Koteka are better than pants

Joel Boray

I never forced people to replace penis gourds (*koteka*) with pants, even though the government under Governor Acub Zainal was vigorously mounting 'operation penis gourd' (*operasi koteka*) everywhere. Rather, I had my own way to make the people understand. I was serving in Wamena at the time. I told some of the older people and youth who came to my house to pray to look at themselves in the mirror. Then I asked them to take off their penis gourds and put on pants. Then I asked them, which do you like better? Apparently, they were happy to wear the pants.

There was a young man who had stayed with me for some time in Wamena. He had replaced his penis gourd with pants. When he went home to his village he was still wearing the pants. I held onto his penis gourd. A week later he came back wearing a penis gourd again. Handing the pants back to me, he said: 'These are no good. I wore the pants in the village, but people laughed at me, so I'm bringing them back.' Okay, no problem.

Based on the information I heard, the idea of replacing the penis gourd with pants came from Bapak Frits Kirihiio. At the time he was working for the Gereja Kristen Injil (GKI, Gospel Christian Church) of Papua. He advised the governor, Acub Zainal, that rather than shooting people it would be better to undertake 'operation penis gourd'. Not to use firearms, but to send pants and shirts there to replace penis gourds. Pak Acub Zainal agreed to the proposal. The operation was launched around 1969 into the 1970s and onwards.

But 'operation penis gourd' was unsuccessful. To this day, people still wear penis gourds. Maybe because it is not their nature, so they prefer wearing penis gourds to pants and shirts. Because they do not yet grasp the benefits, they prefer to wear penis gourds.

As civil servants we had enlightened them about hygiene, and they understood. The indigenous people of the Wamena area (Baliem Valley) did not bathe because it was cold. But today they understand. In 1961 the elders said to me: 'Oh, there's no use in us old folks wearing pants, give them to the young.' Now they have made progress. The *bupati* is one of their own kind.

Papuans in the interior were really very underdeveloped. During the Dutch era, when we made patrols, if we wanted to meet with them we had to use contact articles such as axes, knives, mirrors, and cowrie shells. Perhaps this was because in this context the Dutch, their officers, had learned from countries like those in Africa. They could come into the interior from the coast bringing contact goods. So we used this method as we had been told by Mr. Schneider, Mr. Veling and other Dutch officers. We had to use contact articles because the people were still primitive.

The people used cowrie shells as a means of exchange. Back then they refused to accept money even though this had been tried, even forced on them. We attempted to make them understand that the cowrie shells were only good for ornamentation. However, they did not see them as ornaments, but as currency. Because of that, we distributed cowrie shells. And we also used them as a means of exchange when buying cassava and vegetables from them. We used them as contact articles instead of money. They were used as an incitement to get them to be willing to associate with the government and follow the government. The Protestant *zending* agencies and Catholic missions used them too.

MUMMY-STORING PRACTICES

We travelled on foot to the villages, not forgetting to bring along all the contact articles. It was hard if we did not bring the contact articles. At that time I was working on the staff of the HPB. Because I was still young, newly graduated from OSIBA in 1961, I was assigned to the staff of the HPB's office. I took part in patrols with Mr. Veling, Mr. Schneider, Mr. Dubbeldam, Mr. Rumbiak (the district head), and the police. We walked from Wamena. There could be as many as ten, or as few as five people in one group. But when there was a major event, for example, killings in the villages or tribal warfare, we requested an additional 20 to 30 policemen from Hollandia.

This happened once before I continued my studies at the Academy for Domestic Government or APDN in Malang. In the Baliem Valley there was a war between the Mokoko tribe and the Hitigima tribe that took the lives of 14 people. After I investigated, it turned out that the Mukoko tribe was guilty as they had they killed a woman from the Hitigima tribe with spears. The case was resolved by slaughtering 180 pigs. At the time I took action to raise their awareness. According to the tribal chiefs there, three things had to be eradicated, namely: *uwesa*, pigs, and the third I have forgotten.

Uwesa were *adat* beliefs, including the belief in mummies. They hid everything in sacks, from pig skins and bird wings to mummies. That was *uwesa*. When we opened a sack containing a mummy before burning it, they got angry. That was how I found out that the Mukoko tribe was guilty. So, following the advice of the tribal leaders, three things had to be done: shoot the pigs, hold *uwesa*, and one more thing. I gave orders to the ten policemen to shoot 180 of the Mukoko tribe's domesticated pigs. I felt guilty about killing the pigs, which were an essential source of food to them. But we really did have to kill the 180 pigs so they would stop fighting.

