

# PERSPECTIVE

RESEARCHERS AT ISEAS – YUSOF ISHAK INSTITUTE ANALYSE CURRENT EVENTS

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## **The Papuan Question in Indonesia: Recent Developments**

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### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

- Papuan nationalist agitation and violent protests escalated in mid-August 2019 within Papua and in various Indonesian towns, especially after video footage of security personnel calling Papuan activists “monkeys” were widely circulated. Such footage revived longstanding allegations of discrimination against Papuans in Indonesia. Papuan protests have increasingly called for an act of self-determination or independence as a solution to racism against Papuans.
- The Indonesian government has responded firmly with troop and police reinforcements in Papua, blocked the Internet in the province, and arrested activists who called for a referendum or independence. At the same time, it has called for dialogue and pledged to punish security personnel who were guilty of racist behaviour.
- Amidst this heightened Papuan nationalism, the West Papuan Governor has become more assertive in championing Papuan interests, to the extent of asking for the withdrawal of TNI troops and calling for an international role in negotiating the continuation of Papua’s Special Autonomy status.
- Some Papuan community leaders have called for Papuan students to return to Papua and at least one demonstration wanted non-Papuans to leave the province. However some Papuan nationalists have counselled restraint, saying that non-Papuans living in Papua are “not the enemy”.
- Given the irreconcilable differences between the demands for self-determination and Indonesia’s insistence on Papua’s inclusion within the country, the tension over Papua’s status is likely for persist for some time.

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## INTRODUCTION

There are very large numbers of Papuan studying in universities in Indonesia outside of Papua.<sup>1</sup> Over the last several years, Papuan students with a nationalist outlook have become more organised, with the most active nationalist organisation being the Alliansi Mahasiswa Papua (AMP),<sup>2</sup> whose activities are also reported upon in Papua.<sup>3</sup> The AMP has been active in organising protests in towns where they have been studying, both in response to events in Papua and to specific anniversaries, such as the signing of the New York Agreement<sup>4</sup> and also the earlier ceremony in 1961 where the Bintang Kejora flag was first raised, alongside the Netherlands flag.<sup>5</sup> Most Papuan nationalists now see December 1, 1961, as a Proclamation of Independence.

The protest actions carried out by AMP have also received support from Indonesian activists. Most of these activists are organised in the Front Rakyat Indonesia untuk (for) West Papua (FRI-WP).<sup>6</sup> FRI-WP supports the right of self-determination for West Papua and, in fact, West Papua's independence. While other Indonesian human rights and civil society organisations have shown support for West Papuan protests in regard to cases of human rights violations, FRI-WP was established with a specific platform of supporting self-determination.<sup>7</sup>

On August 15, FRI-WP and AMP carried out protest actions in Jakarta, Bandung, Salatiga (Central Java), Malang in East Java and Ternate as well as in Yogyakarta, Ambon and Sula. They were protesting the fact that Papuans played no role in the negotiations in 1962 between Indonesia and the Netherlands, asserting also that Papua had proclaimed its independence in 1961. These demonstrations were broken up by police in Ternate. In Sula, one person was arrested for distributing leaflets. In Malang, there were clashes between the AMP and FRI-WP on the one hand and *preman* groups on the other.<sup>8</sup> There was also a demonstration in Jayapura itself on August 15, where 106 people were detained overnight.

There was no protest action in Surabaya; however a report circulated via several *WhatsApp* groups associated with elements that were anti-separatist claiming that Papuan students had thrown an Indonesian flag into a drain. On August 16, local police and, in some reports, soldiers as well, went to the Papuan student hostel where the alleged incident had taken place, but found no sign of any broken flagpole. Later, a large number of people from various anti-separatist groups also gathered outside the hostel. At one stage in this incident, it appears that a policeman or soldier called out "Monyet!" (Monkeys) to the Papuans. This was recorded on a mobile phone and was circulated on social media. It was also widely reported in the major media outlets in Papua.<sup>9</sup> The epithet "monkeys" is a racial slur that the Dutch colonialists also used against locals in the Netherlands East Indies.<sup>10</sup> The police later entered the hostel and arrested 43 Papuan students, who were detained overnight.

