Feeling guilty about helping Freeport

Amos Yap

When Freeport came to Mimika, I was serving there. I helped Freeport a lot. I approached the community to get them to accept Freeport. I sincerely hoped that with Freeport's existence, the area could become more open and the community more prosperous. But now, at times, I feel I share the guilt, when I hear and see what the people have gone through due to the presence of Freeport. They have gained hardly any benefits! Instead they have mainly suffered; their natural surroundings and environment have been damaged.

From the beginning I realized that without major enterprises such as mining or plantations, Mimika would not open up, because its natural conditions are so difficult. There are just two seasons, namely, the summer monsoon and the east-wind seasons. Further, the area is also somewhat steep and it is hard for ships to enter the river estuaries. So I saw the coming of Freeport as a good opportunity. And I really worked hard in the hope that it would have a positive impact on the community.

When the company first opened, I approached the company about this, but unfortunately, my overtures were not that well received. That's putting it mildly. The company at the time was exempted from taxes for one year, so that they could bring in anything they needed. The Bechtel Pomeroy company was handling physical work and building roads, bridges and so on. They were burning building materials that they were not using anymore, such as iron sheeting or plywood. I asked that the materials be given to the community free of charge. After all, it would be all the same to them.

What I meant in doing so was to foster communications and a sense of belonging, a sense of unity between the community and the company. But my proposal received no response from the Freeport people. So the atmosphere of community disaffection not only exists now, but has been

there since the beginning. Because they were the human beings placed by God to dwell there. The company's personnel were living in luxury and abundance, while the people of Mimika lived in hardship and received no help.

Freeport operated in the East Mimika sub-district, where I was serving as *camat*, or sub-district head. Because there were no other agencies there at the time, for about one year I handled immigration and customs, took care of identity cards, married people off, and other things. So my role to Freeport was highly significant. Yet once the company was running I heard – since by that time I had already moved – that the good cooperation was no longer there. Because Freeport considered themselves the owners of the concession, they did not really want to deal with any other parties. Unless I went down there. Usually in association with Unsur Pemimpin Kecamatan (Uspika, Sub-district Executive Officers) – I went with the chief of police and the military commander. When we arrived there, it was usually me who was received and given accommodation by Freeport, while my two companions were not, based on the rationale: 'Ah, we are not at war here, so there is no need for the military to come here.'

We provided input on how the company could build a good life together with the community, but often they did not want to accept our advice, perhaps because they were bound by a schedule and costs. After I moved, the person who replaced me was a Makassarese. I do not know exactly why the person who replaced me was not a Papuan, since there was already a government policy to have Papuans. By that time, Freeport was in production. Freeport regarded its concession area as an autonomous region that no one else could contest.

MOVING THE SUB-DISTRICT CAPITAL

One thing that is still memorable to me is the time I took the initiative to move the capital city of East Mimika sub-district, which is now called Maprojaya, to a place that was more representative, healthier, and closer to Freeport, as a more central and strategic site. At no expense to the government – in this context, the *bupati* or the governor – I moved the sub-district capital. At the time, I was challenged by the Catholic Church, since the majority of the population of the area were Roman Catholics.

The role the church played there was very prominent. They dealt with the fields of health and education.

Kokonao was the capital and seat of the regional government head, and at the same time, the capital of the sub-districts of both West Mimika and East Mimika. I moved it on my own initiative. I wanted to bring the centre of sub district government to a more strategic place. I did so on the principle that it was more appropriate, in my opinion, for service to flow not from the office to the community, but in the opposite direction. What is more, in terms of its natural environment, Kokonao was a small, silt-covered island, which was overgrown by mangroves and other plants. Every time there were big ocean tides and flooding from the rivers, I was concerned that we could be inundated at any time, so I had to move it.

Well, this incident has left a strong impression on me until now. I faced resistance, but at the time I responded: 'I am not moving the hospital; I am not moving the minister's house. No. I am only moving my office so I can be closer to my community. Anyone who does not want to move, you may stay.' Well now, it was obvious that all the activities and even the capital of Mimika regency were there, in the area I wanted to move away from. At the time I got no support at all from the *bupati* or the governor. But I was not too concerned about that. Today they recognize that what I did back then was good. But I did not ask to be appreciated either. That is what distinguishes the government civil servants of the old days from those of today! An administrator in the old days noticed something, studied and reviewed it, considered options, then took a step. And he did so without having to wait for funds. It was best to take the initiative on our own. Indonesia had Law number 5/1974, which clearly stipulated regional autonomy. However, it was hard to implement it in practice, perhaps because this country takes the form of a unitary state. And its system is also overly centralist, so that we are too dependent on the levels above us.