Pigs had great value as bride wealth and for weddings. They were really angry to see their pigs shot. But before performing our duties, we had advised them and warned them not to keep fighting. We had explained that the government had good intentions in maintaining security, so it could advance them. If they waged war, we would take action. And based on the advice of the tribal chief that those three things be done, we took action. They came demanding that we give them compensation for the 180 pigs shot by the police, but I told them: 'Who is at fault? You are the guilty ones, aren't you? We already warned you, so why did you go and wage a tribal war? That was not good!' Then they answered: 'Oh yes, you are right!'

We burned the pagan objects in the sacks. They used to store all kinds of leaves, pork skin, and pork fat in the sacks. The church people were pleased. The church supported the government in eradicating the custom quickly. But the people from the church did not participate in the burning, only the government. The church did not dare. The government dared because it had weapons and could take action if anything happened. It was indeed a tough task for me, but we wanted to bring them progress.

GRADUATED FROM OSIBA IN 1961

I entered OSIBA in 1957 and graduated in 1961. The last OSIBA class graduated in 1962 – Luther Saroy's class. Before I entered, OSIBA had been closed for two years, from 1955 to 1957. I do not know what the reason was, but it was based on a policy of the government, or the governor of Netherlands New Guinea, through the director of OSIBA, Mr. van der Sluys and his deputy, Mr. Wieringa.

While I was at OSIBA the teachers there were Dutch as well as Indo-Dutch. The one who taught bookkeeping was Mr. Hommes. After Van der Sluys went home (to the Netherlands), he was replaced by Mr. de Groot as the director of OSIBA. He also taught. There was also Mr. Palenewen, an Indo-Dutchman who worked in the Ministry of the Interior, who taught hygiene and first aid.

OSIBA was located in Kamp Kei from 1957 to 1958, and in 1959 it moved to the place where Universitas Cenderawasih (Uncen) is now. Back then, Uncen did not exist yet. In that time OSIBA occupied the former palace of Governor van Waardenburg. Governor Platteel resided in a new palace in Dok V, so the former palace was not in use. Except for the foundation, which was made of cement, the whole palace was made of wood. Because the former governor's palace was government property, OSIBA, as a government school, could use it. Now that OSIBA no longer exists, Uncen has built its premises there.

After the Dutch left, the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) entered and worked in Papua for seven months, from October 1962 until 30 April 1963. The UNTEA worked for seven months only to oversee security, in the framework of the transfer of the administration of the government from the Netherlands to Indonesia. After the Dutch government left, we worked on helping the UNTEA until the UNTEA period ended and Indonesia came in. At the time I was working in Wamena. I do not remember the UNTEA people who worked in Wamena. Except for Mr. Dahlan, an Indonesian who worked at the time for the UNTEA in Wamena. He was the resident of the Central Highlands. Formerly called Centrale Bergland, it is now called Jayawijaya. Throughout the UNTEA period we worked together with Mr. Dahlan.

During the Dutch period, in 1961 I worked under Mr. Controleur C.J. Schneider. After that Mr. Schneider was replaced by Mr. L.F.B.

Dubbeldam. And there was also an *administratief ambtenaar* (administrative officer), Mr. Joop Helling, who once served as the secretary to the Dutch embassy in Jakarta. I hear that he has died.

Thus, after the Dutch left, there was no go-between; Mr. Dahlan came in directly. Working with the Dutch back then was very fine. After we learned the fine theories in our lessons at school, we were educated in practice. During the UNTEA period we used those experiences until Indonesia came in. We kept on working and our work experience increasingly expanded.

FOUNDING THE SCOUTS

In the Dutch era we were also required to seek out initiatives as civil servants. So I not only waited for orders, but also thought about and sought out initiatives. All of this was because I had been educated in such a way as to be personally responsible in the field. Here is one example. I was able to initiate the Padvinderij (Scouts) by myself and they flourished. This was done outside of my civil service duties and was a social activity. I discussed it with my superior, the HPB or other people. They appreciated our initiative because we worked a lot outside. Additionally, I was able to open a government store, because they trusted me to run the government store, which was at that time called NIGIMIJ (Nieuw-Guinea Import & Export Maatschappij). There was a NIGIMIJ store in Wamena.

In the Dutch period all kinds of stuff was carried by NIGIMIJ. NIGIMIJ operated in Hollandia and in all the areas. For the coastal areas, by ship. For Wamena, by airplane. Those who bought things there were all the civil servants, the police and all the government offices. Ordinary people could also buy at the store. The goods sold there included rice, sugar, soap, and other daily necessities. Payments were made in Dutch guilders, and after the Dutch left, Nieuw-Guinea guilders. And after Indonesia came in, the money was called *rupiah Irian Barat* (IBRP).

IBRP was used from some time between 1962 and 1963 until 1964. Since Indonesia did not want to use IBRP for too long, it was eliminated. From 1964 onwards it was replaced by the rupiah, so that all everything would be the same across Indonesia. That was a bit odd because it was replaced too rapidly, when it should have happened gradually. Because

the region of West Papua had only just been transferred, it should have been done a bit more slowly.

