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# Human Protection in Papua from Ideology Threat: A Descriptive Qualitative Reasearch in Yigi District, Nduga Regency, Province of Papua

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#### ABSTRACT

The activities of Papua Merdeka Organisation (OPM) in Papua has been an issue and causing several losts in both militaries and civilians' sides in Nduga such as a murder of 31 workers of trans papua road project of PT Istaka Karya by Armed Criminals Group (KKB) because of a KKB anniversary ceremony picture held around the project site taken by one of the workers. KKB is an organisation of native papuans willing to separate from Indonesia. Papua is in a precarious situation (not only about the human protection, but also about the stake position of state integration). The voice of "Freedom of Papua" and the morning star flag indicate distress of an ideology threat in Papua. This research is to analyse the human protection in Yigi District, Nduga Regency towards any ideology threat. The method of this research is descriptive qualitative which describes and analyses findings in the research that is the existence of separatist group originated from Native Papuans (OAP) which is KKB threats the human protection in Yigi District, Nduga Regency are victimised by Indonesian Military Force (TNI) existence in quelling KKB which is proven when many mothers and children are frightened when TNI come to their village, and they shoot the TNI as a self-defense from the attack of KKB. Therefore, a synthesis process between defence science and cultural-social atmosphere is needed so the Pancasila ideology is rooted firmly in all levels of Papuan citizens.

Keywords: Human protection; Ideology threat

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#### 1. INTRODUCTION

The integration process of Papua to be part of Indonesia began from Trikora, on the December 19<sup>th</sup>, 1961 which was considered as law, politic, and military intervention. Trikora was announced 18 days after the declaration of Independent Country of Papua (Negara Papua Merdeka), by raising the Papua Flag (which is currently called as Morning Star or Bintang Kejora) on the December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1961. Following up Trikora, Act of Free Choice was held, as mentioned in New York Pact. Instead of being done by One Man One Vote system, it was done by representative system where 1025 Papuans were selected to vote. Act of Free Choice was done by force with military intimidation. The result was that Papua was integrated to Indonesia. Although the political status of the area of Papua is final according to Indonesian Government, for Papuan citizens, the integration of the area of Papua is not legal and legally disabled because it violates New York Pact, Chapter 18, point c, which is that Act of Free is done by One Man One Vote. In the perspective of Moral of Papua Forum, this is the main cause of the first problem which is the difference of perception between Central Government and native Papuan citizens regarding the integration process. Papuans have their own narration of their history regarding the construction of their history. In other words, the history of the society in Papua is different from the history of the majority of the Nusantara society. The construction of Papuans history can be traced back to the previous several centuries, but it can also be traced back since the beginning of education programme done by Protestant and Catholic Church by dormitories managed by Protestant missionaries and Catholic missions which established the awareness about rights and responsibilities as Papuans towards Papuan Land even though it is still embryonal which is by Bernada

Meteray in her book "Nasionalisme Ganda Orang Papua" (The Double Nationalisms of Papuans) called as the nursery of awareness and love towards Papuan Land which grows and develops.<sup>1</sup>

This growth and love towards Papuan Land by the time have altered as a double awareness which are the identity as a Papuan and the awareness as Indonesian citizens. After fifty years of the integration of Papua to The Republic of Indonesia, situation where Papuans people have to choose between their Papuanism and Indonesian nationalism is strengthened by different society movements which are separated into groups of organisations expecting the Freedom of Papua and those which support the unity of Papua's integration to The Republic of Indonesia.

These inner wound and trauma are escalated by several human rights violations in Papua, since 1963 to 1998, in New Order era, and military operations since Reformation era since 1998 up to now. The application of the operations for security restoration, using different signs, as reported by Churches, NGO, National Commission of Human Rights, The Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) has generated trauma and the loss of trust from Papuans towards central government. Armies are considered as "monsters" which are frightening. The face of the government in Papua, is considered the same as the armies violating their human rights. The violence done by the military force is entwined to the approach used by New Order Government in maintaining the stability of the security in Papua. Since 1962 to 1984, it had been a dark period when the government ran a military operation to quell the Independent Papua Organisation (OPM). The consequence was that Papua turned to Military Operation District until 1998. The existence of the military force is basically not only based on the quelling of organisations which stand for the independence, but also the business and political interests of the military force.<sup>2</sup>

