-violent, that had taken place in Papua in 2009, including the attempted assault on the Abepura police station; the arson at the university; the occupation of Kapeso airstrip (see below); the flying of the Morning Star flag at a high school in Hawaii, Sentani; and the attack on farmers in Tanah Hitam in June.⁶³ Another article quoted Wenda as saying that these actions were endorsed at a meeting of pro-independence elements, including the OPM and KNPB.⁶⁴

Tabuni, from detention, issued a statement that none of this was true, that KNPB was non-violent, and moreover, he had never heard of Demus Wenda.⁶⁵ But Victor Yeimo told a reporter that in fact Demus Wenda had been chosen hastily as secretary in the reorganisation that followed Tabuni's arrest, and that as a result of poor coordination, Tabuni had not been informed. He said that in the beginning, KNPB had intended to work toward the goals of justice, development and human rights in accordance with Papuan aspirations, but because every time KNPB sponsored a demonstration, its members were arrested and accused of rebellion, some began to engage in "cruder" behaviour. It was out of accumulated disappointment and frustration, Victor was quoted as saying, "we joined forces with the OPM".⁶⁶

Victor Yeimo was arrested on 22 October 2009; Demus Wenda was placed on the police wanted list where he remains.

E. BREAKING WITH THE PAST

The edging toward violence can be seen in one of the clearest expositions of the group's ideology, made in reaction to Demus Wenda's much publicised statement. The following is a condensed version:

KNPB is the vanguard organisation of the democratic movement that is gradually moving toward military action, the result of several considerations: the failure of the older generation, the failure of the peaceful struggle, and the need for the clear identification of the enemy, which in this case is imperialism.

The older generation has two fatal weaknesses. It never developed an ideology or a pattern of continuous struggle that it could bequeath to successors. To prevent a revolutionary younger generation from taking control, many decided to collaborate with the enemy, supported by a handful of other reactionaries, so that many younger fighters surrendered before the war broke out by placing themselves inside the rotten system as civil servants, politicians, NGO workers or entrepreneurs. There are many cases where revolutionary youth were developing the struggle on the basis of mass movement only to have obstacles placed in their way by the reactionary older generation who became collaborators with Freeport. Critical members of the younger generation are now wasting their potential behind bars or have been exiled abroad.

As for the peaceful struggle, it is part of the hidden agenda of the older generation backed by foreign capital, primarily Freeport and BP. The logic is simple: Papua must be secure if exploitation is to take place.

The mass-based democratic movement, using the tactic of alliance-building, must be developed, based on analysis of local, national and international situations. The military movement must also be developed so that preparations can take place in form of military logistics, popular support, mass media propaganda, a funding base and construction of a shadow system that can constitute the embryo of a state.

Remember that we are in a world where independence of a people must be born from the barrel of a gun, not from bows and arrows! The democratic movement and a military offensive have to go hand in hand because this is the way for an oppressed people to strengthen the movement's consolidation.⁶⁷

In less derivative language, the KNPB at its first congress from 21-24 August 2009 in Jayapura issued three resolutions; calling for the rejection of any dialogue or negotiation between the Papuan elite and Indonesia; the immediate preparation of military forces to push the referendum agenda; and the building up of a collective force among all the people of West Papua to demand a referendum.⁶⁸

⁶³ "KNPB Klaim Bertanggung Jawab," *Suara Weko Papua*, 1 June 2009; "KNPB Bukan Biang Kerusuhan", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 4 June 2009.

⁶⁴ "OPM-KNPB Bukan Separatis", *Papua Pos*, 3 June 2009.

⁶⁵ "KNPB Bukan Biang Kerusuhan", op. cit.

⁶⁶ "Internal KNPB Kurang Koordinasi", *Papua Pos*, 5 June 2009. This development was confirmed in interviews conducted with Papuan student activists in January 2010.

⁶⁷ Manuel Nek Nek, "Tanggung-Jawab KNPB: Antara Aksi Demokratik dan Aksi Militer!", *West Papua Today* (<http://wptoday.wordpress.com>), 1 June 2009.

⁶⁸ Komite Nasional Papua Barat, "Pers Release, Resolusi Politik Nasional Papua Barat, Port Numbay", 24 August 2009.

IV. PUNCAK JAYA

The prevalence of highland activists in KNPB makes the guerrilla activity in Puncak Jaya of particular interest. This *kabupaten* in one of Indonesia's poorest and most remote areas was wracked by serious violence throughout 2009. It is home to an OPM commander, Goliat Tabuni, whose name has become known not only through his own exploits but because of extensive coverage of his activities in the KNPB-linked media, including blogs and internet sites.

A few incidents now appear to have been a direct response to KNPB activities. An attack on a Brimob convoy on 15 April 2009, for example, was said to be Tabuni's retaliation for the death of a KNPB student following the attack on the Abepura police station a week earlier. Tabuni's anti-election actions may also reflect communication with KNPB. But the political dynamics in the area are also very much determined by local factors, and if Goliat, based in Tinggimambut *distrik*, is one major political force, the other is the Puncak Jaya *bupati* (*kabupaten* head), Lukas Enembe. Both in turn have problems with the Indonesian military and police.

A. TABUNI, ENEMBE AND THE SECURITY FORCES

Goliat Tabuni commands a force of about 30 to 40 fighters, according to the police, with a much larger support base around Tinggimambut. In 2009, his men were believed to have around a dozen standard-issue guns, seized in raids or purchased from corrupt military and police personnel.⁶⁹ Goliat's name first became known after his confrontation with an Indonesian army special forces (Komando Pasukan Khusus, Kopassus) unit in Guragi, Puncak Jaya in August 2004.⁷⁰ He came to national at-

⁶⁹ "Anggota TPN/OPM Jadi Tersangka", Suara Weko Papua (<http://infoweko.blogspot.com>), 20 January 2009; "Kejadian Berutun yang dilakukan OPM di Kabupaten Puncak Jaya", press release, Papua provincial police, 19 March 2009. The figure of fourteen guns appears in "33,000 Warga Tinggimambut Diungsikan", *Sinar Harpan*, 3 March 2009.

⁷⁰ On 17 August 2004 Goliat returned to his hometown of Gurage, ostensibly to visit the graves of his parents and to try and stop an airstrip from being built on ancestral land. The Indonesian army believed he was planning to disrupt Indonesian national day celebrations and sent a few men to check on him. One of them was attacked. Later Kopassus mounted a major operation to hunt Goliat which resulted in serious human rights violations, including the reported killing in September 2004 of a pastor, Elias Tabuni. See Socrates Sofyan Yoman, "Kasus Puncak Jaya: Murni Rekayasa Militer", *Elsham News Service*, 3 November 2004. Socrates is not an impartial source – he tends to deny that acts were committed by Goliat's forces

attention again in October 2006 after a series of attacks in and around Mulia, the *kabupaten* capital, that followed serious riots there in which local political struggles may have been a factor.⁷¹ He gained still greater prominence in March 2009 when he was featured on the BBC News-night program – based on footage delivered directly to the BBC in London, presumably through the KNPB network.⁷² Sometime the same year, Goliat proclaimed himself commander of the Supreme Command of the West Papua Revolutionary Military (Komando Tertinggi Militer Revolusi Papua Barat, KTMRPB).⁷³

Lukas Enembe is one of Papua's most prominent politicians from the central highlands. He was narrowly defeated in the 2006 elections for provincial governor, but he won handily in the race for *bupati* against other local candidates in 2007 – in which Goliat supported an opponent. He is also chair of the provincial chapter of Partai Demokrat, President Yudhoyono's party. He is no friend of Tabuni, (although there has been communication between the two) but he has been outspoken in his criticism of the way security forces have responded to separatist attacks and says openly that they have made things worse.⁷⁴

The three-way interaction of the OPM/TPN, the local government and security forces defined the conflict in 2009.⁷⁵ The overall death toll was not high – three mili-

when Goliat's own men have acknowledged responsibility – but the basic chronology seems to stand up. For a discussion of the same incident, see Richard Chauvel, "Refuge, Displacement and Dispossession", in Eva-Lotta E. Hedman (ed.), *Conflict, Violence and Displacement in Indonesia* (Ithaca, 2008), pp. 165-170.
⁷¹ "Report on the Situation in Mulia", Ecumenical Council of Papuan Churches, 29 January 2007; Richard Chauvel, op. cit., pp. 162-165.

⁷² "Papua's Struggle for Independence", BBC (<http://news.bbc.co.uk>), 13 March 2009. It included an interview with Tabuni as well as footage of weaponry, a ceremonial flag-raising of the Morning Star, and the burning of two Indonesian flags. The weapons visible are mostly spears, bows, arrows and a vintage hunting rifle. The more advanced weapons shown include two M-16 assault rifles, Indonesian-made Pindad SS-1, and an AK-47, all standard issue to the Indonesian police and armed forces.

⁷³ Crisis Group interview, source close to Tabuni, Jayapura, February 2010.

⁷⁴ "Enembe Minta Semua Pasukan Ditarik Dari Puncak Jaya", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 22 October 2009.

⁷⁵ On the military side, these consist of troops from Infantry Battalion 754 as well as soldiers from the KOREM (Komando Resor Militer) 173 regional military command, based in Biak, that covers the north coast of Papua as well as the central highlands. Plans for a separate district-level military command (Komando Distrik Militer – Kodim) made little progress in 2009 for lack of funds ("Program Penambahan Kodim di Puncak Jaya", *Antara*, 6 November 2009). In addition to the local police command, 86 Police Mobile Brigade (Brimob) personnel with a counterinsurgency mandate were deployed throughout

tary and police and three civilians – and may have been why Enembe believed the local government could resolve the conflict if only the security forces did not get in the way. His frustrations with them were not just because of the negative impact on the local population but also because of their constant demands for money from the local government. The military reinforcements sent from outside Puncak Jaya on short rotations were the worst offenders, but police and others sought their share. Security was supposed to be one of the areas handled by the central government under Papua's special autonomy legislation. To meet the demands, the Puncak Jaya government was forced to do some creative budgeting.⁷⁶

It is an interesting question whether Enembe would have been able to make any headway with Tabuni if he had made a serious effort – or been allowed to make a serious effort – to negotiate a halt to the violence. A three-week effort in March to try to persuade Goliat to hand in his weapons did not work, but it was neither a long enough period nor backed by any serious incentives; Goliat Tabuni's desire for attention; the military's need to show success in countering separatism; the police's desire to show that all was "conducive" for the elections; the need of both to raise funds locally; and Enembe's determination to prevent them from being a drain on his budget. The elections went reasonably smoothly, despite the violence, but the other factors continue to drive the conflict.