As civil servants we continued the administration of the Dutch government when West Papua was transferred to the UNTEA and from the UNTEA to Indonesia. The administrative work methods remained the same, but after the Indonesians came in, they began making new regulations, and everything had to be done in the Indonesian language. Yes, the administrative system changed under the Indonesian language.

OFFICIAL TRIPS STOPPED

After the administrative transition, everything had to be translated from Dutch into Indonesian. Until 1969 all reports were translated into Indonesian. After 1969 the government of Indonesia did not use that system any longer (everything had to be written in the Indonesian language). Whereas the Dutch used to work systematically, after 1969 the reports from each agency differed from each other according to their own systems. After conducting a field trip or patrol, we always composed a daily report. There was also a weekly report, monthly report, and annual report. Indonesia tried to follow this system from 1963 to 1969, but after that it did not work anymore. Since they were not satisfied with the system, then everyone just made reports as he desired.

Indeed, according to the plan, autonomy was to be granted in 1969; there would be a referendum or *Pepera* (Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat, vote to determine the people's opinion, 1969). According to Law no. 12/1969, the government (of Indonesia) would grant autonomy, so it was no longer appropriate to make reports. Everyone made their own reports. They were willing to make annual reports if they were requested by the governor or the *bupati*. But if it was not requested, right, it appeared that they forgot or did not want to make a report. If people are working and only want to make oral reports, that is what you call a disorderly administration.

Actually, we advised our many friends and officials who were still young to remember to make monthly reports, annual reports. Because those reports provided an overview of our tasks and the results of our work. Indeed, there was a *Memorie van Overgave* (Memorandum of

Transfer) every five years. But that was limited to the governor and the *bupati*. They made those as the executive body.

In the Indonesian government period there were still field trips or patrols. They assigned us to go into the districts. And we returned, making reports because we knew how to do that. A tour would be made for two weeks at most. Aside from the daily patrol, monthly patrols lasted two weeks. And after we returned we made reports. They asked for accountability reports after the tours to the districts that had been assigned, for example, to look into health and education.

Education at that time was still under the Protestant *zending* and Catholic missions. Starting from 1963 on, attention was given to that since the Indonesian government had just come in following the transfer. They were beginning to think about how to develop education. The hard part was to make dormitories. Although there were already plans to put students into dormitories, so they would be developed well. But students today are unrestricted (free) because they are not housed in dormitories.

The trouble is, they live too freely. There is no one to coach them properly. Formerly, in the Dutch period, there were dormitories, perhaps because the number of people was more limited. But now there are too many people, so if they want to make dormitories for them, it is difficult. And the morality of today's generation of children, aged ten years and up, is ruined. Yes, that is where the difference lies. Before, the Dutch educated them well and established dormitories. The girls were separate from the boys. They were not allowed to be together. Later, once they had graduated and found jobs, sure, if they wanted to get married, let them. Now it is not like that. Very different!

All the lessons taught in the Dutch era were general subjects (*algemene vakken*) along with lessons in the field of governance. Then we were formed into cadres and given basic lessons as a foundation to be used on the job. But almost everywhere throughout Indonesia, all the lessons are general, likewise at the APDN. But previously in the Dutch period it was different. We were led directly to the field where we would later lead. We could manage education and health services. But now it is not like that. So cadre formation in the past was different from the situation today.

MATCHING THE DUTCH AND INDONESIAN SYSTEMS

Nowadays, a teacher or a hospital paramedic can become a governor, a resident, or a regent. So, because the system is not orderly and not directed properly, this region has become chaotic. No one is properly formed into cadres for leadership. It is all mixed up. From agriculture one can become a governor. That is the progress in development, in autonomy, which has encouraged the young generations up to now. Yesterday, 89 people registered themselves as candidates to run for governor. All the candidates feel they are capable, although they are not yet capable. Their educational foundations are still far from those we had.

Times really have changed. In working, we must match the Dutch and Indonesian systems to the conditions of the people. We were educated by the Dutch, we were educated by the Indonesians, but we are still Papuans. So we must think like Papuans, and take what is good from the two systems of governance to bring Papua forward.

Yes, I imagine that we Papuans can use the organizational structures of the Dutch era and the Indonesian era to design a new organizational structure to work on developing our land. For example, agriculture, education and health should be organized this way. In the Dutch and Indonesian eras, health services were organized that way, now we must organize them this way.