Then, on December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2018, Independent Papua Organisation which is led by Ekianus Kogoya murdered 31 workers of Istaka Karya company. The motive behind this murder was because one of the victims had taken a picture of an activity which was a ceremony of Armed Criminals Group (KKB) which was held nearby the project site. The separatist group who found out that a worker had taken a picture got mad and shot the victims.<sup>3</sup> And then, on the March 1<sup>st</sup>, 2019, about 2000 Nduga Civilians evacuated to Wamena, the capital city of Jayawijaya, the economy center of central Papua Mountains. Among those thousands of civilians, 610 of the refugees are students. Until June 2019, reported from Investigation Report on the Growing of Nduga Conflict and Its Impact released by Solidarity Team for Nduga with Humanity Volunteering Team in Wamena, the impact of the weaponised conflict in Nduga had pushed more than 5000 civilians to evacuate and 139 of them died. The Refugees from Nduga who are the most vulnerable are women and children.

The crisis of the situation in Nduga during 2019 showed the face of absolute non-humanity in Papua. Armed Criminals Group (KKB) is one of armed organisations which consists of native Papuans willing to separate themselves from The Republic of Indonesia. Papua is in a precarious situation, not only about the human protection, but also about the nation integration which is at stake. The voice of "Freedom of Papua" (Papua Merdeka) and the waving of Morning Star flag indicate that the ideology threat in Papua is very distressful.

This continuing likely situation and condition of Papua often creates distrust of Papuan people towards the central and regional governments. Due to the distrust, they have been frequently performing contradiction and attacks up to now. Nowadays, the number of Papuan people who voice referendum and disintegration threats has been increasing in several districts in Papua, so the state performs such approach as protection approach to settle different conflicts in Papua. However, that protection approach makes native Papuans people (OAP) threatened in the term of their life. Gunshots happening between Armed Criminals Group (KKB) and Indonesian Military Force (TNI) brings continuous trauma especially for mothers and children. Therefore, human security in Papua is threatened. The previous narration focuses this research on the descriptive qualitative approach about how human protection in Papua is towards ideology threat.

#### 2. METHODS

Method which is used in this research is descriptive qualitative. The qualitative method used is as described by Bogdan and Taylor <sup>4</sup> as a research procedure which produces descriptive data in the form of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bernada Meteray, Nasionalisme Ganda Orang Papua, Jakarta: Kompas Media Nusantara, 2012, page 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Muridan S. Widjojo, Di Antara Kebutuhan Demokrasi dan Kemenangan Politik Kekerasan: Konflik Papua Pasca Orde Baru, Jakarta:LP3ES, 2001, page 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Tempo Newspaper, December 5<sup>th</sup>, 2018

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Bogdan, R.C dan Taylor. 2002. Pengantar Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif Suatu Pendekatan Fenomenologis terhadap Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial. Surabaya: Usaha Nasional.

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written or spoken words from people and behaviour which can be observed. This research is proposed to analyse and to reveal the phenomenon of human protection in Papua from ideology threat. This research took place in Yigi District, Nduga Regency, Papua, Indonesia. The informants of this research are from 3 activists, 3 traditional leaders, 2 local governments and 5 civilians. To find the result of this research, the researcher undertook several stages which are data collection, data processing or data analysis, report composition, and conclusion drawing. The data collection process was performed by observation, interview, and documentation using *zoom* application and video call.

#### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Nduga Regency is a regency in Papua Province, Indonesia. Based on Law No. 6 2008 this regency is an expansion as wide as 12,941 km<sup>2</sup> or 4.08% of the total area of Papua Province and has several Natural Resources (SDA) potentials which can be used for the economic activity of the people in Nduga Regency. This regency is divided into 32 districts with the total of 248 villages within the area.<sup>5</sup>

Based on our observation the journey of Papuan civilians between 1962-1969 which is known as Papuan integration period had been a dreadful period as what Pekey describes in his book translated as the following. "In Papuans deepest heart, integration period was a gripping nightmare experience which has to be experienced for eight years under intimidating combat boots and gun barrels because during those years the reality of politics, laws, and humanity in Papua is very close to an enormous number of human rights violations, the absence of historical rights, political rights, equal rights, cultural rights, and civilians' rights in economy and social."<sup>6</sup>