The circulation of the footage with the yell "Monyet!" and the statements by the Papuan students involved, provoked demonstrations in several towns in Papua, including, in the first wave, Jayapura, Sorong, Fak Fak and Manokwari.<sup>11</sup> These protests were held outside government offices and local parliament buildings. Many people at these protests waved the Papuan flag and called for a referendum, as well as voiced anger at the racist slur in Surabaya. They claimed that racism towards Papuans had been endemic in Papua for decades.<sup>12</sup> These were the largest, most militant, most visible and widespread protest actions in Papua for some time. In some cases, buildings were also set on fire. There were follow-up demonstrations in Jakarta and other cities, which also involved Indonesians protesting

against racism. A FRI-WP and AMP joint follow-up demonstration of around 300 people took place in Jakarta on Thursday August 22. As a show of solidarity, the demonstrators were invited to join the weekly Thursday demonstrations outside the Presidential Palace which have been demanding government action to find disappeared activists from the Suharto era. Thus the Papuan flag was held up outside the Palace.

The issue of racism towards Papuans and unrest in Papua achieved a new profile on the national political stage. It has brought with it a similar high profile on the issue of self-determination.

On August 23, it was reported that the Army had been questioning six military personnel involved in the hostel incident after President Widodo instructed the Armed Forces commander to prosecute any soldier involved in racist activity.<sup>13</sup>

The Surabaya “monyet” incident and the very visible follow-up protests in the Papuan provinces have put the Papuan question on centre stage, at least for the moment. From the point of view of the Widodo government, they are an embarrassment given Widodo’s commitment to a high profile for his Papua policy. This policy was opened in 2014-2015 with the release of several Papuan political prisoners and followed up with high-profile infrastructure building and price management policies.<sup>14</sup> President Widodo has also made more visits to the Papuan provinces than any other Indonesian president. There was a high voter turn-out in the 2019 elections, which was assumed to have been a sign of strengthening legitimacy of Indonesian national institutions. The militant and angry protests in Papuan towns has sent a message that many Papuans still feel that they are the subject of racism and oppression and want this to end. Many clearly also want a genuine act of self-determination. Widodo’s image of success in this arena has been seriously damaged.

## **GOVERNMENT RESPONSES**

While government responses are continuing to evolve, they have so far been contradictory and have not assuaged the Papuan nationalist sentiments. President Widodo’s first response was to issue a statement that while an emotional response [by Papuans] was understandable, everybody should forgive each other.<sup>15</sup> The universal response from Papuan nationalists as well as non-nationalists and also Indonesian sympathisers of various standpoints to this was that it was inadequate since the Surabaya racial slur<sup>16</sup> was not a one-off incident but symbolised an ongoing problem of racist discrimination. Widodo’s statement was later followed up by the order to prosecute any military who had engaged in racist harassment.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, however, the military also began a hunt for those who had uploaded the footage of the military pronouncing the slurs, as if the uploaders had also committed a crime.<sup>18</sup> In East Java, its Governor did offer an apology for the incident.

The government also despatched 1,000 extra military and police to Papua. The Ministry of Communications and Information announced a blockage on the Internet in Papua, which has been condemned by almost all human rights groups in Indonesia.<sup>19</sup> The Presidential Chief of Staff, ex-General Moeldoko, accused Papuan groups, including the Papuan Independence Organisation (OPM) of opportunistically using the Surabaya incident to inflame people in Papua against Indonesia.<sup>20</sup>

Papuans and human rights groups have widely criticised these responses. Political parties however appear to be silently agreeing with these policies.

Most recently, it was announced that President Widodo will be meeting with a gathering of Papuan leaders, although it is not yet clear exactly who will comprise the Papuan delegation beyond governors and district heads.<sup>21</sup>

## **PAPUAN DISCONTENT, RACISM AND NATIONALISM**

The Papuan issue has, at the moment, the highest profile in national politics that it has had since the 1970s. One important context contributing to this has been the accumulation of issues in recent months, especially the intensified role of the Indonesian army (TNI) in Nduga, following a shooting incident in 2018. Papuan sentiment, both articulated by nationalists and non-nationalists, blames the TNI for escalating violence and evacuations of the civilian population. This is reflected in requests by both the Governor of West Papua and the District Head in the Nduga area for the TNI to be withdrawn.