We have to build housing that fulfills health and hygiene requirements. Neighborhoods here are filthy. The city must be cleaned up in order to maintain public health. In the field of education, there are no Papuan workers who have studied abroad. We need to change that. Perhaps by using the proceeds from gold and copper mining in Tembagapura and petroleum in Sorong. If education continues to involve only Jayapura-Jakarta, well, that is extremely narrow. It would be better to send them overseas, so when they come back, they can develop this region.

THE FAMILY SYSTEM

Evidently, today, proposals can be made from the bottom up--in other words, from the region and from the people, according to the people's needs and interests. Based on the consideration that something is crucial for a specific area, such as Biak, for example. The people propose it to

the regional parliament or Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD, Regional Council of People's Representatives), which in turn will bring it to the government. All proposals are brought to the DPRD. If the DPRD is delayed, because their administration is piling up, then the people can take it directly to the governor. In the past this was not allowed because everything had to go through the hierarchy.

The procedure back then was that one had to go first through the village head, then the district head, the HPB, the resident, and finally, the governor. Today it is no longer that way, because Indonesia subscribes to a family system, so called because, through family ties, things can move from the bottom directly up to the president. But this causes problems, probably because there are too many people, as you can imagine with a population of over two hundred million in Indonesia. Because they want something done quickly, they leap directly to the top to feel satisfied. If you go through parliament it would take too long.

In my opinion, the system formerly used by the Dutch was good. In the Indonesian period it was also good because the hierarchy was clear. But people misunderstood its application in practice. A lot of the officials did not understand it, because they had not received an education in a school for administrators, a school of government and state administration.

Yes, if you go to see the governor you have to line up. If 50 people want to meet with the governor, then it could be late afternoon by the time they all get to meet with him. If they can only reach the vice-governor or the *bupati* or *camat* or village head, they feel dissatisfied. Because they lack knowledge, and have personal interests, group interests, political interests, religious interests, and all sorts of other interests. So people feel dissatisfied if matters are only dealt with locally. Since they want things to go fast, they run to the governor, so the hierarchy is broken. They should be going through the proper procedures so that things can be selected and managed well.

Everyone clashes with one another due to the nature of individuals who want to quickly fight for their personal interests. There are those who want to pursue fisheries projects, agricultural projects, and cocoa projects. But because the village and sub-district heads are late in attending to them, they go directly to the governor.

APPROACHING THE ACT OF FREE CHOICE

During the Act of Free Choice I was working in Biak as a member of the staff of the *bupati*. Because of the political dispute between the Netherlands and Indonesia over Papua, the Act of Free Choice was held in 1969. It was regulated by the New York Agreement signed by the Netherlands and Indonesia on 15 August 1962 in New York. In the agreement it was stated that in 1969, an election would be held in which the people of Papua could choose whether they wanted to be independent or join Indonesia.

As a civil servant at the time I felt that the implementation of the Act of Free Choice was dishonest and unfair, because according to the New York Agreement it was to be managed differently. Article 18 paragraph (d) stated that the election must be done 'one man, one vote'. Whether the intention of the government of Indonesia was to apply the principle of *musyawarah* (consultation) for *mufakat* (consensus building), so that they could then win the Act of Free Choice, we do not know. If a 'one man, one vote' election had been held, it was obvious that the Papuan people would have chosen their own independence. Ah, that is the secret.

In 1969 everyone was tightly guarded by the Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) so that I, as a civil servant, was already thinking how hard the fate of the people was. The Indonesian government ran a dishonest election by appointing 1,026 people's representatives to sit on the Dewan Musyawarah Pemilihan (DMP, Election Consultative Council). The Indonesian government used the *musyawarah* system to build consensus and win. The members of the DMP were under armed guard, so they could not speak freely. They were afraid! They were taken from the various regions. All those from the same region were assembled in one place. The DMP members for the Biak election region were assembled in Biak. I do not know the exact number of those from Biak but it was somewhere between 50 and 100 people.

I did not see all the members of the DMP. The one managing everything at the time was Soedjarwo Tjondronegro, who worked at the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands. When he came I met him in Biak. He asked: 'In your opinion, gentlemen, what method shall we use in carrying out the election here?' Then I answered: 'Oh, just use the district system, that is, an election by district, so it is fair and honest'. He recorded our views. After that he asked other officials and they said

that it was not appropriate to use a district system, because in the district system it had to be ‘one man, one vote’. Two ballot boxes would have to be provided, namely, a Papua box and an Indonesia box. The people had to be free to choose.

However, he did not follow our suggestions, and in the end they used the *musyawarah* system. Those who voted were only pro-Indonesia Papuans along with other leaders, 1,026 people in all. Under the threat of guns they chose to stay associated with Indonesia. We protested it. Because we were unhappy, we wanted to hold a demonstration. But the army came to arrest us in our homes. Many of my friends were arrested. I held the meeting at my house. Oh this cannot be, we thought, we must choose by ‘one man, one vote’ because that is the best according to the New York Agreement. The people who attended the meeting at my house were not people from the civil service, but teachers and a clerk along with several friends.