B. THE VIOLENCE

The current cycle of violence began on 7 January 2009, when some men in a crowd of local villagers watching television at a police station in Tingginambut stole four assault rifles as off-duty officers were eating next door. The wife of an officer was stabbed in the incident.⁷⁷ The raid was led by Goliat's son Dicky, who had been coming in and out of the station for the past eight months, chatting with police, getting food and other contributions, and becoming familiar with the layout of the station, including where the guns were stored. Police saw the son as a possible avenue to persuading the father to surrender and were generally tolerant of his presence. They were therefore unprepared for the raid.⁷⁸

On 16 January, during operations around Mulia conducted jointly by Brimob and Detachment 88, the anti-terror unit, police said they exchanged fire with OPM fighters,

the district, and the police counter-terrorism unit, Detachment 88, was also on call to help as needed.

⁷⁶ Crisis Group interview, Enembe colleague, Jayapura, January 2010.

⁷⁷ "Kapolda Papua Ultimatum OPM", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 12 January 2009.

⁷⁸ Crisis Group interview, police official, Jakarta, February 2010.

shooting three. One was killed, another wounded but apparently not captured, and a third wounded and later arrested.⁷⁹ The latter, Yendenak Wonda, was alleged to be a "captain" in Goliat's group.⁸⁰ He was charged with theft and illegal possession of weapons. Reports that subsequent sweeping operations led to the destruction of villagers' homes and massive displacement were denied by the police and were not confirmed by independent sources, in part because access to the area was severely restricted.⁸¹

On 21 February, police reported that six men from Goliat's group took down, ripped and burned an Indonesian flag that had been planted on top of a nearby hill only hours earlier by police in Tingginambut. The hill was only 500 metres from the police post, and the action reportedly was witnessed directly by the officer in charge. A report on the incident said the alleged OPM fired two shots at the post, and police returned fire.⁸² The next day, some ten men, again alleged to be Tabuni's, took down and burned a flag that had been planted on a hill between Monia and Puruge hamlets, some 400 metres from the post of military infantry battalion 754.

On 27 February, an unidentified gunman fired on a motorcycle taxi driver and car in Kali Semen, Puncak Senyum, Mulia *distrik*, wounding the driver of the car. Enembe refused to blame the attack on Goliat, saying the weapons seized earlier in the year were being used for theft of crops and livestock, kidnapping and extortion by "wild" criminal gangs.⁸³ Nevertheless, Enembe and the local government said they would try a "persuasive" approach to convince Tabuni's men to hand in their weapons; the police agreed to give them three weeks to show results.⁸⁴ On 10 March, however, two motorcycle taxi drivers, both migrants from East Java, were stabbed and shot dead and their Papuan passengers wounded in an attack that the provincial police chief blamed on Goliat (and that one

⁷⁹ "Kejadian Berutun", op. cit. The alleged OPM fighter killed was Wenda Muli and his wounded colleague was Yembinas Murib.
⁸⁰ "Anggota TPN/OPM Jadi Tersangka", op. cit. See also "Kronologis Kejadian", op. cit. Wonda, occasionally spelled Wenda, was seriously wounded and was brought to hospital in Mulia for treatment and then evacuated to Jayapura.

⁸¹ Anonymous DAP source quoted in "Sweep Operations Imminent or Underway in The Central Highlands?", West Papua Report - February 2009, West Papua Advocacy Team. Reports of the impacts of security force operations in Puncak Jaya have sometimes been exaggerated. See for example Crisis Group Briefing, *Papua: Answers to Frequently Asked Questions*, op. cit.

⁸² "Kejadian Berutun", op. cit.

⁸³ "33,000 Warga Tingginambut Diungsikan", *Sinar Harpan*, 3 March 2009. See also "OPM Beraksi Lagi", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 28 February 2009.

⁸⁴ "Polda Pengamanan Kasus di Tinggi Nambut", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 3 March 2009 and "Kejadian Berutun," op.cit.

of Goliat's men acknowledged).⁸⁵ The police chief said the wave of attacks would not disrupt the elections, and he had no plans to send reinforcements to Puncak Jaya.⁸⁶ Enembe, meanwhile, took a harder line. According to the local paper, he said the persuasive approach had failed, and he and the local council would ask for the military and police to be given a mandate to capture the OPM men in question, dead or alive. At the same time, he urged that before any operations were undertaken, civilians in the hamlets targeted would have to be informed and evacuated.⁸⁷ He also warned that any such operations would have to be done quickly, so the elections could proceed.

In reaction to the two deaths, the provincial police sent teams from Detachment 88 and the criminal investigation directorate to investigate. On 13 March, there was a failed attack on a post of Infantry Battalion 754 in Gurage, Tingginambut, manned by a dozen soldiers. While patrolling in the vicinity the next day, Private Saiful Yusuf from Battalion 754 was killed in an ambush. The attackers eluded pursuing security forces by burning a bridge linking the town of Mulia with Wamena in neighbouring Jayawijaya regency, making transport in an area known for its poor infrastructure even more difficult. The army said it would deploy more troops in response.⁸⁸ With the police under pressure from the army to investigate the private's death, they went public with a 10 million rupiah (approximately \$1,000) reward for the capture of any of ten members of Goliat's group named on their most-wanted list.⁸⁹

The April legislative elections took place largely without incident but the attacks continued. On April 15, a group of seven Brimob was ambushed by Goliat's men; one officer was killed. This was the attack that Goliat later indicated was in retaliation for the Abepura deaths.⁹⁰

Security operations in response raised accusations from locals of looting and extortion, leading Enembe to tell the governor of Papua in a widely publicised statement that the more troops sent to Puncak Jaya, the less safe the communities became.⁹¹ At a meeting of *bupatis* from the central highlands in Wamena on 18 May, Enembe and the regency secretary, Heri TH Dosinaen, also charged that military operations had placed a huge burden on the

local budget, not only because the military demanded that the *kabupaten* government provide logistical support but also because of the funds the government had to expend to take care of those displaced. "Are we going to end separatism without conflict or are we going to end it by creating new conflicts driven by the interests of civilian and military elites, where it all comes down to money?" Enembe asked.⁹² He also reportedly complained about the security checkpoints along the Wamena-Mulia road that collected illegal levies, substantially raising the costs of basic goods, including food.⁹³

On 23 May, a gunman fired three shots at a guard post in front of Enembe's house, wounding a policeman stationed there. Police said they were investigating and suspected the gunman was OPM.⁹⁴ Others, including Enembe, are convinced that the gunman was from the military, and the shooting was in retaliation for Enembe's remarks to the Wamena meeting.⁹⁵ A spokesman for Goliat's group, Iringgame Tabuni, said, "This wasn't our operation. Why would we want to shoot Bupati Enembe who is trying to curb military operations in Puncak Jaya?"⁹⁶

Goliat Tabuni and Enembe, however, have a strained relationship, going back to Tabuni's support for Enembe's opponent in the 2007 local elections. Statements by Tabuni's men about Enembe in April were anything but complimentary, accusing him of trying to force Papuans into a statement of support for military operations.⁹⁷

⁸⁵ Crisis Group interview, Jayapura, January 2010.

⁸⁶ "OPM Tembak Mati 2 Warga Sipil", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 11 March 2009.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ "Papua to see more troops after Saturday attack", *Jakarta Post*, 18 March 2009.

⁸⁹ "Military waits on police in OPM case", *Jakarta Globe*, 15 March 2009 and "Papua Police offer Rp 10 million cash reward", *Jakarta Post*, 21 March 2009.

⁹⁰ Crisis Group interview, Jayapura, January 2010.

⁹¹ "Pembangunan Di Puncak Jaya Terkendala Konflik", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 19 May 2009.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Crisis Group interview, Jayapura, January 2010.

⁹⁴ "Rumah Bupati Puncak Jaya Ditembak: Pelaku Penembakan Diduga OPM", *Vivanews* (www.vivanews.com), 25 May 2009.

⁹⁵ "Tanggapi Keluan Pemkab Puncak Jaya, Kopassus Tembak Rumah Bupati Enembe", *West Papua Today* (<http://wptoday.wordpress.com>), 26 May 2009.

⁹⁶ Ibid. Iringgame himself had been a student in Jakarta and was one of those imbued with left-wing ideology. After the July 2009 bombings in Jakarta, he said that the Papuan people should thank Noordin Top, the mastermind of the attack, because he went after foreign executives who enslaved the poor and managed to wound a retired Freeport official. "Iringgame Tabuni: Rakyat Papua Harus Berterima Kasih Kepada Noordin M. Top", *West Papua Today* (<http://wptoday.wordpress.com>), 13 August 2009.

⁹⁷ "Bupati Lukas Enembe Paksa Warga Puncak Jaya Setujui Pemboman Markas Goliat Tabuni", *West Papua Today* (<http://wptoday.wordpress.com>), 20 April 2009. Regarding the 2007 elections, see Richard Chauvel, op. cit., pp. 162-165. Enembe's opponent in the 2007 regent elections was Elieser Renmaur, a non-Papuan.

