

Dwelling in exile, perceiving return

West Papuan refugees from Irian Jaya living at East Awin in
Western Province, Papua New Guinea

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Except as cited in the text, this work is the result of research carried out by the author.

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ABSTRACT

In 1998 the Indonesian and Papua New Guinea governments assisted by the UNHCR, made an offer of permissive residency or repatriation to West Papuan refugees living at East Awin, in Western Province, PNG. This thesis examines how this offer articulated with the struggle by some of these refugees to reclaim their nation. Behind events of West Papuan flight into PNG seeking political asylum, lies a foment of collective memories of suffering, or *memoria passionis*, since the period of Indonesian colonisation. Memories of suffering effect an antagonistic opposition, generating local discourses that distinguish West Papuan nationhood in racial and cultural, as well as historical terms. West Papuan refugees read the naturalness of nation, the condition of exile, and teleological return to the homeland through the Bible. During the period 1984-86, ten thousand West Papuan people fled into Papua New Guinea, seeking political asylum. In 1987, four thousand people were relocated from the border to an inland site at East Awin in Western Province, the location of this fieldwork study. Refugees have cultivated this site as a dwelling place through various practices that inscribe the landscape, and by creating social attachments. This isolated, sago-less site has generated a perception of East Awin as dystopic, in relation to their own place or homeland. In 1998, one quarter of the refugees at East Awin registered for repatriation to Irian Jaya. Timing was considered critical to the decision of return, guided by the judgement that a satisfactory result of the period of exile had been achieved. PNG's offer of permissive residency, necessitating the withdrawal of UNHCR involvement, was interpreted by some refugees as a ruse to compel their repatriation because they could not endure exile without UNHCR guardianship. Others conceived permissive residency in PNG in tactical terms as a status allowing them to continue the struggle to reclaim their West Papuan nationhood, from a place of exile.

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Three incidental readings in 1995 inspired my research. In order, George Monbiot's *Poisoned Arrows* followed by the Australia West Papua Association's Information Kit and Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. The idea to look at West Papuan discourses of nationhood through refugee narratives was supported in the pre-fieldwork stages by my supervision panel at the Australian National University, consisting of Dr. Kathy Robinson, Dr. Ron May and Dr. Don Gardner, with input from Dr. Stuart Kirsch and Dr. Sjoerd Jaarsma.

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In Jogjakarta throughout 1997, conversations with Betty and Herb Feith and Dr. Lance Castles encouraged me to locate the West Papuan struggle more broadly in the context of the political history of Indonesia. In Canberra, I benefited from discussion with members of a West Papuan reading group convened by Chris Ballard – notably, Mike Cookson, Todd Harple, Otto Ondawame and Hidayat Al Hamid. Chapters 4 and 5 were improved by comments during a thesis-writing workshop convened by Dr Alan Rumsey, Dr. Patrick Guinness and Dr. Don Gardner, attended by post-graduate students in anthropology at the ANU. Over the years I have enjoyed sharing office space with other post-graduate students including Don Cameron, Sina Emde and Catriona Heath, and conversations about Irian Jaya with Philipus Tule, Fiona Crockford and David Cooper.

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Several other people followed this project faithfully, before and during fieldwork, and in the writing-up phase. Particularly, Yohanes Kaize, Jacqueline de Chazal, and my sister Helen Glazebrook. My parents Lorraine and Arthur Glazebrook took a great interest in the research and supported me throughout the project; attending to my elaborate request lists from the field, and helping nurse my confidence back to good health when I broke the fieldwork phase mid-term.

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GLOSSARY

ABRI	(<i>Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia</i>) Indonesian Armed Forces
<i>asli</i>	indigenous, original
<i>as ples</i> (tp)	literally, 'our place' or indigenous (and by implication, landowning) person of that place, usually referred to Awin and Pa/Pare peoples at East Awin
Congress	West Papua New Guinea National Congress
<i>dusun</i>	an area of land that may include cultivated sections/plantations, naturally occurring sago gardens, forested areas for hunting, as well as rivers and rockpools, usually inalienable and ordinarily bequeathed to sons who cultivate their designated portion of the <i>dusun</i> , passing it on to their own descendants (this use is distinct from a western Indonesian definition of <i>dusun</i> as orchard or rural village and/or administrative unit)
ELS-HAM	(<i>Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Hak Asasi Manusia</i>) Institute for Human Rights Study and Advocacy in West Papua
GKI	(<i>Gereja Kristen Injili</i>) Christian Protestant Church
<i>hasil</i>	a result, outcome, success - in the context of this thesis, ' <i>hasil</i> ' is mentioned in the phrase ' <i>pulang dengan hasil</i> ' or returning home with result
ICJ	International Commission of Jurists
Kopassus	(<i>Komando Operasi Khusus</i>) Special Forces Command
<i>merantau</i>	to leave one's home area to make one's way in life
<i>merdeka</i>	political independence, can also mean liberation
OPM	(<i>Organisasi Papua Merdeka</i>) Free Papua Movement
OTML	Ok Tedi Mining Limited
PEPERA	(<i>Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat</i>) Determination of People's Opinion (1969)

repatriation	to return to Irian Jaya, usually under the auspices of an official program arranged by the UNHCR (contrasts deportation which refers to involuntary repatriation)
<i>tanah</i>	country, land
TNI	(<i>Tentara Nasional Indonesia</i>) National Indonesian Army
UNCEN	(<i>Universitas Cenderawasih</i>) Cenderawasih University, Jayapura
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNTEA	United Nations Transitional Executive Authority
UPNG	University of Papua New Guinea
<i>Wantok</i> (tp)	refers to language-sharing kin, and the responsibilities, obligations and privileges between kin - among West Papuans at Iowara, <i>wantok</i> was sometimes used to describe the way Papua New Guineans discriminated against West Papuans because of their outsider or non- <i>wantok</i> status
WPIA	West Papuan Indigenous People's Association

A note on transcription and terms

Unless otherwise indicated, translations from Indonesian texts are mine. In the thesis, both Indonesian and non-Indonesian, including regional languages, are italicised. Most terms in italics are from Bahasa Indonesia. Those terms that are not from Bahasa Indonesia are indicated by the bracketed letter: Ambon (A), Biak (B), Dani (D), Dutch (Du), Javanese (J), Kanum (K), tok pisin (tp), Yonggom (Y). When referring to refugees' description of their *lingua franca*, I follow their use of *Melayu* (Malay), rather than Bahasa Indonesia, which is the Indonesian state's term for the nation's *lingua franca*. For Indonesian translation I have used J.M. Echols and H. Shadily (1994, 1995).

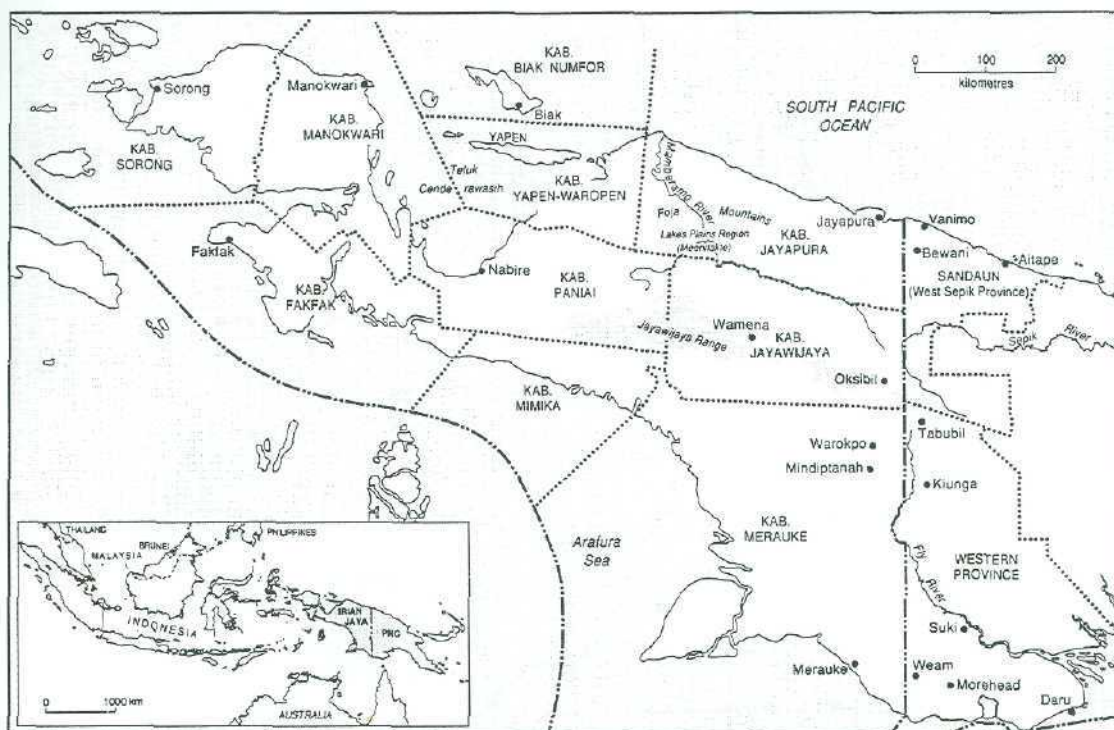
This thesis uses 'West Papuan' to refer to the refugees from Irian Jaya at Iowara as this is the term they used to describe themselves, rather than Papuan or Irianese (the term preferred by the Indonesian state). West Papuans at Iowara ordinarily used 'land' (*tanah*) or 'homeland' (*tanah air*) to refer to

West Papua, occasionally shortened to Papua.¹ I also use the term 'Irian Jaya' to describe the West Papuan homeland. In doing so, I recognise the region's current administration as a province of the Indonesian Republic. When making reference to Irian Jaya in the period before 1962, 'Netherlands New Guinea' is deployed. 'West Irian' is used to refer to the period after 1962 until the Indonesian state changed the name to 'Irian Jaya' in 1973. The term 'New Guinea' is used to refer to the island entity encompassing Irian Jaya to the west and Papua New Guinea to the east.

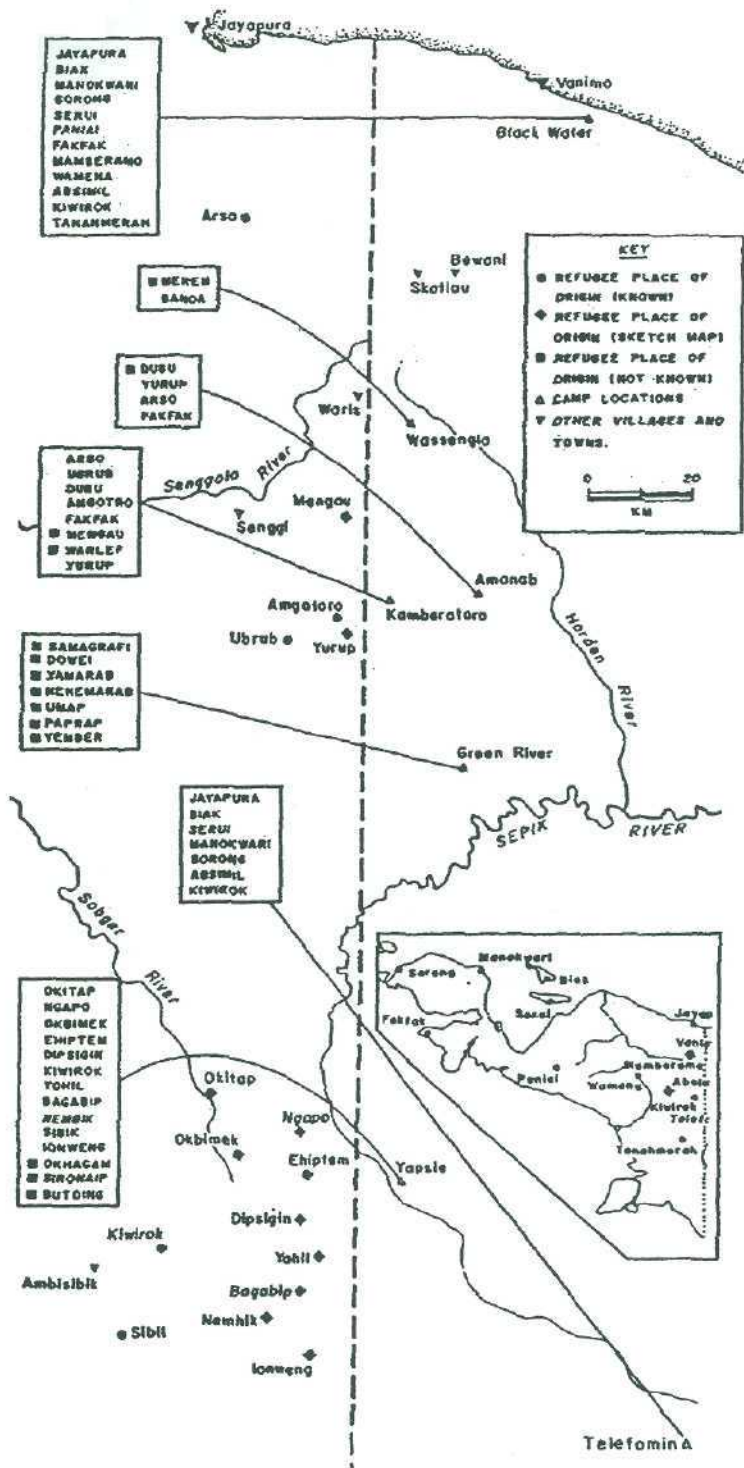
'Northerner' is a term that I have borrowed from the refugee expression *orang utara* referring to people from the northern region, including those from the north-west coast (Sorong, Manokwari) and the islands (Biak-Numfoor, Serui), as well as those people living inland of Jayapura at Genyem and other places. The term northerner stands in contrast to 'southerner' (*orang selatan*), referring broadly to Muyu, Mandobo and Kanum peoples at Iowara. Usually, highlanders from the Jayawijaya mountain range were identified as 'Dani people' (*orang Dani*) or 'mountain people' (*orang gunung*). People at Iowara who came from the Oksibil region near the Star Mountains were also called *orang gunung*.

Several terms appeared frequently in conversation in the field, and throughout the thesis. I have translated *perjuangan* as 'the struggle', meaning the political struggle for nationhood. *Pembebasan* is translated as 'liberation' or 'freedom' although it was occasionally used by narrators to represent a state of political independence. *Asli* is translated as 'indigenous' or 'original'. *Asing* is translated as 'foreign', and *pendatang* as 'newcomer'. *Tabah* (or *pertabahan*) is translated as 'endure' or 'holding out', for example in the context of holding out in exile.

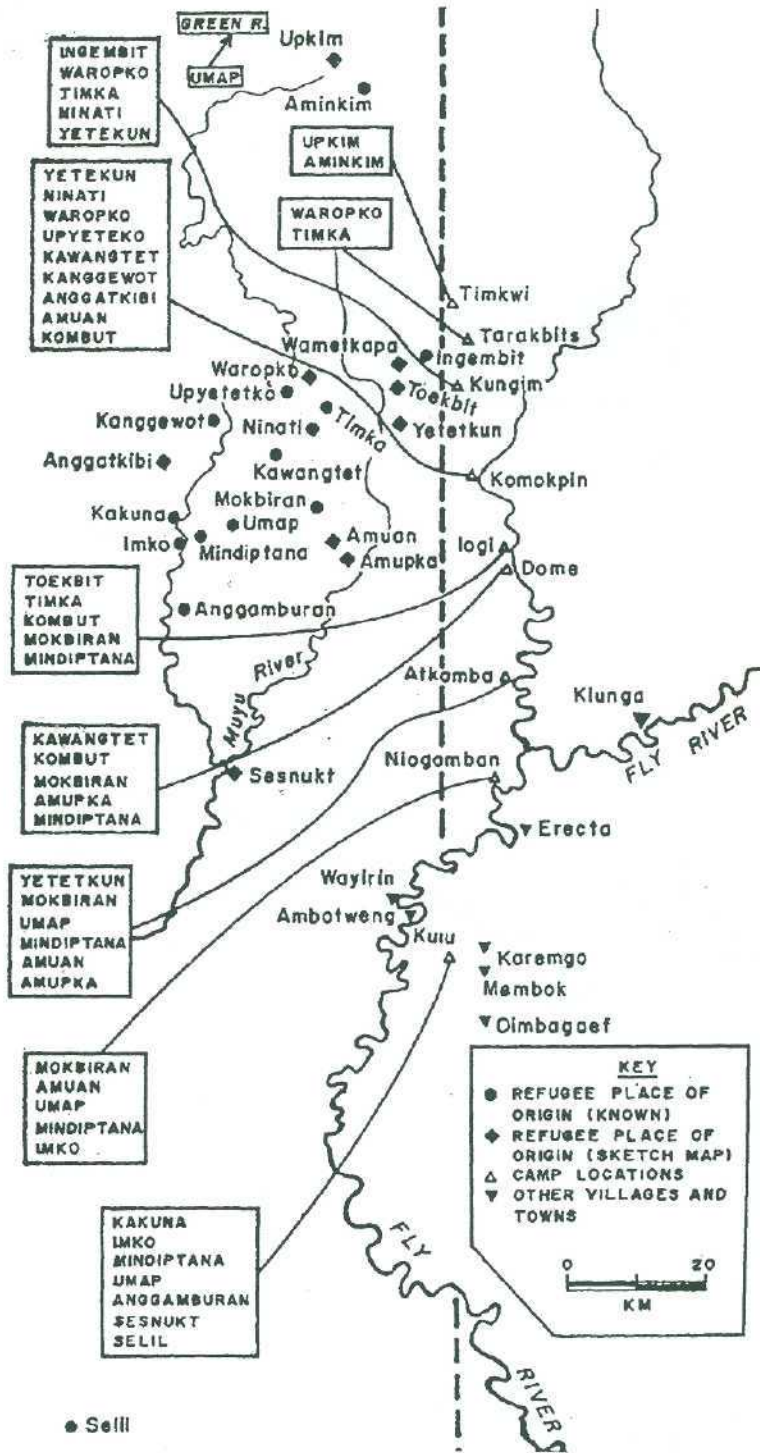
¹ This was before Indonesian President Wahid's controversial announcement of the change of name from Irian Jaya to 'Papua' on the first of January 2000. 'Papua' was subsequently rejected by the National Parliament in Jakarta during its session in August 2000.



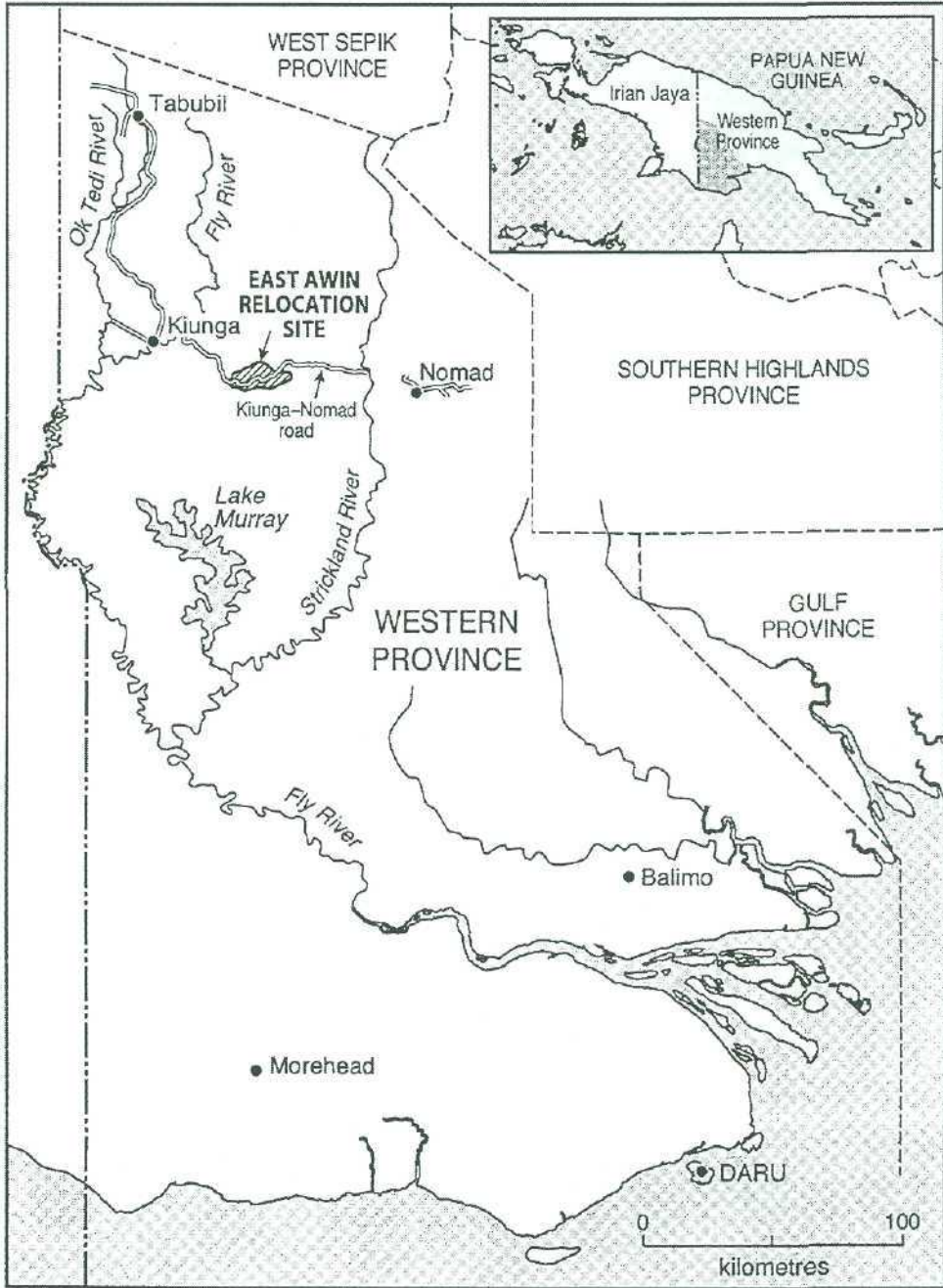
Map 1. Irian Jaya and the border region showing places of origin of refugees and place names mentioned by informants.