Since the UN representative, Mr. Ortiz Sanz, would be coming in 1969,¹¹ the Act of Free Choice was to be held in 1969, but in 1968 we were already protesting because we did not agree to the voting system to be used. Indeed, according to the Indonesian government, the system that was used was a consultation to reach consensus. They were clever, and perhaps the Dutch did not know. Minister of Foreign Affairs Luns probably did not know. Probably Indonesia proposed it there, to the UN, that the *musyawarah* system should be used. So just pencil in the *musyawarah* system as number one at the top. Perhaps the “one man, one vote” system ranked fourth. According to them, this was because the Papuans were not yet advanced, so, they decided, use the *musyawarah* system for consultation, and the Papuans will go along with it.

ARRESTED BY THE ARMY

All the regions used the *musyawarah* system and all agreed to stay associated with Indonesia. That is what we protested, and we were arrested on 8 October 1968. The army came knocking at the door of our house and we were taken away by three soldiers. They said: ‘Pak Joel Boray, come with us for a while, to be interrogated and then go home’. But they

¹¹ See Drooglever 2009:709.

deceived us. When we got there we were locked up, detained, and beaten up ten times till we bled, all because we had staged the protest.

The dispute between the Dutch and the Indonesians regarding this land, Soekarno wanted to settle diplomatically. Maybe they did not need the people of Papua, but only wanted their land because the land was rich – it had gold, it had oil, it had forest products. When they first came here, they were happy and hugged the people. But after the Act of Free Choice ended in 1969, they were not cuddling with us anymore.

For the sake of maintaining world peace, America intervened, since Soekarno was asking Russia for help. He thought, if Indonesia fought the Dutch, the Indonesians would not be strong because they had no weapons. Where would he turn to get the weapons? But if Indonesia fought against the Netherlands that would mean America would help the Netherlands. He would be forced to run to Russia. Because at that time there was a communist party in Indonesia, he was free to play. Then, Soekarno announced the *Tri Komando Rakyat*, (*Trikora*, People's Triple Command). So there was already a game of political power going on between the two governments.

Well, America was afraid that World War III would break out if they helped the Netherlands as an allied country. And if America assisted the Netherlands, Russia would be sure to assist Indonesia. Thus, World War III would happen. The victims would be the people of the world or some part of the world. So it was hard! Ah, President Kennedy called Minister of Foreign Affairs Luns. But before that, he had already called Soekarno: 'Well, try here first, we'll work out what needs to be discussed'. Even though the Dutch government had already approved the Papuan flag on 1 December 1961.

President Kennedy called Soekarno from America. 'Well, the Netherlands has already granted independence, a national flag has been flown, and the *Nieuw-Guinea Raad* has been set up.² And you want to announce the *Trikora*?' But Soekarno replied: 'Ah, if the Dutch grant them independence, I can do that too!' Finally, President Kennedy said: 'Oh, can you grant Papua independence?' And Soekarno replied: 'Yes, I can grant them independence in 1969!'

In the end President Kennedy took Soekarno's advice. He called Minister of Foreign Affairs Luns and told him: 'Just surrender, otherwise

² See Drooglever 2009:533.

World War III will break out between me and Russia. So it would not just be you two, the Netherlands and Indonesia, at war, would it? You must back down.' Then Minister of Foreign Affairs Luns said this: 'I have heard many stories that if I am forced to hand the Papuans over to Indonesia, it will mean I am handing them over to hell'. Luns already sensed that the consequences would be like that if Papua was surrendered to Indonesia. But Kennedy said: 'Yes, you have to submit so World War III does not happen. And an agreement will be made to hold an election in 1969.'

At the time the Act of Free Choice was carried out, I was still in detention. I was detained for four months. Twice I was taken from my home and beaten black and blue. I was detained at the Navy complex from October 1968 and released in April 1969. We were beaten, tortured, and burned with Bentul Merah cigarettes. They said: 'You want independence? Soekarno already freed you in 1945.' I said: 'No, no. We, the Papuan people, are different, we want to be on our own. Now we want independence.'³ The Papuan struggle had been started in 1965 in Manokwari by Awom and Aronggear. At that time there was already an organization struggling for Papuan independence. It involved Terry Aronggear and other Papuans in Manokwari. The Free Papua Movement (OPM) was born later, because Papua was handed over to Indonesia.