ENTERING OSIBA

I graduated from the Jongens Vervolgschool (JVVS, follow-up school for boys) in Mie in 1958. JVVS was the boarding school system that was in effect then, and it had been going on for a long time. We children from

several areas in Geelvink Bay (Cenderawasih Bay) were gathered there. When we completed our final exams, we were told to pick schools, decide what we wanted to be in the future. At the time I aspired to become a minister, as well as to become a teacher, a paramedic, and a technician. But in the end I chose OSIBA.

I was among the graduates with the best scores in our year. Just as we were going to make our choices, news from Hollandia was sent to the HPB in Wasior that new students were being accepted for OSIBA. I myself had never heard of OSIBA. Our director expected us to take the tests for that school. Well, at the time, since I did not know anything about the school and had no aspiration to go there, I refused. But because I had graduated with the best score, number one, I had to go through the testing, because it would also bring a good name to JVVS Miei. So I and six of my friends, we were seven in all, took part in the testing. If I am not mistaken, the HPB at the time was Mr. Lapré. After that, we received news that five of us had passed the test. Then the five of us went for medical testing in Waren. Following from the medical examination results and the quota that was available, only two people were accepted to enter OSIBA in 1958, namely, me and Luther Saroy.

The reasons why I went to OSIBA were that, first, in keeping with my religious beliefs, I knew that I had been chosen by God to be His servant by working as a civil servant. Second, I felt it was better for me to accept whatever made things easier, since we would be getting an education at no cost to our parents. All costs would be borne by the government. All of them!

OSIBA was the highest-level vocational school here in the sense that nearly all of it was financed by the government. Furthermore, the role it played in the field was also so important. Although we were still just candidates, we received special attention throughout our education. From the moment we were accepted, our departures were directly arranged to get us to the school. On the journey there we did not have to busy ourselves with purchasing tickets or arranging for accommodations, and so on. And each year, when we went on vacation, there were people who made the arrangements for us; so all we had to do was leave.

The schooling took four years. This was based on a new outlook that it might be better if, in addition to learning theories, we were also required to do practice, and only following that, return to the theory. Because we came from the JVVS and directly entered the vocational

school, in the first two years we needed other knowledge we had not yet received – the lessons that were provided at Junior High School (PMS), such as algebra, geometry, trade maths, and so on. So we attended these lessons for two years to upgrade our level of knowledge.

Then, after the practice, we received special lessons on administration, policing, and so on, for two more years. For me, there was nothing about it I could call special. Because during my childhood I had witnessed the work of an administrator, as I had lived with administrators' families. I had already observed a bit of what it involved, so I had the impression that a civil servant had to have a little knowledge about many different things.

He had to know a bit about agriculture and everything else, so that at some point he could use the knowledge in his work as an administrator. This was necessary because the people here were behind the times in every way. They definitely expected that if they came to ask an administrator something, he would be able to answer them, and give them what they asked for. In our education at OSIBA we were equipped to deal with this. We received a general education, that is, a little knowledge about many things. So there were no specialist studies.

I am grateful that I was schooled in that period using a system and curriculum like that. This is because, as I have said, the people of Papua lagged far behind compared to people in other regions. Transportation was difficult; everyone was still isolated. So I am grateful that we had such experience. We were provided with the knowledge we needed, so that in the field we could directly decide upon the first steps we should take. This is in contrast to the current situation. As it happened, in the Indonesian period I studied the science of government all over again in the Indonesian language. If, in the past, we had studied *bestuurskunde* (public administration) in Dutch, now we studied it in Indonesian, whether at the Akademi Pemerintahan Dalam Negeri (APDN, Academy for Domestic Government) or at the Institut Ilmu Pemerintahan (IIP, Institute of Government Studies).

At OSIBA we were educated to be 'serfs' or servants of the people. But at that school I felt that I was also one of God's servants. In my life, I have done both – served both as a public servant and as a servant of God. Whatever I have done, whatever decisions I have made, or plans I have carried out, I have always asked for guidance from God. In both roles, I have offered myself as a servant of the people. So, from the be-

ginning and up until now, I have always given more priority to helping other people and endeavoured to fulfill other people's requests. Serving others rather than being served. Because I hold to the principle that if I respect other people, and help them, God will be sure to help me and my children in turn. So we gave main priority to that. Accordingly, we gave more attention in our work to what people needed, what difficulties they had, and not to what we needed. Therefore, regarding the day to day practice of government administration, I am of the view that in truth, the core of government, or the essence of the wheels that turn the administration, must lie not in the office, but in the midst of the community. Because of that, each month I had to go out there, based on the principle that government must circulate in the midst of the community, at the level of the *kampung* – nowadays, the level of the village. You see, if it can operate there, and the problems can be solved there, the needs of the communities met there, it need not climb up any higher. That is how it should be! Yet what we see now is that government administration is controlled more from the higher levels, so that the people always feel far away, and services are lacking, such that the people must go up there to fight for their interests.