Clashes between the military and Goliat's men continued in June, with the OPM reporting one fighter killed.⁹⁸ On June 24, his forces ambushed a convoy led by the newly appointed head of the provincial Brimob unit from Jayapura, killing one Brimob officer. The five-car convoy, in which the deputy regency police chief was also riding, was attacked about 50 metres from a Battalion 754 post in Puncak Senyum, Tingginambut. Police fired back, but the assailants disappeared into the forest. In Jayapura, the provincial police chief said it was impossible to identify the attackers because they had fled so quickly, but Goliat's group claimed responsibility, and the KNPB's West Papua Today blog wrote triumphantly, "The determination of the TPN/OPM to free the Papuan people from the neo-colonial racist Indonesia can no longer be doubted!"⁹⁹

Goliat's spokesman also said that he was urging Papuans not to vote in the upcoming presidential elections, and that the TPN/OPM would launch attacks on any campaigners "inciting" Papuans to participate.¹⁰⁰ That stance almost certainly reflected communication with KNPB and its election boycott effort. As it turned out, the July presidential election in Puncak Jaya, like the April legislative one, was generally peaceful, although several of the polling stations in the Tingginambut area were moved to a neighbouring *distrik* for the safety of voters.¹⁰¹

Conflict continued thereafter. On 27 August, a soldier lost his rifle when attacked by knife-wielding men said by the local military commander to be associated with Tabuni.¹⁰² On 20 October, unidentified assailants attacked construction workers from the PT Agung Karya company in Kalome, Tingginambut, killing a migrant worker named Thamrin.¹⁰³ A spokesman for the local military command said the perpetrators were under the command of two of Goliat Tabuni's men named Yaliron and Pulao, and the police said that a joint police-military operation would hunt them down. He said the incident started when two men asked the construction workers for money and they did not understand the local language.¹⁰⁴

But Enembe had a very different reaction. In an emotional statement in response, he said the shooting of a civilian who only came to look for work demonstrated that the presence of security forces in Puncak Jaya was not improving security, but just the opposite. Every time the local government wanted to initiate a new development, it faced extraordinary obstacles, he said, and he was fed up with what he called the schemes of certain parties to destabilise the district. He asked that all military and police be pulled out.¹⁰⁵ In November 2009, 200 "non-organic" military troops, that is, short-term reinforcements, were withdrawn.¹⁰⁶

Attacks, however, continued: on 15 February 2010, a young Brimob policeman was killed and his assault rifle stolen in Mulia in what appeared to be another Goliat Tabuni action. At the same time, KNPB sources warned in early February 2010 that Goliat had become the target of a police operation and that he faced the same fate as fellow TPN/OPM commander Kelly Kwalik, killed in a December 2009 raid.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁸ "Victim continue in Puncak Jaya, West Papua", OPEEEM West Papua News Update (<http://opeeem.blogspot.com>), 13 June 2009, and "West Papua Report June 2009", Australia West Papua Association, 7 July 2009.

⁹⁹ "Tadi Gerilyawan TPN-PB Bunuh Satu Anggota Brimob", West Papua Today (<http://thewptoday.blogspot.com>), 24 June 2009.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ "Lukas Yakin Pilpres Aman", *Bintang Papua*, 27 June 2009.

¹⁰² "Soldier attacked in Tingginambut, Papua", *Antara*, 27 August 2009; Cunding Levi, "Military Personnel Attacked in Papua", *Tempo Interaktif* (www.tempointeraktif.com), 27 August 2009.

¹⁰³ "Di Puncak Jaya, 1 Warga Sipil Tewas Ditembak OPM", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 21 October 2009.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ "Enembe Minta Semua Pasukan Ditarik Dari Puncak Jaya", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 22 October 2009.

¹⁰⁶ "Sekitar 200 pasukan TNI ditarik dari Puncak Jaya", *Koran Tempo*, 30 November 2009. They included men from infantry battalion 756 and 754 based in Wamena. There were reports from local sources that the withdrawal took place as the result of an agreement to set up a more permanent local regional command in Puncak Java but this could not be independently confirmed. Crisis Group interview, Jayapura, January 2010.

¹⁰⁷ "Polda Papua Incar Goliat Tabuni", West Papua Today (<http://thewptoday.blogspot.com>), 5 February 2010.

V. THE TAKEOVER OF KAPESO AIRSTRIP

At first glance, the takeover by a religious cult of a remote airstrip in Kapeso, Mamberamo Raya, to the west of Puncak Jaya, would seem to have little to do with the grievances raised by the KNPB. But as noted, a KNPB leader claimed responsibility, although in this case, it appears to stem more from a desire to assert joint ownership with the TPN/OPM of any pro-independence action than from any direct involvement.

Mamberamo Raya district is one of the numerous new administrative units which have been created in Papua and West Papua since 1999. The creation of these new units has often increased local tensions as various political or tribal groups jockey for control, and Mamberamo Raya was no different.¹⁰⁸ The takeover of the airstrip, however, had more to do with the arrival of two charismatic individuals, Nela Yenseren, a 63-year-old woman with visions from God, and Decky Imbiri, an ambitious “captain” in the local TPN/OPM unit.¹⁰⁹

Nela Yenseren had come to Kapeso from Biak on 27 November 2008, saying that “The Great General” Jesus Christ had instructed her to come to create the Kingdom of Heaven in Papua and God had pointed to Kapeso as the site. She convinced the local Protestant congregation that the Mamberamo River was the River Jordan and nearby Lake Rombabay was the Sea of Galilee, and asserted that a local preacher, Musa Kawena, held the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven.¹¹⁰ In spite of pleas by local church and administrative officials to desist, Yenseren’s

group continued having prayer meetings based on her visions, while members assured authorities that they would not cause any trouble in the run-up to the April 2009 parliamentary elections.¹¹¹

The messianic Manarmakeri movement thus created was similar to past millenarian movements in Biak, called Korero, and Yenseren also referred directly to figures from Korero mythology in her sermons.¹¹² The movement attracted the interest of local members of the OPM/TPN unit under Decky Imbiri that had originally been tasked with setting up a temporary autonomous zone in the region but had disobeyed orders and joined the movement instead.¹¹³

On 3 April 2009 some of Imbiri’s followers joined forces with the church congregation, and Imbiri reportedly provided them all with military training, using wooden sticks for guns.¹¹⁴ Whatever his personal ambitions, local witnesses also said Imbiri had become convinced that he and his followers were the army of the biblical figure Joshua, tasked with leading the oppressed Papuan people out of captivity to the Promised Land.¹¹⁵

In early May, Yenseren reportedly told the congregation to occupy the airstrip to welcome Jesus. At the same time, Imbiri’s group reported seeing signs leading to the United Nations in New York. This led to the raising of the Morning

¹⁰⁸For a case study of these tensions in a different area of Papua, see Crisis Group Briefing, *Indonesian Papua: A Local Perspective on the Conflict*, op. cit.

¹⁰⁹Decky is on occasion also spelled Decki in reports, and his last name is occasionally spelled Imberi. Nela is also sometimes written Nella while her last name is at times also spelled Yensenem or Manseren, the latter coincidentally also being the name of the central character in the Korero-myth of the Biak-Numfor area, Manseren Manggundi.

¹¹⁰“Gerakan Kargoisme Yang Dibelokan Oleh Gerakan Atas Nama OPM di Kapeso”, Koalisi Masyarakat Sipil Untuk Keadilan dan Perdamaian di Tanah Papua (KMSKP), 2009, and “Bentrok di Kapeso, 4 Warga Papua Tewas”, KPKC Sinode GKI di Tanah Papua, 2009. The two reports of the events, compiled by Papan human rights and church groups, differ slightly in the details, especially regarding the various prophecies. Also, Nela Yenseren may have returned to Biak and come back because she told the police she arrived in Kapeso on 3 April 2009 and that her daughter was married to a Kapeso man. See testimony of Nella Yensenem [sic], 15 July 2009, in Case Dossier of Nataniel Runggamusi, No Pol B/44/VII/2009/Dit Reskrim, 8 July 2009.

¹¹¹“Bentrok di Kapeso, 4 Warga Papua Tewas”, KPKC report, op. cit.

¹¹²“Police retake airstrip from ‘TNI deserter’-led group”, *Jakarta Post*, 8 June 2009, quotes Pendeta Dora Balubun of the mainstream Protestant GKI, that the movement believed resisting the Indonesian state was a necessary condition for the Second Coming. For more on the Korero cults see F. Ch. Kamma, *Korero – Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Area* (Den Haag, 1972), pp. 274-277; and Danilyn Rutherford, *Raiding the Land of the Foreigners* (Princeton, 2003), p. 25.

¹¹³Crisis Group interview, Port Moresby, 1 December 2009. A police official said Decky was a subordinate of the OPM commander in nearby Demta and was using this opportunity to try to branch out on his own. Crisis Group interview, Jakarta, 12 February 2010.

¹¹⁴Local police, based on interrogation of suspects, said Imbiri was an army deserter, a report widely picked up in the national media, but the local army commander denied this, saying they had complete information on everyone who had served with the army in Papua, and while there were two Imbiris, neither one was Decky. See Angela Flassy, “Police retake airstrip from ‘TNI deserter’-led group”, *Jakarta Post*, 8 June 2009. “Pangdam Bantah Decki Imbiri Mantan Anggota TNI”, *Antara*, 9 June 2009.

¹¹⁵Intriguingly, Imbiri as Joshua allegedly claims to take over from where OPM/TPN overall commander Richard Yoweni (now cast as Moses) had failed, for he had led the Israelites (ie, Papuans) astray for forty years. “Bentrok di Kapeso, 4 Warga Papua Tewas”, KPKC, op. cit.

Star flag on the airstrip on 3 May by four men and four women and subsequent occupation of the airstrip for the next month.¹¹⁶ One of Imbiri's men said 36 OPM members from Mamberamo and about 60 from Serui were involved, armed with about fifteen home-made guns, as well as spears and bows and arrows.¹¹⁷ He said about ten women with some children were brought along to prepare food and cook for the two OPM contingents.

Some of the people involved were hardly seasoned guerrillas. One villager arrested said he had joined only a month before the flag-raising, persuaded by a neighbour who promised that when Papua became independent, he could be part of its army.¹¹⁸ Decky Imbiri had sent a motorboat to Kabuena, Serui to collect him and nine other recruits for the planned action; all of them were given OPM identity cards.¹¹⁹

Once word of the flag-raising spread, the airfield was surrounded by units from Brimob and Detachment 88, as well as a unit sent from Jakarta, all brought in from Jayapura by speedboat.¹²⁰ Police, church and tribal leaders and local authorities negotiated with the occupiers for three weeks but to no avail. On 4 June, the negotiators reportedly had convinced Imbiri to allow villagers who wanted to leave the airstrip to return to their homes. While preparations were under way for the evacuation, events took an unexpected turn.

¹¹⁶ It is not clear from available accounts whether there were two separate incidents, the flag-raising on 3 May and occupation of the airstrip on 13 May, or whether both occurred at the same time and one of the dates is wrong. The first date, as well as the detail about the flag-raisers, comes from interrogation of detained suspects, the second in reports from church organisations.