USING BROKEN GLASS AS RAZORS

In essence, Indonesia has overseen this region in the wrong way, what is known in state administrative terms as 'mismanagement'. Indonesia cannot manage this region well. From the time the Dutch left in 1962 and it was transferred to the UNTEA, then handed over to Indonesia on 1 May 1963 with the flying of the red and white flag, from then until today, the chaos has been never-ending. The administration of everything remains off kilter. They were not careful in nurturing the people. One example that can be mentioned here is when they turned the Nieuw-Guinea guilder into the Irian Barat rupiah. It should have been done gradually over five years. But they replaced it quickly in one or two years' time with the

³ Boray's experiences are also recounted in Osborne 1985:52.

national currency. When in fact they should have delayed, because this was still an area under guardianship that still had to be developed and nurtured.

It was rapidly replaced so everyone could use the same currency. The value of the Irian Barat rupiah at the time was higher than that of the Indonesian rupiah. So the few goods in the shops from Dutch times were bought up in Irian Barat rupiah until there were no more goods. The ones buying were the teachers and the volunteers from Indonesia who were posted here, and the local people.

Frits Kirihió was aware of this. At the time he was the director of Irian Bhakti. Frits Kirihió, who had studied at Leiden University, knew how to play politics. In the period from 1962 to 1964 he felt that he had to do something, for if he did not, the people would die of starvation. Then he sold off all the old stocks from Dutch times that were stored in the former NIGIMIJ warehouses, and Indonesians came to buy them until all the shops were empty. Because there were no shaving razors, we used broken glass to shave with. Because there were no tea leaves, we used breadfruit leaves. There were no factories here yet to manufacture all those things.

Frits Kirihió went to Singapore. He brought the money earned from selling off the old stock to buy the nine basic necessities. So, until 1964 there was rice and flour in the stores. In only two years, from 1962 to 1964, the people were already seeing changes. They said: 'Wow, when the Dutch were here we had it all. But ever since the Dutch left, we have been looking for things in the shops but all there is are empty shelves. This cannot be!' On top of that, there were ABRI personnel who were preying on the people. They were taking chickens from the villages by force. And women were being victimized. This made the people even more angry. Then the OPM arose in 1965 in Manokwari. Our analysis at the time was that things had really gone wrong because the government had acted carelessly. Actually, the goods should have been in the shops, so people could buy things when they needed them. But the shops were empty for nearly two years. In Singapore Frits Kirihió loaded the ship, Bethlehem, with goods, and the ship carried and dropped them off in Hollandia, then called on Sukarnopura. Christmas celebrations were going on at the time.

CHOSEN BY THE PRESIDIUM

As 1969 approached, the situation became increasingly more difficult. The people no longer had any faith, and they thought: 'It's too bad – the Netherlands developed us so well, but now Indonesia is not taking very good care of us. What is happening?' Throughout the preparations for and implementation of the Act of Free Choice there was a lot of intimidation. Soldiers often beat the people and some people were shot on the coast, although even more people died in the interior. The largest number died in Paniai, Tembagapura, and Wamena. That is why to this day the people are angry and resentful. The people's hearts are broken. The chairman of the Dutch parliamentary delegation, Mrs. Margreeth de Boer,⁴ said: 'The hearts of the people of Papua have been hurt, they must be quickly healed'. It is like a cancer that must be treated. The only prescription to treat it is not autonomy, not a federation. The people do not want that. They want to be free, independent. When it comes to bargaining, the Indonesian government is a master of indirection and deception.

In February 2000 a consultative meeting (*Musyawarah Besar*) was held in Sentani⁵ and I attended it. The participants proposed that the aspirations of the Papuan people for independence be discussed in a congress, and the proposal was carried to Jakarta.⁶ The Presidium Dewan Papua (PDP, Papua Presidium Council) that was formed at the consultative meeting consists of 31 people. It is the executive body. And 501 people are panel members. The number of people who became panel members at the congress or *Musyawarah Besar*, including me, was 200 people, although during the congress the number increased to 501 because regional representatives were added. The panel consists of

4 A Dutch parliamentary delegation, led by the Minister of Agriculture Mrs. de Boer, visited Papua in 2000. De Boer was a Member of Parliament for the Dutch *Partij van de Arbeid* (Labour Party) between 2001 and 2004.

5 This consultative meeting was the *Musyawarah Besar* (MuBes), held on 26 February 2000 in Sentani, in which the Presidium Dewan Papua (PDP, Papua Presidium Council) and its panels were formed. This was followed by Papuan People's Congress II in Port Numbay on 29 May - 4 June 2000. The PDP is often described as the reemergence of the *Nieuw-Guinea Raad* (New-Guinea Council) established by the Netherlands on 1 December 1961. Presidium members are chosen from members of the Panel of Papua, which consists of four pillar groups: Political Detainees and Prisoners (Tapol/Napol), West Papuan Women, the TPN/OPM, and the West Papuan Youth and Customary Council of West Papua. The head of the PDP was Theys Eluay, who was killed by the Indonesian Special Forces (Kopassus) in 2001.