ASSIGNED TO KOKONAU

I was part of the last class of OSIBA, since the school was then upgraded to become a kind of institute, that is, the *College voor Bestuurs- en Rechtswetenschappen* (Institute of Public Administration and Law), with two faculties – the Faculty of Law and the Faculty of Public Administration. When an opportunity to do so opened up at that time, all of us wanted to enter the school for police officers. We had friends and brothers (our seniors) who had previously entered the police school. So we also wanted to go to the police school at Base G. Well, it turned out that 13 of us wanted to do that, which would have left only four to work in government administration.

However, Mr. Th.C. van den Broek (head of the curatorium of the school) said: 'No, no, no! No one is going into the police; everyone must go into the administration!' So I went to Kokonao. I had no idea where I was going, because in those days communications and information about the regions were not the way they are now. But I stuck with my

principles: 'Okay, I'll go; okay, I'm off to Kokonao'. And so, I began my service there.

I arrived there on 9 February 1962. I began working there as a *candidaat bestuurs assistent* (CBA, assistant administrator candidate). It was precisely during the transition period. I was still young, if I am not mistaken, only 19 years old. And I was assigned to replace the *administratief ambtenaar* (AA, administrative officer), Mr. Jansen at the Agimuga administrative post. It was a remote area populated by the Amungme, Mimika, and Sempan tribes. I began working there. It was a difficult area. But yes, I managed to work there for a fairly long time. Then I was posted to Mimika, beginning as the district head, then becoming the *kepala pemerintahan setempat* (KPS, head of local government), and later, reverting to become a *camat* (sub district head). And several times I went back and forth to attend studies.

After that I returned to Kokonao, where I stayed until the end of 1976, and then I was transferred to Kaimana. And for more or less a year I served as a *camat* in Kaimana. Then I was transferred to the office of the *bupati* (regency/district head) of Fak-Fak to serve as the head of the Law Division, and I worked there for just one year. Then I was transferred to the office of the governor, for only three months, since I had to go for further education. Then in 1982 I returned once more, this time to Jayapura. There I worked only one year, at the Biro Pemerintahan (Administration Bureau) in the governor's office. Then I was transferred to Manokwari as the secretary of the Regional Development Planning Agency (BAPPEDA).

Then I became the head of the Regional Economy Division. After that I was sent back to BAPPEDA as the head of BAPPEDA in Manokwari regency. Then, in 1994 I was transferred to Biak, to serve as *sekretaris wilayah daerah* (regional secretary) of Biak-Numfor regency until 1997. Then I was transferred to Manokwari, to serve in the position of *pembantu gubernur* (deputy governor) – better known in Java as 'resident' – until now. Back in 1962 I went to Kokonau on an airplane that was going to pick up the last Dutch people, that is, KPS Block. He departed right away, but I had already received my assignments from Mr. Jansen. And the person who became local government head or KPS was a Papuan, Saul Wakum. He has since died. He was also a graduate of OSIBA and we were able to carry out the tasks of the administration.

As for notes or records in advance of their departures, there were none, because the timing was so tight. And perhaps this was also because they felt there was no need to do this, as the other materials were still there. And that was what I learned for the future, how I had to behave and act in running an administration. So although the administration was transferred from the Dutch to the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA), we ran the administrative mechanism just as it had been run before, because all of us working during that period were well-educated officials. It might be said that we were the ones who kept the government running during the UNTEA period. The UNTEA officials only acted as symbols of the UN administration, whereas the daily tasks of government continued to be carried out by the people who came from the Dutch government period. At that time all the people who performed those jobs were Papuans. So that could be taken as a measure of whether or not we would be capable of leadership in the future. During the UNTEA period, we ourselves did the work. At that time, Kokonao was part of the residency of Fak-Fak.

The UNTEA person who came to Kokonao was Djalal Abdoh. He came from Jayapura. At the time he was serving as governor. Whereas the UN military person came from Pakistan. Bapak Isaac Hindom served as the vice-resident in Fak-Fak. So it might be said that it was we (Papuans) who ran the government. The UN people only acted as advisors, since in fact, they did not know anything about what had to be done. They did not change much because they did not know the language, and perhaps also because, later, the administration would be handed over to the government of Indonesia, which also consisted of officials from the Dutch government period.