¹¹⁷ Nataniel Runggamusi told police that Mamberamo and Serui fell under the "Far Eastern Region" battalion led by Erick Manitori, who in turn reported to Richard Yoweni. Decky Imbiri was a captain under Manitori. See Testimony of Nataniel Runggamusi, 8 July 2009, in Case Dossier of Nataniel Runggamusi, No Pol B/44/VII/2009/Dit Reskrim. This differs from a statement from a press report quoting the provincial police chief who said the group included eighteen local families, about fifteen members of Imbiri's group, and 80 people he recruited from outside. See "Solusi Kapeso Kapolda Ajak Tokoh Agama", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 2 June 2009.

¹¹⁸ Testimony of Yance Mambuai, 3 July 2009, in Case Dossier of Nataniel Runggamusi, op. cit.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. The card had a general headquarters number 71/GHQ/III with the name of the OPM member, Yance Mamboai, "via F. Tarwan Tobuawen" [the neighbour who recruited him]. He was designated a First Lieutenant for TPN/OPM staff operations in Sektor Kapeso, Kampung Kapeso, Mamberamo Raya.

¹²⁰ Some twelve Detachment 88 troopers took part in the operation, part of a detail of 60 assigned to the provincial police command. Crisis Group interview, police official, Jakarta, February 2010.

A police unit on its way to Kapeso was attacked by a TPN/OPM group with bows and arrows, and one policeman was hit. He was evacuated and the rest of the unit continued in three speedboats. As they neared shore, one of the boats got entangled in a net deliberately laid by the villagers. A group of TPN/OPM then came out, asking to meet with the police, who agreed. But before they could do so, another TPN/OPM group on land opened fire on them.¹²¹ A Detachment 88 officer shot back, apparently killing one man, Benjamin Suromaja, as police manoeuvred the other boats to shore. They then moved to seize first the local Protestant church that was being used as a temporary OPM headquarters, then the pastor's residence, where Nela Yenseren was found and taken into custody.

As police approached the airstrip, the occupiers let loose with spears, arrows and guns, according to police, who responded with gunfire. Three civilians were killed; three police were wounded by arrows. Several of the occupiers were arrested, while most fled into the surrounding jungle.¹²²

In this instance, the police acted with commendable restraint, allowing negotiators time to try to resolve the problem. When the decision was made to end the occupation, it was the police, not the army, that broke it up, and they brought a highly trained unit in from police headquarters. But they were faced with a situation where after their first approach toward the airstrip, the occupiers broke into smaller groups and attacked from different sides. It does raise questions about whether the police could have been supplied with non-lethal equipment, but under the circumstances, the situation seems to have been handled reasonably well.

The same cannot be said for the interrogations under police supervision where it is obvious that a template was used with formulaic responses plugged in instead of genuine answers to questions such as "Are you a member of the TPN/OPM?" "Explain what the TPN/OPM is". (Answer: "A group of people trained to become an army and formed to work for independence of Papua, separate from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia".) None of those arrested appeared to have lawyers, and it was only the literate suspects who could read their testimonies after they were typed up and correct the mistakes.¹²³

¹²¹ Testimony of Yafet Karafir, 28 July 2009, in Case Dossier of Nataniel Runggamusi, op. cit.

¹²² Ibid. Yafet Karafir provides a detailed account of the police assault and how the original plan of attack had to be changed. See also "Gerakan Kargoisme Yang Dibelokan Oleh Gerakan Atas Nama OPM di Kapeso", KMSKP, op. cit. and "Bentrok di Kapeso, 4 Warga Papua Tewas", KPKC, op.cit.

¹²³ For example, one question to a suspect was "What activities did you engage in as an OPM member?" The answer provided

The question is why the KNPB's Demus Wenda claimed responsibility for this action. No accounts of the airstrip takeover appear on the West Papua Today website, suggesting no communication with those involved. It also took place in a coastal area, outside the usual focus of KNPB's attention (Jayapura, Timika and the central highlands). Demus's claim may simply reflect the desire of the highland radicals to show solidarity with any action that could be construed as rebellion against the Indonesian state.

VI. TIMIKA AND THE FREEPORT SHOOTINGS

The area between Timika and the Freeport mine at Tembagapura became the most visible focal point of armed violence in Papua in the second half of 2009 and into 2010.¹²⁴ From July 2009 onwards, a series of shootings has taken place along the 130-km private road linking Timika to the mine, claiming two lives, an Australian on 11 July and a Papuan guard the next day, and indirectly, a third.¹²⁵ Several others, including Brimob troopers, were wounded. Further attacks took place every month thereafter, with the most recent occurring on 23 January 2010, when gunmen at Mile 60 fired on a convoy heading towards Tembagapura, injuring nine people, a few of them seriously.

It is not clear who is responsible or whether one or multiple parties have been involved. There are four possibilities, however: Kelly Kwalik's OPM forces (Kelly himself was killed in a police raid on 16 December 2009); men acting on the orders of someone who once worked with Kelly Kwalik; the local Indonesian military; or a combination of the above. It is a reflection of the complexity of the political and economic dynamics around the mine that more than six months after the shootings began, and with some good investigators on the scene, there are no conclusive answers.

A. SHOOTING ALONG THE FREEPORT ROAD

The most serious chain of shootings began on 8 July when a group of men attacked and torched a security post and an empty company-owned bus at Mile 70 of the road.¹²⁶ Three days later, a car carrying several Freeport employees

by the police was "My activities since I joined in 2007 included training in how to wage war and raise flags". The suspect crossed out the last phrase and wrote in its place "training in marching in formation". Testimony of Nataniel Runggamusi, 8 July 2009, in Case Dossier of Nataniel Runggamusi, op. cit.

¹²⁴The highland mine and lowland downstream facilities were traditionally populated by the Amungme and Kamoro ethnic groups respectively. The jobs created by the mine, directly and indirectly, attracted outsiders to the area and dramatically changed its ethnic composition. According to the Mimika District Statistical Office, in 2007 in addition to the Kamoro and Amungme, the *kabupaten* was home to the Dani, Damal, Nduga, Mee/Ekari and Moni. Together the members of the seven ethnic groups make up about 37.3 per cent of the district's population; a further 10.9 per cent are Papuans from other ethnic groups and 51.8 per cent non-Papuan. Tensions between various local tribes and clans are common. The mine itself has become a symbol of foreign exploitation for Papuan nationalists.

¹²⁵In addition a Brimob officer was found dead on 13 July but apparently died as the result of falling into a ravine.

¹²⁶Markus Makur, "Freeport bus set ablaze in latest incident targeting mining giant", *Jakarta Post*, 11 July 2009; "Statemen Resmi Pimpinan OPM Terkait Insiden Freeport", press release, OPM, 15 July 2009.

came under fire at Mile 52, killing an Australian technician named Drew Grant and wounding three other employees. On 12 July, a vehicle carrying supplies for security personnel came under fire at Mile 51. A mine guard, Markus Rateallo, was killed, two others injured, and two members of the police anti-terror unit were also hurt. A Brimob officer, who apparently jumped from the car to avoid the attack, was found dead the next day in a ravine.¹²⁷ On 14 July, a company car was shot at around Mile 49 with no casualties and the next day five Brimob assigned as an advance security detail for a high-ranking security delegation from Jakarta and Jayapura were wounded when they came under fire at Mile 54.¹²⁸

In response to the violence and the international publicity after the death of a foreigner, police formally requested the TNI's assistance in providing security. On 18 July, a joint task force called *Satgas Amole* was sent to Timika with about 520 personnel, 400 police and 120 military. This was the first return of the TNI to guarding the road since responsibility had been handed over to the police in 2006.¹²⁹ On 20 and 21 July, the provincial police, including those assigned to Detachment 88, made a series of arrests in Timika and at Mile 27, confiscating bullets in packages with labels from the state-owned arms maker PT Pindad. Of the 32 Papuans arrested, seven ethnic Amungme men, including one Freeport guard, were later charged with premeditated murder. Police said all played a supporting role rather than being the actual triggermen, although one was accused of possessing ammunition.¹³⁰ In October 2009, the case dossier of the latter was turned over to the court for trial but the others were provisionally released for lack of evidence. The charges were not dropped, and they could still be tried in the unlikely event that new evidence appears.

¹²⁷ Initial reports that he had been shot or stabbed proved unfounded; he apparently fell into the ravine after fleeing the attack.

¹²⁸ "Penembakan Papua: peluru dari mana papua masih menceka. Penembak gelap belum terungkap", Domakinall (<http://domakinall.blogspot.com>), 30 July 2009.

¹²⁹ Under the terms of Presidential Decree (Keppres) 63/2004 responsibility for guarding "vital objects" was transferred to the police from the military. The handover at Freeport was completed in 2006. The army units were drawn from forces already in Papua. Crisis Group interview, police official, Jakarta, February 2010 and "Batayon 755/Yalet Siapkan Prajurit ke Timika", *Cenderawasih Pos*, 21 July 2009. The police contingent consisted of those seconded from the local Mimika district command with Brimob reinforcements from Jayapura and Jakarta as well as Detachment 88.

¹³⁰ "Kapolda: Pelaku Penembakan Belum Terungkap, Target Satu Bulan Harus Tertangkap", *Radar Timika*, 22 July 2009; "Karyawan Freeport Tersangka Penembakan", *Koran Tempo*, 27 July 2009. The seven charged are Apius Wanmang, Simon Beanal, Tomy Beanal, Dominikus Beanal, Eltinus Beanal, Amon Jawame (also seen as Anton Yawame), and Endel (also seen as Hender) Kiwak.

The arrests generated huge controversy in Papua. A church coalition urged the police not to arbitrarily arrest civilians. Various community leaders, including in the migrant Bugis community, expressed scepticism that any ordinary civilians would possess the kind of firearms and ammunition used in the attacks.¹³¹ A spokesman for the Amungme customary foundation LEMASA said his organisation would provide legal assistance to the accused because they were concerned that police-appointed lawyers would encourage the poorly-educated suspects to sign confessions.¹³²

Many in the Amungme community, which has a long history of poor relations with the police, were outraged by the arrests. There was also a widespread belief that Papuans could not have pulled off the attack that led to Grant's death. The family of one suspect said he had been mentally ill for several years, although both police and his lawyer said he was perfectly sane.¹³³ A representative of the provincial office of the National Human Rights commission was one of many who implied that the security forces themselves were responsible as "(t)he attacks are clearly the work of well-trained and organised professionals". Suggestions of military involvement came from so many sources that the regional commander Nasution was obliged to make an official denial. At a press conference in Timika on 22 July he said no military personnel, including deserters or ex-soldiers, were involved in the shootings.¹³⁴

The seven arrests did not stop the attacks along the mining road. On 22 July, a car that had come to the aid of a stalled vehicle at Mile 51 came under fire, lightly wounding four people.¹³⁵ On 12 August, gunmen fired on a Freeport bus at Mile 46; no one was injured. On 16 August, more shooting took place at Mile 42. Authorities responded

¹³¹ "Kasus Timika Saatnya Merajut Kepercayaan", Domakinall (<http://domakinall.blogspot.com>), 31 July 2009.