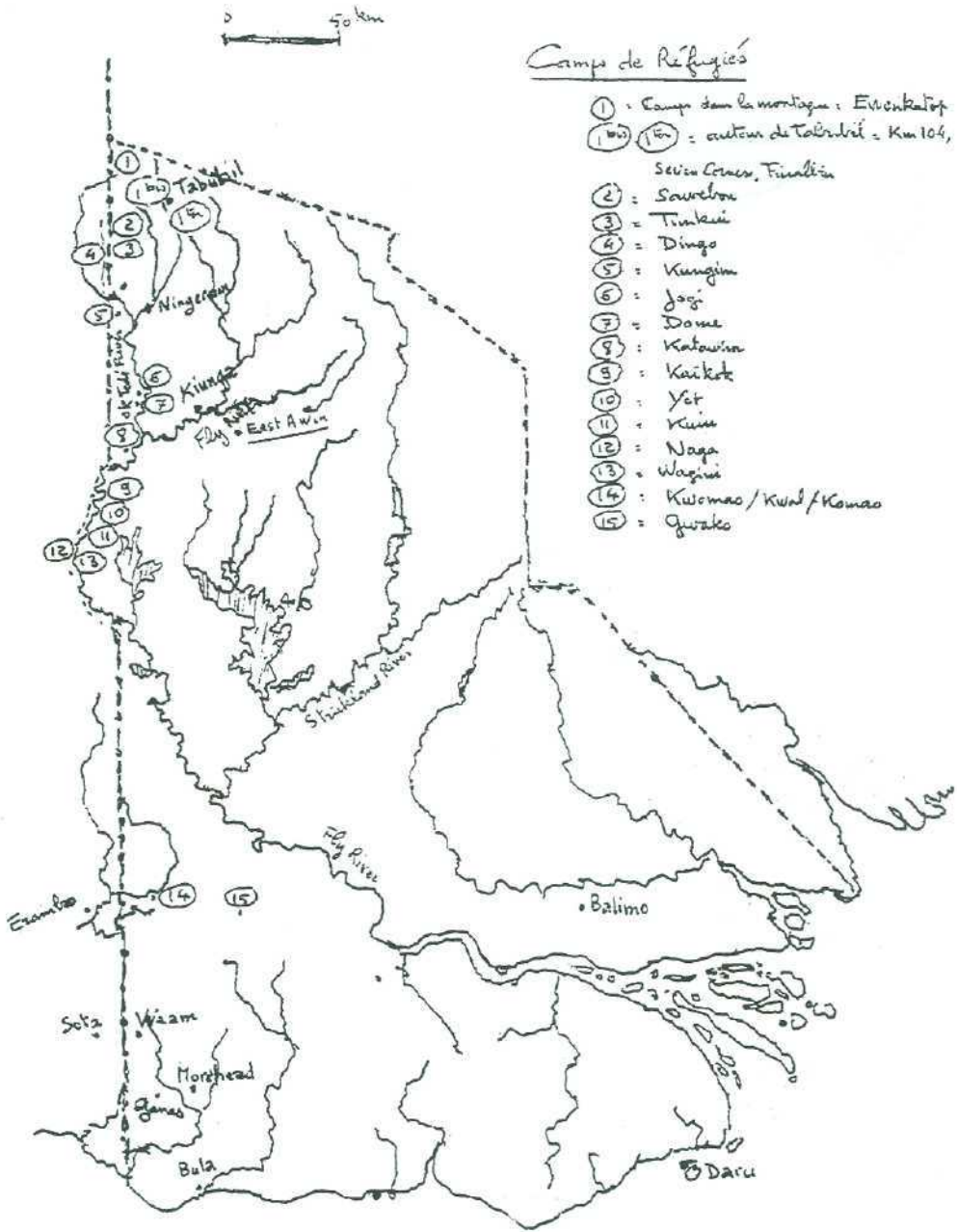
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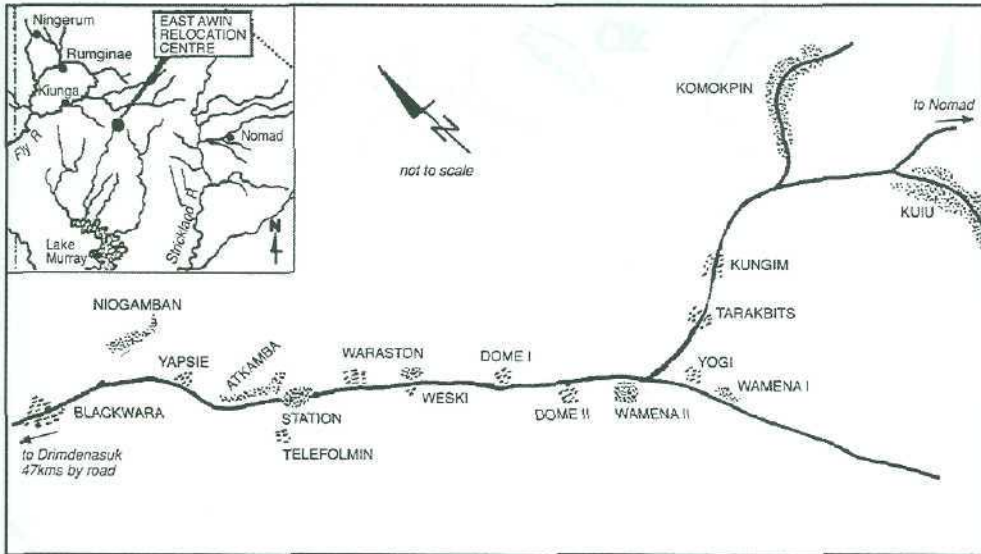
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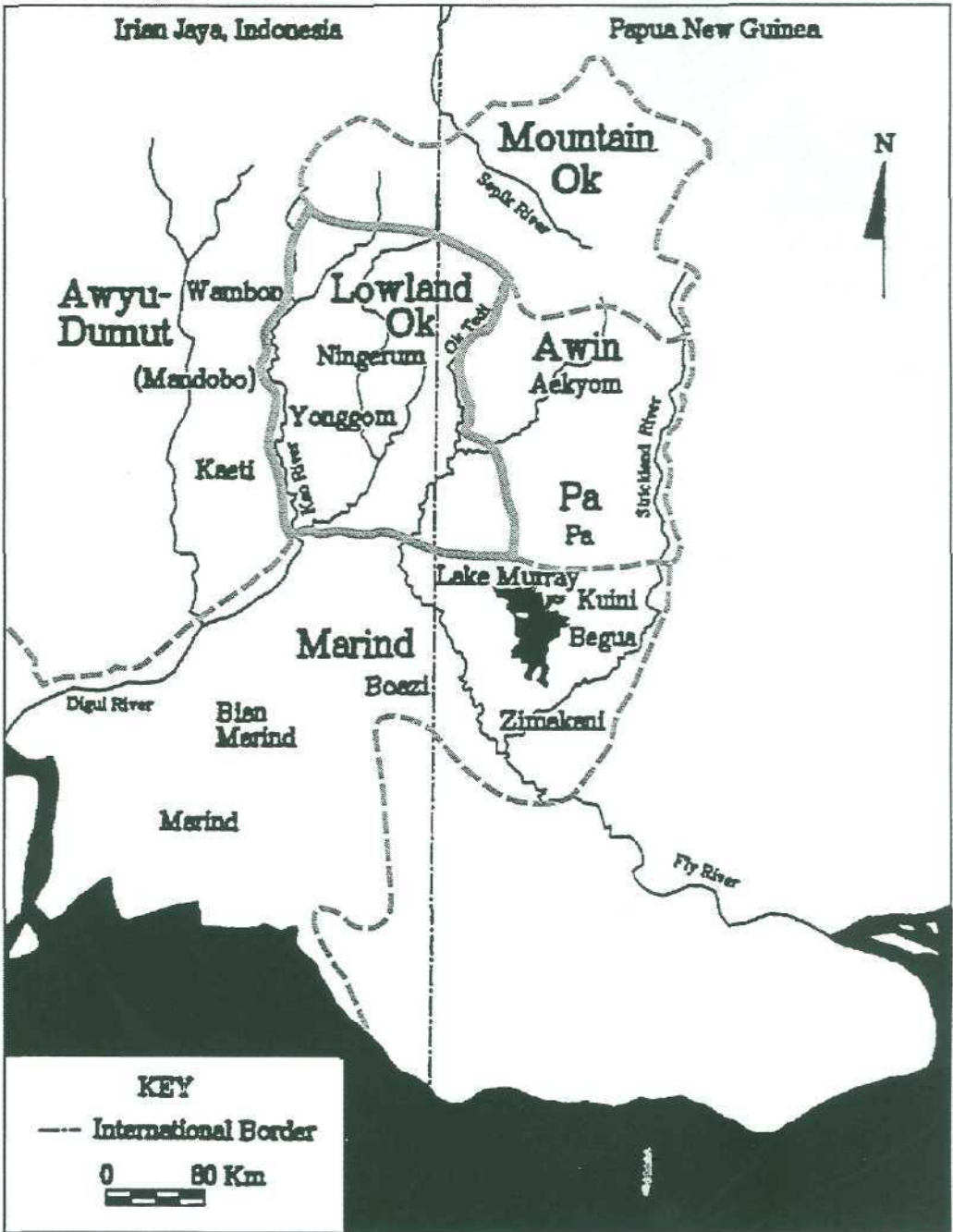
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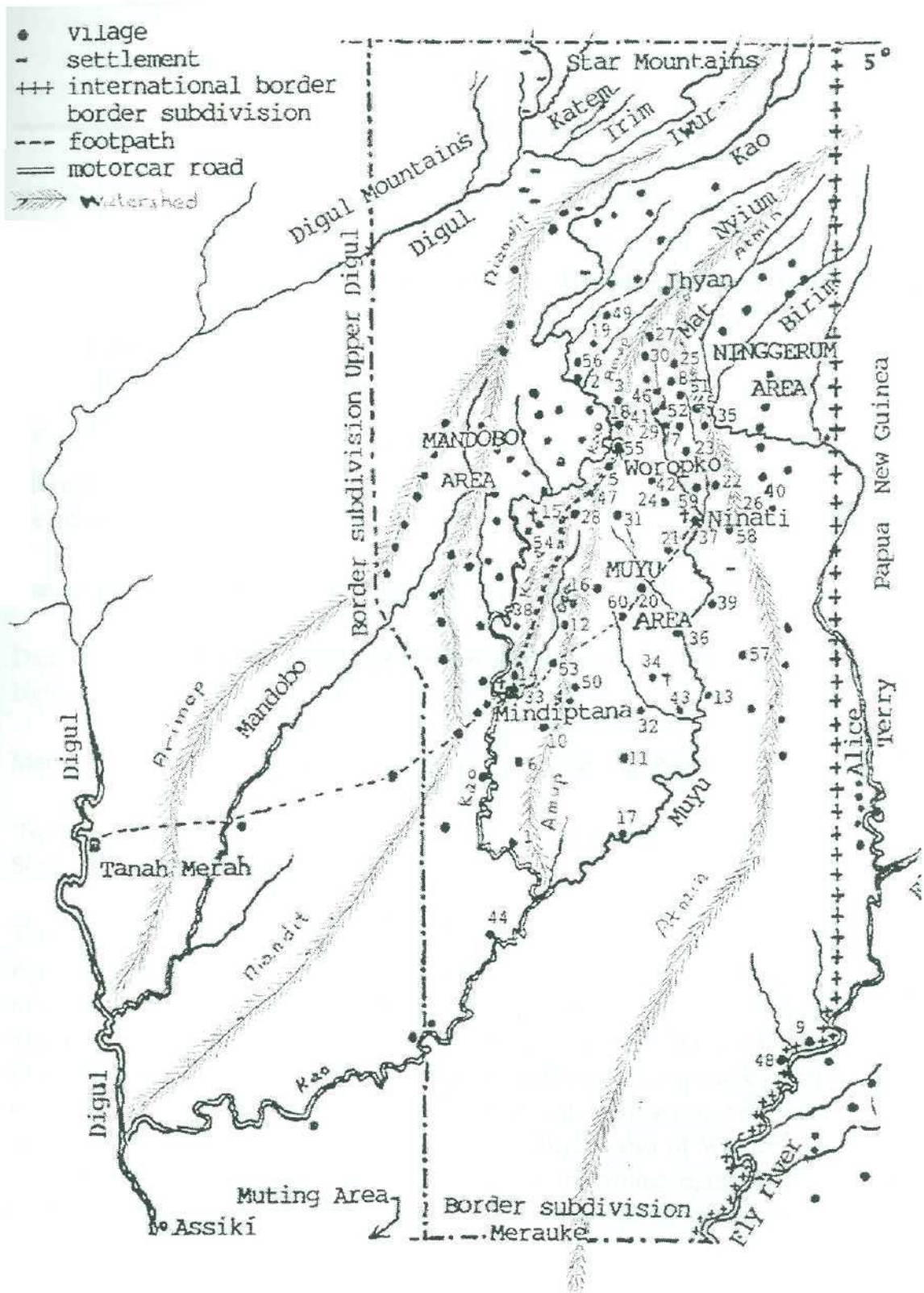
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1. Introduction: West Papuans in Papua New Guinea

This thesis is based on twelve months fieldwork undertaken between April-August 1998 and February-September 1999 among West Papuan refugees at the East Awin¹ relocation site in Western Province, Papua New Guinea. The refugee population at East Awin (3,600) comprised five principal groups from Irian Jaya (see map 1):

Muyu people from the Waropko-Mindiptana region located due west across the international border;

Kanum and Yay people from the southern border region near Merauke;

Dani people from Wamena and the western Baliem Valley in the Jayawijaya highlands;

Mamberamo people from the swamplands of the Mamberamo River;

'Northerners' from the capital Jayapura, north-west coast (Manokwari, Nabire, Sorong), and islands (Biak-Numfoor, Serui).

The research was inspired by the offer of permissive residency made by the Papua New Guinea Government assisted by the UNHCR, to West Papuan refugees in May 1996. In October 1998, the PNG government finalised application procedures for permissive residency allowing West Papuan refugees rights including free movement, engagement in business activities, employment, enrolment in PNG schools and tertiary institutions, and access to health facilities. Conditions included not residing in the border area of Western and Sepik provinces, not engaging in political activity, no voting rights, and no rights to membership of political parties. During the year 2000, approximately

¹ East Awin refers to the PNG census division of the landowning group, the Awin people. 'Iowara' is the name of the former UNHCR camp and fieldwork location of this ethnography, in East Awin territory.

800 refugees at East Awin were voluntarily repatriated to Irian Jaya, with the remaining 3000 applying for permissive residency status.²

The offer of permissive residency raises the following questions:

How do West Papuan refugees at Iowara conceive their West Papuan 'nationhood'?

How do they dwell outside of their place of origin or 'nation'?

How do they understand permissive residency or repatriation in the context of their struggle for nationhood?

Understanding the meanings that West Papua refugees give to their exile in Papua New Guinea requires an outline of the recent political history of Indonesian rule in Irian Jaya, and events that preceded the period of flight (1984-85). This background section does not set out to provide new material or an original contribution to the history of West Papuan refugees in Papua New Guinea, rather it is a summary of events based on the published work of other researchers – principally, Beverley Blaskett, Rosemary Preston, Alan Smith, Ron May, Robin Osborne and Franco Zocca. It is meant as a *pedoman* (compass or guide), rendering the chapters that follow more meaningful to the reader.

A HISTORY OF WEST PAPUAN POLITICAL ASYLUM IN PNG

Any history of West Papuan flight into Papua New Guinea begins with an exposition of four foundational events³ occurring in the period 1961-1969:

² At the time of writing, all but a few applications for permissive residency had been processed, and it was expected that the outstanding cases would also be approved by the PNG Minister for Foreign Affairs in due course (pers. comm. Takeshi Moriyama UNHCR 2001).

³ These events are differently contextualised in several political science dissertations relevant to this thesis: Beverley Blaskett's (1989) account of the interstate relation since 1962 between the governments of Papua New Guinea and Indonesia, influenced by the West Papuan resistance movement as a third party; Alan Smith's (1991) account of the response by the Papua New Guinea government to the influx of West Papuan refugees in 1984, influenced by the joint PNG-Indonesia Border Agreement; Terence Markin's (1996) study of the accession of Netherlands New Guinea to UNTEA status and later, Indonesian rule in 1962-3; John Saltford's (2000) research into UN involvement in the implementation of the act of self

December 1, 1961: The New Guinea Council (the first elected Papuan Parliament) together with the Dutch colonial administration, installed ordinances⁴ concerning a territorial flag and national anthem of Netherlands New Guinea;

December 19, 1961: Indonesian President Sukarno's declaration of TRIKORA (People's Triple Command for the Liberation of West Irian) called for a total mobilisation to wrest Netherlands New Guinea from the Dutch;

August 15, 1962: the New York Agreement authorised the ceding of Dutch control of West New Guinea to Indonesia, resulting in a UN transitional authority (UNTEA) present until May 1, 1963, when Indonesia took full control of West Irian;

July 14–August 2, 1969: voting by eight assemblies (1,022 delegates appointed by the Indonesian administration) in the Act of Free Choice (PEPERA) resulted in the declaration of West Irian as Indonesia's seventeenth province.

Events of flight since 1962 cannot be isolated from the historical events listed above. Each of these events led to government and military policies deemed oppressive, provoking resistance referred to as 'the struggle' (*perjuangan*).⁵ The Indonesian government's military actions and policies implemented to secure Irian Jaya as part of the Republic, constitute the material of a *memoria passionis*⁶ or memory of collective suffering, impelling West Papuans to flee east into Papua New Guinea, seeking political asylum. The term *memoria passionis* is used by several theologians and scholars to describe experiences of repression and violation by the Indonesian state, concealed in the memory of West Papuan victims and their families and fellow villagers in Irian Jaya. The source of *memoria passionis* is the Indonesian state's 'development' policies and the common occurrence of human rights violations by the Indonesian military (Jayapura Diocese 1999). The material of *memoria*

determination in the period 1968-69; and Otto Ondawame's (2000b) account of West Papuan nationalist activity as a reaction to Indonesian military rule in Irian Jaya.

⁴ The details of these ordinances were posted on Kabar Irian December 4, 2000 (20:17:08).

⁵ West Papuan resistance is usually labelled as OPM (*Operasi Papua Merdeka*) or the Free Papua Movement. See Ondawame 2000b.

⁶ According to theologians J. Budi Hernawan and Theo Van den Broek (1999) from the Jayapura Office for Justice and Peace, the term *memoria passionis* was coined by the German theologian Johann Baptist Metz (1980). Other scholars (Suhendra 1997) have suggested that the concept is inspired by Walter Benjamin's "Theses on the Philosophy of History" in *Illuminations* (1968).

passionis evidences West Papuans treated as objects: objects of political policy, objects of military operations, objects of economic development and objects of tourism. It is this objectification that has persisted over decades, impassioning West Papuan resistance (Hernawan and Van den Broek 1999).

Collective flight to attain political asylum in Papua New Guinea occurred throughout the period of implementation of TRIKORA, UNTEA and PEPERA (1962-69), and in the following decade in reaction to local military activity. Events of flight in these periods are listed in appendix 1. This introduction is concerned with the period of flight that occurred between 1984-86, as a background to the establishment of the refugee relocation camp Iowara, located at East Awin in Western Province, Papua New Guinea. An historical background to the subject of West Papuan refugees in Papua New Guinea prior to the period of fieldwork is elaborated in terms of three phases: flight into Papua New Guinea, resettlement on the border, and relocation to an inland camp at East Awin.

The pre-1984 political milieu in which flight occurred

The political milieu in which flight occurred, articulated by refugees in narrative form, is elaborated particularly in Chapters 3 and 5. An overview of the political milieu in Irian Jaya in the period leading up to 1983-84 according to other published sources, is outlined below. Beginning in 1969, the Five Year Development Plan or *Repelita* promised 'rehabilitation of rural infrastructure' in Irian Jaya.⁷ Under this guise, transmigration (resettling mainly poor Javanese to Irian Jaya) and translocation (relocating West Papuans within a transmigration site) were established.⁸ Beginning in 1971, a 'humanitarian' project called Operation *Koteka* - perceived by most West Papuan and foreign critics as a political indoctrination program - was carried out in the interior regions of Irian Jaya.⁹ From 1967, international corporations developed extractive industries (logging, mining, oil). Land rent immunity, transfer of profits after taxes, as well as non-employment of local people meant minimal

⁷ *Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun* or Five Year Development Plan.

⁸ A local population allocation programme under INPRES (Regional Public Works Program under special Presidential Instruction) was implemented in Irian Jaya from 1976. In the case of disputes over land rights caused by transmigration, local peoples were to be 'compensated' for the appropriation of their land by being incorporated into a transmigration scheme as 'local transmigrants' or *translokal*. Under this program, ten per cent of settlers were to come from the local population (Blaskett 1989:165). See Manning and Rumbiak (1989:45-60) for a history of transmigration in Irian Jaya.

⁹ *Koteka* means penis sheath and is commonly used pejoratively by Indonesians to reify West Papuan people.

benefits to West Papuans (Blaskett 1989:153-155). Added to this, the commercial sector in Irian Jaya was dominated by migrants, mainly from South Sulawesi (Manning and Rumbiak 1989:22-27). Based on interviews with refugees in the border camps in 1986, the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) summarised factors impelling flight to be cultural, political and economic:

Some spoke of human rights issues – freedom of association, discrimination against Melanesians in education and public service, denigration of Melanesian culture and attempts to weaken it, the effects of Indonesia's transmigration policies, the subordination of proper legal processes to political controls. Some spoke of economic issues – Indonesians dominate business and economic life, Melanesians are less able to afford the bribes that were said to be necessary for advancement and public service (ICJ 1986:49).

The ICJ reported that West Papuan refugees claimed the Indonesian state's forced acquisition of their land to be a major reason for their resistance to Indonesia rule and struggle for independence. In 1984, the Indonesian government's transmigration program projected an increase to approximately 138,000 families or 700,000 persons for the *Repelita IV* 1985-1989 period (Manning and Rumbiak 1989:46).¹⁰ Considering that 3,000 hectares would be required for every 500 people, between 1.5 to 3.2 million hectares needed to be alienated without compensation (Hastings 1986:229). Of the thirty-nine proposed sites, twelve were within thirty kilometres of the border (Blaskett 1989:163).¹¹ The rumoured arrival of hundreds of thousands of migrants from Indonesia, and the required appropriation of land by the state, fed into the escalation of resistance in 1983-84.¹²

In February 1984, a general uprising "in part the consequence of a new solidarity within the [resistance] movement" (May 1986:113) was planned. On February 5, the West Papuan flag was raised on the provincial assembly building in Jayapura resulting in the shooting of at least one West Papuan (Blaskett 1989:283). Subsequently, approximately one hundred West Papuans from the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) Battalion 752 deserted (seventy later surrendered). They broke into their battalion's arms depot to take weapons and ammunition and then launched a series of small-scale attacks on

¹⁰ In 1980 a state census for Irian Jaya recorded a population of 1,173,000 including 93,000 migrants (Manning and Rumbiak 1989:24).

¹¹ On discussion of these sites as a defense strategy see Blaskett (1989:159-161).

¹² However, midway through *Repelita IV* less than 3,600 households or 3% of the original target had been resettled in Irian Jaya due to cutbacks in the national budget, conflicts with indigenous landowners over matters of compensation, and criticism of the potential demographic social and economic impacts (Manning and Rumbiak 1989:48).

Indonesian detachments around Jayapura as well as airports and strategic and communications facilities (Osborne 1985:98-99). These attacks resulted in heavy reprisals and preventative detentions by ABRI of those suspected as disloyal. ABRI launched an operation searching houses in Jayapura and Sentani (Osborne 1985:179). Arnold Ap, the popular leader of a West Papuan cultural performance movement, arrested on November 30, 1983, was subsequently killed by Indonesian soldiers on April 26, 1984 (the circumstances surrounding Ap's death are examined in Chapter 3). Indonesian military activity extended from Jayapura, sweeping inland to the south and east to the border (Hewison and Smith 1986:204). In the border region, OPM activity was countered by three thousand additional Indonesian troops using Bronco counter-insurgency planes, helicopters and fighter jets (Osborne 1985:100).

Events of West Papuan flight and return 1984-86¹³

An inventory of the dozens of events of flight (contained in appendix 1) provides a sense of the steady flow and mass nature of West Papuan flight into Papua New Guinea throughout 1984-86. Preston estimated the number of West Papuans crossing into West Sepik and Western Provinces in 1986 to be 10,000 people.¹⁴ Broadly speaking, the flight of northerners east to Vanimo commenced in February 1984 and ceased mid-year, while Muyu flight commenced in April 1984, but continued until September 1985 by which time the Waropko-Mindiptana region from where people had fled, was reported as deserted.

Flight beginning in 1984 can be categorised in terms of four waves occurring in reaction to regional military operations and raids conducted by ABRI (see map 1):

February-April 1984: 1000 northerners including villagers from the border area, crossed near Vanimo;

¹³ An inventory of events of flight, deportation and repatriation in the period 1962-83 is provided in appendix 2. Based on these data, it can be estimated that during the period 1962-83, West Papuans reported as crossing into PNG totalled 4,600, including 1700 people during the Indonesian government's '*Operasi Sadar*' (Operation Awareness) campaign in 1968 and '*Operasi Wibawa*' (Operation Authority) in 1969; the preparation period leading to the Act of Free Choice (Blaskett 1989:68, 261).

¹⁴ Preston (1988) estimated there were 3,075 people in camps in West Sepik (Sandaun) province in the camps Blackwater, Kamberatoro, Amanab, Wassengla, Green River and Yapsiei and 6,838 in the Western Province camps of Kuiu, Niogamban, Dome, Iogi, Kungim, Tarakbits, Timkwe, Atkamba, Komokpin and Telefomin.

April 1984-September 1985: Up to 9,435 mainly Muyu (but including Mandobo and Oksibil peoples) crossed into Western Province in the region between Kiunga and Tabubil;

October 1985: 350 Dani and Mamberamo people crossed near Bewani;¹⁵

1992: 60 Kanum and Yay families crossed to Weam.¹⁶

A second inventory (contained in appendix 2) of events and threats of repatriation and deportation from Papua New Guinea back to Irian Jaya 1984-86, provides a mirror to the previous one, revealing the desperately uncertain state of West Papuans seeking political asylum in PNG. The figures from the sources mentioned above can be tabulated although it should be noted that these are all based on secondary sources and represent only those events that were reported. Between February 1984 and February 1988, up to 2,150 West Papuans were reported as voluntarily returning to Irian Jaya, among them a group of between 136-150 reported to have been repatriated (possibly deported) without UNHCR monitoring, and about twelve people who were recorded as deported. These figures do not measure the routine threats of deportation made by the PNG government during the period 1984-86, and reported in the PNG press.

Blaskett examined the matter of PNG compliance with Indonesia on the matter of border issues, including West Papuan refugees, through the politics of the joint Indonesia-PNG Border Agreement. She dated the origin of PNG's policy officially supporting Indonesia's sovereignty over Irian Jaya, to the pre-1975 period when PNG acted as understudy to Australia in the negotiation of a Border Agreement with Indonesia. According to Blaskett, PNG's continued economic relationship with Australia influenced the former's foreign policy (1989:58-64). In her thesis, she presented evidence of the Indonesia-PNG Border Agreement obligations as one-sided, and the invoking of the Agreement to uphold Indonesia's interests. She concluded that it was PNG's "vulnerability which suggests that the onus is on [PNG's government] to accept the Indonesian interpretation of the Border Agreement and to implement it accordingly, or at least, to appear to implement it" (1989:253-54). However, Blaskett's examination of 'contradictory and secret policies' adopted by the

¹⁵ This group had fled from the Baliem Valley during the 1977 war (*perang*) between ABRI and Dani villagers, of whom many were OPM sympathisers. They had subsequently settled at Mamberamo for several years before walking east to the border.

¹⁶ Kanum people at Iowara measured their number in terms of the orthodox Indonesian classification 'heads of family' (*KK: kepala keluarga*).

PNG government in an effort to reduce tensions between the Indonesian government and West Papuans in Irian Jaya, reveal PNG to be less compliant than would appear to be the case.