So there was almost no difference. Perhaps it was only the atmosphere that changed at the time. As the time for the transfer in accordance with the New York Agreement drew closer, Indonesian officials were entering our region, both at the level of the *kabupaten* (regency/district) as well as at the level of the local government head, or KPS, and the same was true in Kokonao. Because we became part of Indonesia, whatever was going on over there we also felt over here. At that time the political atmosphere was very dominant. We went through many hardships and shortages.

The economy was in chaos, there were no goods in the shops, and we felt it in Kokonao as well. If we needed anything we had to line up and use coupons, likewise if we wanted to buy rice. It was an extremely

difficult period. I remember that back then, people could only get 300 grams of rice with a coupon. Because of that, Kokonao became a hard place to be. In the Dutch period, before Freeport existed, a ship used to come to Kokonao every six months to drop off supplies, in the months of April and September. Our lives were highly dependent on the drop off of supplies by ship. Kokonao was an area full of swamps and rivers.

IMPLEMENTING THE ACT OF FREE CHOICE

At the time when the Act of Free Choice was held, I was serving as the KPS in Kokonao. And at the time, we had a Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Gotong Royong (DPRD-GR, Regional Council of People's Representatives Mutual Assistance) at the regency or district level; the *bupati* served as the chairman of the DPRD-GR, and all local government heads were members, along with community representatives appointed by the government. At that time, there were no general elections yet, and village heads were still called *kepala kampung* rather than the Indonesianized *kepala desa*. Leading community figures who were considered capable, including teachers, were appointed as members of the DPRD-GR. Bapak Thom (Beanal) at that time was the vicar in Nabire or Enarotali. At that time, the Indonesian government decided on the policy to implement the Act of Free Choice through a Dewan Musyawarah Pepera (DMP, Consultative Council for the Act of Free Choice), consisting of DPRD-GR members. So we, including me and other people, were the ones appointed for this.

Why the members of the DPRD-GR were used, following a nomination system, instead of simply letting people vote, is something that not many people, including me, knew. Moreover, I was in a remote area with means of communication that were not like the ones we have today, with television and all that, so we did not know a thing about it, and let us say, we just followed the rules set from above. Of course we hoped for the best. And frankly, I am someone who is not all that fond of politics. All I know are the politics of work, but politics per se, I do not like, and I am not interested in them.

Regarding the implementation of the Act of Free Choice, perhaps to facilitate the arrangements or for other reasons, all of the members (of the DMP) were accommodated in particular places. Those of us

from Fak-Fak were put up in the senior high school building currently occupied by Yayasan Pendidikan Islam (YAPIS, the Islamic Education Foundation). Because it was the occasion of such an important event, all sorts of things, such as health, rest, and so on, were placed under surveillance.

At the time I was not aware of what was going to happen. I knew nothing at all. What is more, I had never read the documents signed by the UN, the Netherlands, and Indonesia. As I said earlier, we came from an isolated area, so we just followed what the people of the city or the regency, had stipulated. So, to conduct the Act of Free Choice, we were brought to Fak-Fak and accommodated in the high school building.

Regarding the referendum process, from the start, several people who would speak were pre-determined. Especially city people, who were considered good at speaking, while it would remain for the others to agree. I personally felt that I did not yet know how to speak. I was not among the ones designated to speak, but I was asked as a member of one council, one unit, whether I agreed. Yes, we all agreed! How could we say we did not agree? So you might say that I just followed along, almost unconsciously, and it was not just me – I think it was like that for quite a lot of people. I did not feel I was intimidated or scared, but if that was going on, yes, then perhaps I was too. We were not intimidated by the military, but because we were in an atmosphere filled by the spirit of the Indonesian Triple Command (Trikorla). And as is well known, that spirit was not only found among those who had come from outside, but also among Papuans themselves, who in the Dutch period were pro-Indonesia, or pro-“red and white”. So it was not just because of the military, but because of the influence of the pro-Indonesia Papuans.

After the implementation of the Act of Free Choice in 1969 I returned to Kokonao. Then in 1971 I went to pursue studies at the APDN in Jayapura. In 1973 I was done and returned to serve in Kokonao until 1976. In 1979 I went to the IIP in Jakarta, and finished my studies there in 1981.