¹³² Ibid. LEMASA (Lembaga Musyawarah Adat Suku Amungme) is one of the three foundations financed by PT Freeport Indonesia as part of its corporate social responsibility schemes, LEMASA is responsible for managing projects meant to support the Amungme tribe, LEMASKO (Lembaga Musyawarah Adat Suku Kamoro) manages projects for the Kamoro tribe and LPMK (Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Amungme Kamoro) manages the "One Percent Fund" which runs development projects meant to benefit all seven local indigenous tribes.

¹³³ See Testimony of Ida Bagus Gede Adiputra Yadnya, M.Psi, 18 August 2009, in case dossier of Endel Kiwak, No. Pol. BP/55/VIII/2009/Dit-Reskrim. He said he found no indication that Simon Beanal or any of the other suspects were now suffering or had ever suffered from mental illness.

¹³⁴ Christian Motte and Farouk Arnaz, "Two shot in latest Freeport attack in Papua", *Jakarta Globe*, 22 July 2009.

¹³⁵ This was initially but erroneously reported as an attack on a Freeport bus.

by extending the mandate of *Satgas Amole* for three months and changing it from a task force to an “operation” with 1,320 police and soldiers, but the shooting continued, with more incidents on 22, 28 and 30 August.¹³⁶ On 9 September, someone shot at the official car of the Tembagapura district military commander near Mile 42, but he was not hit. A police spokesman told the media that there was reason to believe that the attack was not the work of the same group responsible for the July attacks.¹³⁷

On 12 September, another Freeport bus came under fire at Mile 43, slightly injuring two security guards. Timika Brigade Chief of Staff Lieutenant-Colonel Victor Deni was wounded in another attack on 16 September, off the main road around Mile 38.¹³⁸ More attacks followed in October between Miles 41 and 43.¹³⁹ The steady stream of attacks led to a strike and protests by family members of Freeport employees fearful for their safety.¹⁴⁰ There were more shootings on 30 December and 23 January 2010.¹⁴¹

B. WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SHOOTINGS?

Different theories about responsibility for the attacks predominate, but there are problems with each, and it is not clear that a single explanation is sufficient.

1. Kelly Kwalik’s forces

The Indonesian armed forces maintained from the outset that Kwalik’s group was behind the attacks. Statements from the provincial police were more cautious, and in October 2009, the then provincial police chief, Brig. Gen. (Pol.) F.X. Bagus Ekodanto, said that Kelly Kwalik told a police officer sent to meet with him that his (Kelly’s) forces were not involved.¹⁴² The head of the Papuan

Customary Council (Dewan Adat Papua, DAP) said in November that Kwalik also told one of his members that the gunmen were not his.¹⁴³

Several pieces of information seem to contradict Kwalik’s denial. On 12 July, Kwalik issued an exhortation to the Papuan people, saying wherever they lived, at home or abroad, they should be willing to “revolt against all powers, Western and Asian that have wiped out the people and resources of Papua, no matter who, how, when or where, in order to fan the spirit of rebellion”. It was signed by “Gen.KK” as head of Regional Command (Wilayah Kodam) III, Timika, West Papua. This was circulated via email by a KNPB activist who was a student in Jakarta. The next day, in an interview with Radio Australia, KNPB leader Victor Yeimo clearly asserted that some of the shootings had been carried out by the OPM:

Victor Yeimo, the chairman of the West Papua National Committee which is closely aligned with the rebels, says there were OPM operations going on in the area where the deaths occurred.

“Yes, in the area where Drew was, it’s clear that OPM did an attack in that area”, he said.

“But it’s unclear whether they hit Drew’s car or not because that was not the only place where they did the attacks”.

“They attacked in other places too, but far from Drew’s car, so it’s not clear whether the shots could hit Drew or not”.¹⁴⁴

Shortly thereafter, the KNPB and other pro-independence groups circulated a statement in Kelly’s name dated 15 July acknowledging that his men had engaged security forces in the area from early July, although denying they had killed Grant. Specifically, the statement said Kelly’s men had carried out the 8 July attack on the company bus and container (used as a security post) and subsequently exchanged fire with army and police over the next several hours. They also raised the Morning Star flag briefly. In response, he said, hundreds of security forces came to the area and it was they who were responsible for killing Grant. The statement in Kelly’s name also claimed responsibility for the 12 July attack that killed a Freeport security guard and a police officer:

¹³⁶ “Operasi Timika Amole Diperpanjang”, *Kompas*, 20 August 2009.

¹³⁷ “1 Pelaku Penembakan Freeport Tewas Tertembak?”, *Cenderawasih Pos*, 9 September 2009.

¹³⁸ “Another army officer hurt in Papua shooting”, *Antara*, 16 September 2009.

¹³⁹ Markus Makur, “Two injured as shooting incident hits Freeport again”, *Jakarta Post*, 20 October 2009.

¹⁴⁰ Markus Makur, “Hundreds of Freeport workers go on strike to lament shootings”, *Jakarta Post*, 27 October 2009.

¹⁴¹ Tjahjono Ep, “More Shooting at Timika – Tembagapura Road”, *Tempo Interaktif* (www.tempointeraktif.com), 30 December 2009.

¹⁴² “Siapa sebenarnya penembak-penembak di Freeport?”, *Kompas*, 31 October 2009; “Pertemuan dengan Kelly Kwalik bukan rekayasa”, *Kompas*, 26 Oktober 2009; and “Kapolda Papua Yakinkan Polri Ketemu Kelly Kwalik”, Jaringan Advokasi LSM Papua Barat (www.vogelkoppapua.org), 27 October 2009.

¹⁴³ “Bukan Kelly Kwalik pelaku terror di Freeport”, *Kompas*, 16 November 2009.

¹⁴⁴ Geoff Thompson, “Military, police ‘among suspects’ in Freeport killings”, *ABC* (www.abc.net.au), 13 July 2009.

The [National Papuan Army] – OPM undertook an attack on PT.FI [Freeport] and TNI [military] vehicles that were transporting joint TNI-police forces to Mile 68.¹⁴⁵

The statement condemned the “colonial Indonesian state” for injustices against the Papuan people and concluded by reiterating that Grant’s death was the result of a power struggle among police, army, and civilian guards over security at the mine.¹⁴⁶

Also strengthening the Kelly Kwalik theory is information that a major source of the KNPB’s information on the shootings reportedly comes from a KNPB member named Delius Tabuni, Deltab for short, who apparently joined Kelly’s forces sometime in 2009. Deltab became the KNPB liaison to Kelly, playing the same role that Jeffry Pagawak did (or does) with the TPN/OPM in the central highlands.¹⁴⁷ In an email in April 2009, he castigated two activists who had criticised the KNPB attacks on the Abepura police station and the university:

Keep your mouth shut if you’re afraid to make war. You who live comfortably in the city and live and breathe Indonesian democracy and think you’ll find freedom through peace, don’t interfere with us in the jungle. When was the last time you felt cold and mosquitoes? You don’t understand the revolution, so stop your commentary....This is the time for total revolution.¹⁴⁸

Testimonies compiled by the police in their case against the seven men arrested for the 15 July attack on a Brimob vehicle at Mile 54 also suggest involvement of Kelly Kwalik’s men, though probably too weakly to hold up in court. According to these documents, a group led by Simon Beanal carried out the shootings on the orders of two men who in turn were reporting to Kelly Kwalik. There were four gunmen, all of whom remain at large, and who – according to one man reporting the extremely weak evidence of overhearing a telephone conversation – were

the same men who shot Grant on 11 July. All four are now on the police wanted list. One of the accused reportedly said that the group had orders to shoot at anyone passing along the road in the belief that the shootings would cause the mine to be closed and that in turn would bring about Papua’s independence.¹⁴⁹

On 1 August, police carried out a reconstruction of the shootings with Simon Beanal and another of the accused, Amon Jawane. In a video of the reconstruction, both men look confused much of the time, although one person who was at the scene said Simon was very clear about the location from which the shootings took place.¹⁵⁰

The case dossier of Endel Kiwak alias Morokai, the only man to go to trial, sheds no light on the shootings. Endel, a man with no schooling who panned gold for a living, was arrested on 20 July with a backpack that among other things contained a magazine for an automatic weapon with 21 bullets in it. He was arrested under Emergency Law 12/1951 that outlaws possession of weapons and ammunition, but all he could tell police was that one Seprianus Senawatme had put some things in his backpack and asked him to carry it up the road to a place called Kali Jernih. He had no idea where Seprianus got the bullets. Endel had only met him earlier that day at a hotel in Timika and had been introduced to him by two companions who fled when Endel was arrested.¹⁵¹ From the material in the dossier, there is nothing specific that links Endel Kiwak to Simon Beanal, Kelly Kwalik or the Freeport shootings.

Another indication of Kelly Kwalik’s involvement, however, comes from KNPB leader Demus Wenda in August 2009:

Referring to several incidents of shooting in the area around Freeport, Timika, Demus Wenda said they were all carried out on the direct orders of Kelly Kwalik. “The resistance undertaken was a protest over injustices perpetrated on the people as holders of customary land rights. To resist various forms of injustice, a component of the Papuan people, backed up by the forces of the TPN/OPM, will continue to resist in whatever way they can”.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁵“Statemen Resmi Pimpinan OPM Terkait Insiden Freeport”, press release, OPM, 15 July 2009. The Freeport security guard who was killed at Mile 51 was Markus Rautealo.