6 A Papuan delegation led by Thom Beanal visited Jakarta to meet with President Habibie.

people's representatives who sit as the legislative body. They were directly elected during the consultative meeting. The district system was not used since all the representatives of all the regions were present. Because all the representatives were present, the congress augmented the number of panel members. Pak Boekorsjom and I were included as members of the panel and not the presidium. It is the presidium that determines who will be invited to deliberative meetings, including me. The local government (Pemda) was not involved in any of this. This is the weakness of local governance. They forget that there are elders who are still alive and can provide good advice and direction.

Yes, we feel that we share the responsibility. Just as we had formerly struggled against Indonesia's plans regarding the Act of Free Choice, because we did not agree with the way it was implemented, now we have a sense of shared responsibility, so that when such meetings are held, we have to attend. Because if we did not attend, later people would say: 'The old folks have all died, vanished, so no one came to show us the way'. Now the flag has begun to be raised. Up and down, up and down. In this country, if one wants to take action, one gives no thought to profit and loss, but only the source of the action. In the Dutch era things were not this way. The Dutch had long been reading books about ancient Greece and all the states in the world, so they knew how to manage a region.

THE PAPUAN FLAG IS FLOWN

Upon the proposal of the head of the Presidium, Theys Eluay, on 14 July 2000, the Papuan flag was raised in Imbi. He himself was in Merauke to lead the Safari Pelurusan Sejarah (tour to set the historical record straight). Because the Act of Free Choice sessions under the supervision of the UN representative, Ortiz Sanz began in Merauke. So the process of setting history straight also had to begin in Merauke and proceed from there to other cities.

On 14 July 2000 the Papuan flag was raised in Jayapura, because orders had been given to fly it. The Indonesian flag and Papuan flag were raised together while the two national anthems were sung. The Indonesian flag was raised higher. That was alright. We honoured it just as we had formerly honoured the Dutch flag during the Dutch period.

From 1 December 1961, the Papuan flag had been flown alongside the Dutch flag. Both at the same height. But now they were not the same. The Papuan flag had to be lowered a bit, perhaps halfway down the pole. The flags were raised on the same flagpoles once used to fly the Papuan flag on 1 December 1961. The two flags were raised, first the Indonesian flag, then the Papuan flag.

Based on the news I have heard, the Papuan flag will probably be permitted to fly until 2 August 2000.⁷ It might be lowered in the evenings to be raised up again the next morning, or flown continuously and only lowered on 2 August 2000.

The flag cannot yet be flown at government offices. President Gus Dur said: 'The Papuan flag may be raised, but it must be a little smaller in size, and it may not be raised at government offices'. If it were flown at these offices it would mean that it was already official and parties would be thrown because of the desire for independence. Indonesia is clever; perhaps the intention is to make the people happy. Let the flag be flown so the people see it and feel happy. But they do not know the thoughts of Papuans, who do not want to be made happy, but want independence.

There are young people who do not understand and they get too emotional. Yes, perhaps it is because there are no leaders yet to advise them. Indeed, they are given a lot of advice, but that has no impact as long as the consultations yield no results. Let us pray that everything will turn out fine. Socialization or raising awareness about the congress will be carried out in the interior by representatives of the people there who attended the congress. Their representatives came. Additionally, 5,000 people from the interior travelled on foot to come to witness the congress. They came carrying spears and wearing ornaments from Wamena. They knew about the congress, and they came bearing the Papuan flag.⁸

Indeed, they could not enter; it was only the representatives from the interior who came inside. The others danced outside. It was very crowded, as if independence had already been granted! This was because of the spirit of the congress. Ah, now we waited for a national dialogue. The dialogue could start with the letter, dated 22 May 1998, from the American Senate, asking for the issues of East Timor and

⁷ The interview took place on 14 July 2000, while these events were going on.

⁸ Boray here refers to the events around the congress that was held with a restricted number of invitees. Yet, outside, a mass of people, mostly from around Wamena, had gathered, and were dancing, hoisting flags.

Papua to be settled. And that letter was in President B.J. Habibie's hands. Now the East Timor problem had already been resolved, but the Papua problem, not yet. The government was aware of this, but perhaps they intended not to do anything. Finally 100 tribal and *adat* leaders under the leadership of Tom Beanal left to go before President Habibie to ask for independence.

The 100 people went to see President Habibie, to discuss the meaning of the letter. It was important that the letter from the Senate be properly understood (by Jakarta). America was apprised of the problems of the world, and Habibie knew that America had once been involved in the Papua problem. Because President Kennedy from America intervened, to the point that the Netherlands surrendered Papua to Indonesia. Now members of the American Senate were making demands because they knew about the implementation of the Act of Free Choice. The Indonesian government had to quickly organize a dialogue with the people of Papua in order to reach an agreement about the political status of this region to make it clear: Whether they wanted autonomy, wanted federation, or wanted independence. But the people of Papua have refused either autonomy or a federal system.