NEW OFFICIAL, NEW POLICY

The essential theory of governance, whether in the Dutch period or the Indonesian period, is the same, since those who taught it before

in Indonesia were also Dutch teachers. Today, courses are given in the form of seminars. Previously, this method was unknown at OSIBA. Conversely, there are subjects that were covered at OSIBA, but are not taught now at the APDN and IIP. And when they are taught, I see that they do not have a bearing on, do not hit the mark for, and do not fit the needs of our region. The systems they teach mainly apply to Java. I think that this not only happens in the field of government, but also in other fields, such as education, culture, and so forth. That is the difference I see. The same is true in matters of work discipline. Maybe it was because we went to boarding schools from the age of 10 that we were familiar with discipline in both life and in work. And the discipline was further reinforced during the time we were educated at OSIBA. This was the difference.

At the APDN, and today, at the Sekolah Tinggi Pemerintahan Dalam Negeri (STPDN, High School of Government Affairs) in Jatinangor, discipline is mainly understood as military discipline. Hence, there are also supplementary military lessons on marching, and so on. But in fact that is not what is meant by discipline. At the APDN and STPDN, the education system, with its centralistic curriculum and syllabus, is determined by the centre. It is not accompanied by a practice period. For me, this presented no difficulty, because I had studied at OSIBA. Because of that, I saw my studies at the APDN and IIP only as a transition from Dutch to Indonesian, supplemented by modern management and such, in keeping with the developments of the times. But the way I work has remained as it was before, using a transparent and democratic system. I always use that system with the formula: 20 days in the field and 10 days in the office.

When the question arises now – where does the difference lie? – the most striking difference I see, and deplore, is that there is almost no regular or well-maintained administration. In the Dutch period, we made daily reports, monthly reports, and so on, and it was done in a tiered manner. The district head sent three copies to the HPB, who corrected them, and after that, sent one copy back to the district head and two copies on to the resident. The resident kept one copy and forwarded one copy to the governor or the Department of Home Affairs.

Because there was a permanent work system, the work programmes also continued to run. There was an effort to maintain a good archive, so that the assessments of subordinates by their superiors were objective. In

the files you could see the capacities of a government official in terms of administration, what he wrote, where he had been, what villages he had visited, and so on. Thus, the reports were objective in character. This is different than the current situation; today such things do not exist.

Indeed, today there is a different system, but sometimes it is influenced by the subjectivity of the person making the personnel assessment report. Another thing is that formerly, even when an official was replaced, the programme that had been set up kept running. Whereas now it does not! As soon as an official is replaced, whether he is a governor, a *bupati*, or a *camat*, perhaps even if he is the president, all the programmes are changed! So there is no continuity: even though a Memorandum of Transfer is always made, who knows whether it is ever read or not, or forwarded to one's superiors.

That is the issue. From my perspective, this cannot work and it is ill suited to the spirit of administrative work. It is confusing, when people hear that a new government programme has just begun to be implemented, or has not yet been implemented, but the official in charge has been replaced again. That is what inhibits continuity in terms of the active participation of the community. With respect to this, the people say: 'Ah, just wait, later the official will get replaced again, don't put too much stock in it.' This is a loss for us here. It is why, in a recent work meeting, I proposed that an APDN be reopened in Papua using different educational methods than in Java.

Based on my experience, before an official can lead an area, he must at least have an idea of the area and the population he will be serving, of the people with whom he will be living, and so on. But if an official has no idea at all of these matters, how can he work? He can obtain this information from books and from the experience of practitioners in the field. A system like this cannot be altered by a governor. As I mentioned before, this is a unitary nation, so its system is centralistic, ruled from the centre, and there are laws that make that possible. In my daily practice up to now, I have never seen a governor who could change the system. Indeed, the dominance of the centre, in this context, the central and provincial governments, and the succession of steps to the bottom, keep it that way.

As an example: all the governors and the *bupati* are kept very occupied with a great many activities outside of their own work areas. They must attend meetings with this minister, then that minister, and so on

to the point that they lack time to allow them to think about their own work programmes and to go into the field. In the period of Governor Bas Suebu (1988-1993), he made a very good move, that is, of going into the villages. Unfortunately, though, this was not continued because he was dismissed as governor. He made visits to a number of villages and tried to develop a working system. He wanted to revive the spirit of work of the communities. But as soon as he was replaced, that excellent project disappeared.

It would be nice if new government leaders did not just directly ignore or eliminate the work programmes or work plans of their predecessors. Actually, those work programmes and work plans belong to the regions. The work programmes for the state are called *Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara* (GBHN, Broad Outlines of State Policy), whereas for the provinces and regencies, they are called *Pola Dasar Pembangunan Daerah* (Basic Guidelines for Regional Development). They cover all the issues, needs, and so on. They should not all be changed because of a change in government leadership. Perhaps what needs to be replaced is the strategy for their implementation, in order to ensure that their goals are achieved.