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁴⁷Delius Tabuni studied in Yogyakarta. He was the field coordinator for a demonstration in Waghete, Nabire on 23 January 2006. He and Victor Yeimo formed the Front Anti Militarisme after an incident on 19 January 2006 in which Indonesian troops opened fire on a group of civilians, killing three. See AMP Nabire Report, “Aksi Massa Kasus Waghete Dibawah Pengawasan Aparat Kepolisian”, 26 January 2006. Information on Tabuni’s role with the Kwalik forces comes from Crisis Group interviews, activists in Jayapura, February 2010.

¹⁴⁸Copy of email from Delius Tabuni to Arkilaus Baho of AMP and Marthen Goo of Front Pepera, 28 April 2009, obtained by Crisis Group in Jayapura, February 2010.

¹⁴⁹Testimony of Simon Beanal.

¹⁵⁰Crisis Group interview, Jayapura, January 2010. Crisis Group has also obtained a copy of the reconstruction video in which a police investigating officer reads out the details of the case as set out in the indictment while the two accused and police acting in the role of the other alleged perpetrators play out the scene.

¹⁵¹Testimony of Endel Kiwak, 20 July and 11 August 2009, in case dossier of Endel Kiwak, op. cit.

¹⁵²“KNPB Klaim Bertanggungjawab Atas Pengibaran Bintang Kejora”, *Cenderawasih Pos*, 19 August 2009.

A weaker link is another handwritten letter that surfaced on 11 August 2009 purporting to be from Kelly Kwalik. Referring to the proliferation of pro-independence actions, it said:

The same is true with the action yesterday, 19 July 2009 in Tembagapura which is still not over. In all seriousness, I say: the actions being mobilised now all over Papua and even abroad are General Operation Orders coming directly from us here. Respected Governor Bas Suebu and Papuan police chief, you should know that the ongoing attacks on Freeport are purely to demand independence for the people of West Papua, with the purpose of closing Freeport.

Those who knew Kelly Kwalik say the script bore little resemblance to his handwriting, and there was an odd mistake in the letter. In addition to the governor, it was addressed to “Papuan Police Chief Paulus Waterpauw”. Waterpauw, a Timika native, ethnic Kamoro, and one of the very few senior Papuan police officers, was not the police chief. He had been police chief of Timika, then head of criminal investigation division of the provincial police until February 2009 when he was transferred to Jakarta. The man who was his boss, Police Chief F.X. Bagus Ekodanto, was sufficiently well-known and popular in the Papuan community that it would be odd for someone as senior as Kelly not to have heard of him. Some Papuan analysts believe the misdesignation of Waterpauw as police chief is enough to dismiss the letter as a forgery. Others maintain that if Kelly were holed up in the jungle or hiding in Timika, he would not necessarily know who the police chief was and might still have addressed the letter to the one officer that everyone in Timika knew.

The evidence is not conclusive, although the case for the involvement of Kelly Kwalik and his men is stronger than for any of the alternatives. And as a group of students in Jayapura noted, there is logic to the argument:

TPN/OPM are the military wing, right? Their job is to shoot the enemy. Freeport and the security forces are the enemy. So it fits that the TPN/OPM would attack them.¹⁵³

2. Another OPM group

One source with extensive contacts in Timika believes that Simon Beanal and others arrested were telling the truth when they said they were acting on Kelly Kwalik’s orders, but it was a man known as a Kelly Kwalik protégé who told them the orders were Kelly’s – there was no direct communication. This raises the possibility that

someone associated with Kelly Kwalik decided to take a more aggressive stance than the commander himself sanctioned. It would not be unusual for a subordinate to do this, to try to establish his own power base. But it would be odd to seek to justify this through a letter purporting to be from someone as respected as Kelly. It also would be odd for the KNPB group, especially Victor Yeimo, with such good contacts in Timika, to circulate a statement in Kelly’s name unless they were convinced it was authentic.

Another possibility is a joint operation between different TPN/OPM units. The precedent for this is the September 2006 attack mentioned above on a Freeport security vehicle around Mile 62-63. Goliat Tabuni and Titus Murib claimed responsibility in a statement on a pro-independence site, in which they claimed that the attack represented “coordination among Papuan independence elements in Timika”.¹⁵⁴ Both Goliat and Titus lived for several years in Timika and have followers in the Kali Kopi area. They only moved to Puncak Jaya in 2000, and it would not be impossible for their supporters to carry out an attack.

Following the death of Kelly Kwalik in December 2009, police were reportedly informed of a plan for an attack on 6 January that would have involved joint operations between three different TPN/OPM groups. The area between Miles 69-71 would be covered by a man named Beni Samore; Miles 58-66 by an unidentified member of Goliat’s forces; and Miles 38-58 by a man named Anis Uamang, from Kwalik’s forces. The information was reportedly based on joint meetings that had taken place in Nalangkia. The attack never took place, but it underscores the possibility that Goliat’s men might have been involved in earlier operations or indeed, in the 23 January attack.¹⁵⁵

3. Military protection rackets?

This leads to the theory most widely believed in Papua, that members of security forces themselves have been involved in the shootings. The evidence put forward thus far, however, does not hold up to close scrutiny, even when names, dates and places have been provided.

The argument hinges in part on Kelly’s reported assertion that he was not involved; in part on police statements backing that assertion; and in part on the undoubted growth in the military presence around the mine as a result of the shootings – and therefore a concomitant rise in rent-

¹⁵³ Crisis Group interview, student activists, Jayapura, February 2010.

¹⁵⁴ “TPN/OPM Serang Freeport, Dua Polisi Indonesia Berhasil Dibunuh, Dua Mobil Freeport Dibakar”, SPM News, 3 September 2006.

¹⁵⁵ Crisis Group interview, Timika, February 2010.

seeking opportunities.¹⁵⁶ Not only did Operation Amole raise the number of TNI troops from 120 to more than 600, but 100 of the reported 330 Kopassus troops in Papua were deployed to Timika as a result. Another motivation suggested is the military's desire to have access to more spoils from illegal gold panning in the tailings area of the Freeport mine.¹⁵⁷ In 2008, approximately 192,900 tonnes of rock were processed daily at the mill in Tembagapura with recovery rates of around 80 per cent for the gold contained in the ore.¹⁵⁸ While the sludge containing this gold and copper is pumped via a pipeline to the port at Amamapare, the tailings are dumped into the basin of the Otomona River. This waste, containing a relatively high degree of retrievable gold and copper, has sparked an informal gold panning industry, estimated at \$80 million or more annually, sustaining more than 10,000 miners in 22 camps. Many of the panners are not from the local Amungme or Kamoro ethnic groups but rather from other parts of Papua, increasing inter-ethnic tensions.

A concerted effort was made by security forces in early 2009 to clear miners from the more profitable upper reaches of the river.¹⁵⁹ After the Amole task force was in place, members controlled access to the tailings, reportedly demanding Rp. 1 million (approximately \$100) for transportation to the panning zone.¹⁶⁰ The more troops in the area, the more control over the industry they could exert.

Finally local community leaders, Indonesian human rights groups and even some senior government officials are convinced the military is responsible simply on the basis of the arms and ammunition used and the alleged professionalism of the shooters.¹⁶¹ In fact, neither weapons

nor ammunition are a useful clue to the perpetrators. Almost all firearms with the exception of vintage rifles and homemade guns used by the OPM have either been captured or bought from security forces and almost all bullets used not only in Papua but throughout Indonesia, including for criminal activities, are made by PT Pindad, the military munitions plant in Bandung.

In support of the theory, sources in Timika provided a widely circulated list of incidents that suggested direct military involvement, but the information as presented does not hold up. In one case, three soldiers were listed as having been arrested on the evening of 12 July around Mile 50, carrying weapons. The implication was that they were involved in the shooting. According to police, however, while the men were indeed stopped at a checkpoint, they turned out to have been off-duty, returning from visiting a relative in Tembagapura.¹⁶² Another example involves a Kopassus soldier from Solo, who according to the list was arrested on 15 July in the area where the shootings had taken place. But it turned out that the man in question had been arrested in the tailings area, not on the mining road, and he was reportedly suspected not of shooting but of selling ammunition to the miners to use in defending themselves against wild animals. Police believe that some of the bullets sold to the miners have fallen into OPM hands, but that does not turn the sellers into snipers.¹⁶³

The list also cites an incident on 22 August when police using a Barracuda armed personnel carrier fired along the road and allegedly killed three Kopassus soldiers who were hiding there; coffins were said to have been ordered from the Freeport warehouse the next day. Crisis Group checked with police and Freeport officials, and while police acknowledge that a Barracuda was in use, no one was killed, and no coffins were ever ordered.¹⁶⁴

None of this means military involvement is impossible, but the evidence is either circumstantial or inaccurate. The unfortunate result of the shootings is an expanded military presence, but there is nothing to suggest that this was planned from the outset.

¹⁵⁶“Kapolda: Pertemuan dengan Kelly Kwalik Bukan Rekayasa”, Era Baru News (<http://erabaru.net>), 26 October 2009. The official TNI budget does not cover actual costs so local commands are expected to raise funds locally; this effort usually involves a combination of licit and illicit activities. See Human Rights Watch, “Unkept Promise: Failure to End Military Business Activity in Indonesia”, 11 January 2010.

¹⁵⁷The Grasberg mine has the world's largest known recoverable copper and largest gold deposits. See www.fcx.com/operations/grascomplx.htm.

¹⁵⁸“Annual Report 2008”, Freeport McMoRan Copper and Gold Inc., p. 16

¹⁵⁹Markus Makmur, “Freeport clears waste area of traditional miners”, *Jakarta Post*, 24 January 2009; John McBeth, “Mining grievances that run deep”, *The Straits Times*, 8 August 2009. The figures were corroborated by industry sources interviewed by Crisis Group in Jakarta, October 2009.

¹⁶⁰McBeth, op. cit.

¹⁶¹See, for example, “Imparsial Curiga Militer Terlibat Kekerasan di Papua”, *Kompas*, 14 July 2009. Amungme leaders also argued that the men arrested as suspects could not possibly be involved because they could not have used firearms in such

a professional fashion. “Calls for release of Papuans held in Freeport attacks”, *Jakarta Globe*, 28 July 2009.

¹⁶²Crisis Group interview, police official, Jakarta, 25 February 2010.

¹⁶³Crisis Group interview, Timika, 17 February 2010 and email communication with police official, 19 February 2010.

¹⁶⁴Crisis Group interviews, Jakarta, 24 February 2010.