The inventory of events and rumours of repatriation and deportation in appendix 2 reflect this obligation to *appear* to implement the Border Agreement. The inventory also provides an historical background to the Indonesian-PNG governments' program of repatriation or permissive residency offered in 1996, and processed in 1998-99 during the period of this fieldwork.

The people who crossed the border 1984-86¹⁷

Three quarters of those West Papuans who fled had been dependent on subsistence crop production for their livelihood before flight. The remaining twenty-five percent had previously engaged in non-farming occupations, mainly manufacturing and the service sector, and were clustered in camps comprising residents who were previously urban and typically more educated i.e., from Jayapura or Mindiptana (Preston 1992:853). Preston's figures of forty and thirty percent respectively for non-farming occupations for several Muyu camps, contests the notion that all Muyu who fled were uneducated farmers. Of the mainly Muyu refugees from camps in Western Province, five individuals had tertiary education. Eighty-eight percent of those in the manufacturing industry were employed as carpenters or sawmillers, and eighty percent of white-collar workers were teachers, agricultural extension officers and clerks (Preston 1992:853). In the northerner camp at Blackwater, Vanimo, forty percent of households were previously engaged in waged work and thirty percent of its non-farming population previously worked as coastal fishermen (Preston 1992:853). At Blackwater there were 79 students, 25 university students and 54 secondary school students (Preston 1988:64). These urban professionals, along with some from Merauke and Mindiptana, were the most politically articulate of the refugees in the border camps (Preston 1992:852).

¹⁷ This section draws substantially on the research of Rosemary Preston, who worked as a lecturer with the Educational Research Project at the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) while undertaking research sponsored by the Border Crossers' Relocation Unit in the Department of Provincial Affairs and UPNG. Her fieldwork - undertaken in most of the camps in West Sepik and Western Province in 1986 - culminated in a report titled "Educational needs of West Irian refugees at the East Awin location site in Papua New Guinea" (1988).

Resettlement in PNG: the border camps

People established makeshift camps on the Papua New Guinea side of the border near the places where they had crossed. In these camps they were relatively free to move in and out, to visit other places, attend gardens outside, and travel to market (Preston 1992:859, 861). Although there was no police or military presence or fencing, former residents of Blackwater recalled roll calls twice a day, and people seeking to travel outside of the camp were required to sign a book administered by PNG government officials.¹⁸

Conditions differed from one border camp to another in terms of distance to towns and missions as centres of communication, camp size, relations with landowners, and availability of building materials (Preston 1992:858-859). At Blackwater, houses were well spaced and there was access to local markets and direct mission support. Efforts to establish local government authorities to plan and implement community development 'modelled on village practice in Indonesia' were terminated by the provincial representative of the PNG Department of Foreign Affairs on the grounds that they were 'politically threatening'. Additionally, refugee children at Blackwater were not permitted to attend PNG schools and parents' initiatives to start camp schools were halted (Preston 1992:859).

By March 1986 some border camps were reported as comparing favourably to PNG villages. They had established gardens providing food staples, constructed new houses, and were recipients of additional materials provided by the Red Cross (Blaskett 1989:239). However, Green River camp in West Sepik Province (see map 2) was isolated with severe water problems and poor relations with the government officers from the nearest district headquarters. In Western Province, Kuiu camp (see map 3) was flooded by the Fly river in the wet season. Rations were provided regularly in each of the border camps following the formal engagement of the UNHCR after the PNG government acceded to the Convention relating to the status of refugees (detailed below). These rations included food, principally rice and tinned fish, and medical supplies, and were often traded with locals for garden produce.

Categorising West Papuan people in PNG

In the 1960s, people moving west-east across the border were classified by the Territory Administration as 'traditional border crossers' whose movement was considered temporary in character for the purposes of traditional activities

¹⁸ On PNG police and military actions particularly in relation to northerners from Waraston camp at Vanimo in 1989, and at Iowara in 1998, see Chapter 6.

listed as: "social contacts and ceremonies including marriage, gardening, hunting, collecting and other land usage, fishing and other usage of waters, and customary border trade."¹⁹ West Papuan immigrants were categorised as border crossers and not refugees by PNG government officials to avoid predetermining their status, and to encourage repatriation as the most appropriate response (Blaskett 1989:247).²⁰ The Migration Ordinance of 1963 contained no clear provisions on dealing with non-traditional border crossers and was at the (colonial) Administrator's discretion (Blaskett 1989:69). Both the Australian and then PNG administration determined asylum applications individually, effectively masking the political nature of the west to east flight (Blaskett 1989:231).

A national debate in Papua New Guinea simmered over the status of those who crossed in the period 1984-85. It was argued that those people who had crossed *en masse* in 1984 could not be categorised according to the technical term border crosser, as their movement was neither temporary in character, nor for the purposes of traditional activities. In public forums and in the Parliament, a discourse of 'Melanesianness' was invoked, naturalising Papua New Guinea solidarity with West Papuans. However, the economic refugee argument came to dominate the thinking on immigration by PNG policy-makers (Blaskett 1989:246). Papua New Guinea did not challenge Indonesia's perspective that West Papuans were motivated by non-political or economic motives that could be addressed by equalising development on both sides of the border through a border development program. This 'underdevelopment theory' was promoted by Indonesia and officially accepted by PNG (Blaskett 1989:234-235).

In 1984 however, the Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) concluded that: "the approximately 11,000 border crossers ... were either refugees under the UN Convention and Protocol, or were clearly in a refugee-like situation within the mandate of the UNHCR" (1986:8). It was reported that the UNHCR claimed them to be refugees on the basis of their mass influx (Blaskett 1989:249). Between July and August 1984, fifty-one people died of starvation at the Komokpin border camp (see map 3). It was estimated that over 2,000 refugees were squatting in an area usually providing

¹⁹ Article 4 of the 'Basic Agreement between the Government of Papua New Guinea and Government of the Republic of Indonesia on Border Arrangements', Port Moresby, 29 October 1984, cited in Wolfers (1988:164).

²⁰ The PNG government objected to resettlement sites in PNG as these risked becoming permanent OPM sanctuaries, and if located in the border region would invite further groups of crossers. Resettlement costs such as roads and schools in Western Province would also be prohibitive (Hastings 1986:226).

for 150 people (May 1986:145). Criticism by media (*Post Courier* August 13, 14, 16 1984; *Times of PNG* August 16, 30 1984) and parliamentarians forced the PNG government to accept UNHCR intervention.²¹

On January 21, 1986, PNG Cabinet agreed to accede to the Geneva Convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees and the Convention entered into force for PNG on October 15, 1986.²² Blaskett observed accession to be "... a compromise which satisfied Papua New Guinea's security and economic concerns" (1989:248). In September 1986 the PNG government and the UNHCR signed an agreement whereby the latter would provide funds to resettle Irian Jayans in PNG until the end of the year. The UNHCR would be given responsibility for administering the border camps in consultation with the PNG Department of Provincial Affairs, and in consultation with Indonesia (Blaskett 1989:248-249). On September 6, 1986, it was announced that the UNHCR informed the ICJ that they had determined that all border camp dwellers were genuine refugees (Blaskett 1989:305).

In the period 1984-85, the Premiers of Fly, Sandaun, Morobe, and North Solomons provinces in PNG offered to re-settle refugee families temporarily (Blaskett 1989:295). On September 19, 1984, Western Province member Warren Dutton announced that Awin people of Kiunga were willing to accommodate Irianese in the Kiunga area (Blaskett 1989:292). On October 25, 1985, Cabinet approved Momis's refugee policy which included relocating existing border camps away from the border (Blaskett 1989:299). The PNG government's new refugee policy included relocating West Papuans to East

²¹ Hewison and Smith examined the contention that "deliberate neglect at the highest levels of government amounted to policy" by looking at a chronology of events leading to the deaths at Komokpin (1986:211-217). Osborne (1985:184) explained that even without accession to the convention, PNG had certain obligations as a member of the UN: "...that in accordance with customary international law, even non-signatories to the UN's refugee charter were expected to adopt the policy of *non-refoulement* (forcible return) of refugees allowing them sanctuary until a solution could be found ... [and] that as a member of the UN it had endorsed a set of guidelines in 1980 governing refugee repatriation criteria. These included the right of refugee communities to send observers to their homeland to inspect prevailing conditions; and the need for international monitoring."

²² The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees entered into force in 1954. The Convention describes the obligations and rights of refugees, and obligations of states towards refugees. The 1967 Protocol removed the time limitation of the 1951 Convention's definition that persons became refugees "as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951" (UNHCR 2000). When signing these instruments, the PNG government stipulated that "in accordance with article 42, paragraph 1 of the Convention makes a reservation with respect to the provision contained in articles 17 (1) [wage-earning employment], 21 [Housing], 22 (1) [Public Education], 26 [Freedom of Movement], 31 [Refugees unlawfully in the country of refuge], 32 [Expulsion] and 34 [Naturalisation], of the Convention and does not accept the obligations stipulated in these articles" (<http://untreaty.un.org>).

Awin, a 100,000 hectare site, approximately 120 km from the border (see map 4). This strategy accorded with UNHCR policy that refugees should be relocated from vulnerable border areas before non-relief development assistance is provided (Preston 1992:860).

In March 1986, it was announced that the PNG government had decided to relocate refugees further from the border at Aitape (east of Vanimo), Wabo, and East Awin where 7,000 refugees were to be employed as plantation labour (Blaskett 1989:302).²³ The East Awin site had been previously planned as a rubber production site but had failed due to the absence of marketing infrastructure (Preston 1992:863). The relocation would form part of a proposed integrated development plan for the area of East Awin, Nomad, Lake Murray and Debapare (Preston 1992:861).²⁴ Refugees were encouraged to relocate to take advantage of East Awin's economic potential, increased security, and provision of services (Preston 1992:863).

East Awin

According to the UNHCR, the primary objective of relocation was to enable the refugees to become self-sufficient (UNHCR 1993). Relocation from the border camps to East Awin would ensure separation from the local population: "whose sympathy with the West Papuan cause might help restore links in the chains of assistance and communication that would be lost with the move away from the border" (Preston 1992:861). Relocation would also alleviate conflicts with landowners over land use and privileges (rations) enjoyed by refugees, as well as other tensions such as sorcery accusations: "[occurring] more frequently because health problems in the camps are intensified by unsanitary and protein-poor diets" Kirsch (1989:53). Relocation would deny the OPM access to camps – where they could enjoy asylum - and resources, and would also avoid the problem of Indonesian troops crossing the border to pursue OPM guerrillas (Blaskett 1989:231). It was also a strategy to prevent the transfer from Indonesia of communicable animal (e.g., pig cysticercosis) and

²³ A proposal for refugees from Blackwater identified as 'political activists' to be segregated and relocated to Wabo camp in Gulf Province (which housed 150 West Papuan refugees between 1979-81) was rejected (ICJ 1986:37).

²⁴ An advocate of refugee status for border crossers since 1984, Dutton also had commercial interests in rubber. As Member for the North Fly, he made the announcement that villagers in the Kiunga area of Western Province had offered to accommodate refugees on 30,000 ha of their traditional land which was under consideration for rubber development (May 1986:144, Hastings 1986:226).

crop diseases not already present in Papua New Guinea (Preston 1992: 861), a particularly Australian strategic concern.

A UNHCR-sponsored survey soliciting refugee attitudes to resettlement concluded that across all sixteen border camps, sixty-four percent of the refugees indicated willingness to be relocated elsewhere in PNG, thirty percent wished to remain in their border camp location, and less than seven percent expressed the wish to be repatriated (Gau in Preston 1992:863; see also ICJ 1986:49-51). Refugees from Blackwater appealed to the UNHCR not to be resettled at East Awin. The PNG government considered two other sites for northerner relocation at Aitape in West Sepik Province (ICJ 1986:16, 38).

Blackwater camp became embroiled in several events in early 1988. In March, an OPM raid was carried out on an Indonesian transmigration camp at Arso (south-west of Vanimo), and hostages were taken and subsequently released. In April, approximately 200 Indonesian soldiers entered West Sepik to raid a camp reported to hold those involved in the Arso raid (Blaskett 1989: 308). Previously, ninety West Papuans had deserted Blackwater camp along with an OPM leader in order to resume guerrilla activity around Wutung (Hastings 1986:228). It was surmised that the Indonesian government pressured the PNG government to close Blackwater camp, claiming that the refugees had been involved in the attack, thereby contravening terms relating to security in the International Border Agreement (Preston 1992:865-66).

From December 1987 the UNHCR and PNG government stopped food and medical assistance to Muyu people remaining in the ten camps on the border. Despite education, health services and rations offered by UNHCR at East Awin, an estimated 4,500 Muyu refused to relocate. Instead, they remained in border camps on the edge of the Fly and Ok Tedi rivers (see map 5).²⁵ Their refusal to re-locate has been explained in terms of their desire to remain close to their own land and sago stands, as well as their desire to continue resistance activity (which is proscribed at Iowara). The Catholic Church of Daru-Kiunga provides regular patrols with immunisation and other health services and training.²⁶ Assistance has been provided neither by

²⁵“When we speak of border camps we mean about 10 villages/settlements with approximately 4,400 inhabitants along the border in Western Province. Some of these settlements are at the rivers Fly and Ok Tedi, others are further north in the bush. The areas where the camps are situated extends about 150 km. The camps along the Fly River can be reached from Kiunga by motor boat within 2 hours and 1-½ days, the camps along the Ok Tedi by car and by motor boat within 1-½ hours. The camps in the north can be reached by plane and walking through the bush (4-8 hours walking)” (Lutz and Hansen 2000).

²⁶ Since 1995, four volunteers from the Austrian Service for Development Co-operation (OED) have provided training for trainers in principles of community development and conflict resolution, courses in Pidgin and English, and projects to improve basic camp

Indonesia, the PNG Department of Provincial Affairs or government of Western Province, the UNHCR, nor officially at least, Ok Tedi Mining Limited's (OTML) Fly River Development Trust.

Relocation to East Awin began in February 1987 with an advance party of some forty men from Atkamba and sawmillers from Blackwater camp who spent three months preparing temporary shelters. Telefolmin camp was the first to relocate followed by Yogi, Dome, Komokpin, Kuiu, Kungim, Tarakbits and Niogamban (see map 3). At Iowara, Muyu people formed camps based on the configuration of their former border camps. In May 1988, northerners from Blackwater camp at Vanimo were forced to relocate to East Awin when the PNG government officially closed their camp. At East Awin, they formed three settlements based on regional grouping: northerners, Dani and Mamberamo. In 1989, approximately 200 northerners who had previously shifted away from Blackwater, Vanimo, to a camp located nearby at Pasi beach, were also evicted and relocated to East Awin. According to a UNHCR briefing document: "refugees who refused to move to East Awin in 1988 were forced by the Government in December 1999 to move to East Awin camp using the new provisions under the amended Migration Act" (UNHCR 1993). Three years later in 1992, 60 Kanum and Yay families from Sota and Erambu, living in the border camps of Weam and Suki in the Morehead District (see map 1), were relocated to East Awin where they formed a single camp.

At the time of research in 1998-99, Iowara consisted of seventeen refugee settlements stretched along the Kiunga-Nomad road between km 40-70. The administration centre of the camp (known as Station or Camp 10) was about 120 kilometres from the border and 48 kilometres from the Fly River. The population at Iowara was approximately 3,500 or twenty people per square kilometre, compared to less than ten people per square kilometre in neighbouring areas (Allen et al. 1993).

Awin people have claimed the land from the river's edge to Barramundi highway (km 30) while the land above this, encompassing all of the camps at Iowara from Blackwater to Kuiu (km 40-70) is claimed by Pare landowners. The PNG government has paid several instalments to the landowners for the relocation site covering 100,000 hectares with compensation being negotiated

infrastructure. Lutz and Hansen (2000) reported the following relations between refugees in camps and local people in adjacent villages on the border: infrastructure projects at Dome could not be implemented because of tensions with *as ples* (tp) (local landowners) e.g., two water tanks had remained disconnected; parts of the local community of Ereka had refused to establish a joint community school with refugees from Niogamban; and in the camps of Dome and Yogi, gardening ground was exhausted as refugees had used the same area continuously for fifteen years and had no possibility of extending the gardens because of tensions with landowners.

between Awin people at Drimdenasuk on the Fly River to the west, and Pare people at Nomad to the east and Lake Murray to the south-west (see map 4).

At Iowara, health services were coordinated by the Montfort Catholic Mission under a Tripartite agreement with the PNG government and the UNHCR. There was a health sub-centre at Station camp comprising inpatient, outpatient, antenatal, prenatal and labour wards as well as five aid posts.²⁷ Approximately twenty PNG nationals and refugees were employed in these services. Five community schools (grades one to six) were coordinated by the Montfort Catholic Mission with the support of the PNG government and UNHCR. A PNG curriculum was taught mainly by refugee teachers, most of whom had trained as teachers in Irian Jaya, and a small number of refugees who had graduated from Wewak Teacher's College in PNG. Classes comprised refugee children, children of PNG employees at Iowara, as well as the children of local landowners. In the early 1990s, a technical training facility called Diaspora provided carpentry and other technical skills to students. This school was replaced by a mainstream secondary school (Grades 9-10) that was subsequently closed in 1999.

Three quarters of the refugees at Iowara were dependent on subsistence crop production before they left Irian Jaya (Preston 1992:852) and most Muyu and Mamberamo people, and some others, were reliant on sago as a staple food. Many had also been previously dependent on subsistence strategies in their own place including considerable gathering of uncultivated plants, and hunting of animal resources which could not be practiced at Iowara. There was no sago inside of the Iowara site. Game was quickly hunted to the point of extinction and hunting beyond the camp boundary required permission from the landowners. The restricted area and low soil fertility hindered Muyu people's customary practice of shifting cultivation.²⁸ The relocation site is described as: "lowland tropical (120-150m above sea level) and being virtually uninhabited before the arrival of the refugees, it is covered by lowland rainforest. There is an annual rainfall of some 4,600 mm. A thin layer of topsoil overlies a predominantly clay layer some 40-60mm thick making it far (sic.) relatively infertile soil unable to support more than one agricultural crop before moving to another garden area ..." (UNHCR 1993).

²⁷ Most common illnesses were malaria, anaemia, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and tropical ulcers.

²⁸ Agronomist surveys of the East Awin site propose that: "The area does not have enough land available for shifting cultivation as it practised in surrounding systems" (Allen et al. 1993:44) and "Strong weathering has produced acid to strongly acid red clay loam to clay soils with very low fertility, particularly with respect to available phosphorus ... assessed to have a moderate to low capability for tree crops and improved pastures and a low capability for arable crops" (Bleeker 1975:33).

Employment contravened the terms of their refugee status: "Government policy on employment of refugees in East Awin is restrictive in the sense that they can only be employed within the boundaries of the proposed purchase area and even then only if suitable PNG citizens cannot be identified" (UNHCR 1993). The UNHCR funded a revolving loan scheme for small business projects including: poultry raising, piggeries, river transport, tailoring, bakery, cane and wooden furniture making (UNHCR 1993). Other refugees raised income by selling baked goods in the Kiunga market for a week or fortnight (and returning again to Iowara).²⁹ Many people carted transportable vegetables (mainly green bananas, sweet potato, taro, cucumber, peanuts) to sell at Kiunga where produce commanded a price five times than the market at Iowara.³⁰ Other items sold by refugees at Kiunga and Tabubil (OTML mining towns) included string bags (*nokeng*) made from synthetic coloured wool, paintings, woollen flower ornaments, coconut broadrib brooms, coconut hair oil, framed religious posters, and jewellery. Refugees also sold tobacco, medicinal oil, monosodium glutamate powder (*vetzin*), and red and white garlic imported from Irian Jaya, probably Mindiptana. Numerous minor disputes occurred in the Kiunga markets when local Awin traders sought to restrict refugees from Iowara and the border camps from selling produce.

Some refugees established small tradestores at Iowara, selling goods such as kerosene, matches, soap, batteries, razor blades, fishing line, gas lantern wicks and pens, as well as foodstuff like rice, oil, tinned fish, salt, sugar and flour. The two main kiosks were both ransacked during a PNG police raid in December 1998 (see Chapter 6). Between 1988 and 1990, oil exploration activities in the East Awin area saw a market for vegetable and baked produce, as well as employment opportunities. In 1992, an Australian volunteer agriculturalist facilitated a vegetable marketing project, transporting three

²⁹ The following list provided by a Serui woman who had been trained in home economics, indicates the range of goods baked and sold by West Papuans in the market place at Iowara and Kiunga: *bapauw* (Chinese steamed bun); *lumpia* (Chinese-origin egg-roll made with cassava flour); *dadar* (Dutch-origin crepe); *pastel* (moon-shaped pastries sometimes called *panada*, possibly Dutch); *pelangi* (rainbow cake made from rice flour and coconut); *kueh nona manis* or young girl's cake (Indonesian cake made from cassava flour and grated coconut); *roti* or bread (made with yeast, a Dutch recipe); *onde-onde* (Javanese sweet made from cassava flour and grated coconut); *lemper* (Javanese savoury rice cooked in coconut milk and filled with a little meat and wrapped in a banana leaf); *bloeder* (Dutch origin cake); *kerupuk cassabe* or cassava chip (dinner plate-sized); donut; *bola minyak* (a deep-fried ball of dough). Recipes were altered according to available ingredients. Other women claimed that some of these cakes had originated from Irian Jaya not Holland or Java.

³⁰ However, freight costs of at least 20 kina need to be realised before profit. Trade and mobility generally are obstructed by the condition of the Kiunga-Nomad road which is impassable in wet conditions.

tonnes of produce weekly to OTML's canteen in Tabubil. The project was handed over to two refugees in the following year but subsequently closed. Other small businesses that had ceased operation included two furniture projects making wooden beds and pallets for OTML, and a sawmilling business (UNHCR 1993, Zocca 1995).

During the period of this fieldwork, an extraordinary boost to the local economy at Iowara was experienced when those refugees who had registered for permissive residency received a single payment of fifty kina per adult and twenty kina per child, according to the terms of the agreement.

A PLACE OF EXILE AS A PLACE OF FIELDWORK

When I arrived at Iowara in April 1998 I did so with all of my correspondence to West Papuans unanswered, and no one expecting my arrival, except the Catholic mission, which received the news via the Bishop at Kiunga. My acquaintance with Nevell, an Australian volunteer who had previously spent three years at Iowara, allowed my safe passage into the camp. Nevell had spent two years administering a vegetable marketing project during the period 1992-94, followed by twelve months sinking tube wells after the drought in 1997. It was explained to me that, unlike other foreigners at Iowara, Nevell had invited refugees into his house, shared whatever food he had, and was interested in the history of their political struggle, even transcribing people's memoirs (Hungerford n.d.). Living in Nevell's former house - a tin-roofed, fly-screened place on stilts located in the camp's administrative center - further cemented people's perception of our association. People would bring photos of themselves with Nevell; representing themselves through their relation to him. Inversely, I introduced myself to people on Nevell's list of 'people I should know' through my own acquaintance with him. My reception was also smoothed by a long-distance relationship sustained during the period of fieldwork with a Marind West Papuan man whom I had met in Jogjakarta. Other Marind people from Weski camp at Iowara recognised me as *ipar* (in-law), and in the second period of fieldwork, a young woman, her baby, sister and niece from Weski shared 'Nevell's house' with me.

Several events preceded my entry as a foreign researcher into Iowara. In the early 1990s, a Swiss filmmaker had been found dead in his hotel room in Kiunga after making a documentary film at Iowara. Two political factions at Iowara each suspected the other to be responsible for this incident. The story was also recounted to me of a researcher undertaking fieldwork in some of the

refugee camps on the border who claimed to be attached to the University of PNG (UPNG) but turned out to be an Indonesian spy. In the month before I arrived at Iowara, an English linguist and her young daughter were mistaken as UNHCR personnel by the East Awin landowners who refused to transport them by road from the Fly river entry to Iowara, in protest at the delayed land compensation case. In January 1999 when I was out of the field, an Australian recipient of a prestigious Ethical Foundation fellowship spent several days at Iowara to make a short documentary film about the situation of the refugees. In the course of two telephone conversations with him in Melbourne, I had provided several contacts and invited him to use his acquaintance with me in introducing himself upon arrival to Iowara. Upon my return to Iowara a month after his visit, people complained that they suspected him to be a spy: his haircut and countenance were that of a soldier, he asked many questions about the exchange of marijuana for weapons, and the relation between the border guerrillas and PNG *raskols (tp)*, and he claimed that he did not speak Bahasa Indonesia, yet anticipated people's requests and commands as though he did.

From the beginning I was conscious of the need to manage my identity carefully and consistently at Iowara. Some people feared surveillance and were wary of foreigners. Responding to the question about where I had learned to speak Bahasa Indonesia, I explained that I had enrolled in an intensive language course in Jogjakarta. This fact was evident: I was told that I had a Javanese accent. Responding to some queries about whether I had come directly from Jogjakarta (Java) to PNG, I explained that I had returned to my university in Canberra, Australia, for a period of three months to wait for my research visa to be processed. This disjuncture in time and space verified that I had not been 'sent' by Indonesia. I became acutely sensitive to the way people might make certain associations. For example, if I was listening to a news service from Jakarta on Radio Indonesia, I would lower the volume during the routine broadcasting of the Indonesian national anthem or the Moslem call to prayer. What would people think if they heard the Indonesian national anthem emanating from the foreign researcher's house?

