

Article

Autonomy and Decentralization as Remedies?: Counterinsurgency Tactics for the West Papua Conflict in Democratic Indonesia

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Abstract

In 1998, along with the political reform and democratization spring of Indonesia, the Papua region of Indonesia also found its political awakening. The troubled region regressed into turbulence associated with the demand of self-determination. In order to subdue the turmoil, the new democratic government of Indonesia has taken an extraordinary approach by granting special autonomy and performing decentralization. The act is also an acknowledgement of Papuan uniqueness in comparison to other provinces of Indonesia. This paper explores the impacts of government approaches in addressing Papua insurgency. The research found that the government has been fairly successful in alleviating the issue of self-determination, but has failed to pacify the region. The article presents the development of the government's policies of counterinsurgency tactics and the results. It argues that the shortcoming of the government's effort of conflict resolution is rooted in the fallacy of understanding the West Papua conflict merely as being related to the problems of self-determination. The argument expands on the main narrative of understanding that the Papua conflict, as the problem of the secessionist movement, needs to be revisited.

Keywords: Autonomy, Decentralization, Secessionist, West Papua, Indonesia

Introduction

In the year 1998, along with the resignation of President Soeharto, Indonesia was entering a period of political reform, known as *Reformasi*. The occurrence of this offered a fresh political architecture in Indonesia. The political landscape has been changed significantly through democratization, ever since. The process of the change was exploding at the beginning, troubling in the middle, and now; it is struggling to stay steady. Even so, Indonesia's democratic experiments seem far from concluded.

Unluckily, not all parts of Indonesia enjoy better conditions than the conditions during the Soeharto regime. Papua¹⁾ is one of the cases. Up to now, while the rest of the country

has been gradually stabilized and has developed relatively better, Papua has remained the same or may even have become worse. After the political awake in the early stage of the *Reformasi*, Papua has never settled. The region fell into disturbances mainly associated with the wish for self-determination. Drawing upon some historical contingencies, the Papuan nationalists claimed the recognition of their nation. Violent actions revived concurrently with political movements. In responding to the situation, the young democratic government of Indonesia exercised a series of political trials; from a security approach (namely counterinsurgency) to a more democratic way of conflict resolution, which is the prosperity approach.²⁾ All efforts were made to tame the turmoil. However, peace remains an alien word when picturing the current Papua. After more than 15 years of a democratic Indonesia, Papua is still in a similar state: troubled, hot, and susceptible. The level of conflict shifted from high political issues to low political issues. The grand issue has been gradually fading away; however, new sporadic issues appear uncontrolled.

This article aims to deliver analysis of the post-1998 period of Papua's conflict setting. It focuses on two special policies; regional autonomy and decentralization. The article aims to understand why counterinsurgency tactics in democratic manners failed to overcome Papuan turmoil and conserve conflicting atmospheres. The main argument is that the endless troubled situation in Papua takes root in the negative sentiment toward Papuans, i.e., separatism. In turn, it causes lack of commitment of state apparatuses and brings low legitimacy of the government. The argument will begin by sharing the exploitation of the term separatism, used by the central government (Jakarta) in understanding the Papuan problem and how it affected the vision in handling the conflict. Later on, we discuss how decentralization, regional autonomy and the spilt of the region (or administrative fragmentation in the name of 'regional proliferation' – which is called *pemekaran* in Indonesia) have been conducted and their effectiveness in transforming the idea of secessionism. By doing so, the article critically examines the current implementation of autonomy and decentralization as remedies in secessionist conflict management.

Separatism in Papua and its consequences

How separatism in Papua does become an issue for the central government? When was it started and how it has been developed? The development of separatism as the issue in reading the Papua conflict will be discussed below. To encapsulate the following discussion, the main dispute that has been generated the term of separatists was circling around the history of Papua's incorporation into Indonesia.

Historically, Indonesia gained independence in 1945 from the Japanese occupation. Japan occupied Indonesia for the period of 3,5 years after defeated the long ruler of Indonesia, the Dutch. During Japan occupation, Papua island was became the field of contestation of countries who engage in war in the Pacific, yet, Japan was never laid a strong hold in Papua (West Papua) and Netherland was always been the ruler of the region.³⁾

After Indonesia gained independence, the Indonesian nationalist believed that a whole territory of Indonesia is all parts under the Dutch colonial, including the western part of

the Papuan island. Netherland, on the other hand, did not want to give up the region since the place was prepared to be a repatriation place for the Dutch people who had been moved out from Indonesia (Drooglever 2010). Indonesian nationalist insisted and rushed to conduct military actions, as well as, international diplomacy. The Papuan nationalist, conversely, believed that the Dutch had ready to extent independency to the Papuan. Violent resistance by some Papuan nationalist toward Indonesian government started ever since.

In international stage, the dispute was contested Indonesian government versus Netherland government with the Papuan people divided into both camps. After a referendum in Papua (West Papua) held by the United Nation of the so called "the Act of Free Choice" in 1969, the western part of Papuan island formally became part of Indonesian territory. However, Papuan resistance to Indonesian government was not automatically disappeared. As the result; the term separatism became an inherent phrase in reading the Papuan turbulence. The development of the issue is best explained in two periods; the early period of Papua integration in which Indonesia was under President Soeharto's authoritarian rule, and the *reformasi* period in which Indonesia was entering democracy.

Early period

The term of separatist movement in Papua is nothing new in Indonesian politics. Ever since Papua rejoined Indonesia in 1960s, the region has been shaken up with violent resistance labeled as separatist movement and insurgency. Armed clashes with the Indonesian government happened sporadically even before the first regional military command of Irian Barat (KODAM XVII/ Irian Barat) officially formed on 17 August 1962. The phrase of The Free Papua Organization (OPM; Organisasi Papua Merdeka) started to be used around the year 1962-1965 (Osborne, 1985; Ismail, et al., 1971; Djopari, 1993). The resistance movement then began to be noted as a separatist movement.

Nonetheless, the notion of separatism is debatable. The Papuan nationalists insisted on the movements as being part of the struggle to defend their sovereignty since they believed that they had declared independence on 1 December 1961. Papuan scholars such as Agus A. Alua (2000; 2002; 2006), Socrates Sofyan Yoman (2010; 2012) and Sepius Wonda (2009) supported the idea that Papua had been independent as a nation. However, the argument presented by historians is also worth mentioning. Meteray (2012, p.236) opines that the event on 1 December 1961 in Hollandia was not an independence day; instead, it was a manifesto of Papuan elites of the New Guinea Council to show the public their preparation in building a nation state. A similar opinion has been presented earlier by a reputable historian P.J. Drooglever (2010, p.573, p.781) in his influential book, a reference for many Papuan observers of the history of Papua's integration to Indonesia. Even though the discourse over Papua's sovereignty still lingers on, international law has acknowledged Papua as part of Indonesia's territory. Hence, the separatist and insurgency frame in seeing Papua resistance is also logical.