The Nduga situation and other cases of harassment have been well reported and are obviously well known in Papua. There has also been constant reporting of cases of violence and human rights violations. One Papuan support coalition, the International Coalition for Papua, claims that more than 6,400 people were arrested for political activism in 2015 and 2016. The group also states that more than 300 victims of torture or maltreatment and 20 victims of extra-judicial killings occurred during those years.<sup>22</sup>

The political and legal framework for arrests in Papua and elsewhere in Indonesia around this issue is that advocacy of separation from Indonesia is in itself illegal.

However, it was not reports of these cases of violence that has propelled Papua onto the national stage again but rather it has been the racial slur of “monkeys”. The current discussion of events in the media, especially the social media, has been marked by many stories by Papuans of the racism they face outside of Papua – difficulty in obtaining rental accommodation, widespread insulting stereotyping and so on. This discussion was reinforced when, in Bandung, in the aftermath of the “monkey” slur, a local police station sent cartons of whisky to a hostel housing Papuan students, a reflection of the stereotyping of Papuans as drunkards.<sup>23</sup> Under widespread criticism, the police are blaming an individual officer who they say is now under scrutiny.

There are a number of factors that can explain the explosive impact of this one incident. First, racism is, according to many voices, experienced on a daily basis by all Papuans. For many, racist treatment and discrimination sums up how they perceive their status in Indonesia. This is the first time an open racist slur by a member of the state apparatus has been documented and gone viral. Second, a call for ending racial discrimination is much more acceptable to a wider political spectrum in Indonesia than the call for self-determination or independence. Neither can opposition to racism be eschewed even from government officials. This has meant that the level of sympathetic public discussion of the issue has multiplied the impact of the single incident.

Another factor is that while the various cases of human rights violations in Papua have not been what has provoked the current wave of protest and discussion, their accumulation has provided an inflammatory context.

The issue now arising in the discussion is how the racial discrimination is to be ended. There are some manifestations of the different perspectives among Papuans.<sup>24</sup> The strongest voice to date of a critical perspective from within a framework of accepting integration into Indonesia has been that of the current governor of Papua, Lukas Enembe. As Governor, Enembe has called for the TNI to withdraw from troubled areas such as Nduga, eliciting criticisms from local police and military authorities.<sup>25</sup> In the aftermath of the “monkey” incident and in the midst of the current discussions, Enembe, on August 22, called for an international presence in negotiating the continuation of the Papuan provinces’ status as provinces with “Special Autonomy”. Enembe made references to how Aceh received a positive outcome for itself as a result of internationally mediated negotiations.<sup>26</sup> This represents a considerable escalation in the position taken by Enembe, although still within a framework of remaining within Indonesia. At the same time, Enembe confirms that there is widespread community support for a referendum. Enembe’s August 22 statement was stronger than usual in making the unqualified claim that Papuans had received no benefit from the economic development activities undertaken in Papua, including the infrastructure developments implemented by the Widodo government. On a widely watched national television show, he also stated that the Papuan population would never get to use the new Trans Papua highway. The extent to which these views are shared by the Governor of West Papua and district heads may emerge in the planned meeting with President Widodo in the near future.<sup>27</sup>

Another major perspective is that of Papuan nationalists, such as that articulated by the AMP. On August 25, they issued an extensive statement responding to the racism issue. For most Papuan nationalists, racism is an integral part of what they see as Indonesian colonialism, starting back in 1962. Their statement, for example, reads:

Racism towards Papuans began with the forced integration of Papua into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). [This started] in 1962 after the United States efforts to rob the natural resources of the People and Indonesia takes colonial political control, involving itself in the New York Agreement discussing the future of Papua giving birth to a new occupation of West Papua after the Dutch with no involvement of Papuans.<sup>28</sup>