HEART AND MOUTH CAPITAL

Thus, the question is, should the APDN be reopened, even though currently at Cendrawasih University a department of public administration has opened? Based on what I have experienced and practiced myself, I feel that a government administrator should be formed through some kind of vessel, or system of education, with different materials. Because later on, he will not only be working based on theories, but will be relying on his instincts.

Because administration is really not one hundred percent theory. The practice of administration is an art – felt through one's fingertips (*in je vingers krijgen*). And it must be formed, based on my own and my former OSIBA friends' experiences. Formed in that way. Let me give an example. Because, at OSIBA, we were each prepared to be able to function as an *alleensprekende rechter* (a single judge) later on, there were certain days on which we were sent to sit in on court sessions at the Police Court and Indigenous Court. There we saw how a judge or prosecutor, to use

contemporary terms, prosecuted, deliberated, and decided upon cases. So before we dove into the field, we were already equipped with such experiences.

In fact, during the last leg of our studies at OSIBA we were given extra lessons. I remember learning about meteorology. We were introduced to agriculture, plantations, house construction, health, and other subjects. I was grateful because this helped me in the places where I was posted, especially when I worked in Mimika. I had no one there who could answer my questions or who I could invite to take a look at things. And it turned out that I could deal with things. What was our 'capital'? Well, if anyone asks me now: 'What is the difference between graduates of OSIBA and the people who work in government today?' – I say: 'For us, in that time – and the older people from that period can attest to it – our only capital was our hearts and our mouths. We had to try to explain very clearly to the people, in the language of the people and in the manner of the people, the things we wanted to do and achieve together with them.'

Participation was crucial; what we used as a measure of success in development was professional participation. From the beginning, when something was still an aspiration, to when it became a plan, and then from the time it was implemented until we could enjoy the results and maintain success, it had to be accepted and supported by the community. So it was not just the government alone that was involved with it.

All the parties involved must relinquish their individual 'banners' or agendas. Let us say an NGO, for example. They should not go to a place just because they have a good relationship with the people. That attitude must be relinquished, because if not, the others involved will surely be unwilling to give in. The way it should be is that in coordinating development, there is a unity of thought, views, vision, and mission. All of the activities must be focused on the interests of the community and not on the interests of parties A, B, and C. That is the only way, in my opinion. So it is no good if one party starts patting their chests, claiming that they did all the work. That attitude is no good because definitely the community will choose and take sides with the ones who did it. If an NGO initiates an activity in a place, perhaps it will be accepted by the community, but NGOs must bear in mind that they cannot replace the government, because it is the government who has the authority, the power and the apparatus for development. They must act under the supervision of the

government so as not to give rise to conflicts between the community and the government. If attention is not paid to this, the community may at some point become unhappy with the NGO.

Thus, the government today must see NGOs as work partners, and not as opponents. I implied above that there should be a cooperative consciousness, that in order to succeed the government and its apparatus cannot possibly work alone. It cannot. The government has limited personnel, limited funds, and limited time. The government must work together with other parties. But the other parties should not see themselves as better than the government. Because after all, the government is still the one that governs, anywhere.

THE REFORM ERA

Since the reform era, or *Reformasi*, in Indonesia, there have been changes. The Old Order has been overthrown by the students and all sorts of other forces that opposed it, and the reform era has been welcomed in. There is an awareness that the government has made some wrong moves, frightening the people a lot, and so on. So now efforts are being made to ensure that democracy is truly of the people, by the people, and for the people, including the field of government. The people are involved in governance through the DPR. So now, the control function of the Council of People's Representatives (DPR) has truly begun to be restored. This is what is hoped. And it may work out well, as long as not too many constitutional changes occur, leading to a parliamentary system, because Indonesia embraces a presidential system.

And the democracy should not be so easily changed here and there, as in overly extreme liberal democracies. Village communities too are involved in village government through the Badan Musyawarah Desa (BMD, Village Consultative Board). This board is a kind of 'mini DPR', since those who sit on it are community figures, teachers, and so on. They discuss things they consider important in the interests of their village.

The BMD institution has existed since 1974, as it was regulated under Law No. 5/1974. It is acknowledged by the village head. Planning and development at the village level are handled by the Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa (LKMD, Village Community Resilience Council), and

then adopted as a means of village community resilience. So actually, in theory and in law, the regulations already existed, but unfortunately, were not fully implemented during the New Order. In development planning we used two systems, namely, bottom-up and top-down. In reality, we were using a bottom-up and then a top-down system. But what was produced through this system was more than what was put forward by the government apparatus, say, at the sub-district level and below.