C. THE SHOOTING OF KELLY KWALIK

The already confused picture became even more clouded on 16 December 2009, after a unit from Detachment 88 tasked with tracking down Kelly Kwalik raided a house outside the village of Gorong-Gorong near Mile 26 on the Freeport road.¹⁶⁵ According to the police, a man later identified as Kelly first attempted to flee but then pulled a revolver, upon which police shot him. He was transferred to the Kuala Kencana hospital where he died of his wounds several hours later. Five others in the house were taken into custody; all but one were quickly released.¹⁶⁶

The death of Kelly Kwalik led to a series of violent protests in Timika, condemnations of police actions by key Papuan leaders and their supporters inside and outside Papua, and a defiant funeral in which Kelly's coffin was draped in the banned Morning Star flag.¹⁶⁷ One of the people who helped keep the anger from escalating out of control was Hans Magal, a former AMP activist, now running a scrap iron business in Timika. The police reportedly tried to offer Rp. 2 billion (about \$20,000) to Kelly's family, but Hans told them it was too cheap – his death should be compensated with dialogue.¹⁶⁸

Local police had placed Kelly on a wanted list for his involvement in crimes in 2002 and 2003, but very deliberately *not* for any suspected involvement in the 2009 shootings. Indeed, some officers believed, almost certainly mistakenly, that they were making progress in trying to convince Kelly to surrender in exchange for dropping the charges against him, and were critical of the way the raid was conducted.¹⁶⁹ The fact that shootings along the Freeport road continued after his death opened up yet another possible motivation: determination to show that attacks will continue, even with Kelly Kwalik gone.

¹⁶⁵ The operation, code-named *Operasi Kencana Lestari* (Operation Eternal Gold), was initiated in October 2009, coordinated directly from the National Police Headquarters and involved members of Detachment 88, Brimob, Police Intelligence and members of the Papuan Provincial Police. "Kelly Kwalik ditembak", *Kompas*, 17 December 2009.

¹⁶⁶ "Anak Buah Kwalik Jadi Tersangka", *Papua Pos*, 19 December 2009. The one man detained, Jeep Murib, 24, was charged with hiding a fugitive and illegal possession of ammunition. Police confiscated pro-independence documents, about 30 bullets, a Smith & Wesson revolver, two bows and twelve arrows.

¹⁶⁷ Markus Makur and Nethy Darma Somba, "Hundreds welcome Papuan rebel's body", *Jakarta Post*, 19 December 2009

¹⁶⁸ Crisis Group interview, Timika, February 2010.

¹⁶⁹ Crisis Group interview, Jakarta, February 2010.

VII. PROSPECTS FOR DIALOGUE

The best chance of a resolution of the Papuan conflict lies in dialogue between Papuan leaders and the Indonesian government, along the lines recommended by Papuan intellectual Neles Tebay and researchers at Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI), the Indonesian Institute of Sciences – but it will be an uphill struggle to get one and even more difficult to make it work.

A. THE LIPI-TEBAY INITIATIVE

From 2004 to 2006, a LIPI team conducted extensive consultations and interviews with Papuans and non-Papuans alike, and in 2008, inspired in part by the success of the Aceh peace process, they produced a "road map" of how to move forward. They noted that the issues in Papua fell into four clusters: marginalisation and discrimination of indigenous Papuans; failure of development; differing interpretations of history and identity; and justice and accountability for past violence by agencies of the Indonesian state against Papuans.¹⁷⁰ The authors argued that a political strategy could be put together that addressed these concerns while maintaining autonomy rather than independence and using the 2001 Special Autonomy Law on Papua as a starting point. But there would have to be dialogue on political status and particularly on the "diametrically opposed" interpretations of Papua's integration into the republic following the disputed Act of Free Choice in 1969.

Separately, Neles Tebay argued for a similar approach in a book called *Jakarta-Papua Dialogue: A Papuan Perspective*.¹⁷¹ In 2009 Tebay and the LIPI team joined forces, working to promote the road map, and building and training a team of some two dozen Papuan facilitators who represented men and women from most of the major activist groups – including one woman from the KNPB – who were collectively called the Papua Peace Network.¹⁷² The violence around the 2009 elections and afterwards in Papua unquestionably gave the idea of dialogue added clout, and it was not just LIPI who was promoting it. Gen. Bambang Darmono, the president's special adviser on Papua, who had played an important

¹⁷⁰ Muridan S. Widjojo et al, *Papua Road Map: Negotiating the Past, Improving the Present and Securing the Future (short version)* (Jakarta, 2008).

¹⁷¹ Neles Tebay, *Dialog Jakarta-Papua. Sebuah Perspektif Papua* (Jayapura, 2009).

¹⁷² Of the 22 facilitators, seven are women. The KNPB member is reportedly there in her own capacity rather than as a representative of the organisation and remains opposed to a dialogue without international involvement. She was willing to take part to see how far the process could go.

role on the government side in the Aceh peace process, was openly advocating dialogue after visiting Papua in mid-2009 to consult with community leaders. The most senior Papuan in the Yudhoyono government, Minister of Maritime Affairs Freddy Numberi, was also supportive.

On 18 January 2010, Muridan Widjojo, head of the LIPI team, and other team members presented the road map to Commission I of the Indonesian parliament, responsible for security affairs. They argued that a critical factor in the conflict was the lack of trust, both on the part of the Papuans toward the central government and on the part of central government toward Papuans, who tended to be seen as either overt or covert separatists. It was true that it was difficult to say who spoke for Papua, but the LIPI team said they hoped that the Papuan Peace Network they were putting together could both speak and set the agenda for a broad base of people. They ending up convincing some key members that the road map was worth pursuing.¹⁷³ (The presence on the commission of Papuan Yorrays Raweyai and former Acehnese acting governor Azwar Abubakar helped). One of their main messages was this: Don't expect people to give up the idea of independence unless there's something else tangible on offer.¹⁷⁴

Since then there have been public consultations on the prospect of dialogue in Wamena on 25 January, Timika on 27 January, and Manokwari on 12 February and Sorong on 22 February, and more are planned. The facilitators have prepared little booklets explaining what the dialogue is and is not (eg, a route to independence) and have been generally pleased with the discussions.

B. THE GOVERNMENT RESPONSE AND POTENTIAL SPOLIERS

Perhaps in preparation for a dialogue, or at least for more sustained attention to Papua, the government has made a concerted effort to woo elderly OPM founders back from exile, in the hope that they will become symbols of the independence movement's acceptance of Indonesian sovereignty. Instead, they have been largely dismissed as traitors. The most prominent among them is Nicolaas Jouwe, 86, known as the first person to raise the Morning Star flag in 1961, who made a visit back to Papua in March 2009 after almost half a century in the Netherlands, and then accepted President Yudhoyono's invitation in December to return permanently. He appears to have joined two other former OPM leaders, Franzalbert Joku and Nicholas Messet, in a group calling themselves Independent Group Supporting the Autonomous Region of

Papua with the Republic of Indonesia (IGSSARPRI). If the government hoped that these men would have credibility with younger militants, they were deeply mistaken.

The idea of dialogue has already encountered strong resistance from hardliners on both sides. On the Papuan side, the group around KNPB is opposed, especially if independence is taken off the agenda and international mediation is ruled out. Goliat Tabuni is also adamantly opposed. Another Papuan independence leader, John Ondawame of the Australia-based West Papua National Coalition for Liberation (WPNC), has written an eloquent statement in support of dialogue – but on the assumption that a truly open dialogue will become the basis for a referendum in the future, which is a non-starter for the government.¹⁷⁵ In general, WPNC and a rival political organisation, the West Papua National Authority (WPNA), also based abroad, advocate negotiations with the central government but only if held outside Indonesia and with international mediation; nevertheless, their representatives have been willing to give the Tebay-LIPI initiative a chance.¹⁷⁶

On the government side, the hardliners are conservative nationalists who see any dialogue as a threat to territorial integrity. The national unity directorate of the home affairs ministry funded a counter-booklet to the road map called *Integration is Final (Integrasi Telah Selesai)* with chapters such as “The Papua Road Map is a Giant Provocation” by Nicholas Messet, the IGSSARPRI member. The book is being handed out to visitors by the Papua desk of the Coordinating Ministry for Politics, Law and Security, ostensibly the body coordinating government policy. From its perspective, there is no need for dialogue. The 2001 Special Autonomy Law and a 2007 presidential instruction calling for accelerated development gave Papuans a “New Deal” that would bring them better education, health care and infrastructure, as well as affirmative action for indigenous Papuans. The only problems now were implementation and the low skill level of Papuans. Papua was now stable and safe and the OPM

¹⁷³“Perlu Dialog Papua, LIPI Usul Papua Road Map”, *Kompas*, 19 January 2010.

¹⁷⁴Crisis Group interview, Muridan Widjojo, 21 January 2010.

¹⁷⁵“Maklumat tentang Dialok Damai”, email from John Ondawame widely circulated to supporters and the media, particularly in Australia and Indonesia, 23 January 2010. The WPNC, founded in 2006, sees itself as an umbrella organisation for 29 different Papuan organisations, including the OPM/TPN. The head of the OPM/TPN military council, Richard Yoweni, is formally the chairperson of the WPNC, but the WPNC is basically run by Papuan exiles in Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea and Australia.

¹⁷⁶The WPNA was founded in 2003 and considers itself the provisional government of West Papua. It is dominated by people from coastal as opposed to highland areas of Papua; its leading figures include Australia-based Jacob Rumbiak and Herman Wanggai.

was such a minor problem that it was being handled by the police rather than the military.¹⁷⁷

C. NEED FOR HIGH-LEVEL BACKING

A dialogue on Papua would be far more difficult and complex than on Aceh.¹⁷⁸ The very fact that some pro-independence groups are open to the idea of dialogue increases suspicions among officials in Jakarta that the hidden agenda is independence, while on the Papuan side, there are real fears that dialogue could turn into a public relations exercise for Jakarta without any substantive issues being resolved.