For Papuan nationalists, racist treatment is an integral part of colonialism. In the dominant Papuan nationalist narrative, West Papua had proclaimed independence in 1961 and the New York Agreement is therefore invalid and the integration of West Papua into Indonesia is illegal. They argue that racism has been a part of consolidating this illegal colonial occupation. Papuan nationalists refer to the “bangsa Papua” – Papuan nation<sup>29</sup> – in a consistent assertion of their status as a nation that has the right to its own state. Point 8 of their statement includes:

The Papuan question is not a domestic matter of Indonesia. This is a question of the occupation of an already independent state. Therefore we demand the intervention of the International Community.<sup>30</sup>

Flowing from this perspective is the conclusion that the only way to end the racist treatment of Papuans is for Papua to become an independent country: “Self-determination is the best solution to racism.”<sup>31</sup> Papuan nationalists therefore call for an internationally supervised act of self-determination where they would campaign for independence from Indonesia. The demand for a referendum was visible in the recent demonstrations in the Papuan provinces as well as in other provinces. On August 24 in Semarang, for example, a new coalition, the Semarang United People for the Liberation of West Papua (Persatuan Rakyat untuk Pembebasan Papua Barat Semarang - PRPPBS) held a protest action articulating the call for a referendum and independence.<sup>32</sup> The formation of an organisation like PPPBS in a town like Semarang most likely reflects an expansion of involvement of supporters beyond FRI-WP and AMP. This perspective is, of course, also articulated by all Papuan nationalist organisations active outside of Indonesia in international fora. There are now several nationalist organisations operating within Papua. These include the Komite Nasional Papua Barat – West Papua National Committee (KNPB), Gerakan Mahasiswa, Pemuda dan Rakyat, Papua Student, Youth and People Movement; Forum Independent Mahasiswa West Papua (FIM); Negara Republik Federal Papua Barat (NRFPB); West Papua National Authority; West Papua National Coalition for Liberation; Solidaritas Nasional Mahasiswa dan Pemuda Papua Barat (Sonamapa<sup>33</sup>) and also Gerakan Rakyat Demokratik Papua – Garda Papua.<sup>34</sup> The politics of all of these organisations are reported in Papuan media such as *Jubi* or *Suara Papua*.<sup>35</sup> While it is difficult to assess the size and influence of each organisation, their multiplicity and media coverage indicates that organised Papuan nationalists are very present.

The stated position of Governor Enembe for an international presence in a negotiation of the continuation of the Papuan provinces’ special autonomy status, and the Papuan nationalist demands for self-determination and independence stand in contradiction to each other. Being inside or outside of Indonesia cannot be reconciled. This is reflected in the position adopted in the AMP statement which described the Papuan provincial governments as “colonial” and which opposes their attendance at any meeting with President Widodo if they do not first take a position supporting an act of self-determination.

A third response has emerged adopting and taking the inverse position to the anti-Papuan racism. The Dewan Adat Papua (Papuan Customary Council) has called for Papuans studying outside of Papua in Indonesia to all return to Papua.<sup>36</sup> This call, where funding is promised to bring the students home, is being discussed by Papuan students outside Papua but, at this moment, it is not fully clear what their response will be. The spirit of the statement is: only if Papuans were in Papua would they escape racism. Parallel with this was a demonstration in the town of Nabire also calling for Papuan students to come home, but also for non-Papuans to leave Nabire.<sup>37</sup> Even before this Nabire demonstration, the media were reporting rising fears among the non-Papuan population, which make up around 50% of the population.<sup>38</sup> The recent AMP statement seems to be responding not only to the “monkey” racism issue but also these developments defining conflict on an ethnic basis. The statement implies a new definition of the Papuan nation, which has up until now been defined by most nationalists in ethnic terms, differentiating Orang Asli Papua (Original Inhabitants) from Pendatang (New Arrivals). The AMP statement in appealing to people not to be drawn into racial positioning states: “... we call on the Papuan people to unify, to broaden mass mobilisations without differentiating between ethnicity, religion, race and others. Build strength unity, mass mobilisations to resist colonialism, and demand freedom and the right to self-determination for the Papuan nation as the only way to end racism.”<sup>39</sup>

On September 1 the National Committee for West Papua (Komite Nasionalan Papua Barat – KNPB) in Papua issued a statement affirming that non-Papuans<sup>40</sup> living in Papua are not the enemy, but only the oppressive system.<sup>41</sup> This statement was issued in response to an attack by a group on non-Papuans on a hostel of Papuan students that morning.