These things must not be allowed to persist in the future, and we hope that at the village level, things will run in accordance with the new laws. At the sub-district level, there is the Unit Daerah Kerja Pembangunan (UDKP, Local Development Work Unit), while for the regency or district level, there are Rapat Koordinasi Pembangunan Daerah Tingkat II (RAKORBANGDA, Regional Development Coordination Meetings). For the government itself there exists the Law on Regional Autonomy No. 5/1974, which has been replaced by Law No. 22 /1999, according to which each autonomous region is allowed to have its own Dewan Pertimbangan Daerah (DPD, Regional Advisory Council). The chairperson and members have the authority to advise the governor and the *bupati*. Thus, in brief, what I want to say is that the agencies already exist. The problem is that none of these agencies is functioning yet; perhaps more time is needed.

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

The role of the church is something I would say distinguishes our area from other areas in turning the wheels of government and development, as well as community development. Here we must use a religious approach. We must look at what religion is embraced in a given area. We must respect that and use a religious approach, because religion is embedded in people's hearts, and they feel responsible to God. So this outlook still endures among us here. Few programmes – such as the Inpres Desa Tertinggal (IDT – Special Presidential Instruction Programme for Less-developed Villages in the 1990s) – have been implemented that were not first approved by churches and congregations for village men's church groups to take part in.

Changes have been occurring everywhere, yet compared with the results achieved by the work of church-based groups, the results of

other groups have been less successful. This is the real evidence. I can only hope that the church will see this too. Let it not reach the point when there is a sharp dividing line between the government and the church, such that the government is said to be an affair of the world, and the church an affair of heaven. There should be coordination and cooperation between them. Each must have a high level of awareness of its status and duty. It is not possible for the church to live alone without the government, and the reverse is also true. What is more, according to Christian teachings, the government is the representative of the Lord God on earth. Here in Papua, there are a number of basic guidelines on development for the sub-provincial regions such as in Manokwari, for example. Contained within these guidelines are the approaches used in development, including the religious approach, cultural approach, and legal approach. In Papua in particular, the religious and cultural approaches must be given precedence. Following these comes the legal approach, in the sense of the government and its whole apparatus, to create the new Papua in the future.

This region and its inhabitants must be developed and must evolve in the future, but not only for their own sakes. There is a mandate from God that this region and people must become a blessing for other people as well. And this includes the partitioning of the regions. And I am very sorry that the concept of the partitioning of the regions – which I hear was cast into law but then not approved by the community – has been done without following a good process.

At the time when the concept for the partitioning of the province was drawn up, neither I nor my two friends (fellow deputy governors) were asked or sent letters to ask us for our opinions. So if the people are now rejecting it in that form, I too join them in rejecting it. This is because I see that it is inconsistent with the existing strengths and weaknesses, and does not give enough attention to the potentials or to balancing the existing potentials, in terms of both their positive and negative aspects, which should be done through an in-depth study, or a feasibility study. We were never asked, and then, suddenly, a law appeared on the partitioning of the province. What is most important here is not just the formation of new provinces, but how those provinces can live, thrive, and revitalize themselves on their own. And the first step should be exactly like that of people who are going to marry and establish their own household.

THE PARTITIONING OF THE PROVINCE

For the most part, approximately 30 to 40 percent of routine government expenses are transportation expenses. Being a single province with Jayapura as its capital means that a lot of expenses are siphoned off for travel. Travel also takes up a lot of time and energy. These expenses do not yet cover the work done. Based on my experiences in the south and in the north, I see that, for the time being, we cannot yet solve the problem of isolation in this region. Because the mountains here are so high and multi-layered, I think that the geography of the region itself determines the extent and the forms of the government administrative regions covering it, especially those known as provinces.

The partitioning of Papua into two or three provinces is a necessity. Because even with telecommunications, the costs are still high. Even with sophisticated modes of transportation, it remains expensive. Building new roads is not difficult, not expensive. Yet it is more expensive – and unfeasible – to maintain them, especially if you build a road long enough to span the whole province, say, from Jayapura to Merauke, or from Nabire to Enarotali and on to Kokonao. It would be difficult. Thus, I think that the nature of the country determines its boundary lines. Moreover, boundaries between administrative regions alone do not mean walls that will segregate people in the north and stop them from coming to the south and so forth. No. They are simply administrative boundaries.