I was vigilant about not using people's conversations as the subject of discussion with others. Disclosing something to one person would suggest that I would likewise disclose what that person said, to others. In an interview early in the fieldwork, I was sitting with a camp leader and his wife, children and mother-in-law, when suddenly the man became extremely anxious, pleading with me: "Don't sell my name to Jakarta, Mrs" (*Jangan menjual nama saya ke Jakarta, Ibu*). This incident had a profound affect on my research method. I began to reflect – as a matter of routine – on whether the information I was soliciting in a conversation could be perceived by the informant, as something

that might be used against him or her.³¹ Like other researchers of political refugees, “in order to know, I had to become expert in demonstrating that there were things, places, and people I did not want to know” (Feldman in Malkki 1995a:51).

I did not ask certain questions so that I was not entrusted with knowledge that could be construed as endangering that person. Unless I had established a relationship over a period of some months, I did not ask people their name, place of origin, previous occupation, contact with relatives in Irian Jaya, or details of events surrounding flight that might be construed as soliciting information about their relation to the OPM, or their relation to the Indonesian government. The period of fieldwork coincided with the offer of permissive residency or repatriation. Many informants had registered for repatriation and their imminent return to Irian Jaya meant that it was not a suitable time to be alluding to previous activities, viewed by the Indonesian state to be dissident, for they would no longer be protected by a state of exile. For this reason also, I reassured people that I would use only pseudonyms in any writing about Iowara.

At Iowara, Muyu people spoke their own Yonggom language inside Muyu camps and in public places such as the market where there were large numbers of Muyu people present. Some non-Muyu people claimed to be offended by this; it was bad manners to speak one’s regional language (*bahasa daerah*) among non-speakers. Many older Muyu people did not speak Malay, only Yonggom. While Muyu students and young people were fluent in their Yonggom regional language, Dani and northerner parents expressed regret that their children did not speak their parent’s language, although some claimed to understand it. For Dani people, this was due partly to the fact that most Dani men had married non-Dani speaking Mamberamo women during their journey to the border. Northerners who had been schooled from a young age in Jayapura or away from their own village, were also not fluent in their regional language. Some claimed to have learned since the period of exile in PNG, where Biak and Serui people at least, lived alongside people from the same region.

Most school students, teachers and some other adults (but very few women) spoke tok pisin, a *lingua franca* of PNG. Many Dani people had

³¹ Lindsay French’s fieldwork undertaken among Khmer refugees on the Thai border also saw her wonder “... who [the refugees] ... imagined I was gathering information for, and began thinking more about my own agenda” (1994:52). Liisa Malkki was similarly challenged in her fieldwork among Hutu refugees in Tanzania: “It was rumoured that I was a spy cleverly sent by the government of Burundi, to gather ‘knowledge’ which would bring harm to *l’œm*” (1995a:48).

become literate in tok pisin, having attended a tok pisin literacy course at Iowara run by a Dani teacher in 1998. In previous years, several students, teachers, and adults had enrolled in PNG Education Department correspondence classes in English sponsored by the UNHCR, and attended classes taught by a volunteer English teacher at Iowara. Given refugees' desire to return to Irian Jaya, educated parents expressed dismay that their children were only colloquially familiar with Malay, the *lingua franca* of Irian Jaya. Others claimed that Malay would become defunct in an independent West Papua, promoting English and *tok pisin* as national languages. People at Iowara categorised their *lingua franca* as 'market' (*pasar*) or colloquial Malay:

Before Indonesian occupation in 1962, West Papuans learned Malay from Moluccan people from Ambon, Kai and Tanimbar, who were employed by the Dutch administration. After 1962, the Indonesian government re-named the language Indonesian. Malay is spoken by Malaysians and is more original than Indonesian which includes Sanskrit, ancient Javanese and foreign languages like English. Indonesian is the language of the educated, it is always changing. We don't understand half of what is written in Indonesian newspapers or spoken on the radio from Jakarta. Whereas Malay is understood by people who have not attended school, it is unchanging from the past until now. In 1984, we decided to refer to it as Malay. We did not want our children thinking they spoke the language of Indonesia as their mother tongue. Also, if we declare our language as Indonesian, they [Indonesia] can claim us as their people. They will say: "They [the refugees] are our people over there" [Narrative comprising passages from several conversations with different people at Iowara].

At Iowara, social alliances comprised groups of people who shared places of origin and/or membership of the same political or religious membership. Inside of these alliances, but to a much greater extent outside of them, there was often intense distrust. Perhaps this was the product of a different 'moral economy' or a particular 'local moral world' (Kleinman and Kleinman 1991 cited in French 1994:125), for Iowara constituted an extraordinary environment of proscribed waged employment and mobility, coupled with food insecurity. A manifestation of distrust in others was the proliferation of post office boxes and the preference for owning post office boxes in Kiunga. Alternatively, the post office box of one's church or a relative living in Kiunga, was used rather than the camp administration's post box. People were reluctant to entrust the collection of their mail to anyone else. Back in Canberra, I received letters from people anxiously inquiring whether I had received their mail, or whether I had sent mail and they had not received it. People were also very guarded about funding proposals (usually for small-scale enterprises such as animal husbandry) that I translated on request. I was cautioned against revealing the

content of the submissions to anyone else. Early in the fieldwork, a northerner leader advised me to be very prudent in facilitating submissions; to agree to send the submission or act as contact person for replies from a donor agency would be perilous because people presumed that the act of submitting a proposal ensured its funding. Therefore, when the money did not arrive it would be presumed that I had secreted the money away for my own needs. I subsequently tried to impress upon people the quantity of submissions received, the limited amount of funding available, and the process of selection.

Walking between camps, I was usually questioned by people on the road's edge using a characteristically polite Malay expression: "Where are you going now?" (*Mau ke mana sekarang*) and "Where have you just come from?" (*Baru dari mana*). Maintaining a sense of transparency required me to respond directly so I decided not to arrange meetings with people from different factions on the same day. Given that political allegiance operated at the level of the camp, for northerners and Dani at Iowara at least, answering the query about destination and origin disclosed my 'association' with members of one faction or another. Essentially there were three principal political groups at Iowara: the West Papuan Indigenous People's Association led by a Serui Pastor who rejected military means to gaining independence and advocated repatriation to Irian Jaya, the West New Guinea National Congress led by a northerner from Sorong based in Port Moresby who had developed strong regional Pacific networks, and the OPM divided into several historical and regional alliances.

There were some events at Iowara in which I chose not to participate, concerned that attendance would signify my own political allegiance. One event that exemplified the political imbroglio at Iowara was the peace march, planned as a forty-five km walk to the Fly River, followed by a rally in Kiunga in August 1998. Permission for the march was finally denied by the provincial government because of alleged increased *raskol* activity in the Kiunga-Tabubil region.³² Although OPM supporters at Iowara helped to organise the march, camp-wide participation was sought to protest Indonesian occupation, as well as socio-economic conditions at Iowara. Refugees from the West Papuan Indigenous People's Association (WPIA)³³ feared that the timing of the march would endanger their planned repatriation to Irian Jaya by focusing national and even international attention on abuses of West Papuans, thereby humiliating

³² A priest working in the area claimed that the refugees had a bad name with the provincial and national government in PNG usually in relation to *raskols*. The myth was that West Papuan refugees manufactured weapons and cultivated marijuana to raise funds to support the OPM.

³³ PNG Government officials mention this group as the West Papuan Interest Association.

Indonesia. Some WPIA members read the timing as a tactic to sabotage their repatriation. It was also alleged that prior to the march's first planning meeting, the political group Congress had warned people that they were liable to be repatriated or punished if they attended the demonstration. My participation in the march risked distancing myself from other groups at Iowara that were not aligned to the OPM. Finally, the march was staged at Iowara on August 22, 1998, attended by some northerners, some Kanum people from a nearby camp and some Muyu people.



Figure 1. Protest banners displayed during the ‘documentation demonstration’ at Waraston camp, Iowara, July 1998.

The march was described as ‘a documentation’ (*dokumentasi*) because although the planned event had been cancelled, the organisers wanted to photograph the banners. Banners were painted with statements including: “We are Melanesian race not Indonesian”,³⁴ “Condemn the Indonesian Republic’s colonial practice of playing us off against each other and the gamelan culture which infiltrates and destroys West Papuan peoples’ image”,³⁵ and “Overseas

³⁴ Written in English.

³⁵ *Mengutuk praktek ADU DOMBA & BUDAYA GAMELANG (sic) Kolonial RI yang menyusup & merusak citra orang Papua Barat* [original emphasis].

aid to Irian Jaya is not for 'development' but for the 'slaughtering' of hundreds of thousands of West Papuan people masterminded by the Suharto regime and continued by Habibie and Wiranto" (see figure 1).³⁶ The banners were photographed and copies were sent with statements of claims directed to the Indonesian and PNG governments, to a mailing list of overseas non-government organisations listed in the back of the Australian-West Papua Association's Information Kit (1995).

Iowara was isolated, but it was also a product of a "globalised, deterritorialised world" (Appadurai 1991)³⁷ and tied into the rest of the world. Some refugees occasionally travelled to Daru and Vanimo in PNG, and Merauke, Mindiptana and Jayapura in Irian Jaya where they visited relatives and returned with small trade goods. Iowara and the border region generally, was implicated in regional security issues involving PNG *raskols*, the manufacturing of homemade weapons, and the trade in marijuana for weapons (e.g., Daley 2000). During the period of fieldwork, the processing of repatriation and permissive residency applications involved negotiations between Port Moresby, Jayapura, Jakarta, Canberra and Geneva. Familial ties extended from Iowara to every refugee's place of origin in Irian Jaya, and current place of residence of family members including exile in third countries.

At Iowara, some agents of the camp's administration denied the refugees their historical and political past. Upon arrival at Iowara, a well-meaning resident Catholic sister advised me not to use the term 'refugee' as it differentiated West Papuans from Papua New Guineans, encouraging the former to see themselves as victims with rights to make claims. Malkki has noted that challenging the status of refugee contests the events that had made refugees of people in the first place (1995a:150).

In other incidents, the suspension of teachers by the Diocesan's education coordinator (a PNG national) was claimed by those affected to be due to their alleged political activity. A refugee primary school teacher at Iowara claimed his teaching position had been discontinued after it was alleged he had taken leave to accompany a foreign journalist to the border region. The second incident involved the removal of the Secondary School headmaster from his position, which the latter claimed was due to his political allegiance to the OPM. In the third incident, the PNG headmaster of a community school at Iowara displayed a public notice cautioning teachers and other public servants

³⁶ *Dana bantuan Luar negeri ke IRJA bukan untuk 'PEMBANGUNAN' tetapi 'PEMBANTALAN' ratusan ribu orang PAPUA BARAT yg didalangi Regim Suharto & dilanjutkan oleh HABIBIE & WIRANTO Cs* [original emphasis].

³⁷ Arjun Appadurai proposes that ethnography respond to the "nature of locality, as a lived experience, in a globalised, deterritorialised world" (1991:196).

at Iowara that it was illegal to attend political activities and doing so risked disciplinary action. The notice was pinned to the front wall of a kiosk owned by a refugee teacher from the headmaster's school. Previously, the headmaster had expressed the view to me that West Papuan teachers were only interested in politics, not education. In 1998, the same headmaster prohibited attendance by teachers and pupils at a ceremony to celebrate (Rumkorem's) Declaration of Independence on December 1, 1971.³⁸ Defiant, many refugees claimed: "It is our day, we came to Iowara for this political struggle." Parents explained commemorative ceremonies in terms of pedagogy; planting or renewing the 'feeling or sentiment of a West Papuan spirit' (*rasa jiwa Papua Barat*):

Children must know [about their political history], about how we came to be 'driven out' (*diusir*) by Indonesia, how the flag came into being. They must know and must not forget. The speeches contain these messages.

At Iowara, I routinely attended other public events such as church services and commemorative flag-raising ceremonies, where the sermon and speeches provided religious explanations of their historical and political predicament. Most mornings, I taught one or two classes of English conversation to Grades 9 and 10 at the Peter To Roth High School at Iowara. Towards the end of fieldwork and with the students' permission, I ran several Thematic Aperception Tests (TAT).³⁹ One particular TAT exercise was based on a photograph clipped from a TAPOL newsletter.⁴⁰ The photograph showed a group of five schoolgirls standing on the side of a forested road at a bus stop with a soldier in the background looking at the group. I asked a Grade 10 class (ages 15-20) - most of whom had been born at around the time of flight in 1984 - to respond to two questions: what was the girl in the foreground of the picture thinking, and what was she feeling.. I include this exposition here because it outlines another fieldwork methodology, but more importantly, the

³⁸ Seth Rumkorem's proclamation announced from an OPM camp at a recently seized Indonesian post at Waris, 100 km south of Jayapura reads: "To all the Papuan people, from Numbay to Merauke, from Sorong to Baliem (Star Mountains) and from Biak to the isle of Adi: With God's help and blessing, we take this opportunity today to announce to you all that, today, July 1st, 1971, the land and people have been declared to be free and independent (*defacto and dejure*). May God be with us, and let it be known to the world that the sincere wish of the Papuan people to be free and independent in their own country is hereby fulfilled" (Osborne 1985:56).

³⁹ I drew on the TAT method elaborated by Nancy Scheper-Hughes in her ethnography of a shantytown *Death without weeping: the violence of everyday life in Brazil* (1992).

⁴⁰ TAPOL is the abbreviation for *tahanan politik* or political prisoner and refers in this context to the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign established in Britain in 1973. The TAPOL Bulletin reports human rights violations from across Indonesia, including Irian Jaya. TAPOL published the text *West Papua: the obliteration of a people* in 1983.

reproduction of discourses of terror reflect a political and historical subtext usually intangible to everyday life at Iowara.

Of the twenty-eight students, one viewed the soldier⁴¹ as a threatening OPM rebel; three viewed him as an OPM saviour; two viewed him as an ally bringing news of a family member killed in battle; and twenty respondents viewed the armed person as someone intending to shoot or kill the school girls. Students felt the girls to be wary of the soldier's surveillance of them. They viewed the existence of his weapon as evidence that he would use it against them, and that they would have no means of escape. Two students were angered by the soldier's presence, one sensing the girl in the photo to be thinking: "How can she confront this soldier and in what way can she be freed." But most projected feelings of entrapment on behalf of the girls: "Will I be shot and killed or not. Later, what will I eat and what will I drink. Where will I look for food or drink. Where will I lie my body? Everything has been lost for me." A compilation of two student's responses represent the girls as displaced: "She is in a place which does not feel safe, they cannot speak to each other. She is troubled because she has already left her place. She feels that she must go. He will kill me - there is nothing that can be done." Reflecting military ceremony at Iowara as their own realm of experience, one student suggested that the girls represented part of an audience at a flag-raising ceremony. Another student saw the girls as guerillas in training "Going to practice in the bush for fight with other nation to get independence or to get free from their enemies." Some students represented the soldier as a symbol of Indonesian colonial rule, for example: "The girl is feeling that how this people [Indonesia] are showing their behaviour of protecting with strong military and government which makes our people afraid ... and most of our big people are rolled like a ball by their government" and "This small girl is thinking like this: why would we are coming here for what we are come to school. She is very angry. Why do this Indonesia come and take over our land? We must study hard so some of us will become the government."

Apart from teaching, my days in the field were ordinarily structured by pre-arranged meetings with about twenty people whom I met regularly throughout the period of fieldwork. These people came from Wamena, Merauke, Waropko, Mindiptana, Biak, Numfoor, Manokwari, Serui and

⁴¹ 'Indonesian soldier' is not a monolithic category, for different military units have competing interests. For example, Ballard (in press) writes about Freeport where Kopassus, Kostrad (Strategic Reserve), the Territorial troops of the Trikora Military Command and Brimob (Police Mobile Brigade) have competing business interests which have led to physical clashes. However, refugees' use of 'soldier' or 'ABRI' to label all military activity in Irian Jaya, implies a coherent Indonesian military power against West Papuan resistance.

(coastal) Tanahmerah. At Iowara, they lived in several different camps. Between meetings, I 'wrote up' the rough fieldnotes from the previous meeting, listed queries emerging during this process and formulated new questions progressing from the earlier discussion. Living in a non-residential area at Iowara meant that I felt compelled to 'go out' to speak with people. I learned to pre-arrange meeting times because people were usually occupied in their gardens and kitchens, or participating in church fellowship groups or other camp business. My own mobility, restricted by a broken ankle sustained on the slippery road at Iowara, meant that I was not confident to follow people off the main path to their gardens. I had previously imagined that my research method would be more spontaneous and I would stand around speaking with people in the market, or after church, or on the road's edge. I came to realise that political factionalism and distrust, coupled with my conspicuousness as the only European at Iowara most of the time, drew unwanted attention to the people I engaged in conversation. Such conversations elicited only the most mundane of information, usually about the state of the road and the state of the weather.

During the period of fieldwork 1998-99, several epochal events occurred. These were described by some refugees as the most significant for West Papuans since 1962, or at least, since their flight into PNG. These events also sharpened people's teleological sensibility; *merdeka* and return seemed more imminent than at any other time during the period of exile. Refugees represented Indonesian President Suharto as a conflation of the New Order regime's policies of governmentation and militarism. The post-Suharto discourse of reformation (*reformasi*) and democracy (*demokrasi*), and the mobilisation of ordinary people in their demand for revolution in the months preceding Suharto's demise, instilled in the refugees hope for political change in West Papua.⁴² The second event was the preparation in the months leading up to the referendum in East Timor in September 1999.⁴³ The planned referendum in East Timor was represented by refugees as a precedent. In supporting the referendum, the international community comprising powerful national governments such as the US and Australia as well as the UN, acknowledged the injustice of Indonesian occupation and the right to self-determination.

⁴² In a bush house at Iowara, I noted a homemade calendar nailed to the wall, with the date of Suharto's demise ringed with the comment '*Suharto turun*' (Suharto stepped down).

⁴³ Its implementation, outcome and brutal aftermath occurred after I had left the field in September 1999.

... other respects, the spirit or élan of Iowara was at a nadir during the period of fieldwork. Refugees' perception of their abandonment by the UNHCR and neglect by the PNG government sharpened their sense of vulnerability. Other relations, events and conditions reinforced this. The PNG camp administrator was renowned for his perpetual absence and ambivalence. UNHCR staff made occasional, short visits to process permissive residency applications and inventorise UNHCR assets, administering their withdrawal from Iowara. Landowners were perceived as antagonistic, disgruntled by the delay of their compensation cases, and it was rumoured that the landowners had impounded UNHCR-funded vehicles in Kiunga. The Catholic congregation petitioned the Diocese for replacement of several Lesotho nuns perceived as racist, resulting in the disruption of previously mutually respectful community-mission relations at Iowara. Refugee primary school teachers (about forty) had not received wages for several months. A raid by PNG police in 1998 resulted in the flight of PNG teachers and nurses from Iowara, the imprisonment of several young West Papuan men in the Kiunga jail, and the trashing of the two principal kiosks that subsequently remained closed. The devaluation of the PNG currency during this period and resulting inflation meant that even the most basic of goods were no longer affordable. Finally, the road's condition was appalling: trucks broke down continuously and several people had died on the road.⁴⁴

Approaching fieldwork in a place of exile

Upon entering the field, I was mindful of several approaches, notably – Stuart Kirsch (influenced by Clifford Geertz), Lila Abu-Lughod, Klaus Neumann (influenced by Walter Benjamin) and John Barker. My conceptualisation of the research subject, and methodology for engaging with this subject in the field, was assisted by these writers' approaches.

Kirsch sought to represent Muyu refugee experiences in the border camps (Kirsch 1996a, 2001) in terms of 'experience-near representation'.⁴⁵ Kirsch's advocacy of the value of person-centred ethnographic accounts in the

⁴⁴ During the period of fieldwork I knew of instances where two patients died on the back of the tractor trailer on their way to Kiunga for treatment, and two others who set out on the 40 km trip because there was no road transport, dying on the journey.

⁴⁵ "An experience-near concept is, roughly, one which ... an informant – might himself naturally and effortlessly use to define what he or his fellows see, feel, think, imagine, and so on, and which he would readily understand when similarly applied by others" (Geertz 1984:124).

inquiry into refugee experience, anticipated the ethnographer's political engagement in the field as critical:

Person-centred ethnographic inquiry into refugee experience should be able to address questions such as: How do the refugees describe their experiences? What are their primary concerns? How do they articulate their responses to political developments, and how do they challenge or resist actions and events that they regard as unfavourable? (Kirsch 1996a:227).

An example of this inquiry in Kirsch's work is found in his exploration of social disruption brought by a state of exile. He examines this through a Muyu condition of "great sadness associated with being alone" known as *iwari* (Y) (Kirsch 1996a). While I have sought to follow this approach of ethnographic inquiry using concepts which are 'experience near' in this thesis, it is perhaps most obvious in the final chapter which examines the meaning of repatriation through refugees' concept of result or '*hasil*' in the aphorism 'return home with result' (*pulang dengan hasil*).

Abu-Lughod's 'narrative ethnographies of the particular' was also engaging (1991). She locates this methodological practice as growing out of a women's tradition in ethnographic writing which followed different conventions; was more open about positionality, and more focused on particular individuals and families (1991:152). Abu-Lughod's interest in the textual means of representing how an institution is 'lived', by stressing its particularities, and building a picture of it through discussions, recollections, disagreements and actions, sensitised me to the way that West Papuans at Iowara lived their condition of 'exile'.

Some refugee's stories might be conceived in terms of Klaus Neumann's 'trash of history' (1992b), in that they did not fit within a nationalist narrative of flight leading to a period of exile in order to struggle for freedom, followed by return. Indeed, some women's autonomy seemed further diminished by their entanglement in national struggle. (This is not, however, to downgrade those women whose stoicism to hold out in political exile, equalled that of their menfolk.) Neumann's approach tends to people's recollections and analyses of local, historical events, which might otherwise be dismissed as untidy or too subjective. It looks for a past that seems useless in the sense that it cannot be used to delineate the present: "These fissures, breaking up the continuity that is constructed between past and present ... enable us to glimpse the otherness of the past and the potential otherness of the future" (Neumann 1992b:9). While I don't refer explicitly to Neumann in the thesis, his interest in subjective histories encouraged me to record idiosyncratic narratives, particularly those

relating to the period before and after Indonesian annexation in 1962. Several of these histories are contained in Chapter 2.

Mama Mientje's story below might be declared 'trash' according to a unilinear nationalist narrative of political exile as meaningful. Her story also unsettles a notion of return as teleological, or destined.

After a punitive Indonesian raid on her southern border town of origin in 1992, Mientje and her husband and five children had fled with sixty or so other families, erecting a makeshift camp east of the border. After several months, the entire group were involuntarily relocated to Iowara. Mientje gave birth to two more children at Iowara. In 1995, her husband travelled by foot and canoe back to their border town to see for himself what the security situation was like. In his absence, he married another woman. About a year later, a neighbour of Mientje's at Iowara heard of his death on the 'deceased listing' broadcast on the radio. Before his second marriage, the deceased had not submitted bridewealth to Mientje's family still living in Irian Jaya. It was surmised that the occurrence of his death shortly after his second marriage had been caused retributively by Mientje's dishonoured family. Thus Mientje was unable to return to Irian Jaya as she had nowhere to stay; to return to her own parents in Irian Jaya would bring retribution by her former husband's family for his death and to return to her husband's family would bring retribution to her and her children by her husband's family. The family barely survived at Iowara anyhow. Six of the children had recently been diagnosed with Tuberculosis. The house was dilapidated; rain at night saw the family split up to seek shelter in neighbour's houses. Mientje possessed a single saucepan with a crack in it and no crockery or cutlery. They relied on the generosity of neighbours for occasional soap, salt and old clothes. They lived on boiled cassava, cassava leaves and small fish. None of the children had attended school beyond the second grade although the eldest was sixteen.⁴⁶

While a gendered nature of flight or exile is not a subject of particular focus of this thesis, I include the story here as an illustration of flight as incidental, exile as insufferable and return as dangerous.

Before entering the field, I was not aware of the extent to which West Papuan refugees' Christian faith was fundamental to their conceptions of nationhood, as well as their perceptions of exile and return. My interest in the meaning and uses of Christianity at Iowara was influenced by John Barker's critique of a Western anthropological orthodox view of Christianity as a

⁴⁶ Mama Mientje and her children enlisted for repatriation and returned to Irian Jaya during 2000.

“perennial outside force” (1992:165), embedded in European historical and colonial experience. Barker has proposed that Christianity appears too familiar to the Western ethnographer who is then unable to approach it using the same dispassion shown towards other rituals or beliefs (Barker 1990:23). Barker’s appeal challenged me to carefully examine people’s uses of the Bible. This approach is evident in Chapter 2 which considers the way West Papuan refugees used the Book of Genesis to explain their nationness as natural, and in Chapter 6 which examines the way refugees perceived exile, and teleological return to the homeland, influenced by the Book of Exodus.