Up until September 4, large demonstrations have continued to take place in several Papuan towns. Media reports indicate many were big.<sup>42</sup> In some cases, the demonstrations were responded to with force. The incident most reported took place in the town of Deiyai, where media reported several people being killed.<sup>43</sup> The government has also responded by saying it is open to dialogue, although insisting that a referendum could not be included as a subject for such a dialogue. In Jakarta, 5 Papuans and one Indonesian, Mr Surya Anta, the spokesperson for FRI-WP, have been arrested and charged in relation to their participation in a protest action in Jakarta where the West Papuan flag was raised. It appears that they are likely to be charged with serious political offences.<sup>44</sup>

## **RACISM AND DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS**

The Papuan nationalist position is that racism can only be ended through an act of self-determination, which would lead to a separate state being formed. The position articulated by people such as Governor Enembe is that ending racism requires a guaranteed voice – guaranteed by an international presence similar to that of Finland in Aceh – in any agreement over the continuation of Special Autonomy status for the two Papuan Provinces. Both positions imply that racist treatment of Papuans has an underlying political function of disempowerment. The nationalist position seeks *complete empowerment* through an act of self-determination, after decades of Papua never having any determining role. The critical integrationist position sees *a strengthening of the representation* of provincial Papuan political institutions as a path to resolution.

Both positions require an end to the Papuan issue being treated purely as a domestic issue. There are no indications that there is openness to any international involvement over Papua from within the Indonesian government or broader political elite. As long as there is neither the political change advocated by Enembe nor the willingness to allow the Papuan provinces' population to even openly advocate and debate possible futures, let alone hold a referendum, tensions will intensify.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The western section of the island of Papua is divided into two provinces within Indonesia, Papua and West Papua. I will be using the term “Papua” to refer to the region covered by both provinces. Exact numbers of Papuan university students studying outside the Papuan provinces is difficult to ascertain.

<sup>2</sup> Another organisation in some regions is Ikatan Pelajar dan Mahasiswa Papua (Ipmapa). While not specifically ideologically nationalist, Ipmapa has also supported the call for a referendum.

[https://www.jubi.co.id/ipmapa-surabaya-referendum-adalah-solusi-demokratis-untuk-akhiri-rasisme/?utm\\_source=divr.it&utm\\_medium=twitter](https://www.jubi.co.id/ipmapa-surabaya-referendum-adalah-solusi-demokratis-untuk-akhiri-rasisme/?utm_source=divr.it&utm_medium=twitter)

<sup>3</sup> AMP activities and outlook are regularly reported in *Koran Kejora* at

<https://korankejora.blogspot.com>

<sup>4</sup> This was signed on August 15, 1962. See <https://peacemaker.un.org/indonesianetherlands-westguinea62>

<sup>5</sup> This took place on December 1, 1961.

<sup>6</sup> See <http://fri-wp.org/en/> for FRI-WP's website.

<sup>7</sup> <https://suarapapua.com/2016/12/09/surya-anta-orang-indonesia-pertama-mau-minta-maaf-rakyat-papua/>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.jubi.co.id/mahasiswa-papua-di-semarang-dan-salatiga-juga-demo-menolak-new-york-agreement/>; <https://www.jubi.co.id/mahasiswa-papua-di-semarang-dan-salatiga-juga-demo-menolak-new-york-agreement/>; <https://www.indoleft.org/news/2019-08-15/papuan-student-rally-in-malang-marking-new-york-agreement-ends-in-clash.html>; <https://www.indoleft.org/news/2019-08-16/papuan-dormitory-attacked-in-surabaya-protesters-in-ternate-assaulted.html>

<sup>9</sup> A widely read media in Papua is *Jubi*. <https://www.jubi.co.id/aparat-pemerintah-indonesia-sebut-orang-asli-papua-monyet/>

<sup>10</sup> These incidents occurred at the same time as the release of the movie, *Bumi Manusia*, based on Pramoedya Ananta Toer's novel of the same name. In this novel, the main character explains that his nick-name Minke (pron: Minkee) comes from when one of his Dutch teachers called him a monkey. Several commentators made references to this story and the Surabaya events.