Therefore, I am not that focused on economic or socio-cultural comparisons. Because to me, humans are living beings. They are like birds. Wherever there are trees with fruit, they will fly there without being told, without being forced. So even if there are borders somewhere on a government map, for example, a river that marks a provincial boundary, people will still go across the river, even if they are registered as residents of another province. It is not that I do not appreciate or do not regard economic or socio-cultural considerations as important. But as a first step for now, I ask that more attention be given to topographical and geographical issues.

There is no danger of communities being boxed in. Because, once more, the provincial boundaries are just administrative boundaries. Let us take the example of West Germany and East Germany. There was a wall there. Despite the wall, instinctively, psychologically, they remained

united. Because as soon as the wall was torn down, they directly united. I can demonstrate this too in the establishment of villages here. The villages (*desa*) were formed by merging several kampung. Even though there were administrative boundaries, the residents could still keep on going from here to there, having dealings here and there, trading here and there. So there were no problems. One thing that I think is not right is to expect that one should take care of every aspect or sector. That is impossible. It is impossible to expect one province to have a score of 10 and every other province to have a score of 10 as well. It is not feasible. Of course, one province will have this potential advantage, whereas another province will have others. So, each province, like each city, will serve its own functions. The regions will also have side by side functions. For example, take Biak. Biak is a supply area that receives products from the interior. Conversely, Biak has a role to fulfil regarding transportation arrangements. That is why I see the partitioning of the province as something crucial.

A SLEEPING GIANT

I hope for attention from the Dutch and European parliaments because it seems that so little information comes out of this land. And when information does come out, it is always negative, or only for tourist consumption, so that most people do not know much about the circumstances in this land. Among the high officials in our own country, say, ministers, there may be those who have never learned even a little about our land, so people in Europe or America must know even less. I remember very well that during the New Order there were only two ministers, including Bapak T.B. Silalahi, who knew a bit about the land of Papua.

So we hope that the writings of our friends and the stories of all of us in this book will open people's eyes, and provide information and input to those who would like to help this region, because Papua is a sleeping giant that is still left behind. If Papua is not developed, it may be positive, but on the whole it may also turn out to be negative. Conversely, if it can be developed, say, in the area of the economy, the people themselves will prosper, and it will also bring prosperity to others.

Just take Merauke as a concrete example. If only the Kumbe Rice Project, which began in the Dutch period, could be continued now with

cooperative help from other parties, the project would not only provide food for us on this island, but could also provide food to the South Pacific. This is based on the opinion of an expert from the FAO I once met. So we hope that Europe, and especially, the Netherlands, can help us. People should not just learn about this land through the news, but believe in what they can see with their own eyes and hear with their own ears. That would be better.

I am thankful for and truly appreciate what continues to be written about this land by the former officials who once served here. Whether they were in government or in the private sector, what they write in the newspapers and magazines there can be read carefully by people there, especially by the prime ministers, people in the governments and parliaments, so that they can see these things.

WIPE OUT THE MISTRUST

And I believe that it is not just a figment of our imagination, but a moral responsibility, a humanitarian imperative that must be given attention. And the special features we describe in this book may perhaps help to make the implementation of development more effective and efficient – so that the bureaucracy can be reduced and everything can run in an orderly way. And so that more trust can emerge! Why has this land been left behind in the Dutch period and in the Indonesian period today? Because of mistrust!

When the Dutch were here, they were concerned that their situation here could end up the same way as the situation did in Indonesia, or that they would go through the same thing they had in Indonesia, where they had lost everything. Well, in the Indonesian era this same concern may still exist, especially after Indonesia's loss of East Timor. That will certainly be a matter for their consideration in developing into the future. Nonetheless, we are now reading and hearing about the existence of a lot of attention, commitment and statements from state officials, including the vice president of the Republic of Indonesia, to the effect that the government will give more serious attention to this land. This is my hope. Hopefully it will come true!

Aside from government parties, I also place my hope in church parties in Europe, so they will help us and not look to Europe alone. In this

great land of Papua there are still so many people living in the dark, in backwardness, ignorance, and poverty. The churches in Europe can help to expand the missions of the churches here, irregardless of their denominations. So once more I want to tell the Netherlands not to run away from its moral responsibilities!

Because when the Dutch were here in this land, they worked in earnest, without hesitation, without the fear that they would suffer losses again. Have we forgotten the Dutch proverb, which says: *'Een ezel stoot zich in het algemeen niet twee keer aan dezelfde steen'* (A donkey does not stumble on the same rock twice). Is this perhaps the reason why? The Dutch really and truly implemented development in Papua, and education without limits!