Documenting the lives of displaced West Papuans in PNG anthropologically

Except for Stuart Kirsch’s anthropological fieldwork during the period 1987-1989 at Dome on the eastern side of the Indonesian-PNG border, most documentation of West Papuan refugees in PNG has been from the respective fields of political science and development studies. While the focus of Kirsch’s ethnography was sorcery, magic and cult ritual among emplaced Yonggom-speakers (1991), he also spent time in Muyu refugee camps on the border and subsequently published this research (1996a, 2000). Apart from Kirsch, several other researchers have undertaken fieldwork among West Papuan refugees in Western Province. UPNG Geographer David King’s Kiunga census survey (1983) looked at the socio-economic position of (pre-1984) Muyu refugees living in Kiunga and Tabubil. Former UPNG Political Science lecturer Alan Smith’s PhD thesis on the Papua New Guinea government’s response to the refugee influx in 1984 (1991) was based partially on fieldwork in the border regions and camps during 1984-85; fieldwork that caused the PNG government not to renew his work visa. Rosemary Preston, an Education researcher at UPNG, undertook fieldwork in the border camps in 1986, surveying humanitarian infrastructure and publishing a proposed education plan for Iowara (1988, 1992). Beverley Blaskett’s predominantly archival-based research (1989) provided an account of OPM activities and events occurring in the border region, which affected the inter-state relation between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. Susan Sands’s postgraduate field report (1991) surveyed the prospects of the makeshift economy at Iowara. Catholic priest Franco Zocca lived at Iowara and in the border camps in the period between June and December 1994, publishing his observations on the socio-political situation and refugees’ different aspirations (1995).

This thesis is an ethnography of West Papuan displacement and national cosmology, arranged into three sections. The first section (Chapters 2 and 3)

presents a background to West Papuan refugees' historical and nationalist thinking, providing the milieu against which flight occurred, and political asylum was sought. The second section (Chapters 4 and 5) explores refugees' perception of their state of exile in Papua New Guinea as temporary, shaped by an understanding of their place and people - conceived as their own - left behind. The third section (Chapter 6) examines refugees' faith in eventual return to West Papua.

During the period of fieldwork, several 'nationally' cathartic events occurred in Indonesia, inspiring intensely historical conversation at Iowara about the history of the theft of West Papua by Indonesia. Speaking with refugees about their condition of political exile at Iowara produced an historical national cosmology: their consideration of their place as a nation that had been colonised, and themselves as a West Papuan people, distinct from Indonesians. This is the subject of the second chapter titled "West Papuan historical narratives of nationhood." This chapter draws on Liisa Malkki's treatment of the historical narratives of Hutu refugees living in exile in Tanzania.⁴⁷ Malkki analyses Hutu narratives in terms of dominant themes that order and re-order social and political categories (1995:55), and historicise events by drawing attention to particular incidences and relationships (1990:54).

In Chapter 2, West Papuan refugee narratives are arranged into several thematic sets. The first set of themes establish West Papuan autochthony and originalness, and the foreign status of Indonesians as 'newcomers'. The second set elaborates West Papuan discourses of race through a lens of intermarriage. The third set unites West Papuans with the Dutch who prepared the nationhood of the former. This is also the subject of the fourth set which focuses on West Papua's prior status as an international subject. The fifth set determines Irian Jaya's role in liberating Indonesia from the Dutch, and the sixth set extends this theme to those nations that colluded with Indonesia against the West Papuan people, allowing colonisation in spite of their debt to West Papua. The final set of themes examines Indonesia's violent ambivalence towards West Papuan people through state programs of domestication and elimination. These narratives denaturalise West Papua as the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya, and West Papuans as Irianese.

In Chapter 3, constructions of West Papuan nationhood shift from categorisation based on racial differentiation from Indonesia, to the matter of cultural practice, particularly cultural performance such as song and dance, and

⁴⁷ Liisa Malkki (1990, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997) has written about national cosmology among Hutu refugees in Tanzania and the production of essentialised categories of identity such as 'Hutu' and 'Tutsi' from a place of exile.

material art forms such as sculpture and carving. This chapter focuses on Arnold Ap (deceased), curator of the Museum at Cenderawasih University (UNCEN) in Jayapura. His representation of a distinct cultural aesthetic in West Papuan material and performance culture is examined against a state discourse of national culture in the motto *Tunggal Bhinneka Ika* (Unity in Diversity), and in *wawasan nusantara* (the concept of a unified archipelago). The chapter also considers the role of the cultural performance movement led by Ap between 1975-84, in the political milieu leading up to the uprisings and northerner flight into PNG in 1984. Throughout this chapter, I relate the resonance of this cultural performance movement back to Iowara, where northerners and other refugees give iconic status to Ap's work in political and cultural terms.

The second part of the thesis shifts from the political milieu and events of flight, to the activity of dwelling in exile, affected by perceptions of loss of their place and people considered as their own. Titled "Generating Iowara as a dwelling place," Chapter 4 examines the apparent contradiction between refugees' desire for literal return to the homeland, and their generation of Iowara as a dwelling place. This chapter also explores the notion of 'teleology of return', impelling waiting in a place of exile in the time leading up to return to the homeland.⁴⁸ Activities of dwelling suggest that this period of waiting is not simply lacunal time. The chapter approaches Iowara as a dwelling place generated by social alliances, physical inscription (houses and gardens), and the domestication of metaphysical space (spirits deemed foreign). This approach to dwelling is inspired by Edward Casey's (1992) discussion of displacement in terms of 'reinhabitation', and Steven Feld and Keith Basso's (1996) attention to cultural processes and practices through which a place can be rendered meaningful.

The subsequent chapter titled "Muyu people living at Iowara, waiting to return to their region (*daerah*)" focuses on Muyu people whose own land lies within walking distance; almost contiguous to the Awin region of Iowara's location, west of the international border. How do Muyu people conceptualise

⁴⁸ 'Teleology' mean the belief or theory that certain phenomena or acts are to be explained in terms of an intention, or are purposive in nature (New Shorter Oxford Dictionary 1997). The phrase 'teleology of return' is borrowed from James Clifford's review of diaspora theories. A model of diaspora described as an ideal type may be characterised as: "oriented by continuous cultural connections to a source and by a teleology of return" (1997:249). Clifford however, theorises diaspora to take into account experiences where decentred connections, and culture recreated in other locations, may be as important as connections formed around a teleology of return, or the projection of a specific origin (1997:250). The example of West Papuan refugees at Iowara resembles more closely, the ideal type above. Perceptions of return are explored in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

their own region in relation to East Awin, and understand their condition at Iowara given their proximity to their own place? Feld's (1996) treatment of place and sound as mutually evocative is particularly insightful to a consideration of Muyu people's conception of their displacement at Iowara. Muyu conception of displacement can be examined against the critique of the metaphor of 'rootedness': that people derive their identity from being rooted in place and that nation is connected to territory. An anthropology of displacement literature has interrogated the relation between identity and territory; denaturalising origins, identities and cultural traditions or nationalities. The experience of Muyu people at Iowara raises several questions for this literature. How does the interrogation of 'homeland' as naturally territorial articulate with the experience of Muyu people at Iowara?

The third part of the thesis comprises Chapter 6 titled "Returning with result" (*Pulang dengan hasil*), an aphorism deployed frequently by refugees to qualify their state of waiting to return to Irian Jaya. This chapter is centred on the Indonesia and PNG governments' offer of permissive residency and repatriation made in October 1998. The implications of this offer are considered against refugees' teleological conception of return, and the imperative of the timing of return. This chapter draws on Malkki's treatment of Hutu narratives in terms of historical conjuncture and allegory, where the present may be interpreted in terms of the lessons learned from similar events that have occurred in the past (1995a). I also use Michel de Certeau's (1984) theory of 'tactic' to explore the uses or operations of permissive residency by refugees in order to sustain their political exile in PNG. De Certeau's approach enables us to frame the question: how do West Papuan refugees at Iowara *make* of the residency/repatriation laws imposed upon them something other than what the PNG and Indonesian states might have intended (1984:xiii).

The following chapter begins by examining the historical and nationalist thinking of West Papuan refugees that comprised the political backdrop against which uprisings, mass flight and political asylum in PNG have occurred.

2. West Papuan historical narratives of nationhood

In refugee narratives at Iowara, West Papuans are represented as original people in opposition to Indonesians who have arrived from the west. These narratives subvert state-sponsored versions of the 'liberation' of Irian Jaya (1962-63), and the 'unanimity' of the PEPERA referendum (1969).¹ They also position Irian Jaya at the center of national and international political battles including a 'victory' tactic of the Second World War, the liberation of Indonesia from the Dutch in 1945,² and the spectre of Communist destabilisation in the region in the 1950s and 60s.

This chapter's epistemological basis and methodological treatment of West Papuan refugees' historical narratives, draws directly on Liisa Malkki's analysis of the narratives of Hutu refugees in her monograph *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu refugees in Tanzania* (1995a). Her treatment of Hutu collective narratives as 'mythico-historical' deploys 'mythical' in an anthropological or cosmological sense, not in terms of truth or falsity. Rather, mythico-history recasts the past in moral and categorical terms (1990:37). The term 'mythico' fitted to history in this way may appear to undermine any sense of actuality, levelling out every narrative as similar. In the context of Iowara, some narratives are more mythico - even apocryphal - than others. Other narratives might be understood as 'documentable fact' or the subject of published discourse. Malkki's qualification of historical narratives in terms of the anthropological notion of 'mythical' does not however benefit a West Papuan context where the Indonesian state has cast as mythical (imaginary), non-official versions of history. For this reason, I mostly use the term 'historical

¹ PEPERA is the abbreviation of *Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat*, referred to popularly as the Act of Free Choice. Between July 14 and August 2, 1969, one thousand and twenty-two delegates appointed by the Indonesian administration voted on Irian Jaya's political integration into Indonesia in a series of regional consultations.

² On the concept of *merdeka* embedded in Indonesian history and standing for opposition to slavery, oppression and control, and the New Order's appropriation of the term to mean independence in the context of the 1945 proclamation, see Reid 1998.

narrative' to refer to the monologic conversations about history represented throughout this chapter. However, this chapter, and Chapter 7, utilise elements of Malkki's theorising of the operations of mythico-historical narratives, for example, the way that historical narratives may function as a political ideology of the present. In the context of this thesis, refugees' historical narratives denaturalise West Papuans as Irianese subjects of the Indonesian Republic by historicising political events and certain relationships, and casting West Papuans and Indonesians in categorical opposition.

This chapter draws on Malkki's method of representing a collective narrative construction, and expression of historical-national consciousness (1995a:57). Malkki's textual strategy was the result of her own dilemma in writing ethnography in a way that would represent "[Hutu] refugees' conceptions of their history, but also a feel for the repetition and thematic unity that characterised the way people told their stories ..." (1995a:56). Using Malkki's method of constructing 'panels', narrative passages are demarcated from the rest of the text, and the construction of each panel is indicated. 'Single narrative' refers to a particular version of an event or interpretation heard from only one person, 'composition narrative' is a compilation of at least two accounts that elaborate aspects of a particular theme, and 'collective narrative' signifies a fairly standardised narrative from many people across different camps. Some narratives are collective in a relative sense, for example, a particular narrative marked 'collective' might pertain to Waraston where people share both the same north-coast place of origin, co-residence since 1984, and political allegiance. Sometimes a panel is an individual's narrative, but represents a version of an historical event articulated similarly by several other informants. Occasionally I disclosed (confidentially) another person's version of an event, in order to elicit variation or standardisation. While a narrative is the subjective experience of one person, in some cases it can be construed as a social fact that many other people at Iowara had experienced or held similar events in their memories, and thus, talked about them in much the same way (Malkki 1995a:109).

Not all of the panels are spoken narratives. Quotations from the Merauke Central Committee's history (1998) are included because of the publication's circulation at Iowara, and use as the foundation text for public history classes, particularly among Muyu people. Printed in 1998, the fifty-page booklet titled

“Historical Data of West Papua from 1511 – 1998”³ was circulated mainly among Muyu people at Iowara who had received copies from Merauke. Supported by the Catholic church, several refugee teachers conducted history classes for adults and students at Iowara during 1999, using the Merauke booklet as basis. One teacher used the word *umum* meaning public or common to describe the course’s approach; claiming it to be ‘common knowledge’ (i.e., objective) rather than from any particular factional standpoint. Published by a group called the Central Committee of Merauke in Irian Jaya, the booklet cautioned about Indonesian-authored publications on the history of Irian Jaya as state-sponsored representations:⁴

This data was arranged because a large segment of the Papuan population, especially West Papuans, do not yet know their history, and consequently are easily deceived and dominated by other nations or people from outside ... Current published history is completely subjective, which means that history has been totally engineered according to the interests of the colonisers. The Central Committee has endeavoured to straighten out/correct history which has led the Papuan nation astray... it is extremely dangerous if Papuan people do not know the course of the history of the Papuan nation. Because other nations will distort the course of our history in order to annihilate Papuans and their rights until history becomes completely subjective ... History holds an important role in the development of a nation. One can look to the past, the present and the future ... History and politics are partners which cannot be separated, because politics without history is blind and history without politics is lame (1999:foreword).⁵

³ The starting date 1511 is explained hence: “West Papuan history began from 1511-1512 when the island of New Guinea was discovered ... New Guinea entered an historical age since the advent of records about the Papuan nation” (1999:45).

⁴ “Let us correct the history of West Papua” (*Mari Kita Meluruskan Sejarah Papua Barat*) was the theme of the West Papuan Congress Meeting in Jayapura (May 29-June 3, 2000). The state has persisted in representing Irian Jaya’s incorporation into the Indonesian Republic in historical terms. Most recently during a visit to the Netherlands by the Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister Alwi Shihab, Antara reported that “The Dutch also agree to give more priority to providing open information on the history of Irian Jaya which was initially a part of the Kingdom of Ternate, falling to the hands of the Dutch at the time of colonisation” (Antara 2000b).

⁵ *Data ini disusun, karena sebagian besar masyarakat Papua, khususnya masyarakat Papua Barat belum mengetahui sejarahnya, sehingga kita mudah saja ditipu dan dikuasai bangsa lain atau orang yang datang dari luar ... sejarah yang ada sekarang ini adalah sejarah serba direkayasa untuk kepentingan penjajah. Central Committee berusaha meluruskan sejarah yang menyesatkan bangsa Papua ... sangat berbahaya sekali kalau orang Papua tidak mengetahui perjalanan sejarah bangsa Papua. Karena bangsa lain akan membelokkan jalannya sejarah untuk membinasakan/memusnahkan orang Papua dengan segala haknya, sehingga akan terjadi sejarah*

Apart from the circulation of news in oral form, several newsletters compiled by West Papuans living in the Netherlands were sent to Iowara by relatives. The newspapers *Tifa Irian* and *Cenderawasih Pos* - both published in Jayapura - also circulated irregularly. The popular literature documenting the struggle in Irian Jaya (e.g., Sharp 1977, Budiardjo and Liong 1988, Osborne 1985, Monbiot 1989) may have contributed to the standardisation of some narratives, at least among northerners who had read published versions of particular events. Some northerner used photos in *West Papua: the Obliteration of a People* (Budiardjo and Liong 1988) to identify various leaders and other people as though it were their own album or record of events.⁶ The production of some historical narratives could be described as dialectical: the subject informing the foreign author whose publication was subsequently referred to by the subject in explaining the event in which he/she might have been agent. Historical documents authored by refugees existed, though I am uncertain of their circulation at Iowara.⁷

Malkki has identified the refugee camp as a technology of power, a spatial regime that produces socio-political effects (1995:137). Spatial closure/isolation and concentration of refugees within that space became a positive technique of power at Malkki's fieldsite, allowing a 'discreet relay system' that circulated and helped generate mythico-historical knowledge to become standardised in form (1995:140). Iowara was similarly secluded by its impassable road, surrounding dense forest, and distance from the Fly River. For northerners from Waraston camp, isolation from both Irian Jaya and Kiunga (the closest PNG town) enabled events like flag-raising commemorative ceremonies and public political meetings, to be held at Iowara. Some refugees feared that raising the West Papuan flag inside PNG was an offence that risked punishment. Others claimed that it was permitted because Iowara was the territory of the United Nations. Circulation of knowledge and news throughout Iowara was obstructed by the physical arrangement of camps based on ethnic origin; setting apart and reinforcing

yang serba subjektif ... Sejarah memegang peranan penting didalam peribangunan suatu bangsa. Dapat melihat masa lampau, masa sekarang dan masa akan datang ... Sejarah dan politik adalah partner yang tidak bisa dipisah-pisahkan, karena berpolitik tanpa sejarah adalah buta dan sejarah tanpa politik adalah lumpuh.

⁶ Referring to the readership of her book *The Rule of the Sword* (1977), Nonie Sharp remarked: "This book touched the nerve of Papuan self-recognition ... Papuans passed around the book among themselves; it was read widely in Papua New Guinea" (1994:xv).

⁷ A Dani man requested that I translate and make multiple copies of his five page manuscript titled "Compilation of data from the battle in 1977: The history of the Dani people."

distance between camps (see Chapter 4). Political factionalism also caused the segregation of some camps and individuals. For northerners and Dani, this occasionally caused antagonism between individuals from the same place of origin living in the same or different camps.

During the period of fieldwork at Iowara, the subject of conversation was intensely historical. Certain events occurring in Indonesia were perceived by refugees to be 'nationally' cathartic; affecting their struggle for nationhood. In May 1998, the departure of Indonesia's President Suharto inspired historical commentary about his command of the Trikora campaign for the conquest of West Papua (1961-62), his fixation with Irian Jaya's natural place within the *Republik*, and the fate of Irian Jaya in a period of political reformation. In July 1998, at the time of flag-raising ceremonies across Irian Jaya, refugees commented on the ceremonies and brutal military reprisals not as an appropriation of new political space following the fall of Suharto, but as the latest in a series of public flag-raising events met by violent repression since the 1960s. During the lead up to the national election in mid-1999, Megawati Sukarnoputri's candidacy for the Indonesian presidency called forth people's assertions of her father's intention to give independence to West Irian. At the time of these events, neighbours and friends in camps, and teachers at school, listened to news reports broadcast via shortwave radio transmission from Jakarta, Australia and the Netherlands. In July 1999, an Australian Senator's call for a federal parliamentary inquiry into the terms of PEPERA brought the events surrounding the implementation of the 1969 'referendum' into everyday conversation.⁸ Several public meetings were convened to discuss the petition and solicit for testimonies of the PEPERA period.

Apart from narratives invoked in public gatherings such as meetings, commemorative ceremonies and other anniversaries, most historical narratives I recorded were not spontaneous utterances, but rather, gathered in a series of focussed interviews with particular individuals across several different camps. Narratives were occasionally didactic, for example, the dangers of a Javanese

⁸ In July 1999, the Central Refugee Committee distributed petitions (coordinated by the Tasmanian branch of the Australian West Papuan Association) and began collecting testimony of people's experiences of PEPERA 1969. Brown's Senate motion which proposed that the federal government recognise that the 1969 PEPERA was neither free nor democratic, received no support when presented to the Senate on November 23, 2000. Subsequently, Brown formed a 'Parliamentarians for West Papua' group with an initial membership of ten drawn from each of the three main federal parties, demonstrating the question of West Papua as a national issue of increasing concern.

woman's beauty leading to intermarriage said to diminish the West Papuan man's commitment to the 'struggle', and extinguish 'Melanesian' phenotypes in offspring. Some narratives contained proverbs or aphorisms operating as rhetorical devices. Others were accompanied by gestures: a cocked finger gun held to the temple illustrated voter coercion at the time of PEPERA. Some situations were enacted as a series of categorical gestures. For example, several refugees enacted the dubious humility of the landless migrant: eyes downcast, body bent in submission, one hand agitating constantly behind the back while the other offers a gift to the duped Papuan landholder addressed as 'Sir'.

After several months spent talking with people to record histories of flight, relocation and 'the struggle' (*perjuangan*), standard accounts of particular historical events began to emerge. These are arranged below into seven sets of themes of West Papuan conceptions of nationhood.

First set of themes: West Papuans as the original people

Panel 1 Western science has declared that West Papuans originated from West Papua

In 1977, Professor Dr. Solheim, an archaeologist from Hawai'i did research in conjunction with UNCEN. Arnold Ap accompanied Solheim on fieldwork to Agats. Solheim was the first scientist to publicise West Papuans as Melanesians. He concluded that West Papuan people did not originate from Asia but originated/descended (*berasal*) from West Papua. His conclusion was based on the excavation of long stone axes at Tanahmerah, fossils and artefacts such as a water receptacle made from clay, a plate made from wood, and a food bowl made from clay that was excavated in fragments and pieced together by Solheim. Never again was Solheim issued a research visa following these findings. Solheim challenged the myth of the unity of the people of Indonesia's archipelago from Sabang to Merauke [Composite panel drawn from conversation at Iowara with several former students and a lecturer from UNCEN].

According to this narrative of "origin as belonging" (Lovell 1998:1), material objects that evidence both antiquity and cultural difference provide scientific evidence that West Papuans originated from West Papua i.e., did not come from Asia, represented as being further to the west. The deduction is made that given

West Papuans are autochthonous, all other Indonesians are newcomers, and therefore, based on indigeneity and cultural difference, West Papua does not naturally belong to the Indonesian archipelago. That Solheim's research findings are considered subversive and inflammatory is indicated in the state's disallowance of further research visas; as though to deny or prohibit further research into the 'truth' of difference. The following panel elaborates autochthony in religious terms.

Panel 2 God created the land of New Guinea for the West Papuan people, not the Indonesian people

God created the land of New Guinea and all it contains for the Papuan people not the Indonesian people. God has given full rights and authority to the Papuan nation to be responsible for life and the development of the people and Papuan homeland. Therefore, God gave the land registration certificate for this New Guinea land to the Papuan people, not the Indonesians. It was not God's intention that the land of West Papua be plundered and controlled by Indonesia; it is not in line with the wishes of God, who created this land and people [Quoted from the Merauke Committee (1999:36). The sentiment of this passage was commonly expressed among Muyu informants].⁹

The logic deployed is primordial: Indonesians are defying God's intention which is incontestable.¹⁰ Reference to the Land Registration Certificate issued by God rather than the Department of Agrarian Affairs uses the language of the state to authorise the right of Papuans to their land as indisputable; issued by the highest

⁹ *Tuhan telah menciptakan Tanah New Guinea dengan segala isinya untuk bangsa Papua bukan untuk bangsa Indonesia. Tuhan telah memberikan hak dan wewenang penuh kepada bangsa Papua untuk bertanggung-jawab atas kehidupan, dan perkembangan bangsa dan tanah air Papua. Jadi sertifikat tanah New Guinea ini Tuhan telah memberikan bangsa Papua bukan bangsa Indonesia. Tanah West Papua telah dirampok dan dikuasai oleh Indonesia adalah bukan maksud Tuhan. Tidak sesuai dengan keinginan Tuhan yang menciptakan tanah dan bangsa ini.*

¹⁰ See also Kirsch's (2001) representation of primordialism in the narrative of Pascalus, a Muyu refugee from Kawangtut village in Irian Jaya, living in a refugee camp on the border. Pascalus maps Muyu places as sites of emergence of the female ancestors as well as sites of Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection. Autochthony is represented as mediated by God, emerging from a certain place by virtue of God's design. Pascalus' mapping is not simply Muyu-centric, about Waropko and Amtitkipi in the Muyu region. Rather, he draws an entire West Papuan territory onto which he maps a 'genealogical foundation of the Papuan nation' (*dasar silsilah moyang bangsa Papua*).

authority. The narrative above reflects the common view of nation as a natural order 'bequeathed by God' (*dikaruniakan*) or in other words: "It was God who granted every human being their homeland."¹¹

People represented autochthony mediated by God, emerging from a certain place by virtue of God's design.¹² Muyu legends of origin proclaim West Papua as the place from where humanity first emerged and spread to other parts of the world, therefore, as long as West Papuans were not free, other nations (originating from West Papua) would not find freedom. At Iowara, Muyu and Dani people - for whom land is a source of livelihood and cultural practice - subscribed to the patrilineal logic that every person is 'properly autochthonous' to the place of their father. This autochthony is expressed in legends of origin (*dongeng asal-usul*), depicting the emergence of a people out of the landscape. The inverse of this logic is that people who do not emerge from the place where they are currently living, are necessarily out of place. At Iowara, narratives about autochthony often surfaced when discussing the fate of Indonesians categorised as newcomers who had arrived from another place. The question was raised: what would be the place of newcomers in a West Papuan nation-state?

Nation as natural order was seen by refugees to be contained in the Old Testament. The paraphrasing of the following three passages was common. Genesis (10:32) reads: "These are the families of Noah's sons, according to their genealogies, in their nations; and from these the nations spread abroad on the earth after the flood." Leviticus (25:23, 34) reads that land was bequeathed as 'inheritance' (*warisan*) to all people who became caretakers of the land in God's name, therefore land cannot be bought and sold. Contained in 1 Kings (21), is the decree that even a ruler cannot annex the land. Papuan land bequeathed by God is also contained in Isaak Kijne's "O, My Land Papua" (*Hai Tanahku Papua*).¹³

¹¹ *Tuhan yang memberikan tanah air setiap manusia*

¹² In Giay's published doctoral thesis on Zakheus Pakage and his religious communities among the Me people in the Wissel Lakes/Paniai region, Giay writes about the Me concept of autochthony granted by God; they consider God to be the one who chose land for them to occupy, and had intentionally identified himself with their history and traditions (1995:141).