<sup>11</sup> There have been further demonstrations in the Papuan provinces since this Perspective was drafted, including actions where demonstrators have been killed or injured, as well as a reported death of a soldier.

<sup>12</sup> See also <http://humanrightspapua.org/news/16-2014/127-launching-of-filep-karma-s-book-as-if-we-re-half-half-animals>

<sup>13</sup> <https://en.tempo.co/read/1239356/6-tni-officers-examined-over-racist-remarks-against-papuan>

<sup>14</sup> Richard Chauvel, "Papua under the Jojo Widodo Presidency", in Max Lane [ed], *Continuity and Change after Indonesia's Reforms: Contributions to an Ongoing Assessment*, Singapore: ISEAS 2019.

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/keadaan-papua-memas-jokowi-mari-kita-saling-memaafkan/5049335.html>

<sup>16</sup> For example the incumbent Governor of Papua, operating within the Indonesian state system, criticised Widodo for being insufficiently firm against racism.

<https://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2019/08/20/presiden-minta-masyarakat-papua-untuk-memaafkan-gubernur-papua-sebut-jokowi-tidak-tegas>

<sup>17</sup> <https://jakartaglobe.id/context/jokowi-orders-police-to-take-firm-action-against-racist-acts-toward-papuans>

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.suara.com/news/2019/08/19/143051/polisi-buru-penyebar-video-sebut-orang-papua-monyet>

<sup>19</sup> <https://theconversation.com/the-internet-shutdown-in-papua-threatens-indonesias-democracy-and-its-peoples-right-to-free-speech-122333>; <https://en.tempo.co/read/1239280/lbh-pres-internet-block-in-papua-curb-reporters-access>

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190822155231-20-423806/moeldoko-sebut-opm-manfaatkan-isu-rasial-buat-rusuh-di-papua>

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/1029222/pertemuan-tokoh-papua-dengan-presiden-jokowi-dapat-berikan-solusi>

<sup>22</sup> <https://theconversation.com/riots-in-west-papua-why-indonesia-needs-to-answer-for-its-broken-promises-122127>; <http://humanrightspapua.org/hrreport/2017>

<sup>23</sup> <https://en.tempo.co/read/1239401/policeman-gives-liquor-to-papuans-on-own-initiative-police>; <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1239220/diberi-miras-polisi-mahasiswa-papua-bandung-itu-rendahkan-kami>