The notion of marking Papuan problems as secessionist activities culminated during the Soeharto era (1968-1998). The Soeharto regime was notorious for being a brutal ruler

especially when it came to the unity and sovereignty of the state.⁴⁾ Therefore, security in Papua, along with Aceh and East Timor, was the core concern of the government. Mc Rae (2002) points out that the hegemonic notion to name the government's opposition in Papua, in the Soeharto period, as separatist, came from the thought that the Indonesian national unity is natural and final. Consequently, the rigid 'security approach' (i.e., repression) to maintain national unity was considered necessary, at least from the regime's point of view. The Asian Human Right Commission report (Sloan (ed.), 2013) estimated that during an extensive military operation in Papua's Central Highlands in 1977-1978, the Indonesian military killed thousands of Papuans. Papua was also under the military operation zone (DOM; Daerah Operasi Militer) during 1970-1999 with various military operations targeting the OPM and its suspected civilian sympathizers. Even though there are not many studies and empirical data accounts of the casualties and victims of such operations, due to the absence of freedom of speech during the time of Soeharto, Papuan observers believe those operations also resulted in bloodshed. Among the few, studies by Elmslie (2002), Osborne (1985), Singh (2008), Imparsial (2011) and van den Broek & Hermawan (2001) are picturing the harsh security treatment Papuan society had to endure under the Soeharto regime. Moreover, since Soeharto had personal merit in West Papua's incorporation to Indonesia, the regime did not allow any slights of dissatisfaction of the natives to the state.⁵⁾ Additionally, during the Soeharto era, even though the region is known as the resource richest area in Indonesia, Papua and Papuans' development are backward in comparison to other regions of Indonesia. With this said, Papuans not only had to suffer a harsh security approach, but also had to undergo marginalization in many aspects of development. During the Soeharto regime, however, Papuans were relatively subdued from political actions.

The reformasi era

"State's newly robust commitment to democracy has significant implications for separatist claim" (Orentlicher, 2003, p.30). This captivating opinion is precise to explain the revival of the wish for separation from Indonesia of the Papuan elites, following the fall of the Soeharto regime and the commitment of the new government to follow the path of democracy. Believing in democracy's mantra of freedom of speech, Papuan nationalists were publicly expressing their wish of self-determination. The result was; violent mass clashes between the Papuan and Indonesian military in many areas of Papua (Rutherford, 2012; Kirksey, 2012). Furthermore, in a National Dialog with President Habibie on 24 February 1999, the Papuan elites, known as *Tim Seratus*, proposed a demand for freedom (Alua, 2002). According to Kirksey (2012, pp.70-73) the request seemed to be a spur-of-the-moment act rather than a strategic-carefully-calculated attitude. What is more, the event was the awakening moment as reminder of Papua's independence in 1961.⁶⁾

The incident concerning the National Dialog, however, justified the unfathomable danger of Papuan separatism in Indonesian elites' perception in the early stage of the *Reformasi* period. The president was shocked with the proposal and could not give a prompt response. President Habibie then asked the Papuan delegation to return to Papua and rethink their wish. Taking into account the chronological history of Indonesian politics,

Indonesia under Habibie then experienced the bitter loss of East Timor a few months later. Hence, the impact of the loss and the fear of experiencing another loss reverberated in the government's policies towards Papuan problems thereafter. Despite the government's efforts to uphold the principles of democracy in handling the Papua problem, the haunting perception of Papua with separatism inclinations has always been implied in Jakarta's attitudes, ever since.

One spoiler in handling the Papuan uprising democratically is the military. The Indonesian military has always been an integral part of Indonesian politics since the very beginning of Indonesian independence. In post-1998, there was a political innovation to send the military back to barracks.⁷⁾ Yet, in the Papuan case, the military involvement was hard to be set aside. The institution is acting in their own way in managing the Papuan trouble, due to the half-hearted commitment to military reform and the enormous interests of military business in Papua. Moreover, as Supriatma (2013) and King (2004) noted, the military has even expanded its territorial units, and deployed more troops and weaponry to the post-1998 Papua. In addition, while Aceh, another conflict region in Indonesia, was freed from the status of military operation zone in 1998, the DOM in Papua has never been formally lifted. In 2004, the Military Law No.34/2004 on TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia or Indonesian Armed Forces) was passed as an umbrella of the army to execute its operation. Under the law, the army's operations in Papua are categorized as "the military operations other than war".⁸⁾ It opens an opportunity to avoid Papua being called the military operation zone, but remains the same in reality.

Nevertheless, the perception of separatism lingers on the Papua conflict due to the facts that armed violent resistance still exists in the hinterland. The OPMs are mostly concentrated in a specific area in regency. For example, in Keerom Regency, regency next to the capital city of Papua Province; Jayapura, a group headed by Lambert Pekikir has been known dominating Keerom regency's area for years. Pekikir's group consists of around 20-30 men, with homemade weaponry. Another group operates in Yapen Islands Regency is headed by Ferdinan Warobay, with about a dozen members and homemade weaponry. Similar groups are operating in other areas of the region, such as Puncak Jaya Regency, Mimika Regency and Sorong City. These groups, however, do not coordinate to each other.⁹⁾ Even though the violent bands are operating sporadically with criminal style of actions, it has sustained the separatists' perception in reading the Papuan trouble in all parties. The notion is also hampering the mediation process to set dialog as conflict resolution.¹⁰⁾ All in all, the notion of separatism is only coming to a bad end for the Papuan side.

Democratic policy on board

From 1998-2013, Indonesia has been led by four presidents and is welcoming a new one in 2014. From 1998-2003, known as the *Reformasi* period, Indonesia has been led by B.J Habibie, Abdurahman Wahid, Megawati Sukarnoputri, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. These presidents have had a different approach in handling Indonesia's transition toward democracy.¹¹⁾ Even so, the presidents seem to have something in common in responding to the Papua problem: first, perceiving it as the problem of separatism;

second, feeling reluctant to find the root causes of the Papuan dissatisfaction; and third, performing a development approach to drop the wish of self-determination.