THE PROBLEM WITH AUTONOMY

Autonomy might have been acceptable if autonomy were managed as the Dutch managed it with the Netherlands Antilles and Suriname. The Dutch government at the time granted both of them autonomy and a national flag. Suriname, after autonomy, became an independent country, and the flag that had been raised before became the national flag. The Papuan flag, with seven blue stripes, six white stripes and a white star on a red background, was raised on 1 December 1961. As Bapak Boekorsjom knows, there were five people who created the flag, Mr. de Rijke among them.

Personally, I do not accept autonomy. It is already too late! And the Indonesian government tends to go back on its word. In 1961 the Dutch had already planned to grant autonomy, or *zelfbestuur* (self government) to Papua. The Dutch government told the Papuan nation: 'We will grant you *zelfbestuur*'. Ah, that meant there already was autonomy.

President Soekarno promised autonomy, but they mismanaged it. Because when the Dutch went home in 1962 and Indonesia came in in 1963, the people of Papua should have been granted the status they had in the Dutch era. The Indonesians might well be the bosses, but they had to educate the Papuans. To educate the leaders and officers in the Indonesian language, just as the Dutch had educated us in the Dutch language. But in reality the Indonesians wanted to serve as the governors, *bupati* and *camat*, and to dominate all human resources. All of the people who came from Indonesia became the big men here. Thus, we Papuans, including me, were pushed aside.

I was still fortunate because I served as the regional secretary in Paniai. If not for that, I would certainly have been eliminated as well. I was actually appointed to serve as *bupati*, but got pushed aside because of foul play. Although the people would have been happy if I served as *bupati*, I was diverted and thwarted. Maybe they saw that I had been imprisoned in 1968. Yes, they had recorded it all: this Papuan was against Indonesia, this person is incapable, that person cannot be trusted. So one became like a political prisoner. The names of 76 people who had been detained at the Navy prison in Biak had been branded as political prisoners (*tapol*).

All of this had both positive and negative impacts: positive for the independence struggle, but negative when the government rejected me to serve as the *bupati* of Yapen Waropen in Serui. At the time, a decision (*surat keputusan* or SK) to make me the *bupati* had been prepared. As it happened, in 1968, when Mr. Ortiz Sanz, the UN representative came to prepare for the Act of Free Choice, Pepera, we were placed in detention. I was not thinking about a position as *bupati*, but was more focused on the future. I wanted to demonstrate because I considered the plans for the implementation of the Act of Free Choice dishonest. So I forfeited the SK to become *bupati*.

I was imprisoned and then, after being released, returned to work as a civil servant. Yes, all the people (Papuans) who were detained returned to work after they were set free. Actually, the politically active people should have cut their ties with the government, to be uncooperative, as Gandhi had done in India. To be uncooperative, not to work together with the government. At that time, in all the regions, many civil servants were placed in detention. Boekorsjum, Faidiban, Wamafma and many others who worked in the administration were detained. After getting

out of jail, all of them were accepted back to work. Yes, if we had not resumed work, there would have been no administrators, so who would have developed this land? However, such former political prisoners could not attain positions as *bupati* or governor any more. Only low-ranking positions. My own career could not advance, because I had been branded. But the ideologies have since changed. My children have not been affected by these things. They work within the Indonesian system, although they also hear about the struggles.

As for independence, we have thought about it a lot. Actually we have pushed for independence as so many people have been beaten and shot to death because of this struggle. In addition, many diseases continue to be brought here. The people are already feeling uncomfortable. Within the next ten years the transmigrants will take over Papua, to the point that we become weak and no longer have any strength. The government has tried to weaken our people. The transmigrants that were dropped off in Manokwari, Sorong, Jayapura, and Merauke are already seeping into the interior.

When you fly over Papua by airplane you can see there are cities in the outlying regions. Everything there has been set up for the migrants. It was already written into the plans (of the government) that for the year 2001, 12,000 migrants would be brought in. This is killing the people here. The government of Indonesia slyly tells us that migration is necessary to progress in this area. This land has three times the land area of the island of Java. And then there are the Carstenz Mountains that rise to a height of 5,300 meters. This land is not an island, but perhaps a child of the Australian continent. This nation now wants independence, because it is wounded! The only remedy to heal it is independence.

Yes, let us first be free, first be autonomous. Then the details can be worked out later, we would call on either the Americans, the Dutch, or the Australians to help us out. We will organize it later. But if this is delayed another ten to twenty years, all the wealth of this land will be dredged and used up by the government of Indonesia! We have suffered enough!