¹³ Kijne published *Hai Tanahku Papua* arranged in Bahasa Indonesia in his *Seruling Mas* songbook. Note that contemporary versions have overwritten the original version containing the word 'Nieuw Guinea' with 'Papua'.

1. O, My Land Papua (*Hai Tanahku Papua*) / My land of birth (*Kau tanah lahirku*) / Thou should I love (*Kukasih akan dikau*) / 'til my dying day (*Sehingga ajalku*) / 2. love the white beaches (*Ku kasih pasir putih*) / That color thy coasts (*Di pantaiaku senang*) / Where the blue waters (*Di mana lautan biru*) / Glisten in the sun (*Berkilat dalam terang*) / 3. I love the sounds of the waves (*Ku kasih bunyi ombak*) / The breaks on thy beaches (*Pemukul pantaimu*) / The songs that always

Chosen as the West Papuan national anthem by the West New Guinea Council in 1961, this song celebrates Papuan people's autochthony, their place gifted by God and their lifelong loyalty to that place. Below are the first and last of seven verses:

First verse: O, My Land Papua / My Land of birth / Thou should I love / 'Til my dying day. *Seventh verse:* Thanks to thee O, Lord / For the Land of thy Gift / Make me also diligent / To convey thy aims

In the film "Rebels of the Forgotten World," a West Papuan narrator claimed: "God created this land and this nation with a Purpose: that the native people should always be there. It is the wish of our ancestors that we in the OPM never give up" (Sharp 1994:frontispiece). Expressed differently, to allow dispossession of ancestral land is to betray the ancestors. The narrator gives agency to West Papuan ancestors; as though the struggle has their blessing. Also implied is the defence of ancestral land bequeathed by God. A connection between the struggle for independence, extinguishment of Papuanness, and defending Irian Jaya as God's creation is also expressed in a letter by two OPM Generals (Matias Wenda and Bernard Mawen) dated January 20, 2000:

To the respected and beloved citizens of our homeland ... in several years to come the West Papuan indigenous people will disappear completely from the face of the earth, West Papua. Remember: that the struggle for an independent West Papua is the struggle for the sake of defending God's Creation which proves [its] difference from the Indonesian state.¹⁴

The relation between West Papuans and the land mediated by the teachings of the Bible's Old Testament, is explored by West Papuan theologian and scholar

(Nyanyian yang selalu) / Gladdens my heart (Senangkan hatiku) / 4. I love thy mountains (Kukasih gunung gunung) / Lofty and great (Besar mulialah) / And the clouds that drift (Dan awan yang melayang) / Around thy tops (Keliling puncaknya) / 5. I love thee forests (Kukasih hutan-hutan) / That covers the land (Selimut tanahku) / And I love to roam (Kusuka mengembara) / Under the shady green (Di bawah naungmu) / 6. I love thee thy land (Kukasih engkau tanah) / With thy resources (Yang dengan buahmu) / To pay for my cleverness (Membayar kerajinan) / And for my work (Dan pekerjaanku) / 7. Thank thee O, Lord (Syukur bagimu Tuhan) / For the Land of thy gift (Kau Brikkan Tanahku) / Make me also diligent (Bri aku rajin juga) / To convey thy aims (Sampaikan maksudmu) [translated by Tom Ireeuw at Blackwara camp, Vanimo in 1984].

¹⁴ *Kepada warga tercinta tanah air yang terhormat ... dalam beberapa tahun mendatang bangsa pribumi Papua Barat akan hilang lenyap dari muka bumi, Papua Barat. Mengingat: Bahwa perjuangan kemerdekaan Papua Barat adalah perjuangan demi mempertahankan Ciptaan Tuhan yang membuktikan perbedaan dengan Negara Indonesia.*

Karel Phil Erari in his recent text *Our land, living land: the relationship between humans and the land in Irian Jaya as a theological issue* (1999).¹⁵ Erari proposes that the matter of land is a central biblical theme and part of the basis of Christian faith, and that there exists a dynamic tension between God, Israelites and the land manifest in cycles of possessing, and being dispossessed of land (1999:20).¹⁶ This is not dissimilar to theologian Benny Giay's proposition of a West Papuan philosophy of history as 'episodic' (*babakan-babakan*); events and actors from one episode are replaced by events and actors from another episode, sometimes unconnected with the former (2000:9-10). History as episodic is congruous with West Papuan anticipation of a new period of freedom.

West Papuan congregations have interpreted Protestant European pastors as substantiating the 'Papuan Land' (*Tanah Papua*) as God-granted, or as a Promised Land. For example, in the celebrated utterance in 1855 by the first evangelists Ottow and Geissler, and repeated by most northerners at Iowara: "In the name of God, on this land we step."¹⁷ Erari (1999:250) notes that this proclamation is interpreted by West Papuans as establishing *Tanah Papua* to be baptised in the name of God. According to Erari, the authority of the bible entrenched in Irian Jaya has given birth to a certain myth that the natural beauty, cultural wealth, and mysteries of local belief systems, is evidence of Irian Jaya 'stamped or marked' (*dimeteraikan*) by God (1999:250).

The Protestant church of Irian Jaya, in its journey of service, finds that the first prayer of Ottow and Geissler, acts as a source of strength and source of

¹⁵ *Tanah kita, tanah hidup: hubungan manusia dan tanah di Irian Jaya sebagai persoalan teologis.*

¹⁶ According to Erari, the history of Israel was determined by God's pledge of a certain land to Israelites (1999:20). For example, in Genesis 15:18 "On that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, 'To your descendants I give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river of Euphrates'." Erari writes that the region from the river of Egypt to the river of Euphrates was land owned by God that he gave to Abraham and his descendants and Israelites, who must be obedient to God as land owner if they wish to live peacefully there, or else they violate the sacred character of that land (1999:20). Hence the interpretation of the fate of Israelites in Egypt; banished to a foreign land. On the edge of the river Babel, they sing the lamentation: "How could we sing the Lord's song in a foreign land?" (Psalm 137:4), declaring the oath "If I forget you, O Jerusalem, let my right hand wither! Let my tongue cling to the roof of my mouth, if I do not remember you, if I do not set Jerusalem above my highest joy" (Psalm 137:5-6). According to Erari, the Israel people have been summoned to live in faith, as a landless people, for example, in Genesis 12:1 "Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land that I will show you."

¹⁷ *Dalam nama Allah kami injak tanah ini* (quoted in Erari 1999:250).

hope, in fact becomes a source of inspiration for its future. That prayer has already become credo, that through God in the history of the encounter of the bible with culture since February 5 1855, Irian has become the possession of Christ (Erari 1999:250).¹⁸

Panel 2 articulated the West Papuan nation as a natural, divine order. In the next panel, it is the form or shape of New Guinea that is held to physically disunite the island from the rest of the Indonesian archipelago, conjoining it with the eastern part of the island.

Panel 3 We, the Papuan nation from Samarai to Sorong (*Kami bangsa Papua dari Samarai sampai Sorong*)¹⁹

The Island of Papua can be divided and compared with the body of a bird: Samarai to Port Moresby in PNG is the bird's tail; Port Moresby to Nabire in West Papua is the bird's body; Nabire to Waren is the bird's neck; Manokwari together with the Arfai mountain range is the bird's chignon; Lake Ayamaru is considered the bird's eye; Bintuni Bay in the Fak Fak region is the bird's lung and mouth/gullet; the mountain range in the middle is the bird's backbone; Yos Sudarso Island (Kimaam) and the estuary of the Digul River is the stomach and anus of the bird; the rivers on the island of Papua are the arteries; the dense forests are the bird's feathers (Quoted from Merauke Committee 1999:29). [Virtually every informant at Iowara mapped the shape of the bird onto the island of New Guinea, qualifying it as a collective narrative].

In this narrative, West Papua is mapped as the upper body of the bird-shaped island of New Guinea. The north-western aspect is officially known as the Bird's Head region or *Kepala Burung*.²⁰ New Guinea as a united subject is contained in

¹⁸ *Gereja Kristen Injil di Irian Jaya, dalam perjalanan pelayanannya, menemukan betapa doa suhang Ottow and Geissler itu, bertindak sebagai sumber kekuatan dan sumber harapan, bahkan menjadi sumber inspirasi bagi masa depannya. Doa itu telah menjadi suatu credo, bahwa Allah dalam sejarah perjumpaan Injil dengan budaya, sejak tanggal 5 Februari 1855, Irian menjadi milik Kristus.*

¹⁹ In 1960, the Papuan party *Demokratische Volkspartie*, a successor of the United New Guinea Movement (*Gerakan Persatuan Nieuw-Guinea*), promoted the concept of a Melanesian Federation (Lagerberg 1979:71-72). According to Lagerberg, by the end of the 1960s, New Guinea – including West Irian – was popularly perceived to be part of Melanesia (1979:71).

²⁰ In an essay on spatial differentiation based on symbolic co-ordinates among Austronesian populations, James Fox refers to the Rotinese conception of their island as a creature resting in the sea (1997:4-5).

the description of the island as the entire form (*bentuk*) of a bird; mentioned as the Cenderawasih Island or the Cassowary Island. The slogan “We, the Papuan nation Samarai until Sorong,”²¹ from the eastern to the western tip of the island of New Guinea, mimics the Indonesia *musantara* or archipelago trope “From Sabang to Merauke.”²²



Figure 2. The island of New Guinea, divided in spite of shared characteristics. Artist: Herry Offide Waraston camp, Iowara.

The construction of a pan New Guinea association also contests the state’s mapping of Irian Jaya as a part of the Indonesian archipelago to the west.²³ The subverted slogan has been subject to variation too. In July 1971, Seth Rumkorem’s Proclamation of an Independent West Papua delineated the nation’s

²¹ *Kami bangsa Papua Samarai sampai Sorong.*

²² *Dari Sabang sampai ke Merauke.*

²³ In a brief vignette titled “The colour of the West Papuan map (1965),” Giay recalled pupil’s confused and angry reaction to their class geography map being altered with Papua re-coloured to match the rest of Indonesia (2000:4).

boundaries: "From Numbai to Jayapura, from Sorong to the Baliem Valley in the Star Mountains and from Biak to Adi Island" (Aditjondro 1993b:7-8). In June 1985, five West Papuans from Merauke who landed on Thursday Island claimed membership of an organisation promoting island unity called MUFAS or the "Melanesian Union from Gag to Samarai" (Hastings 1986:219).²⁴

Elsewhere, the island of New Guinea has been described as a house with two rooms.²⁵ It was also commonly said that species of flora and fauna indigenous to New Guinea were not found in the rest of the archipelago. Mapping a separate nation of people onto the geographical entity mentioned is the subject of the following panel.

Panel 4 We are a nation (*bangsa*) not a tribe (*suku*)

Before 1962, the Indonesians called us 'Papuans'. Later, Sukarno – a clever man – changed our name to 'Irianese'. He realised that the term Papua differentiated us as 'a people' (*bangsa*) on our own. In the past we had used the term *bangsa* meaning nation/race/people to describe ourselves. The term 'tribe' (*suku*) was rarely used. Now we are categorised as *suku* e.g., *suku* Muyu, *suku* Biak as members of the Indonesian nation [Single narrative by Muyu person but several other informants made similar analyses].

The shift in state discourse towards naming ethnic groups as tribes eliminated the problems of referring to them as a nation; recasting them as one tribe amongst other tribes across the archipelago constituting the Indonesian nation. A Muyu man at Iowara drew a diagram to illustrate tribe in relation to nation. Working from the bottom of the page to the top, he started with his own 'lineage' (*fam*) followed by the Muyu 'tribe' (*suku*), followed in turn by Ok 'stock' (*rumpun*).²⁶ *Rumpun* refers to Ok stock comprising Muyu and other regional tribes like

²⁴ Gag is a small island located west of the Bird's Head.

²⁵ The metaphor of house has also been used to describe the island: "Our dream is to have one parliament, one government for all Melanesians from Sorong in the west to Samarai in the east of mainland Papua New Guinea where you don't need a passport or identification card to travel from one end of the island to the other. You have a house with two rooms, one represents West PNG, the other East PNG. If the house is burning, it is foolish for the occupant of one room not to help the other to put out the fire and save the house and both rooms" (OPM Cabinet in exile Chairman Fisor Yarisetouw quoted in Osborne 1986:61).

²⁶ '*Rumpun*' is an arboreal metaphor also used to describe a clump of plants e.g., a bamboo cluster.

Mandobo and Ningerum. Above this category was the West Papuan ‘nation’ or *bangsa* followed by Melanesian stock (*rumpun*). According to the narrator, the state-sponsored genealogy rejected the overarching category of West Papuan nation, using instead Malay stock (*rumpun Melayu*) to describe people from across the Indonesian archipelago. This claim is refuted at least in principal by the national motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* meaning ‘Unity in Diversity’; parts making up a whole. Or in other words, the Indonesian nation’s multi-ethnic and multi-racial basis.

Contesting the notion that West Papuans and Indonesians are of the same Malay stock was a dominant theme in refugee narratives (see figure 3). The primary oppositional differentiation between West Papuans and Indonesians was elaborated across many fields: racial, cultural, social and historical. Each field signified the others, building a fundamental ‘categorical difference’ between West Papuans and Indonesians (see Malkki 1995a:66).²⁷ According to the panel narrator and other informants, by rejecting West Papuans as Melanesian stock the state was attempting to impose a common ancestry.

Panel 5 West Papuan ancestors are not the same as Indonesia’s

What is meant by a Papuan person is an original inhabitant from the island of New Guinea. In other words, Papua means kinky-haired and black.²⁸ The black colour of the skin and the kinkiness of the hair is the same as the African nation. The Papuan nation is of Melanesian race, descendants of Negro. The Indonesian nation is of the Malay race, descendants of Austronesian. Consequently, the Papuan nation is closer to the African nation, whereas the Indonesian nation is closer to the Asian nation [Composite panel comprising two different passages from the same person. The subject of this panel comprised a collective narrative at Iowara].

²⁷ See also West Papuan scholar Benny Giay’s vignettes titled: “We are Papuan, you are Indonesian” (*Kami orang Papua, kamu orang Indonesia*), “Papuans are Papuan and Javanese are Javanese” (*Orang Papua itu orang Papua dan Jawa itu Jawa*), and “Difficult to become an Indonesian” (*Susah menjadi orang Indonesia*) (2000:3-6).

²⁸ In 1991, Demianus Kurni arranged a song titled “A West Papuan” (*Orang Papua Barat*) for the Sunday school at Waraston, Iowara. The first verse identifies a West Papuan in terms of essential phenotypes (black-skinned, frizzy-haired, muscled body) and accords him/her nationhood: Full-bodied (*Besar tubuh*) / Muscled (*Tegap berotot*) / Frizzy-haired, Afro style (*Keriting rambut, bergaya Kribo*) / Has a name (*Punya nama*) / Has land (*Punya tanah*) / Their country exists (*Negerinya ada*) / With high ideals and big ambitions (*Bercita tinggi, besar ambisi*) / Willing to risk their life (*Berani bertaruh, nyawa dijual*) / In order to fulfil those ideals (*Asal cita di tangan, itu*).

During the Gulf War between Iraq and America, a West Papuan member of the Indonesian military in the Gulf was on a military exercise led by a Black American Commander. After soldiers had arranged themselves into platoons according to their state of origin, the Commander questioned: "There is no-one like you in the Indonesian platoon. Why is black skin with that platoon? Go and join the African platoon" [Single narrative by a northerner].

The panels above reiterate race as an irreducible, material basis of differentiation. In the closing scene above, the West Papuan is identified as anomalous within the Indonesian platoon and is correctly realigned with Africa, reinforcing the perception of skin colour as a legitimate indicator of ethnicity. An essay written by a Muyu refugee at Iowara included a section on the origin of West Papuan people related to African Negroes, other Negroes in the Middle East, Malaysia and the Philippines,²⁹ and related to Melanesians in New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Fiji, Vanuatu,³⁰ Samoa, and Australian Aborigines. The African connection was also mentioned in the Merauke Committee's pamphlet: "In a previous age, South African people using small, simple sailing boats [*sampan*] followed the ocean away from South Africa. Many drowned using these boats. Several boats were washed up on the Australian coastline. Black-skinned people with frizzy hair in boats landed on the Australian continent and scattered as far as New Guinea" (1998:7).³¹

Several Catholic nuns from Lesotho, Africa, lived at Iowara during the 1990s. Certain nuns were perceived as patronising in manner, in spite of the refugees' observation that "they are just like us" - they shared the same skin colour, the same hair and they too were living in someone else's place. Language was claimed to be the only thing that differentiated the Lesotho nuns from the refugees at Iowara. The implication of them being 'just like us' contained the meaning 'therefore they are no better than us and should not look down upon us'. Some refugees differentiated themselves from those Africans who were refugees and lived in entirely abject conditions.

²⁹ The skin of Filipinos and Malaysians was likened to Indonesians as the colour of the sapodilla fruit.

³⁰ Theys Hiyo Eluay, Chairman of the Papua Presidium Council elected during the May 2000 Congress, claimed that the Republic of Nauru, Vanuatu, and Tuvalu's recent public support for independence in West Papua was based on shared racial origin (Detikworld 2000).

³¹ British and Australian explorers and colonial officials in New Guinea were influenced by the myths surrounding African Pygmies (Ballard: 2000).

The idea of race as an irreducible characteristic is extended in the following panel comparing Melanesianness to Chineseness.

Panel 6 We are like the Chinese, our race cannot be extinguished

Papuan people are like the Chinese. A Papuan man's [male] children – despite his marriage to a foreigner – will follow their father. They cannot become other people. For example, they cannot become citizens of their mother's country. Their hair and skin may be different but their inclusion in their father's lineage and membership in this 'clan' (*fam*) will constantly bind them [Compilation panel comprising narratives from two older Muyu men. Several informants similarly compared Papuans to Chinese in this manner].

The panel proposes that in the instance of a Papuan father and non-Papuan mother, patrilineality ensures the offspring's membership to the father's lineage in spite of physical difference. Also implied is genealogy as the basis of citizenship: the offspring of a mixed marriage where the father is Papuan, are natural citizens of their father's country. The analogy drawn between Chinese and Papuans is notable in the context of the Indonesian state where Chinese people are not considered 'natives' (*pribumi*), although they are categorised as 'citizens' (*warga negara*) of the Indonesian state. The panel identifies Papuans like the Chinese to be non-natives. While it was claimed that Chineseness could not be extinguished, a Kanum man at Iowara proposed that Chinese people who had intermarried with Marind people for generations were not considered foreigners.³² They could 'become' Marind and their Chineseness could be diluted.³³

³² Kanum people at Iowara described themselves as a sub-tribe of the Marind.

³³ The marriage between a Chinese man and a Marind woman that sees him entering her father and brother's *dusun* is called 'marriage entry' (*kawin masuk*) and accords him 'right of use' (*hak pakai*). However, the offspring of that marriage may be given 'right of possession' (*hak milik*). In the town of Merauke, mixed Chinese-Marind offspring are called Cina-Marind or Cina-Wamal referring to the village of Wamal to the west of Merauke, where there is a large population of Cina-Marind. This village is also known as 'the Chinese village' (*kampung Cina*). While Cina-Marind are described as having fair skin and a Chinese body characterised by its slenderness, they spoke the Marind language, ate sago and chewed pinang. Membership as Marind takes genealogy into consideration - Cina-Marind had married Marind for generations – but cultural practice is also important. Chinese shopkeepers who have traded in Merauke town for several generations tend not to speak the Marind language or intermarry. They are called *Cina-totok* meaning both full-blooded and newcomer; foreigners who have not intermarried are categorically newcomers but a foreigner can erase this mark through intermarriage. *Cina-totok* are considered foreigners; their actual place



Figure 3. Banner staged for the purposes of PEPERA documentation, Komokpin camp, Iowara, August 1998.

Lineage, ancestries, autochthonism and origins are each genealogical forms of thought (Malkki 1992:28). Balibar has described the schema of genealogy as the ‘symbolic kernel’ of the idea of race: “the idea that the filiation of individuals transmits from generation to generation a substance both biological and spiritual and thereby inscribes them in a temporal community known as ‘kinship’.” Race is constituted as an expression of national character immanent in the people: “rooting historical populations in a fact of ‘nature’ ” (1991:99).

The three panels above are part of a discourse of race – language, images and explanations about Melanesianness and Asianness that effect cultural difference, and determine where people belong. In the narratives throughout this chapter, West Papuans perceive their racial difference from Indonesians to

is elsewhere, in spite of living perhaps several generations in Merauke town. So, membership relied more on the texture of sociality than the length of residence.

manifest in material terms, and in political relations. By naturalising racial difference between West Papuans constructed as Melanesian, and Indonesians constructed as Asian, this discourse of race is a potent ideology in West Papuan conceptions of nationhood. It also underpins perceptions about intermarriage, the subject of the second set of themes.

Second set of themes: The risks of intermarriage

Among West Papuan refugees, the matter of intermarriage with Indonesians was viewed with caution.³⁴ Such unions were construed as a tactic by the migrant Indonesian to acquire land or resources. Further, bridewealth would rarely be submitted to the woman's family, and in the event of a man abandoning his Papuan wife and children they would become a burden to the woman's father and brothers. Referring to principles of patrilineality and patrilocality, several people at Iowara explained to me that generally speaking, the offspring of a West Papuan woman and foreigner are deemed foreign. A Papuan woman marrying an outsider must return to her husband's place and her children belong to that place. The children of a Papuan woman and an outsider may be afforded rights to *dusun* by their mother's brother (maternal uncle), particularly in the event of the death of the father or if they tend to their uncle's needs. If a groom's family does not fulfil bridewealth obligations, the woman's family may re-claim their daughter and her children. Although they are born in Papua they might still be considered newcomers in their mother's place as they will take the name of their foreign father, and their rights lie with his family and people, not their mother's.

Panel 7 A Javanese man becomes prosperous on his West Papuan father-in-law's land then deserts his wife and children to return with his fortune to Java

A Javanese migrant approaches a local man bringing gifts of alcohol each time. On the third occasion, he asks permission to marry the man's daughter. They marry, have children and build a store on her father's land. They prosper and he travels to Java to buy goods for the store but never returns.

³⁴ Yet, to categorically abstain from marriage with West Papuan women was also considered insulting. For example, people from the Kei Islands in the Moluccas were said to view Papuan women as 'dirty' (*kotor*) and 'low' (*rendah*).

The old man is left to support his daughter and children [Single narrative by a northerner. I heard this story recounted in almost identical form by several other northerner, Muyu and Kanum people at Iowara].³⁵

The story contains a moral about the danger of alcohol enabling a man to become stupefied and then tricked out of his land. It was uniformly claimed by informants at Iowara that the state manufactured white rum (proof 45%) especially for Irian Jaya, selling it cheaply in kiosks along with another fortified wine known as *anggur tinju*. The provision of high proof alcohol was viewed as a tactic by the state to domesticate West Papuans, as people don't want to work or 'struggle' (*berjuang*) after drinking.³⁶

Panel 8 An Indonesian migrant marries a West Papuan woman, abandoning her later

Some Javanese marry Papuan women and then return to Java with their Papuan wives. When they get there, they marry a Javanese woman, leaving the Papuan woman to find her own way home. Bugis, Makassar or Toraja people may marry Marind or Asmat women to gain access to crocodile skins and *gerahu* wood on her family's land. Then they return to their own place with some of the children. The remaining children and their mother are taken in by the woman's parents. It is no loss as Indonesian men pay a low bridewealth. The reverse also occurs. Papuan men are attracted to Indonesian women because they are not required to pay high bridewealth. In fact it is we who are at fault by maintaining substantial bridewealth claims. Young men feel: why should I kill myself trying to raise bridewealth to marry one of my own when I can marry an Indonesian woman for nothing? The Indonesian government has intentionally made it easy for Papuan men to marry

³⁵ Another version of this story is: "A Javanese man regularly approaches a local man with gifts of tobacco, wine and beer. Gradually he requests permission to build a small kiosk on the man's vacant land. He does not pay for the land. Then he builds a small house behind the kiosk. Then he expands the kiosk. At this point the landowner complains: how is it that you are building on my land that you have not yet paid for? Whereupon the kiosk owner replies that the land has already been measured and registered with Agrarian Affairs."

³⁶ The discussion paper titled "Shift the current Indonesian mentality of Papuan youth to Papuan thinking" (*Mengalihkan pola pikiran pemuda Papua secara Indonesia kedalam alam pikiran Papua*) tabled by the Iowara Refugee Delegation at the Papuan Congress in Jayapura May 2000, classifies the entry of spirit alcohol, marijuana and ecstasy into Irian Jaya alongside transmigration, family planning and mass organisations like Pemuda Pancasila as "covert government programs undetected by the outside world with the aim to extinguish aspects of Papuan life."

Indonesian women by removing the obligation of bridewealth [Compilation panel comprising passages from conversations with a Kanum and a Muyu person. The risks of intermarriage were commonly elaborated in this way].