There are two opposite stand points of Jakarta in reading the Papua trouble. First, the government has perceived it as the problem of separatism and, hence, the security approach has never lifted from the region. Second, the same government has also denied the secession wish by claiming that the root causes of the problem are marginalization and welfare; therefore, the development approach has been employed in Papua.¹²⁾ The two approaches are fundamentally opposed to each other, resulting in inconsistent policies diminishing to each other. Furthermore, apart from the security approach that has been continuously exercised in Papua, there are two crucial policies of the development approach that have been conducted in Papua. They are Special Autonomy Status and *pemekaran* policy (region proliferation) policy, both promoted in the context of democratization and decentralization. What are the impact of these policies and problems afterwards? We will be discuss them bellow.

Special Autonomy and its burden

During the Megawati presidency, the government released Special Autonomy Status for Papua under law No 21/ 2001. Special Autonomy Status of Papua is a package of political policies aimed at acknowledging the uniqueness of the people, diminishing marginalization, and curing the agony of human rights abuses. The heart of the package is the establishment of the Papuan People Assembly (MRP; Majelis Rakyat Papua) and special budget allocation to heighten the welfare of the people through education, health and infrastructure development.¹³⁾ Judging from the law's mandate, Mc Gibbon (2004) notes that the power in politics and the budget given to the region is in a contrast to the dominant nationalist ideas in the country. The political move of granting autonomy is a big step for Indonesia given that the old school idea of governing Indonesia since the first decade of Indonesian independence is emphasizing centrality and uniformity.

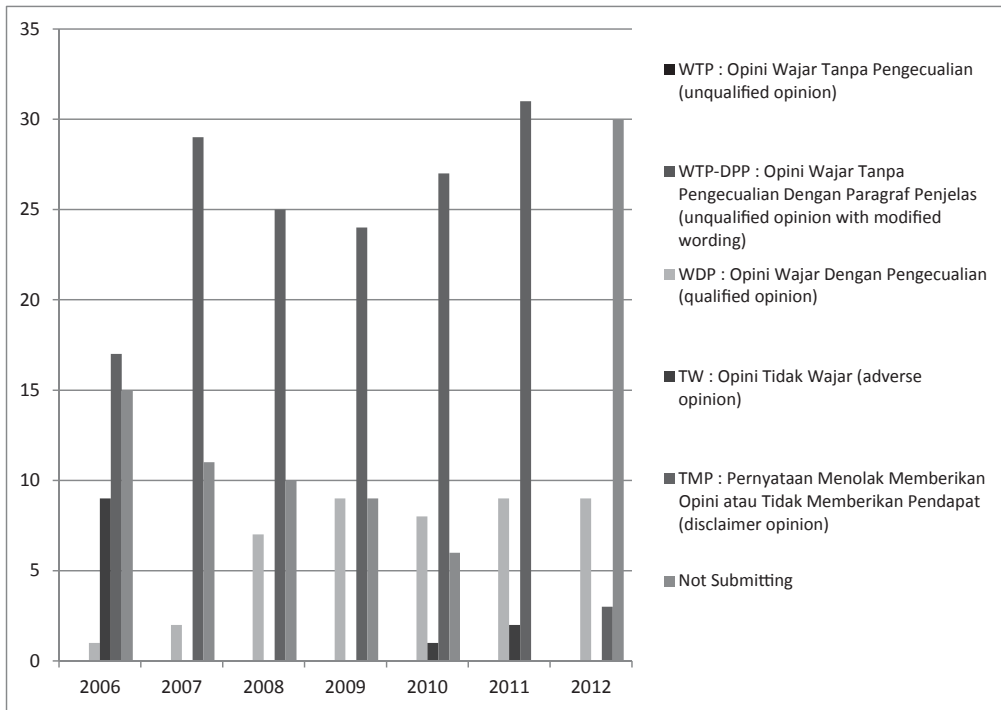
Yet, Jakarta's political innovation in tackling the Papuan conflict by giving autonomy is nothing original. The gesture was a by-the-book political move to tame the wish to secede. Stefan Wolff and Marc Weller (2005, p. 2) have claimed autonomy as an impending therapy to mitigate the wish to separate. Moreover, since the right to secede is considered parallel with the democratic principle, a democratic response toward such a desire should be adapted. For that reason, Orentlicher (2003) and Wolf (2013) propose to support the self-governance of an interest group in the troubled region as a democratic way in responding to the secessionists. In line with the arguments, Horowitz (2003) suggests political incentives through various institutions as a democratic approach in secession-related political turmoil. Thus, autonomy is an essentially democratic instrument: political incentives for the community. The notion is consistent with the reason behind the issuance of the Papua Special Autonomy Status; to maintain the national integration of The Republic of Indonesia.¹⁴⁾ Additionally, the status has been seen by Papuan academics as a middle ground (Sumule (ed.), 2003) and an internal act of self-determination (Solossa, 2005). In short, Papua Special Autonomy Status was a political incentive to tame the uproar. Moreover, by granting autonomy, plus an enormous budget included in the policy,

Jakarta wished to allow the Papuans to prosper and dispel the idea to secede. The main goal was to drive away separatism; the prosperity conception was the approach.

Ideal in concept, but, staggered in its implementation, that is the way autonomy in Papua has been executed. The Special Autonomy status was a mandate from the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR; Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat), the highest body of Indonesia state institution, in October 1999 during President Wahid's administration. To translate it into a law, a group of academics from Cendrawasih University, the only state university in the Papua region at that time, was assigned to conceive the draft of the law. The main sponsor of the Autonomy Status Law preparation was Governor J.P. Solossa, a native Papuan who served as the Governor of Irian Jaya Province.¹⁵⁾ The Papuan public was not welcome to the autonomy planning, nonetheless. Demonstrations and mass actions were held to oppose the idea on the ground of suspicion to the government. Solossa and his team went on and after a series of political lobbies and consultations the draft was signed by President Megawati in 2001 (Solossa, 2005). Judging from Special Autonomy Law's provisions, the law actually comprehended the democratic principles of recognition to indigenous people's rights. The law explicitly provided privileges to native Papuans. Yet, public opposition to the law and Jakarta's fears about the cries of self-determination obstructed the implementation of the law.