President Yudhoyono seems to be moving toward dialogue, but he needs to be on board in a public and visible way if the process is to move ahead. The Aceh process worked for a number of reasons that are not replicable in Papua, but one that is replicable was the commitment of the president and the direct hands-on involvement of then Vice-President Jusuf Kalla, without whose energy and problem-solving capacity an agreement would not have been possible. He was high enough up in the government to get things done, interested and engaged in the process, had a personal stake in furthering his credentials as a peace-maker, and ensured that the government negotiating team was made up of his protégés. There is no equivalent in the current government.¹⁷⁹ Even if Kalla comes back in a facilitating role, it would not be the same as having someone directly representing the government and making commitments on its behalf.¹⁸⁰

In mid-February 2010, the National Human Rights Commission indicated that it was in discussions with Kalla about resolving the Papuan conflict through the same techniques used in Aceh, Poso and Maluku. “I haven’t yet been taken on as mediator”, Kalla told the press, “since we’re still studying the LIPI recommendations”.¹⁸¹ But not all Papuans were thrilled about his possible involvement. A previous effort to mediate on a very specific issue

between Papuan leaders and the central government had been fraught with problems, and Kalla is seen as lacking one critical quality for any facilitator working on Papua – patience.¹⁸²

The way ahead for the dialogue initiative is clearly going to be strewn with obstacles, but it is the only game in town. The alternative – more violence including some sparked by groups who are frustrated by what they see as the bankruptcy of peaceful initiatives – is much worse.

D. THE KNPB IN THE FUTURE

As proponents of dialogue are moving in one direction, all indications are that KNPB is moving in another, trying to step up demands for a referendum along the lines of the East Timor model. If East Timor, far more than Aceh, is seen by the KNPB as an example to emulate, it may reflect the growing influence of an East Timorese ex-student activist named Serafin Diaz. Diaz left Timor-Leste to study in Bali in 2002 and became friends with Papuans there. Known among KNPB activists as “the General”, he began joining Papuan demonstrations and other actions in Bali and Java around 2006. In January 2009 he left for Papua about the same time as the campaign to declare Papua an “emergency zone” was getting underway. In March, he was arrested after a demonstration in support of the release of Buchtar Tabuni. He was released in late January 2010 and reportedly has been helping KNPB reorganise and plan for a simulated referendum that is supposed to take place later in the year.¹⁸³ Many in the Papuan activist movement are worried that violence sparked by the KNPB could set back the chances for dialogue.

¹⁷⁷ Crisis Group interview, Maj.Gen. Karsono, Papua Desk, Jakarta, 17 February 2010.

¹⁷⁸ For Crisis Group analyses of the Aceh peace process, Crisis Group Asia Report N°48, *Aceh: Now for the Hard Part*, 29 March 2006; N°44, *Aceh: So Far, So Good*, 13 December 2005; and N°40, *Aceh: A New Chance for Peace*, 15 August 2005.

¹⁷⁹ Kalla stepped down as vice-president in October 2009 and became head of the Indonesian Red Cross.

¹⁸⁰ Crisis Group interview, Jakarta, January 2010. See also “Tokoh Papua: Beri JK Mandat Jembatan Dialog Kebangsaan”, *Kompas*, 3 September 2009. The push for more direct involvement of the president is probably not helped by letters from U.S. Congressional representatives urging him to conduct a dialogue with international mediation.

¹⁸¹ “JK Siap Tengah Penyelesaian Konflik di Papua”, *Jawa Pos*, 16 February 2010.

¹⁸² When Kalla as vice-president was trying to resolve a dispute between the central government and the Papuan People’s Council (Majelis Rakyat Papua, MRP) over the creation of West Papua province, he was seen by some as pushing for results too quickly. Some Papuans felt obliged to agree to whatever he proposed, but then thought better of it once the pressure was off. Then Kalla would accuse them of being unreliable. Crisis Group communication with analyst monitoring events at the time, 16 February 2010.

¹⁸³ On Serafin Diaz, see “Penggrebekan, penggeledahan, Penyergapan ataukah Sweeping ‘biasa?’ (Bagian 2)”, *Andawat Papua* (<http://andawat-papua.blogspot.com>), 8 April 2009.

VIII. CONCLUSION

There is no single source of violence in Papua, and in some areas the conflict between the government and the independence movement has taken a back seat to other conflicts – land disputes, inter-clan wars, and struggles over local political power. Confrontations between pro-independence groups and security forces are only one part of the picture, and they tend to be concentrated in the flashpoint areas of Jayapura-Abepura, Timika and the central highlands; they are much less visible in the province of West Papua and along Papua's south-eastern coast. But resentment against Jakarta and support for independence are far more deeply rooted than the central government wants to acknowledge, whether or not there is violence to show for it. The Yudhoyono government to date has pursued a strategy of "accelerated development" for Papua, and while raising levels of health and education and building infrastructure are crucial, they are not sufficient to end demands for independence.

The militant highlanders driving the creation of international solidarity groups like IPWP – which opened an office in Brussels on 26 January 2010 – are not broadly representative. One reason they have not been able to organise mass demonstrations of the size they would like is that many Papuans are worried about the consequences of joining forces. Many more see their militant pro-independence activism as a diversion from the real task at hand, which is building up local power bases to compete for local political and economic benefits. But the radicals have been able to articulate a sense of grievance and discontent that is not going away anytime soon.

Jakarta's tendency to see all manifestations of support for independence as "separatist" and therefore "enemy" does not help. There is a huge variation of thought within the Papuan nationalist community, even within the TPN/OPM, and it is folly to tar them all with the same brush. Imprisoning everyone who tries to raise a flag is counter-productive. It worsens Indonesia's image abroad, provides a focus for protests and may allow for new recruitment inside prisons.

That said, it is a positive development that addressing "rebellion" is increasingly seen as a task for law enforcement rather than the military, and that both the police and courts have become more sophisticated in terms of not playing into the militant agenda. The number of people released without charge or acquitted after trial in some of the cases described is striking, and while it is true that many should never have been arrested in the first place, there is some indication that the justice system in Papua is improving – albeit from a very low base and with a long way to go.

Papua is not the land of horrors that KNPB would like to portray. It has huge problems, but there also have been huge changes over the last decade. The Indonesian government repeatedly shoots itself in the foot by restricting access and preventing a full picture of Papua from emerging. The best way to marginalise the radicals of KNPB is not to lock them up. It is to throw the doors wide open to the central highlands and elsewhere, and let NGOs and journalists report back. It is to take part in a dialogue on justice and land and the historical record. There are models available for making progress on these issues without jeopardising sovereignty, and if the conversation is serious, the radicals could find themselves pushed aside.

Jakarta/Brussels, 11 March 2010

APPENDIX A

MAP OF INDONESIA



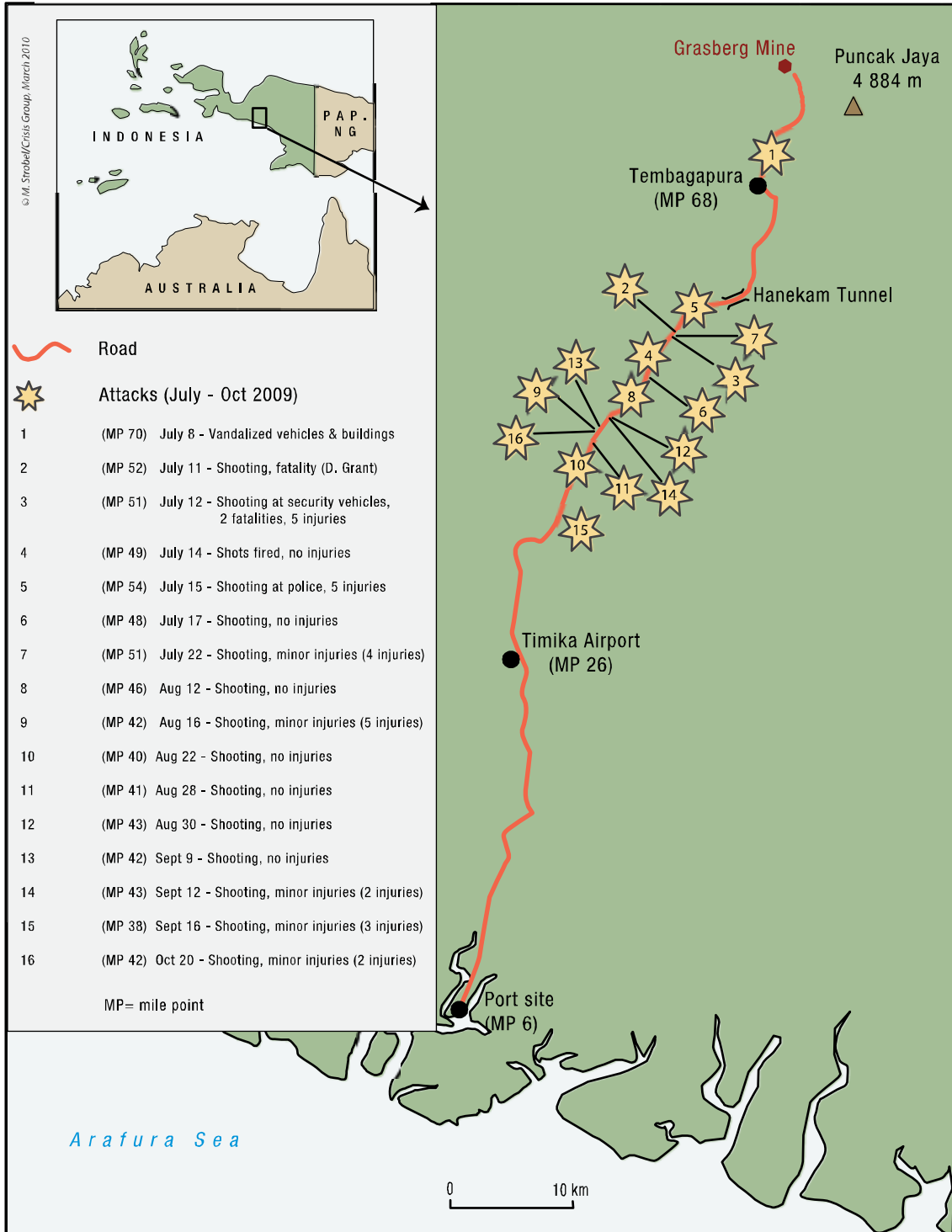
APPENDIX B

MAP OF PAPUA/WEST PAPUA PROVINCES



APPENDIX C

MAP OF SHOOTINGS ALONG FREEPORT MINE ROAD



APPENDIX D

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March 2010

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