In the panel above, the narrators perceive that the state has removed the obligation of bridewealth to Indonesians in order to encourage intermarriage between Papuan men and Indonesian women, extinguishing phenotypical Papuanness and ensuring Indonesian access to land. How this might have been effected by the state was not made clear. The idea of abandonment of Papuan wives in Java by their Indonesian husbands, suggests the incarceration of the native woman, as though she naturally only belongs in her own place. The Papuan father loses three times over from an Indonesian son-in-law: he receives a small bridewealth, his own wealth is utilised freely by his son-in-law, and he bears the responsibility of supporting his daughter and children in the event of desertion. The Indonesian suitor is represented as a wanderlust figure who truly belongs to his own place somewhere else, as evidenced by his eventual return. He is a *merantau* figure: he has left his place of origin to make his way in life and will perhaps ultimately return to that place.³⁷

Panel 9 Intermarriage as Papuan tactic

Marind families who have already sold their land to Indonesian migrants have been known to marry their daughters to local Indonesian landholders and request rights of use in land as bridewealth from the Indonesian suitor's family who have bought land [Passage told by several Kanum and Yay people at lowara].

The risks of selling one's land to Indonesian migrants at low prices has far reaching effects including the tactical marriage of a daughter into a land-owning migrant family in order to restore rights of use to land. Landless Marind are reduced to deploying a tactic that has already been established as a scheming, perhaps even immoral practice in migrants.³⁸

³⁷ *Merantau* means to leave one's home area to make one's way in life.

³⁸ In a study published in the Indonesian journal *Prisma*, Indonesian human rights activist Mulya Lubis (1984) singled out Marind people as particularly suffering from the effects of land appropriation and substantial population decline.

Panel 10 The dangerous beauty of Javanese women

Papuan men are seduced by the 'prettiness' (*cantik-cantik*) of Javanese women. Michael Somare colluded with Indonesia against West Papuan refugees during the mid 1980s because his wife was Javanese and so too, his in-laws. He had travelled to Jakarta on government business and had 'been given' (*dikasih*) a Javanese wife [Single narrative by a Dani woman at Iowara].

In this apocryphal narrative, the risk of intermarriage is represented as the denial or neglect of the West Papuan political struggle. The truth or otherwise of the ethnicity of former PNG Prime Minister Somare's wife is less important than its function as a parable of intermarriage as political strategy; effecting a diplomatic conversion - in this case a pro-Jakartan, integralist conversion. Indeed, Somare's governments were considered to have a co-operative - and therefore collusive - relation with Jakarta (Smith 1991:159-162). In this single narrative, the danger of a Javanese woman's beauty is read categorically; she is reduced to her ethnicity, which is that of the oppressor. Although many West Papuans at Iowara accepted the notion of Javanese women as 'very pretty', like the narrator above, many recast beauty as a sign not of virtue, but of compromise.³⁹

Panel 11 The children of mixed parentage will incite trouble

As long as there is kinky hair in West Papua, Indonesia will continue to try to get rid of it. By marrying a Javanese person, I am assisting Java destroy my ethnicity. When I was at university, my father counselled me: you can marry any girl but not Indonesian. Later, [after independence] the offspring of Papuan-Indonesian marriages will 'make trouble' (*mengacaukan*) for the government. There must be laws made to regulate the children of mixed parentage. Their blood is mixed/upset therefore it is 'different' (*berlainan*); they will be extremely obstinate and will agitate. Their blood is already thoroughly mixed, and will lead to disturbance [Compilation panel comprising passages from conversations with a Biak, Serui and Muyu person at Iowara].

In the narrative, children of mixed parentage or *peranakan*, are categorised as provocative and requiring regulatory attention. Their presence blurs the proper

³⁹ See a similar point in Malkki (1995a:102-3).

order of things; unsettling the racial discourse of nation that proclaims West Papuans as racially distinct from Indonesians. The imperative to regulate *peranakan* is evocative of Ghassan Hage's comment on domestication of people deemed 'Other' in nationalist discourses: "Nation-building within the motherland is rarely a process of extermination of the other. Rather it is a process of domestication, of positioning the other and ensuring it remains located in its appropriate space. Extermination can only be for those who resist being placed" (1993:92). Hage's words are resonant with refugee comments on the constitution of an independent West Papuan state. It was said that Indonesians who supported separation from Indonesia would be offered citizenship with some restrictions (positioned, located) while those remaining loyal to Indonesia would be repatriated.

This set of themes has explored the racial construction of West Papuanness through the phenomena of intermarriage. The event of marriage with Indonesians disturbs a racial imperative conceived as the nation aspect of the nation state idea (see Shapiro 2000:91). The following panel uses a familial metaphor to position West Papua in relation to Indonesia and the Netherlands.

Third set of themes: The mainly benevolent Dutch

Panel 12 West Papuan people's European connection

History books about West Papua written by Indonesians are filled with 'deception' (*penipuan*). They tell us that we share the same ancestors as Indonesians. Indonesian versions of history omit the stories of contact between West Papuan and Dutch peoples and the time depth of this contact, as though they want to extinguish memory of European influence and contact in West Papua. We felt a sense of loss when the Dutch were repatriated as though our father had been ordered to leave. Some did not want to go and were arrested and forcibly repatriated. They were removed because Indonesia did not want their witness to our treatment. Westerners were not permitted to stay for they had encouraged us to believe in independence. There was no feeling of 'enmity' (*permusuhan*) with the Dutch.⁴⁰ There was no 'slaying' (*pembunuhan*) in the Dutch time. Papuans

⁴⁰ Refugees were critical of the Dutch administration for not providing secondary or tertiary education for West Papuans, and critical of the Indonesian state for providing no career paths for Papuans once they had graduated from secondary or technical school or university. There was a

felt profound sorrow and grief, even mourning at the sight of the Dutch leaving in ships in 1962-63. Dutch departure produced mourning in Papuans. These emotions are poignant. People still recall the names of the Dutch ships. Dutch citizens were repatriated by Indonesia, followed by Indo people.⁴¹ Now the Dutch must be responsible. Although Indonesia may grant independence, the Dutch must be present. Not like Portugal's withdrawal from East Timor. The Dutch have a role to play. Like a parent they must be responsible. Dutch offers of asylum to Papuans is evidence of their acknowledgment of this moral responsibility [Composition panel comprising several narratives by several people. The sentiment of Dutch rule as benign, contrasting Indonesian rule, was the subject of collective narrative at Iowara].

In narratives that mention Dutch repatriation in 1962-63, the Dutch are positioned as parents in relation to Irian Jaya as infant "sucking at its mother's breast with eyes not yet open."⁴² The image of closed eyes conjures vulnerability, as does the description of West Papuans as 'easy prey' (*sasaran empuk*). Arnold Ap used the metaphor of the orphan to depict West Papuan sentiment of abandonment at the end of Dutch withdrawal. The chosen image of the orphan along with the stepchild, are archetypes of utter destitution and isolation in Indonesian popular culture. Composed in 1980-81 in the Biak language, the song "Orphan child" (*Anak Yatim Piatu*) is paraphrased below by a man at Iowara who recalled the following explanation by Ap during a Mambesak rehearsal:

saying that after education, Papuans had no option but to return to their village to "hoe the soil" (*tinggal cangkul tanah*). A person's education was also said to make them vulnerable to persecution by the state. The widow of an elderly Muyu schoolteacher who had died in 1997 at Iowara, explained her husband's treatment by the state: "He was imprisoned for two or three years in Merauke during the 1960s. He was kept in a cell allowing a seated position only and with only an eye-sized hole for sunlight to enter. He was beaten until the floor itself was bloody. They released him because they thought they had already destroyed him. He was released but he could not talk; could not open his mouth. He could not walk; his arms and legs were numb. He had to be carried out of prison. When he returned to his village, people commented: "So this is what happens to people who go to the big town; this is what they do to teachers."

⁴¹Indo or Indo-European refers to a person of mixed Dutch, and either Javanese or Moluccan parentage. This group might be described as an ethnic group in their own right. From the 1930s, programs to create plantation settlements in Netherlands New Guinea (NNG) for Indo-Europeans were fairly unsuccessful. Later, at the time of Indonesian independence, large groups of Indo-Europeans voluntarily resettled in NNG, or joined other relatives in the Netherlands or Surinam. Most Indo-Europeans in NNG at this time worked for the Dutch administration, replacing Indonesian personnel, or established small-scale commerce in urban areas (Jaarsma 2000 pers. comm.).

⁴² *Masih minum susu, mata masih tutup.*

West Papuan people were like infants. What was needed or asked for was given. Upon coming of age and experiencing the abandonment of their parents, the infant became an orphan. The child remained an orphan despite its new Indonesian parentage. Indonesia is not a benevolent parent. The child must face life's hardships alone, without parents. It has no homeland.⁴³

Ap's song associates home and motherland; attachment to homeland is illustrated in the child's cradling/holding/caressing. Attachment to the mother produces home, while conversely, the death or abandonment by the mother or parents extinguishes home and security. The metaphor implies obligation and moral responsibility concomitant with the role of parent. The 'naturalness' of the Dutch parent manifest in the expression of symbiotic love, contrasts Indonesia as an adoptive parent represented as neglectful. In spite of adoption, the child's condition remains pitifully homeless. Some people at Iowara expressed their familiarity with Indonesia's treatment in the form of a proverb: 'The adopted child knows the 'vile behaviour' (*kelakuan buruk*) of its adoptive parent'.⁴⁴ The unnaturalness of the Indonesian parent is also manifest in the inversion of roles: it is the Papuan child that sustains the Indonesian parent.

⁴³ The song's lyrics follow. First verse: When just a baby (*Sewaktu bayi*) / Embraced with full affection (*Dipeluk dengan penuh kasih sayang*) / Held and caressed (*Dipeluk dan dibelai*) / With bliss (*Dengan penuh kebahagiaan*). Second verse: But after coming of age (*Tetapi setelah dewasa*) / Looking after one's self (*Mengurus dia sendiri*) / Parents already left this world (*Orang tua (Mama, Papa) meninggal dunia*) / That child lived alone (*Anak itu hidup sendiri*). Refrain: Not anyone to look out for him/her anymore (*Tak seorangpun melihatnya lagi*) / He/she lives alone (*Dia hidup sendiri*) / The contentment of the past (*Kesenangan yang dulu*) / Already gone (*Tak ada lagi*) / Pity, orphan child (*Kasihannya, anak Yatim Piatu*) / Who has no parents (*Yang tidak punya orang tua*) / Pity, orphan child (*Kasihannya, anak Yatim Piatu*) / Who has no homeland (*Yang tidak punya tanah air*). Another song recounted by Saul, an elderly Muyu man at Iowara, also used the metaphor of orphan to describe the plight of refugees. In "Song of the Destitute Child" (*Lagu Anak Miskin*), the refugee is depicted as orphaned by flight which causes displacement from family and place: The orphan child bears trouble every day (*Anak biatu menanggung susa setiap hari*) / The person [orphan] is myself (*Seorang diriku*) / Far from the country of my father and mother (*Yau dari negri aya, bundaku*) / Far from the country of my father and mother (*Yau dari negri aya, bundaku*) [original repetition and spelling].

⁴⁴ However, the practice of fostering or *piara* was described by West Papuans at Iowara as a 'customary practice' (*kebiasaan*). Fostering may take place in the circumstance where a child's mother dies in childbirth; a woman is barren; a couple has only male children; a couple has no sons; twins are born and the family decide they cannot raise two children; if the children in a family are spaced too close together; if a family cannot afford to raise the child; or if a family has a vast *dusun*. If a foreign couple foster a West Papuan child and raise that child well (i.e., educates the child until it attains employment), the adoptive parents may be considered family, the child becoming 'intermediary' (*perantara*) between the two families.

The narrative and song lyrics above suggest the operation of home, nation and family within the same 'mythic metaphorical field' (Bammer 1992:x in Hage 1993:79), each of them providing their inhabitants with familiarity and security (Hage 1993:79). This metaphorical field also implies a natural hierarchy. The New Order ideology's family trope was used to naturalise hierarchy as "a model for authority relations within the state" with natural subordination to the father figure found in the naming of President Suharto as 'father' (*Bapak*) or 'father of development' (*Bapak pembangunan*) (Robinson 1994:74, 81). Zocca (1995:91) observed the naming of Suharto as father, and the Indonesian state as house at Iowara:

... a teacher stood up and said: "I have a son who wants to build his own house and get married. I don't feel like letting him go, because he is very immature. So I told him that I will arrange for his marriage but I will keep them with me in my house until they are mature enough to look after their own family. I think Suharto is doing the same with Irian Jaya. When we are mature enough, he will set us free."

Some people at Iowara spoke about Dutch : West Papuan relations through the text of Isaak Kijne's storybook titled "The City of Gold" or *Kota Emas*.⁴⁵ Johan, a Biak man at Iowara, read *Kota Emas* as an historical and religious parable about unequal relations between West Papuans and Dutch, Indo and Moluccan people in the 1940-50s. Johan's historical commentary provides a backdrop for the apartheid milieu in which Kijne wrote *Kota Emas*.

The Dutch differentiated themselves from Papuans. Restaurants were set aside for Dutch and Indo people. Primary and secondary schools were set aside. Church times were differentiated. Dutch attended church services in the afternoon and evenings, Papuans in the morning. Papuans knew for themselves they were not Dutch people, it became 'custom' (*kebiasaan*) for Papuans to attend morning church. In the cinema, 'Dutch time' (*jam Belanda*) meant Papuans could not attend. There were buses for Papuans, buses for the Dutch.

⁴⁵ Isaak Samuel Kijne was a Dutch missionary and teacher from the Utrecht Missionary Society who worked in the Manokwari-Serui region during the 1940s. In 1958, Kijne published a songbook titled "The Golden Flute" (*Seruling Mas*) containing the song *Hai Tanahku Papua* (later chosen as national anthem). He also translated hymns composed by Martin Luther into Bahasa Indonesia in the hymnbook *Mazmur dan Nyanyian Rohani* and wrote the storybook "The Golden City" (*Kota Emas*). While several informants at Iowara held copies of *Kota Emas*, they were either incomplete, or photocopies of the original publication, missing bibliographic detail.

During this time, the Protestant missions employed Ambonese and the Roman Catholics employed Kai people - from Kai Island in the Moluccas - as teachers, missionary assistants and lay preachers. Kai people were labelled as Java's 'golden or favourite child' (*anak emas Jawa*); deemed to 'already possess culture or be civilised' (*sudah berbudaya*). Many older Muyu people at Iowara recalled Dutch use of the term *onbeschaafd* (Du) to describe Papuans as uncivilised. According to Johan, at the time of the publication of *Kota Emas* in 1948, the Dutch administration foresaw Indonesia's plan to annex Netherlands New Guinea. *Kota Emas* prescribed equality between Dutch and West Papuan people in a period leading towards self-determination. Indonesian misrepresentation of West Papuan relations with the Dutch as oppositional is the subject of the following panel.

Panel 13 From Papuans (*Papoea*)⁴⁶ to pro-Indonesian Irianese

In the past we were Papuans from West Irian. After 1963, we became Irianese. Indonesia corrupted the meaning of Irian to become an acronym: Pro-Indonesian Republic, anti-Netherlands⁴⁷ [Collective narrative].

In becoming 'Irianese', West Papuans were no longer differentiated ethnically from Indonesians living in Irian Jaya. While some West Papuans did support Indonesia against the Dutch in the 1940s and early 1960s, and some also shifted their allegiance away from Indonesia in this period, the Indonesian version of the West Papuan as categorically anti-Netherlands, is plainly incorrect.⁴⁸

The sentiment of loyalty to Indonesia against the Dutch contained in the Irian acronym is represented visually in the ABRI Satriamandala Museum diorama number 39 titled "Irianese opposition March 14 1948."⁴⁹ An

⁴⁶ On the Biak origin of the name Papua see Gelpke (1993).

⁴⁷ *Ikut Republik Indonesia Anti-Nederland*.

⁴⁸ A northerner at Iowara claimed that 'Indonesians' labelled West Papuans as curs who worked for the Dutch. For example, during the nationalist struggle for independence 1945-49, a Dutch commander led a platoon of West Papuan soldiers to Jakarta where many enemy nationalists were shot and killed in subsequent battles. I was told that Indonesians viewed West Papuans as ambiguous 'black dogs' (*anjing hitam*), not compatriots.

⁴⁹ The Satriamandala museum in Jakarta contains seventy-four dioramas representing events surrounding the battle for independence and the role of the nationalist movement and civilian population in the lead up to independence from the Dutch. Netherlands New Guinea is represented as pro-Indonesian in 1949, and in 1962-63 at the time of Trikora. Diorama number 39 titled

investigative team reporting on factors relating to the flag-raising incidences across Irian in July 1998, concluded that the history of Irian Jaya ought to be taught, particularly, the matter of Irianese national patriots who were allies of Indonesia during the Trikora campaign to liberate Irian Jaya. Otherwise, young Irianese would remain ignorant about national patriots from their own region.⁵⁰ The rationale can be re-stated: that West Papuan separatist claims are ignorant of the history of Irianese patriots of the Indonesian state in national battles of liberation in 1945-49 and 1962-63. The state's revisionist project recovers historical precedence of pro-Indonesian sentiment, identifying Irianese as patriots and founding members of the republic.

In this set of themes, West Papuan relations with the Dutch are cast as paternal and mainly benevolent, in contrast to relations with Indonesians. West Papuan narratives reiterating preparation by the Netherlands towards West Papuan nationhood, subvert the state's popular version that Indonesian liberated Irian Jaya from the Dutch. The fourth set of themes looks at narratives that cast West Papuans as patriots of their own nation, and the PEPERA result as dissenting rather than unanimous.

Fourth theme: West Papua as international subject

Panel 14 The West Papuan nation state was ready to be declared in 1961

The state paraphernalia was complete: flag, anthem, constitution, symbol of state and 'basis' or constitution (*azas*). The Dutch left behind the national

"Irianese resistance March 14 1948" states: "The echo of the Proclamation of Independence August 17, 1945, inspired awareness of independence in Irianese society." The legend outlines the formation of Irianese pro-independent Indonesia political parties such as the Irianese Party for Indonesian Independence (*Partai Kemerdekaan Indonesia Irian PKII*) in Serui and the Indonesian Freedom Party (*Partai Indonesia Merdeka FIM*) in Biak. The diorama scene depicts an attack on a Dutch barracks at Sorido by Biak people. The guidebook's legend claimed that the attack failed and three leaders were captured by the Dutch and tried in Hollandia, two were given the death sentence and another imprisoned for life at Cipinang, Jakarta. The leaders of these parties and the Sorido attack are mentioned by name; heroizing them as national figures. The third diorama related to Irian is number 56 titled "Mandala Command for the Liberation of Irian January 2, 1962." This legend consists of an inventory of military personnel involved in the Trikora liberation operation under Suharto (ABRI 1997:91-2).

⁵⁰ See *Republika Online* 1998.

anthem and flag, a foundation upon which we have struggled. The West Papuan flag had flown alongside the Dutch one. The Parliament had been configured. All that remained was international recognition. We had almost attained independence only to have it thieved. Indonesian 'dismantled' (*bongkar*) and 'dispersed' (*bubar*) the Cabinet. We were already independent and our independence was stolen in the light of day. Now we are waiting for our nationhood to be returned. Independence is the right of every nation. Why did Indonesia 'seize' (*mencaplok*) West Papua? Indonesia is 'thief' (*pencuri*), 'plunderer' (*perampok*) and 'agitator' (*pengacau*) [Collective narrative recounted by virtually every person I spoke to at Iowara].

According to the Indonesian Constitution, independence is the right of every nation. In 1961 there were 12 political parties led by West Papuans. Political parties were led by Papuans themselves meaning Papuan nationalism was already strong, as was confidence that Papuan people could lead to the standard of other nations in the world. They can socialise with low as well as high, and can work together with other nations. Thus, the Papuan citizenry are already mature and capable to lead their nation beneath a Papuan state as formed on December 1, 1961. But Indonesia contested and violated the Papuan nation's independence [Merauke Committee 1998:42].

In 1986, a foreign ship entered Jayapura harbour bearing the West Papuan flag. Ships usually enter a foreign harbour carrying the flag of that nation. But sea police forced them to lower the flag. The foreign sailors were surprised; they understood West Papua to be independent since 1961. Some passengers descended wearing t-shirts with the West Papuan flag. They were threatened at gunpoint to change their clothes [Single narrative by northerner].

Labelling the incorporation of West Papua into the Indonesian Republic as theft, with Indonesia categorised as plunderer, criminalises the act of annexation. The foreign ship's flag implies international recognition of West Papua and foreign support for West Papuan independence. The foreign crew's reported astonishment upon learning of West Papua's incorporation into Indonesia some twenty-five years previous, suggests that it is not natural for nationhood, once acquired, to be subsequently extinguished. By historicising the existence of the West Papuan nation state in 1961, the struggle becomes one of reclamation and restitution of this prior status.

Flag-raising ceremonies were held several times a year at Waraston camp, Iowara, to commemorate significant dates pertaining to the struggle: the raising of the West Papuan flag (December 1, 1961); the first physical battle between the OPM and the Indonesian military at Arfai (July 28, 1965); Seth Rumkorem's Declaration of Independence (July 1, 1971), and the failed uprising in Jayapura (February 11, 1984). Children at Waraston undertook 'flag practice' (*latihan bendera*) to learn the art of ceremonial raising, lowering and folding of the flag. Ceremonial figures were militarily inspired; mimicking the symbols and practices of Indonesian nationalism. For example, the figures of 'ceremony inspector' (*inspektur upacara*); 'ceremony commander' (*komandan upacara*); 'person in charge of protocol' (*protokol*); 'flag bearers' (*penggerak bendera*); 'proclamation reader' (*pembaca proklamasi*); 'recipients of the flag' (*penerima bendera*) and choir conductor. Dutch Pastor Samuel Isaak Kijne's song *Hai Tanahku Papua* was sung before the flag raising, and "Out of the Big Wave" (*Dari Ombak Besar*) sung after the flag had been raised.

Taken together, the flag and anthem might be intoxicating. Yet, at commemorative ceremonies at Iowara, the audience usually comprised people from Waraston only - in spite of the issuing of written invitations to the council member (*komite tp*) from each camp. A northerner woman explained to me: "We share this matter of the struggle so people must participate; it is not just us from Waraston. [Yet] they do not know the design of the flag or the anthem. In the past they have joined in [at Iowara], but not anymore. A kind of despair, they say there is no result. They laugh at us."⁵¹ At Waraston, the flag pole, podium and audience faced the road. During several flag-raising ceremonies, I observed refugees from other camps returning from the market along this road. They halted and waited without lowering their laden string bags until a group had formed, then they walk slowly past in single file without so much as turning their faces towards the ceremony. According to the ceremony organisers, other refugees considered flag-raising commemorative ceremonies to constitute political activity, contesting the conditions of their refugee and permissive residency status; risking repatriation.

Preparation of West Papua towards nationhood is recalled in the flag's colour. In a pamphlet by Nicholas Jouwe titled "30 years of the West Papuan

⁵¹ *Kami punya barang. Harus ikut; bukan kami saja. Mereka tidak tahu gambar bendera, tidak tahu lagu bangsa. Dulu mereka ikut, tidak ikut lagi. Semacam putus asa; tidak ada hasil. Banyak ketawa.*

national flag” loaned to me by a northerner, the flag’s composition is detailed. Jouwe claimed that the appropriation of the red, white and blue colours of the Dutch flag was done out of: “eternal gratitude from our nation to the Dutch Empire” and “because the Dutch government voluntarily gave the unconditional opportunity to the West Papuan population to determine the date of independence for the homeland and nation” (Jouwe 1991). The owner of the pamphlet added that when Indonesia attained independence from the Dutch, they retained the red colour representing struggle and the white colour for purity, but discarded blue representing peace or compromise. His millennial reasoning was that if the Indonesian flag had retained the colour blue perhaps they might have accommodated the demands of the West Papuan people.

The potency of the Morning Star flag chosen as the flag of the nascent West Papuan state has not diminished.⁵² The symbolism of its first raising on December 1, 1961, might be construed as a ‘founding revolutionary event’: “... in the history of the modern nation, wherever the argument can apply, there is never more than one single founding revolutionary event which explains both the permanent temptation to repeat its forms, to imitate its episodes and characters, and the temptation found among the ‘extreme’ parties to suppress it ...” (Balibar 1991:87). Herb Feith makes the important point that movements tend to come to an agreement in arguments about what a real or primary founding event might be (pers. comm. 2000).⁵³ Public declarations of allegiance to West Papua (the independent nation-state Irian Jaya will become) beneath the Morning Star flag (the flag of the nascent nation-state in 1961) are dangerous to the Indonesian state. They create their own truth by constituting a West Papuan people and place, thus

⁵² The historical and political symbolism of the flag is not lost on the Indonesian state. At the 15th National sports week held in Surabaya in June 2000, among twenty-six provincial flags hoisted at the games’ secretariat, the Irian Jaya flag was blue with the word Papua written in yellow (Antara 2000a). Feith explains this as an attempt by the Indonesian state to use the word ‘Papua’ to challenge the primacy of the Morning Star flag (pers. comm. 2000). Independence leaders carried out a flag raising campaign across Irian Jaya beginning December 1, 1999 until May 1, 2000. The former date coincided with the first raising of the flag in 1961, considered to begin the formal process towards an independent West Papua. Throughout 2000, the Morning Star flag constituted a dramatic political symbol, inspiring much conjecture as to the meaning of its exhibition. The state reacted to the flag with extreme inconsistency. Sporadic but violent incidences of military retaliation against flag raisers occurred, peaking in a riot in Wamena on October 6-7 (see Conclusion chapter). This incident was followed by the state’s prohibition of the flag, subsequently altered to permit the raised flag in designated locations as a ‘cultural symbol’.