Jakarta's fear of the demand of self-determination can be seen in some instances: first, in the budget monitoring; second, in the supervision of regional governance; third, in the support of the development of legal protection at a regional level; and fourth, in controlling security apparatus from committing human rights abuses and resolving the past human rights violation cases. The failure of the central government to monitor and control the regional budget can be found from the reports of the Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia (BPK RI; Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan Republik Indonesia) 2006-2012. According to the reports (table 1), for the last 7 years, almost all provinces, regencies, and cities in Papua region scored the disclaimer opinion (TMP; Tidak Memberikan Pendapat), meaning that the agency cannot conduct the audit or the submitted financial statements are undervalued.¹⁶⁾ Interestingly, despite a strong indication of corruption in Papua,¹⁷⁾ the government did little to combat corruption since the Papuan elites would not hesitate to raise the issue of marginalization and freedom cries whenever Jakarta attempts to tackle the problem. In fact, the chairman of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK; Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi) himself is criticizing the role of police institutions in combating corruption in the region.¹⁸⁾ Secondly, the weak supervision of the local governance is manifested in the absence of public services in almost all sectors of the governance. Health and education services are very poor and it raised deep concerns.¹⁹⁾ The two sectors are the most vulnerable sectors in Papua since they touch the core of society.

Table 1



Source: Reports from the Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia 2006-2012, processed. Accessed from: <http://www.bpk.go.id/ihaps>. Accessed at 15 December 2013.

In supporting the local governance, Jakarta also performs a half-hearted commitment. Until the year of 2013, the government delayed establishing government regulation (PP; Peraturan Pemerintah), as guidance of the implementation of the Special Autonomy Status. In addition, the government also failed to create appropriate Special Local Regulation (Perdatus; Peraturan Daerah Khusus) and Special Province Regulation (Perdasi; Peraturan Daerah Propinsi) as its technical regulations. What is more, the vague ordinance of the bill caused the two provinces of Papua to take different paths in implementing the law. For example, in the gubernatorial election’s regulation, West Papua Province exercised the national law, whereas Papua Province exercised autonomy law and was trapped in a long local political conflict due to the absence of Election’s *Perdatus*.²⁰⁾ The old fear of Indonesian politicians’ during the establishment of the bill was that power and economic resources can fuel separatism (Mietzner, 2007). Hence, the unenthusiastic effort of Jakarta might originate from the same viewpoint.

In the protection of human rights and solving the problem of human rights violation in the past, Jakarta has done very little. The Special Autonomy Law amends the establishment of the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation (KKR; Komisi Kebenaran dan Rekonsiliasi) to clarify the history of Papua and settle a reconciliation path.²¹⁾

However, the commission has never been established. In fact, in 2006 the Constitutional Court canceled a Law of KKR which supposedly served as the legal basis to construct the commission.²²⁾ What is more, Jakarta could not control its security apparatus from committing human rights violations. According to the report of the National Commission of Human Rights (Komnas Ham; Komisi Nasional Hak asasi Manusia)²³⁾ and Imparsial (2011) human rights violations in Papua during 2009-2011 were mainly committed by the security apparatus. Thus, not only failing to set the path of reconciliation as amended by the law, Jakarta also failed to stop human rights violations.

The Special Autonomy Status was established under great suspicion from the Papuan activists as regards the nature of Jakarta's intention. It was already in a difficult situation to begin with. Therefore, the limp implementation of the Special Autonomy Status is only deepening the distrust towards the central government and inviting more opposition.

The central government, however, are also aware of the criticism to the way autonomy has been carried out in the region. Unfortunately, rather than addressing the core problem of discontentment, which is the history of integration and human rights violation in the past, the government stick to the development approach without loosening the military grip.

In 2011, as his response to criticism toward the implementation of Papua's special autonomy, President Yudhoyono created a new institution of the so-called Unit for the Acceleration of Development in Papua and West Papua (UP4B; Unit Percepatan Pembangunan di Papua dan Papua Barat). UP4B, led by a retired military general Bambang Dharmono, is expected to work until the year of 2014. The Unit core mandate is to accelerate and coordinate development in the region, in accordance with the huge budget of the Special Autonomy.²⁴⁾ Apart from its core duty, the unit has a mandate to stop violence, to ensure law enforcement, and to manage security in Papua. However, even though UP4B has been quite successful in coordinating the infrastructure development sector, ensuring the affirmative action toward indigenous entrepreneurship and conducting affirmative action in education for the Papuan youths,²⁵⁾ it fails to tame violence in the region. A series of violent actions in 2012 destroyed the hopes of many people on the capability of UP4B to pacify the region, especially to stop human right abuses committed by security apparatus.²⁶⁾

Jakarta's persistency to conduct a prosperity approach is based on the standpoint of seeing the root of the Papuan discontentment as merely the problem of marginalization such as stated in the Special Autonomy Law. While according to LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences) research, marginalization was one among many reasons of discontentment (Widjoyo (ed.), 2009). Jakarta avoids acknowledging the main source of the anger, which is a different perception toward the history of Papua's integration into Indonesia. The central government is also reluctant to conduct a dialog, as a means to gaining an untainted understanding, with Papuan representatives as offered by the Papua Peace Network (JDP; Jaringan Damai Papua) (AS, 2012; NT, 2012).²⁷⁾ As an alternative, President Yudhoyono preferred to exercise a concept of so-called 'komunikasi konstruktif' (constructive communication) as the task of UP4B. The concept was considered softer than "dialog" which can put both parties on the same level and invite unknown risks (TW, 2012). Unfortunately, the definition and parameter of

the president's concept was unclear and resulted in vague implementation.

Nevertheless, even though the budget allocation for Special Autonomy for Papua region is increasing every year,²⁸⁾ many observers find that the policy has failed. Interviewees concluded that special autonomy has failed for many reasons. Those are; the persistent - yet faint - demand of self-determination, the failure to achieve prosperity for the people, the flooding of migrants to Papua, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, the unstoppable human rights violations by the military, and the accusation of genocide toward Papuans (SM, 2012; YC, 2012; SSY, 2012). Those allegations give an impression that all grounds of special autonomy have not met with good results, neither taming self-determination wishes, nor prospering the people. Moreover, people's prosperity as Jakarta's keyword to win the heart of the Papuans has faded away and lowered Jakarta's legitimacy in Papuan eyes. In sum, the shortcoming of special autonomy to fulfill its mandate is based on the apprehension of secessionist desire.