The conflicts occurring in Papua demonstrate the rising of nationalism as native Papuans towards foreigners which is a political awareness of Papuans. According to Natalius Pigay (2001) those nationalism conflicts occur between three different groups. The first, conflict between Papuans as a native ethnic and the Dutch which began in 1828 until 1962; the second, conflict between Indonesia and The Netherlands which took place during 1946-1962; and the third, conflict between Papuans people and Indonesians people which has happened since 1962 up to now.<sup>7</sup>

Along with that, the conflict in Yigi District, Nduga Regency, Papua has been worsening as the number of victims increase. Referring to the date from Humanity Team, there are 241 Nduga civilians died during the weaponised conflict between Indonesian Military Force (TNI)/Indonesian Police (Polri) and supporting independence groups in Nduga, preceding the shooting incident of a number of workers in Trans Papua road building project done by National Army of West Papua Freedom-Independent Papua Organisation (TPNPB-OPM) at the end of 2018. Therefore, thousands of civilians evacuated to such several areas as Wamena, Janijaya, Timika, Jayapura, and Puncak. Those refugees are mostly mothers and children.

Violence activity in Papua can be classified into three forms; First, violence which is done by security force, especially military; Second, business activities which create federation among corporations with security force; Third, horizontal violence which comes from conflicts between tribes, religions, and interests.

For more than fifteen years, Reformation regime has been on the throne, resolving conflicts in Papua only brings false resolution so it creates non-permanent stability. That situation was caused by the existence of military-security approach used by the government so human protection in Papua especially in Yigi District, Nduga Regency is more threatened.

The concept formulation by Barry Buzan in his book entitled "People, State, and Fear" which is "Security is one of the focused attentions which are expected to be achieved by all human, both the state entity and an individual." (Buzan, 1991:4). Human protection is a concept which reveals the definition of "protection" from its traditional concept, which is security of the state from military threats to be human and community protection. Until now, human protection is not a single concept. The concept and definition about human protection come from different circles and groups such as international organisations, regional institutions, and state actors which discuss in different forums and international conference. Generally, human protection concept identifies that there are three kinds of threats which are social economy threats, personal security threats, and environmental threats. During its development, Human Development Report released by UNDP in 1994 identifies that there are seven components from human protection can be inferred as threats for human security.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> BPS, Papua dalam Angka, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Pekey, Papua Mencari Jalan Perdamaian, 2018, page 44.

<sup>7</sup> Pekey, 2018, page 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Sonny Sudiar, international relations journal, Vol. 7, No. 2 / October 2018 - March 2019

Examined from the history of its origin, Pancasila is actually a political agreement or convention about basic philosophy of a state which is needed to preserve the unity of a new state named Republic of Indonesia.  $^9$ 

This unity is needed considering the structure and the composition of Indonesian citizens which are very plural, in the term of religion, tribe, ethnic, culture, economy, etc. Therefore, it can be said that the entity which unites the nation is not identical identity as a group, but the same feeling of the faith instead which eventually grows the spirit for the nation to unite. The reality of social, economy, and political gaps which exist in Papua is actually capable of creating conflicts of violence and triggering the existence of local identity groups, either in the form of classes, armed groups, or ideology groups.<sup>10</sup>

## 4. CONCLUSION

This paper is an output of the science project of Human Protection in Papua from Ideology Threat. Teaching Pancasila as a nation ideology for native Papuans is not an easy task to do, considering enormous inner wounds and physical wounds received by Papuans for Indonesia. However, through this case in Papua, it can be said that social injustice phenomenon has become one of Indonesian crucial problems which potentially threatens the unity and the integrity of the state. The problem which is rooted from social gaps because of this improper implementation of social justice will create jealousy from intimidated groups of people and will fade out the feeling of the same faith to unite as Indonesia. If identity groups which demonstrate separatist movement start to show up, the state integrity which is more about a moral connection will be threatened. In other words, human protection in Papua towards ideology threats will not be able to be done by military approach because it will add longer lists of inner wounds received by native Papuans. Dialogues between communities in Papua and the government need to be held as one of the persuasive ways to settle political conflicts.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Kaisiepo, Manuel. 2006. Pancasila dan Keadilan Sosial: Peran Negara. Dalam Restorasi Pancasila, peny. Irfan Nasution dan Ronny Agustinus, 176-194. Bogor: Brighten Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Widjojo, M. S., Elisabeth, A., Al Rahab, A., Pamungkas, C., & Dewi R. (2009). Papua Road Map: Negotiating the Past, Improving Present and Securing the Future. Jakarta: LIPI.