- <sup>24</sup> For a recent article on different perceptions of Papuan identity, see Petrus K Farneubun, “Competing Papuan Identities” in INSIDE INDONESIA at <https://www.insideindonesia.org/competing-papuan-identities>
- <sup>25</sup> <https://news.detik.com/berita/4355873/kapolda-saya-tak-mau-komentari-pernyataan-gubernur-papua>; <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20181221150202-20-355527/tni-gubernur-papua-tak-pantas-minta-tarik-pasukan-dari-nduga>
- <sup>26</sup> <https://tirto.id/gubernur-papua-tuntut-perjanjian-internasional-atasi-konflik-papua-egLk>
- <sup>27</sup> In the article by Farneubun in “Inside Indonesia”, the author also describes fully pro-Indonesian groups. However, their activities do not seem to have been reported in the aftermath of the “monkey” incident.
- <sup>28</sup> “Berlangsung sejak 1962 pasca Imperialisme Amerika Serikat berusaha merampas kekayaan alam Rakyat dan kekuasaan politik oleh Kolonial Indonesia di Papua, dengan melibatkan diri dalam Perjanjian New York. Perjanjian yang membahas masa depan Papua yang melahirkan penjajahan baru di Bumi West Papua setelah Belanda tanpa melibatkan Orang Papua.” See the full statement in *Koran Kejora* at <https://korankejora.blogspot.com/2019/08/pernyataan-sikap-amp-tuntutan-hak.html?m=0>
- <sup>29</sup> The recent AMP statement responding to the current racism issue appears to redefine the Papuan nation, which has up until now been defined by most nationalists in ethnic terms, differentiating Orang Asli Papua (Original Inhabitants) from Pendatang (New Arrivals). The AMP statement in appealing to people not to be drawn into racial positioning states: “... we call on the Papuan people to unify, to broaden mass mobilisations without differentiating between ethnicity, religion, race and others. Build strength unity, mass mobilisations to resist colonialism, and demand freedom and the right to self-determination for the Papuan nation as the only way to end racism.”
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup> <https://suarapapua.com/2019/08/24/penentuan-nasib-sendiri-solusi-terbaik-akhiri-rasisme/>
- <sup>32</sup> <https://jateng.suara.com/read/2019/08/24/191147/kibarkan-bendera-bintang-kejora-massa-aksi-papua-bukan-merah-putih>
- <sup>33</sup> See <http://sonamapa.blogspot.com/> Most other groups have Facebook pages.
- <sup>34</sup> <https://tabloidjubi.com/artikel-19150-ini-pernyataan-sikap-garda-papua>
- <sup>35</sup> See this report for one example <https://suarapapua.com/2018/11/19/usai-konferensi-bersama-amp-gempap-p-fim-wp-dan-sonamapa-bersatu/>
- <sup>36</sup> PERNYATAAN SIKAP MASYARAKAT ADAT PAPUA, August 26, 2019. See at <https://www.tribunnewswiki.com/2019/08/26/pernyataan-sikap-dewan-adat-papua> “Our young people studying on all the islands of Indonesia should return to the land of Papua. This, so they will be respected as human beings and continue their studies in Papua.”
- <sup>37</sup> <https://suarapapua.com/2019/08/22/aksi-demo-di-nabire-tuntut-pulangkan-mahasiswa-papua-dan-non-papua-dari-nabire/>
- <sup>38</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-49417851> “Kerusuhan di Papua 'membuat khawatir' warga pendatang.”
- <sup>39</sup> The complication in this formulation is manifested in the use of the term “Papuan people” (“rakyat Papua”) at the beginning of the sentence and “Papuan nation” (Bangsa Papua) at the end of the formulation, in the second sentence.
- <sup>40</sup> A major but rarely discussed issue regarding the Papuan question in Indonesia is the situation of the large population of non-Papuan residents of Papua, made up of people from various parts of Indonesia. 2017 statistics put the non-Papuan population at over 1 million people, about 34% of the population. Some researchers question this and think it might be higher. At the same time, it is clear that non-Papuans are the majority in the coastal towns and plains, while Papuans are the overwhelming majority in the highlands. See Jim Elmslie, “The Great Divide: West Papuan Demographics Revisited; Settlers Dominate Coastal Regions but the Highlands Still Overwhelmingly Papuan” in *The Asia Pacific Journal*, January 15, 2017 Volume 15 | Issue 2 | Number 1. <https://apjif.org/2017/02/Elmslie.html> (A political issue here for the referendum case is who gets to vote?).

- <sup>41</sup> <https://suarapapua.com/2019/09/01/imbauan-umum-knpb-musuh-kita-bukan-orang-non-papua/?fbclid=IwAR2Abh1V763iYEYldnk7S4W2CZeTe1KMI-LjAsaIvFf-SyFPqBE5wW9cOCI>
- <sup>42</sup> <https://in.reuters.com/article/indonesia-papua/indonesia-urges-calm-in-papua-after-two-weeks-of-protests-idINKCN1VK12G?rpc=401&>
- <sup>43</sup> <https://dunia.tempo.co/read/1241729/media-internasional-soroti-kematian-pengunjuk-rasa-di-papua/full&view=ok>
- <sup>44</sup> <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190901041001-12-426471/aktivis-papua-surya-anta-disebut-dipindahkan-ke-mako-brimob>
- <sup>45</sup> “Any person or organisation is prohibited from carrying out or spreading separatism in expressing opinions in public, and violation of this will result in strict action and law enforcement,” state news agency Antara reported: <https://www.voanews.com/east-asia-pacific/indonesian-police-ban-violent-protests-separatism-papua>

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