Jakarta's political experiment has not been concluded, however. Attempting to score a success in settling the Papua problem in the last year of his administration, President Yudhoyono rushed to create another political move. In April 2013, after a discussion between the President and the newly elected Governor of Papua Province Lukas Enembe, a new version of autonomy was constructed. The new form is called Enhanced Special Autonomy (Otonomi Khusus Plus or Otsus Plus). The basic concept of the new political incentives is to restore the Special Autonomy Status that has been perceived as having failed. Since the region consists of two provinces, the new policy initiative should also include both provinces. Both provinces then established their own team and constructed their own version of the draft of the bill on Otsus Plus. IPAC (2013) assessed the draft created by the West Papua Province as being more comprehensive in comparison to the manuscript drafted by the other province. The draft made by the West Papua Province draft comprehends the Papuan problems in many aspects and provides a detailed framework of discussion (IPAC, 2013 p.4). However, many groups are again resisting the idea on the ground of suspicion regarding Jakarta's true intentions.

Luckily, despite some party-based political constraints among both provinces' leaders, both provinces finally reached an agreement. An agreed document of the bill of the so-called *Rancangan Undang-Undang tentang Pemerintahan Otonomi Khusus di Papua* (the bill of Special Autonomy Governance in Papua) was finally completed. The governors and the chairman of Papuan People's Assembly (MRP; Majelis Rakyat Papua) and provincial parliaments (DPRD; Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah) in both provinces formally signed the bill in Jayapura, 20 January 2014. The bill was submitted to the central government on 29 January 2014, and will be discussed in the National House of Representatives before being developed into a law. Djoko Suyanto, the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, stated that 95 percent of the draft has been agreed by the two provinces.²⁹⁾ The minister's statement is interesting considering that there is an inserted clause inside the draft which suggests a referendum of self-determination as a solution should the implementation of Special Autonomy Plus fail.

The coming months after February 2014 will be of interests for Papuan observers since Indonesia will conduct general elections in April 2014. The National House of

Representatives will have their last session a month before the election. Taking into account the sensitiveness of the Papuan issue and the political interests of the ruling party, the bill of the new version of Papuan autonomy will unlikely to go to any session in the current period. It has to wait until the new National House of Representatives is formed after the elections. Hence, the bill is on hold until it can be passed as a new law. In the mean time, the current Special Autonomy Status will still be applied with all the associated problems.

To sum up, it can be said, even if the autonomy given to Papua does not fail, it does not meet the expectation either. The point to highlight from the shortcoming of the political incentive of Special Autonomy to Papua is the half-hearted commitment of the central government to uphold the mandate of the law. Rather than acting in accordance with the command of the law, the government has created many political experiments to avoid addressing the core dissatisfaction of the people which is justice for human rights violation and rectification of history. The government's incapability to the control military is also suggested as being the great fear of the secessionist tendency of the Papuan. Yet, the question of how autonomy is being carried out in the Papua region has not been concluded. Since Indonesia is also welcoming a new president in 2014, the future of Special Autonomy Plus and how it would be conducted is the big question.

Decentralization as a commitment to democracy

Pemekaran or the establishment of new administrative units at the local level has been implemented rapidly all over Indonesia since 1999 in line with the policy of decentralization and regional autonomy.³⁰⁾ The promotion of regional autonomy has believed as an instrument to actualize the commitment towards democracy at the local level. By giving more power, authority and resource to regions, local governments are expected to perform a better service delivery for the people. Moreover, the wish of people will be more accessible, and the wealth of the region will be enjoyed by its people. The policy is emphasizing a better public service and upholding the rights of citizens.

In the Papua milieu, *pemekaran* has been exercised for the first time in the era of President Habibie. Through the Law No. 45/1999, President Habibie tried to divide Irian Jaya Province into three provinces. The law was issued as a response to the demand of freedom in the National Dialog of 1999.³¹⁾ The Papuan delegation of the National Dialog, however, interpreted the policy as replicating a typical strategy of the Dutch colonial rulers; divide and rule tactically (*devide et impera; pecah dan belah*) (Widjojo (ed.), 2009). Following some political struggles, the policy was just implemented in 2003 after President Megawati executed a presidential instruction (*instruksi presiden*) No. 1/2003.³²⁾ Mc Gibbon (2004) noted that *pemekaran* in Papua was part of Jakarta's strategy to weaken Papuan political cohesion.

The division of Papua into three provinces in Megawati's presidential term was released without any consultations with the Papuan leaders, as well as, discussion with the prominent ministers in the cabinet (ICG, 2003). Additionally, the decree brought some contradiction with the Special Autonomy Law. Firstly, it recalled the place as Irian Jaya, omitting the preference name of Papua as stated by the law. Secondly, it executed *pemekaran*

without the approval of the provincial parliament and Papuan People Assembly (MRP; Majelis Rakyat Papua). What is more, the decree also created serious tensions in the region. Local elites were divided into the pro and anti *pemekaran* factions and involved in mass clashes. In Mimika Regency, a city that should be the capital of Central Irian Jaya Province, the clash claimed three lives and many more were injured. The incident caused the moratorium of the formation of Central Irian Jaya Province. Later, the Constitution Court – which had an authority to abolish laws that could contradict with the country's constitution – cancelled the Law No. 45/1999, which resulted in the cancelation of the formation of Central Irian Jaya Province even though it legally admitted the West Irian Jaya Province.

The proposers of *pemekaran* are usually local elites such as *ex-bupati* (regent), local parliament members, local leaders, and local businesspeople. John Gluba Gepze, an ex-regent of Merauke Regency is actively campaigning to establish South Papua Province (Propinsi Papua Selatan). Gebze sets up an office in the city of Merauke as his political base camp. In Sorong, a group headed by Yosafat Kambu, an indigenous local politician, was preparing for the formation of the South-Western Papua Province (Propinsi Papua Barat Daya). The group was involved in a dispute with another group, led by deputy chairman of the provincial Parliament of West Papua Province, Jimmy Ijie, who was preparing to establish the Great Sorong Province (Provinsi Sorong Raya) in the same area. While in Biak Regency, a group of local elites was demanding to create Central Papua Province (Propinsi Papua Tengah) with Biak as its capital. They are also proposing a native Papuan, Admiral (ret.) Dick Henk Webiser as caretaker governor. Another proposal under the name Central Papua Province is also being submitted by another group, which consists of 16 regencies and plans to have Nabire as the province's capital city. While in Mimika Regency, the former supporters of *pemekaran* are never giving up to format Central Papua Province with Timika as its capital city. The Mimika team is upset by other teams proposing Central Papua Province, and asking the Papuan caucus in the national parliament to exclude Biak, Supiori, Serui and Waropen regencies from Central Papua (KY, WP, & EM, 2012).

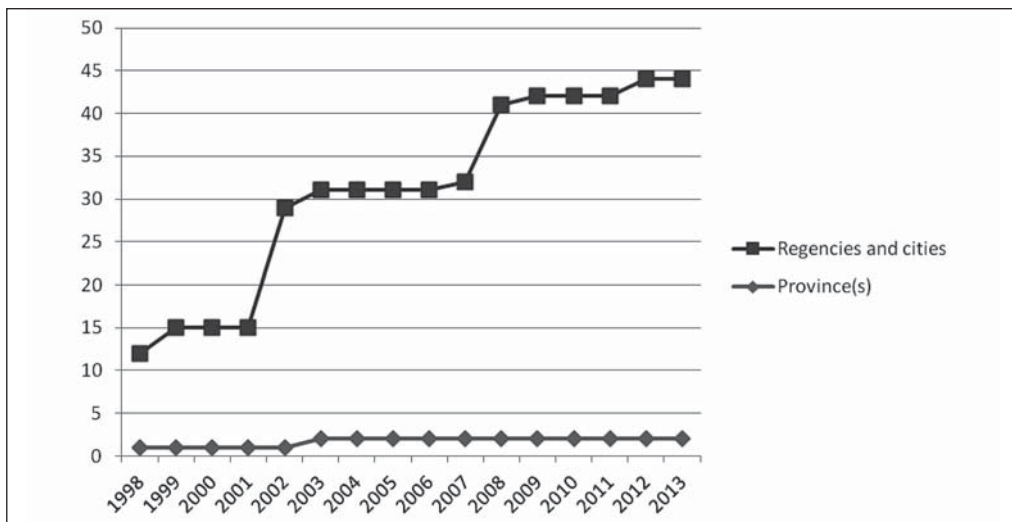
The claiming reasons for asking *pemekaran* are mostly analogous with the government's argument to adjoin public services, and the need of the people as the centre. However, the result of *pemekaran* in some areas is far from its main purpose. Civil governances are collapsing in many newly-built regencies due to the incompetency of the appointed civil servants. The absence of the *Bupati* (regent) from his office and regency is common in rural regencies. It is exacerbated by almost non-existent supervision. Deiyai Regency which has been split from Paniai Regency in 2009 has not been administratively active until the year 2012, since the regency has not yet enacted local regulations. Even the Dieyai local parliament has not yet approved the logo of the regency. In Puncak Regency, the governance has been halted since a bloody incident, caused by the regent's election on 30-31 July 2011. At that time, two contestants' supporters involved in mass clashes and scored dozens of casualties. In December 2012, the Puncak Regency government channeled funds from the government budget (APBD; Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah) 17 billion rupiah (1.8 million USD) to pay of the so-called '*uang darah*' (compensation) for the victims.³³⁾ Yet, Puncak Regency is not the only regency without a definite regent;

Memberamo Regency is also facing the same problem. In addition, since those new local regencies mostly do not yet sustain local revenue, the expense of the regions relies on the central government's allocations. Apart from the new regencies which put more burdens on the national budget, a misallocation of local budget, as happened in Puncak Regency, will mostly cost the suffering of the people.

So much for decentralization; in some cases, local elites do not hesitate to exploit the cries of self-determination for their own benefit. As a spokesman of his team, Cornelis Yanuaring, a local parliament member of Jayapura, demanded formations of three new provinces in Papua. In his press conference in the national parliament in Jakarta, December 4th, 2012, the man summoned for *pemekaran* and threatened to command for secession if the wish was not fulfilled by May 1st, 2013.³⁴⁾ Such an empty threat is not a new story in Papua; some other voices with similar requests have also arisen. On the other hand, not all local elites agree with region splitting. The opponents consider rapid *pemekaran* as merely a result of elites' political contestation and a mean to divide the Papuans (YM, 2012; DG, 2012).

Up until the end of 2013, as can be seen from table 2, Papua has produced more than 20 new regencies and hundreds of districts (*kecamatan*) following the splitting of the region into two provinces in 2003. Yet, the numbers will likely increase since local elites are enthusiastically proposing the figuration of new districts, regencies, and provinces. The plenary session of the national parliament in 2013 has agreed to support 65 drafts of the bill of the establishment of new regional autonomies. Moreover, the chairman of the national parliament, Marzuki Alie, highlighted that the supported new provinces in Papua region would be South Papua Province, Central Papua Province, and Southwest Papua Province.³⁵⁾

Table 2



Source: DirJen Otda, 2013. *Daerah Otonomi Baru di Indonesia Per Provinsi Tahun 1999-2013*. Processed. Available at: <http://otda.kemendagri.go.id/index.php/data-otda/data-dob-1999-2013>. Accessed at 20 December 2013.

As is usually practiced, the establishment of a new province will be followed by the establishment of new regencies, cities and districts. It also means the establishment of new local parliaments and other government's bodies at the regional level, in order to fulfill the administrative requirement. Especially for the Papua region, it also means the establishment of new Papuan People's Assemblies (MRP; Majelis Rakyat Papua) as mandated by the Special Autonomy Law. Hence, decentralization which leads to regional proliferation is also opening new fields of political games. New regencies indicate new battle fields for local groups' struggle for power. Political contestation will likely to happen with groups and clan as the source of political legitimacy and claim. The indication can be seen from the governor election of the Papua Province in 2013. The ground campaigns of the gubernatorial candidates were their groups and clan's interests, divided to two big camps; the highlander Papuan versus the coastal Papuan.

Perhaps, time is what Papua needs before obtaining a successful story of decentralization. A closer public service to people might prevail when all the commotion of elites' political contestation has subsided. Yet, for Jakarta's ruling political elites, the very reason of an active *pemekaran*, dividing political cohesion of the region, has been achieved. Right after the split of the Province and the formation of three new regencies in 2003, Papuan leaders never again re-united as in 1999-2000. The unsuccessful endeavor of the 3rd Papuan People Congress in 2011 was a proof of fragmented cohesiveness of Papuan nationalist leaders.³⁶⁾ One point to be considered, however, since *pemekaran* also serves as an arena for clan and sub-clan struggles of power and resources (IPAC, 2013), is that the rapid region proliferation will most likely increase social segregation in society and promote clan-based oligarchy at the local level. Without a precautional arrangement to slow down *pemekaran*, common people will remain the object and the victims of the elites' political power game.

Conclusion

Indonesia has chosen democracy as its political principle. In order to uphold the principle, Indonesia has also chosen autonomy and decentralization as counterinsurgency tactics. Yet, the Papua conflict is not the only problem of secessionism Indonesia has been encountering. Aceh, for instance, has also granted autonomy for political incentives. However, the Papua problem seems to be far from concluded and is getting more complicated. It has gone from the turmoil connected to the secessionists, to the problem of social and political segregation with a violent culture.

Seeing that political segregation is severe, it seems that the current Papuan leaders and elites are fragmented into regional boundaries, groups' identity politics and clan-based politico-economic interests. Material interests and power in politics are believed to be the luring factors and the object of contestations. With such a lack of cohesiveness of the local elite, it is hard to say that the wish to secede is considered strong in Papua in general. Some violence connected to the Free Papua Organization (OPM; Organisasi Papua Merdeka) does exist, as well as the movement of some organizations of Papua liberation at home and abroad. However, without a solid leadership and political consolidation, it

appears that they are not going to reach a meaningful ending; the freedom of Papua.

Putting the analysis in context, it is sufficient to say that the central government's goal to subdue the wish of the secessionists has been achieved. However, given the fact that the wish for self-determination has been manipulated by elites to win their interests, and how Jakarta has responded according to the paranoia of secessionists, it explains to the question of why democratic institutions could not tame the Papua turmoil. It can be said that Jakarta's treatment toward Papuan is the encouraging factor of the problems that have led to group-based conflicts within Papuan. These new conflicts in the age of democracy will halt development and put Papua into further serious turmoil, the very thing that Papua does not need.

In order to fulfill its duty to perform democratic governance, by putting the rights of the people in the centre of all concerns, it is becoming more critical to Jakarta to evaluate how it interprets Papua's commotion. The separatist point of view has brought central government to perform misdirected policies as its counterinsurgency tactics; therefore, another way to read the Papuan's anger is vital. It is time for Jakarta to acknowledge the root cause of Papuan discontentment and work toward a sincere political incentive for the Papuan.

NOTES

- 1) In this article the name Papua refers to a region which consists of two provinces; namely West Papua Province and Papua Province. Historically, the two provinces used to be one. It was known as West New Guinea in the Dutch colonial time, before changing in the 1960s to West Irian then to Irian Jaya in 1973. It split into two provinces in 1999-2003 to Irian Jaya Province and West Irian Jaya Province. Irian Jaya Province changed its name to Papua Province in 2001. West Irian Jaya Province changed its name to West Papua Province in 2007.
- 2) The prosperity approach is a literary translation of 'pendekatan kesejahteraan', meaning; an approach in which the government tries to prosper the people by giving extra resource and wealth.
- 3) Netherland's part of the Papua is in the western part; while the eastern part was belong to the British and Germany.
- 4) For an account of the Soeharto regime's authoritarian rule, see Anderson, Benedict R. O'G (ed.), 2002. *Violence and the State in Suharto's Indonesia*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 5) Soeharto was the Commander of the Mandala Operation in 1962, a special force to paralyze the Dutch military in West Papua under the mandate of President Soekarno through a command of so the called Trikora (*Tiga Komando Rakyat*; Three People's Commandos). As the president, Soeharto succeeded in securing international support for joining West Papua to Indonesia and ended the disputes with the Dutch. For more of this account see: Kahin, A. R. & Kahin, G. M., 1995. *Subversion as Foreign Policy: the Secret Eisenhower and Dulles Debauch in Indonesia*. 1st ed. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.
- 6) Tom Beanal, the spokesman of the Papuan delegations, was the first who mentioned Papua has achieved independence on 1 December 1961 (Chauvel, 2005). In addition, the study (pp.14-18) claimed the notion of the Papuan Independence Day in 1961 was a political move to raise support from the people.
- 7) For more accounts on this issue see: Honna, J., 2001. *Military Ideology in Response to*

- Democratic Pressure During the Late Suharto Era: Political and Institutional Contexts. In: B. R. O. Anderson, ed. *Violence and the State in Suharto's Indonesia*. Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, pp. 54-89.
- 8) Article 7, paragraph 2 (b).
 - 9) The uncoordinated of the group can be seen from the last incident in January 2014. A group led by Ferdinan Warobay was held a summit in the interior mountain of Yapen Islands. The Police besieged the event and engaged in a firefight which claimed 1 life of an OPM member and injured 2 security apparatus and 1 civilian. In his response to the the incident, Lambert Pekikir questioned the stakeholder of the summit and ask the security apparatus to map the OPMs in the Yapen Island area. Pekikir claimed, his group's members have nothing to do with the summit. See: Suluh Papua, February 6, 2014. OPM siapa yang instruksikan KTT di Yapen?. Available at: <http://suluhpapua.com/read/2014/02/06/opm-siapa-yang-instruksikan-ktt-di-yapen/> [Accessed 9 February 2014].
 - 10) See: Viartasiwi, N., 2013. The Prospect of Mediation in West Papua-Indonesia Conflict Transformation. *Ritsumeikan Kokusai Kenkyu*, 24(3), pp. 203-217.
 - 11) Habibie was the president who allowed a referendum in East Timor due to his commitment to democratic principles. Abdurahman Wahid was a democrat who tried to accommodate the wish of the people, including changing the name of Irian Jaya to Papua. He ended his term with an impeachment by parliament. Megawati, the vice president, succeeded Wahid. Megawati, a nationalist, then known as the president who devoted herself to defending state unity through the hands of the military. She engaged 'war in Aceh' in 2003 to clash Aceh's separatist movement (GAM). Yudhoyono, the current President with a military background, finished the war in Aceh after 2004 *tsunami* and now is seeking a solution for Papua problems without relying heavily on the military.
 - 12) Law No. 21/2001, consideration section
 - 13) Ibid.; Government Regulation No 1/2008
 - 14) Law No 21/2001, consideration section, article d.
 - 15) Papua Province's former name
 - 16) For the detailed report of the BPK see: Semester evaluation report summaries, that can be accessed at: <http://www.bpk.go.id/ihps>
 - 17) Indication of corruptions can be seen from the local budget expenditures which can not be accounted.
 - 18) According to the law, Police institution is the main actor in the investigation of corruption cases. See "Abraham: soal kasus korupsi, ada fenomena aneh di Papua", *Kompas Online*, 3 July 2013, accessed at: <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/07/03/1329476/Abraham.Soal.Kasus.Korupsi.Ada.Fenomena.Aneh.di.Papua> [accessed 9 February 2014]
 - 19) For more on this, see: Munro, J., 2013. The Violence of Inflated Possibilities: Education, Transformation, and Diminishment in Wamena, Papua. *Indonesia*, Volume 95, pp. 25-46.
 - 20) The Gubernatorial election in Papua Province was delayed for almost 2 years since there was a disagreement between the central government and the local government over the legal basis of the election. See: Bintang Papua. (26 April 2012). Pahami Perdasus Jangan Sepenggal-penggal.; Cendrawasih Pos. (26 January 2012). Perdasus Pilgub Papua Masih Dibahas di Jakarta. The election was eventually held at January 29 th, 2013.
 - 21) Article 46 of Law No 21/2001.
 - 22) For more on this see: ELSAM , 2009. Mendorong Pembentukan Kembali UU Komisi

- Kebenaran dan Rekonsiliasi, Jakarta: ELSAM (Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat).
- 23) Komnas HAM, 2011. Data Kasus Pelanggaran HAM di Papua dan Papua Barat, Jakarta: Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia, Bagian Pelayanan Pengaduan.
 - 24) Presidential Decree No 65/ 2011 and Presidential Decree No. 66/ 2011.
 - 25) Infrastructure projects are attracting corruption in Papua. In interview, a UP4B officer claimed that the institution had found many project were being executed not in accordance with the original project plan and UP4B had to lead the projects back to the tracks. In affirmative action for indigenous business people, President Yudhoyono has released Presidential Decree No. 84/2012; it rules state and private companies working on construction business to involve Papuan businessmen in goods and service procurement. In education sector, UP4B has sent many Papuan youths to be educated in universities in many parts of Indonesia.
 - 26) For elaboration of the violence that occurred in 2012 see: International Crisis Group (2012). Indonesia: Dynamic of Violence in Papua. Jakarta/Brussels: International Crisis Group.
 - 27) The Papua Peace Network is a network of trained group facilitator, bringing together a number of civil society activists from the lecturers, researchers, students, NGOs and religious organizations, the organization based on ethnic / tribal / indigenous and other strategic groups to work together voluntarily linking the various warring parties and generally helping the people of Papua and Indonesian government prepare the Jakarta-Papua dialogue. See: <http://jdp-dialog.org/profil/tentang-jdp>
 - 28) In 2012, the budget allocation for Papua was 5.4 trillion rupiah (559 million USD) See: The Jakarta Globe, December 13, 2012. Indonesia Must Not Be Tempted to Look Back to the Past: Djoko. Available at: <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/archive/indonesia-must-not-be-tempted-to-look-back-to-the-past-djoko/561455/> [Accessed 29 December 2013].
Moreover, for the year 2013, Jakarta allocated infrastructure projects worth of 205 trillion rupiah (20.5 million USD) in Maluku and Papua. See: The Jakarta Globe, January 7, 2013. Indonesian Govt Says 146 Projects Set to Roll This Year. Available at: <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/archive/indonesian-govt-says-146-projects-set-to-roll-this-year/564845/> [Accessed 2 August 2013].
 - 29) For this comment see: 95 Persen Rumusan Perluasan Otonomi Khusus Papua Sudah Disepakati. Available at: <http://www.kemendagri.go.id/news/2014/01/29/95-persen-rumusan-perluasan-otonomi-khusus-papua-sudah-disepakati>
 - 30) Decentralization became a boom after the fall of Suharto. And importantly, decentralization means transferring political and economic authority from the center to the local administration, to empower local governments, as a lesson learned from Suharto's centralized authoritarian regime. Regional proliferation is the move to split the region; it is a move related to decentralization but it is not equal to decentralization
 - 31) For more elaboration on the matter see International Crisis Group (2003). *Dividing Papua: How not to Do It*. Jakarta/ Brussels: International Crisis Group.
 - 32) The instruction ordered to establish Central Irian Jaya Province, West Irian Jaya Province, Paniai Regency, Mimika Regency, Puncak Jaya Regency and Sorong City.
 - 33) Injured victim is receiving 1 million rupiah each, while for the dead victim, their families are receiving 300 million per victim. See: <http://tabloidjubi.com/?p=8444>
 - 34) See: Radar Timika, Wednesday, December 5th, 2012; SBY dideadline, Papua dimekarkan atau

merdeka.

- 35) See: Kemendagri, 2013. *Kementrian Dalam Negeri, Republik Indonesia*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.kemendagri.go.id/news/2013/10/29/dpr-usulkan-65-pemekaran-daerah-mendagri-ampres-belum-terbit> [Accessed 23 January 2014].
- 36) The 3rd Papuan People's Congress was held in 2011. This congress was intended as a continuation of the 1st Papuan People's Congress (1961), and the 2nd Papuan People's Congress (2000). The first congress was held in Hollandia during the Dutch colonial period. The second congress was held in Jayapura, attended by thousands of people from all parts of Papua region. The second congress was also the first political consolidation of the people after the integration of Papua to Indonesia. The so called Papua Presidium Council (PDP; Presidium Dewan Papua) was behind the second congress. PDP was led by Theys Hiyo Eluay, who was assumed as the leader of the Papuan. Theys was then assassinated by the army special troops in 2001. The third congress was held in 2011. Unluckily it could not attract many people to attend. The initiator of the third congress was the chairman of Papua Customary Council (DPA; Dewan Adat Papua) Forkorus Yoboisembut. The man was then brought to jail with subversion charge following a violent clash between the participants of the congress and security apparatus in the congress.

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Autonomy and Decentralization as Remedies? (VIARTASIWI)

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自治と脱中央集権化は救済策たりうるか ——民主主義国インドネシアにおける西パプア紛争の内乱鎮圧戦略——

1998年の政治改革とインドネシアの民主化を通じて、パプア地域も政治的な目覚めが見受けられた。この問題を抱えた地域は、自決を求め混乱状態に後戻りした。混乱を治めるために、インドネシア新政府は、パプア地域に特別自治権と地方分権を付与する臨時的方策をとっている。この政策も、インドネシアの他の州部との比較において、パプアに独自性を認めさせるものである。本論文は、政府のパプア問題に対する取り組みにおけるインパクトを分析する。本研究は、政府が自治問題解決に対しある程度成功していることを明らかにする一方、地域紛争鎮圧には失敗したことを示した。本稿は、政府のゲリラ活動に対処するための政策とその成果の過程を述べている。そこでは、政府の紛争解決努力の不足は、西パプアの紛争要因の根本が単に自治問題であるといった誤った認識を有していることであると主張する。ここでは、パプア紛争を分離主義運動の問題として位置づけ、再考する必要があるという議論を展開させている。

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