⁵³ For a discussion of the Biak origin of the flag’s morning star or *sampari* (B) symbol and its suitability as a national flag see Aditjondro (2000b).

momentarily establishing the legitimacy of an alternative regime (Rutherford 1999:44). The declaration, the flag and the demonstrators' resistance contest Indonesia's status as a state. Responding to flag-raising ceremonies across Irian in July 1998, the Commander Chief of the Armed Forces, General Wiranto, labelled the raising of flags apart from the red and white flag during a demonstration as 'treasonous action' (*tindakan makar*): "If a demonstration has already raised a flag apart from the red and white one, what is this? It means the breaking into pieces of the nation. Which means an attack against the government and non-recognition of the Indonesian Republic" (*Suara Pembaruan Daily* 1998).⁵⁴

The narrative panel captures an ordinary international thinking at Iowara: the imperative of being a nation among other nations, and the matter of the nascent nation-state in 1961. Ghassan Hage's proposition that "every national consciousness is by definition inter-national" is evocative of this (1993:78). Hage proposes that the nation as international subject: "... allows the individuals that exist through it to have an international existence. The nation as a unified body is a subject for other nations, not only a subject for the subjects that constitute it" (1993:83). The historical formation of Indonesia as a unified body and Irian Jaya's role in constituting it, is the subject of the fifth set of themes.

Fifth set of themes: West Papua liberated Indonesia from the Dutch

Panel 15 The symbol of the *garuda* bird and Sukarno's military baton⁵⁵

⁵⁴ The state's formulation of '*makar*' was commented on by some people at Iowara as a new term to smear people as anti-government strategists. *Makar* means treasonous action against the government and presumes the accused individual has a base of supporters and is plotting against the government, whereas people marked with this term may not be leaders or strategists at all.

⁵⁵ In the book of Exodus, God used the staff of Moses to perform miraculous catastrophes to liberate the Jews from slavery and political oppression from the Egyptians (Giay 1995:124). Giay recounts the story of a 'Me' man called Benyamin who sought to establish a Christian state of West Papua, conceiving the staff in this light. Benyamin said: "I am ready to announce the establishment of the independent state of West Papua, but I do not have Moses' staff yet ... If I get the [staff] ..., we Irian Jayans will be free from all forms of oppression. The Indonesians will go" (Giay 1995:124). According to Giay, the Me people and some religious leaders believed that the male creator deity or God had shown sympathy by granting them religious objects like a staff in order to deliver them out of socio-economic and political chaos (1995:150).

This story was told to me by an elderly Muyu woman still living at Iowara whose father is the old man in the story. The *garuda* (eagle) was stolen from Digul during the Second World War when Sukarno was detained at Boven Digul. Sukarno was looked after by an elderly man who looked upon him as his own child. When the Japanese dropped bombs, the old man used a talisman to change his form into a *beringin* (banyan) tree to shelter Sukarno. One morning, the old man left the house to relieve himself and came across a fledgling eagle crouched down and shivering; radiating light. The old man was taken aback and returned to the house to fetch Sukarno. Upon emerging, Sukarno bent in submission to the bird as though to pay homage and upon gathering the bird in his arms it changed form to become a military baton. Sukarno habitually held the baton from this point on. Only Sukarno could hold the baton, for others it would become heavy. He took it back to Jakarta and not long after, proclaimed Independence from the Dutch in spite of the domination of the Dutch forces. The baton is said to have vanished from Indonesia and returned to Irian. The baton's 'power' (*hikmat*) was meant to empower Sukarno to liberate West Irian from the Dutch but Sukarno's communist strategy was the 'wrong game/strategy' (*permainan yang salah*). Consequently, the gift of power was reclaimed [Composite panel comprising a principal narrative from a Kanum man and elements from other Muyu narratives. Similar versions of this narrative were recounted by all Muyu and Kanum informants, as well as some northerners].

The narrative represents Sukarno interned at Boven Digul and heroizes him as intending liberator.⁵⁶ Between 1927-1943, the Dutch administration maintained a camp for mainly Javanese and Minangkabau nationalists at Boven Digul, on the upper reaches of the Digul River in Merauke Province. In the National History Museum in Jakarta, the state represents the history of Irian Jaya in terms of three dioramas, including one titled "Digul 1927." The legend to this diorama concludes with the comment: "Up to the present time Digul is the symbol of sacrifice for nationalist leaders of the generation before World War II." Papuans were also interned at Boven Digul for anti-Dutch activities. A northerner at Iowara proposed that Seth Rumkorem – who proclaimed an independent West Papua on December 1, 1971 - had also been interned there.⁵⁷ He also speculated on the likelihood of solidarity among Javanese, Minangkabau and Papuan

⁵⁶ In reality, Sukarno was exiled not to Boven Digul but to Flores and later Bengkulu in Sumatra. Shiraishi (1996:94) suggests that Sukarno was so terrified at the thought of living at Digul: "he asked for the government pardon in exchange of his quitting political activities and if necessary his cooperation with the government." See also Mrazek (1996).

⁵⁷ Given that Seth Rumkorem was born in the 1940s, it seems likely that the speaker meant Seth's father Lucas Rumkorem who was an early supporter of Indonesian rule (Osborne 1985:51).

nationalists: “Perhaps Sukarno and fellow prisoners shared the same idea to expel the Dutch coloniser altogether.”

Most people at Iowara with whom I spoke about Sukarno, claimed his intentions to be benevolent; merely providing custodianship for Netherlands New Guinea prior to granting independence.⁵⁸ Several people claimed to have viewed a formal photograph of Sukarno with his baton, standing poised before a map of West Irian. The photograph’s caption read: “I entrust this country to you.”⁵⁹ The principal Kanum narrator of panel 14 explained to me that the word ‘*titip*’ contains the meaning of temporary custodianship.

In another version of the narrative, Sukarno traveled to Wandamen and was granted wisdom, philosophy, and magical power (*hikmat*) manifest in a knife. According to the narrator, the knife’s *hikmat* was meant to empower Sukarno to liberate Netherlands New Guinea from the Dutch. However, Sukarno’s communist politic coupled with his violation of the condition of good behaviour pertaining to fidelity, caused his political demise - the withdrawal of his *hikmat* and ultimately, an ambiguous Papuan future.⁶⁰ During the period of Megawati Sukarnoputri’s candidacy to become Indonesian president in 1999, an elderly Muyu man explained that Megawati sought to reclaim her father’s baton to guarantee her candidacy. If Megawati granted independence to West Papua she would be rewarded with powers to govern the rest of Indonesia. He explained: “Of course Megawati’s party will be chosen by West Papua. She will see to her father’s promise. She will know about the eagle.”⁶¹

Sukarno as benevolent coloniser intending to liberate West Irian is contested in a third version of the narrative below. Here, Sukarno is represented as betraying the West Papuan people and denying their liberation.

⁵⁸ Sukarno acquired several titles among the Indonesian people including “Great Son of West Irian” (Feith 1963:83).

⁵⁹ *Ku titip negeri ini kepadamu.*

⁶⁰ Other narrators have positioned Sukarno as giver of the gift. Rutherford (1997:547) tells the story of Biomer Boseran, a Biak prophet who received an amulet (a tiny bible on a chain) from Sukarno at Boven Digul where Boseran was also interned. Rutherford uses this story to make the point that an encounter with the Indonesian struggle gave these leaders their radical ideas.

⁶¹ Benedict Anderson lamented: “The most shameful thing is that the daughter of Sukarno – who was deposed, humiliated, and effectively imprisoned for life by Suharto ... has publicly defended Suharto’s subjugation project” (1999:9). West Papuan academic Otto Ondawame claimed that the transfer of responsibilities for domestic affairs from President Wahid to Vice President Megawati Sukarnoputri in August 2000 would exacerbate the situation in Papua: “She actually was against Golkar before but now the military and Golkar and Megawati are hand in hand to restore the militarisation in Indonesia. She’s just a puppet for the others” (Woods 2000).

The *garuda* eagle originated from Papua however, only certain people could see the eagle. Sukarno met with one of these people and requested permission to borrow the eagle for thirty years. The request was granted and subsequently, Indonesia became independent beneath the leadership of Sukarno. But Sukarno broke his promise; he did not return the eagle to the Papuan people. Therein lies Indonesia's success: the *garuda* gives information to Indonesia about what must be done to achieve victory.⁶²

Sukarno is indebted to the Papuan seer who revealed the eagle, and to the Papuan people whose eagle has not been returned. In these narratives, the eagle is a Papuan object categorised as 'a cultural product' (*hasil budaya*). It is a source of knowledge, power and domination; its intelligence demonstrated by its preference for hunting and eating live animals rather than carcass. The eagle is also considered by Biak people to be a 'disturber of the peace' (*pengganggu*); killing fish and only eating the eyes and intestines, leaving the rest to putrify.

The removal of the eagle's image left West Papua vulnerable to Indonesia's annexation and continued colonisation. The tactic doubles back: Papua's power is borrowed by Sukarno to defeat the Dutch, and then used by Indonesia to colonise West Papua. In these mythico-historical narratives of panel 15, West Papua is positioned as holding the 'key' to a unified Indonesia requiring metaphysical powers. The panels claim West Papuan ownership over the cultural symbols of the Indonesian state: the *beringin* symbol of the Golkar political party, and the *garuda* symbol of the Indonesian state.

Panel 16 The symbol of the *beringin* tree

The *beringin* tree is Indonesia's national symbol. For West Papuans, this tree harbours 'tutelary spirits' (*penunggu*); it is a place of Satan. It is a colonising tree-vine which strangles the tree of attachment, dominating the environment. The eagle is another symbol of state. It is predator and hunter, seizing prey ruthlessly. Yes, these two symbols represent the Indonesian style of governmentation. Why are black-skinned West Papuans not protected by the *beringin* tree? Why are our rights not the same as other Indonesians from Java, Sulawesi, Sumatra? The *beringin* tree is not a place of sanctuary but the reverse, a symbol of murder, and violation of basic human rights and the dignity of the Papuan people. The Indonesian state is the same as the *beringin* tree in its natural environment, strangling other

⁶² This version was recorded by Father Jacques Gros in conversation with a Muryu person at Iowara in 1999.

plants nearby. The main task of the revolution is to destroy the *beringin* tree down to its very roots⁶³ [Taken from a recorded speech made during a July 28 commemorative ceremony held at Blackwater camp, Vanimo, in 1987. The sentiment of this speech was repeated to me by many northerners at Iowara].

The colonising *beringin* tree is a striking analogy for Indonesian governance. According to Papuan cosmology, the *beringin* tree is a place of evil. It is difficult to ascertain whether this meaning pre-dates its incorporation as Suharto's Golkar Party symbol. The narrative inverts the symbol of the former ruling party, claiming that it was under the tree's guise of supposed protection - during Golkar rule - that West Papuans have experienced greatest vulnerability. The narrative recasts the *beringin* tree not as a benign sign of protection or salvation, but of danger and neglect.

In this set of themes, the metaphysical powers of the natural world manifest in the eagle and *beringin* tree, enabled the liberation of Indonesia from the Dutch, and indirectly allowed Indonesia to colonise Irian Jaya.⁶⁴ In the next narrative, the Irian Jaya landscape - Lake Sentani and the Cyclops Range - is alleged to have inspired an Allied 'victory' in the Second World War (1945). This narrative opens the fifth set of themes in which Irian is figured at the center of international battle.

Sixth set of themes: The world colluded with Indonesia against West Papuans, allowing colonisation

Panel 17 The world delivered Netherlands New Guinea to Indonesia

The United States and Australia used Netherlands New Guinea to defeat the Japanese in 1945. MacArthur's victory was 'God-granted' (*karunia*) and was

⁶³ *Pohon Beringin bukan tempat perlindungan yang aman tapi sebaliknya lambang pembunuhan, kejahatan, perkosa hak-hak asasi dan martabat bangsa Papua sama seperti alamiah ... utama dari revolusi adalah menghancurkan pohon beringin itu sampai akar-akarnya.*

⁶⁴ See also Timmer's representation of Imyan millenarianism drawing on historical events including Sukarno's appropriation of the powerful resources of *garuda* and *beringin*. The clever appropriation of these Papuan powers suggest to the Imyan that the Javanese know how to communicate with Imyan sky beings, confirming Imyan loss of control over these beings (2000:300-301).

also through 'divine inspiration' (*ilham*) that he received from the tall Mount Ifar. MacArthur built his barracks on the top of Ifar. While gazing out across Lake Sentani, MacArthur watched the path of a wave making its way from one promontory to another. Thus he received the island-hopping strategic vision to bomb Hiroshima. The image was taken from this land. So, the victory against the Japanese was conceived. In MacArthur's victory speech, he made a public proclamation of world peace from the capital Hollandia. In troubled times they ask for help but in happier times they do not want to know about others troubles [Narrative recounted by all northerner informants].

In 1962, President Kennedy wrote a letter to the Queen of the Netherlands persuading her to accede Netherlands New Guinea to Indonesia. President Kennedy's letter showed that we were surrendered to Indonesia because of communism. This struggle could have ignited World War III. The OPM was already smeared by the Indonesian Communist Party [speaker traces the figure X on his forehead]. Some OPM members had added their names to an Indonesian Communist Party declaration. It was also known that Indonesia had bought weapons from Russia to fight the Netherlands over West Papua. America scraped communism from Indonesia and 'toppled' (*mengulingkan*) Sukarno's rule. America gave warships and weaponry to Suharto to defend Indonesia against communism. But now Suharto has also betrayed the ideals of democracy. America has recently torn down Indonesia [speaker lifts a book towards the ceiling letting it drop to the floor with a crash]. Jimmy Carter is acting as witness to the [1999] Indonesian General Election. Now, our key to independence is democracy and America. We are part of the Pacific region meaning we are subject to America [Narrative by two northerner members of the West Papua New Guinea National Congress].

The historical narratives above place Irian at the center of international politics. The UN, US, Japan, and Australia owe West Papuan people allegiance to discharge their obligation according to a principal of reciprocity expressed in the 'troubled times' proverb. America is indebted because many West Papuans perished and were murdered as US allies by the Japanese in the Second World War, and because of the island-hopping war tactic revealed to General MacArthur. Japan is indebted because of the repressive occupation during WW II that saw many West Papuans enslaved and killed. Papua New Guinea is indebted because the crisis in Irian Jaya provoked Australia to accelerate the decolonisation of PNG, fearing Indonesia's dual project of decolonisation and expansionism.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ See Smith (1991:99-122).

Foreign indebtedness is to be resolved in debtor nations' diplomatic advocacy in support of West Papuan independence.

Kennedy's collusion runs deeper than his coaxing of the Queen of the Netherlands against West Papuans. Several informants at Iowara claimed that Kennedy introduced West Papuans to the world as 'cannibals' (*orang yang makan manusia*) following Michael Rockefeller's disappearance in November 1961. Kennedy discouraged the world from identifying with West Papuans, representing them as uncivilised, un-Christian 'Other'.

In the second narrative of panel 17, West Papua appears at the center of a Cold War imbroglio in the region of the Asia-Pacific rim.⁶⁶ The West Papua New Guinea National Congress faction at Iowara focused on regional politics to the east, particularly the South Pacific Forum, as a platform to raise the issue of West Papua at the UN.⁶⁷ Congress also proposed that ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand and US security treaty) should support West Papua in the Pacific region.⁶⁸ The Congress faction often used pro-American, anti-communist interpretations of history, for example, in describing Sukarno's defeat and in describing a Papuan future requiring US intervention. The US as a world power is depicted in Indonesia's economic crisis (*krismon*) beginning in 1998, engineered by the US.

⁶⁶ David Bourchier claims a logic of competition with the Soviets led the US in 1961-2 to pressure the Dutch to give up their control of West Irian (1996: 136). US-Indonesian relations had been poor for a number of years before 1961 and the US was alarmed by General Nasution's visit to Moscow in 1959 where he acquired military supplies as well as a US\$450 million low-interest loan. Other loans followed from Soviet allies such as Poland and Czechoslovakia (Osborne 1985:23). A statement issued by the Soviet 'people and government' expressed "profound sympathy and support for the 'just demand' of the Indonesian people for the reunification of West Irian, which was described as a part of Indonesia's 'original territory' " (Osborne 1985:23). Added to this imbroglio, a US consular official in Jakarta claimed that the resistance movement could acquire arms from Communist China (Saltford 2000:74). OPM approaches to eastern bloc countries for military support have caused factional disputes, most notably between Jakob Prai and Seth Rumakore in 1977 (Osborne 1985:64).

⁶⁷ See also Rex Rumakiek's paper titled "Reclaiming our rightful place in the Pacific" presented at the Conference on the Prospects of Peace and Conflict Resolution in West Papua at the University of Sydney on April 19, 2000. Rumakiek details the historical relation of NGOs and individual governments in the South Pacific to the struggle for an independent West Papua.

⁶⁸ In a diplomatic breakthrough in November 2000, New Zealand Foreign Minister Goff met with Franzalbert Joku, International Relations moderator of the Papuan Council. Goff subsequently announced that New Zealand would be willing to mediate dialogue between Indonesia and West Papuans if requested to do so by these parties (Sydney Morning Herald 2000).

The next panel establishes that Irian Jaya was delivered to a violent, colonising caretaker administration in 1962.

Panel 18 The first hints of our violent colonisation

In the period 1960-61, the Dutch had trained a battalion of Papuan soldiers as preparation towards independence. They were stationed in a barracks at Manokwari. In 1962-63, the Indonesian government disbanded the West Papuan battalion, installing their only military headquarter at Manokwari. On July 28, 1965 Papuans attacked the Indonesian base with machete, axes, knives and guns which were 'remnants' (*peninggalan*) from WW2 dropped by the US for West Papuans to use against the Japanese. The battle of Arfai inspired events of resistance in other parts of West Papua and effected an Indonesian campaign to eliminate resistance and activists, namely the OPM. No person, group or community wishes to be beneath another except according to 'natural law' (*hukum alam*), for example, in the case of children subservient to parents. The sort of treatment meted out by the Indonesian military to West Papuans during the period 1963-1965 included: civilians and Papuan soldiers directly shot or beaten without trial; West Papuan flags inside government offices lowered, soaked with kerosene and burned; Indonesian soldiers marched house to house, confiscating flags and Kijne's *Seruling Mas* songbook which contained the song adopted as national anthem; senior ranking West Papuan civil servants were replaced by Indonesians (Ambon, Batak, Manado, Java) and demoted to low ranking positions; the Dutch were compulsorily repatriated; and shops were emptied of goods.⁶⁹ Indonesian soldiers entered [shops], demanded [goods] and took them at gunpoint (*masuk-lihat-minta-todong*). Why did the [Indonesian] soldiers not look after our safety but rather, want to kill us? [Composition panel comprising a narrative by a survivor of the Arfai battle living at Iowara. The second half of the narrative was recounted by most informants at Iowara].

⁶⁹ "Heads of government departments and branches were replaced by Javanese and transferred to lower positions. Indonesians would not accept a rank below a West Papuan. They increased their wages and lowered ours. They considered us to be stupid whereas they were clever. We say they are cunning (*pintar busuk*). They consider West Papuan people to know nothing, that our level of thinking is beneath theirs. Yet we had already been trusted by the Dutch. We worked alongside the Dutch. We saw they [Indonesians] were not capable of doing our work. We were required to teach them our work. They took/extracted our expertise" (Single narrative, however the fact of demotion and discrimination was reiterated by most informants). Blaskett observed that in the mid 1980s, some of the highest positions in the civil administration i.e., the governorship and bupatis, were held by West Papuans but the heads of departments were Indonesians (1989:145).

A national army is a potent symbol of nation and preparation of the Papuan Battalion anticipated this state. The elimination of the Battalion, and the symbolic violence evident in the destruction of the flag and songbook containing the national anthem, are represented as traces of the West Papuan state that contested Jakarta's authority. The violent manner of elimination is expressed in the closing rhetorical question inferring that, as nascent Indonesian citizens, West Papuans might have expected other than pillage and murder by 'their' state's soldiers depicted as common thieves running amok.⁷⁰

The Arfai battle mentioned in the narrative was recalled by northerners at Iowara as united and courageous, 'a special lesson' (*hikmah khusus*) that created impetus for people to unify as West Papuan national patriots. At an annual event commemorating the Arfai Battle held at Waraston in 1998, speeches focused on the existence of unity in the 1965 battle. The speech cautioned against influences that sought to differentiate and divide West Papuans as a nation: "By not looking at tribe/ethnicity, group, region and so on, they [1965 Papuan Battalion] only saw one thing, that is, a West Papuan person. Sentiments of 'ism' in groups did not exist. A situation that was truly pure, a feeling of unity and integrity, the example of which we as the next generation, have earnestly been faithful."⁷¹ Commemorative ceremonies reminded people of the object of exile and the pledge of *janji laskar* or sacrifice for the nation.⁷² Hage (1993:93) identifies the

⁷⁰ On West Papuan perceptions of the plundering activities of Indonesian and Pakistani soldiers during the period of UNTEA, see Erari 1999:189.

⁷¹ *Dengan tidak melihat kepada suku, kelompok, daerah dan lain sebagainya, hanya melihat satu, yaitu orang papua barat. Perasaan isme, kelompok dan lain sebagainya, tidak ada. Satu keadaan yang sungguh sungguh murni, rasa kesatuan dan persatuan yang sungguh sungguh patulah kita tjontohi oleh kita-kita ini sebagai penerus.*

⁷² 'Janji' means promise or pledge while 'laskar' means a brigade of traditional warriors or guerrilla fighters. A song composed by Jack Offide and recorded at Blackwater camp, Vanimo, in 1984 commemorates the death of Elieser Wersai, a Tanahmerahan who was shot and killed on February 13, 1984, while defending the raised West Papuan flag. In "The Revolution's Banner" (*Panji Revolusi*), the flag is a metaphor for nation, and symbol of revolution: Beneath the revolution's banner (*Di bawah Panji Revolusi*) / The brilliant morning star (*Bintang Fajar yang Gemilang*) / The nation's patriots are scattered (*Terkaparlah Pahlawan Bangsa*) / On behalf of the nations spirit (*Untuk sukma Bangsa*) / They sacrificed their lives (*Mengorbankan jiwa raganya*) / On the grave (*Di atas pusara*) / West Papuan patriots, upholders of the revolution (*Pahlawan Papua Barat, penegak Revolusi*) / West Papuan patriots, your endeavours are renown (*Pahlawan Papua Barat, karyamu sungguh harum*) / With great fighting spirit (*Dengan semangat juang yang tinggi*) / Striving for independence (*Menuju kemerdekaan*) / Beneath the revolution's banner (*Di bawah Panji Revolusi*) / The brilliant morning star (*Bintang fajar yang gemilang*) / Defend your homeland (*Pertahankan Tanah Airmu*) / From colonisation (*Dari Penjajahan*) / So the noble aim is attained (*Agar capai maksud mulia*) / For eternity (*Untuk selama-lamanya*).

principal of 'dying for one's nation' in nationalist discourse where subjects of the fatherland are not bodily subjects or individual subjects, rather they have been abstracted to become a communal body and can therefore discard even their bodies. In the Arfai battle commemorative speech, significations of the fatherland were evocative of this. The subject of the next panel shifts from dying for nation, to the matter of selling (betraying) the nation.

Panel 19 1969 PEPERA, the penultimate deception

Instead of 'one person one vote' as originally agreed upon by the UN, Indonesia arranged 'one thousand represented by one'. Old men chosen could not read or write. Some were WWII veterans. The voting moved from one region to another, opening in Merauke and then shifting to Jayapura. In Merauke, delegates were contained in the government building Gedung Irian Bhakti. They were not permitted to speak to people outside. Soldiers guarded the entrance and the people were accompanied wherever they went. They were fed well and given gifts of teapots, plates, Sanyo radios, bicycles and Honda motorcycles. Other people were said to have been given Javanese women and taken to Jakarta where they stayed in fancy hotels. They thought their life would be like that under Indonesia. On voting day, voters were given rice and tinned fish distributed by the neighbourhood association. Their inked thumbs were guided by Indonesian electoral officers. Planes scattered thousands of pamphlets from the air. The pamphlets contained the message: "We the people of West Papua, with this, become as one with the Indonesian Republic."⁷³ Afterward, life returned to the way it had been before. In retrospect we realised that we had sold ourselves, sold our land. In 1969, our thumbprint gave our rights away. Now, when people complain: "We don't want to see a whole lot of pens [in refugees' shirt pockets] because pens have made trouble for us." I say: "Pens are not empty. Now this pen has the task to return our rights. Indonesia used our illiteracy to thief our rights." The surrender of West Papua to Indonesia had never been signed like a formal legal agreement; it was by thumb print only [Composite panel comprising narratives from several northerner and Muyu people. The fraudulent implementation of PEPERA comprised a common theme in informant's narratives].

The violent coercion of PEPERA delegates by the Indonesian military was the subject of collective narrative, accompanied by the standardised gesture of an

⁷³ *Kami rakyat Irian Barat dengan ini bergabung bersatu dengan Republik Indonesia.*

imaginary pistol pointed to the head.⁷⁴ The narratives lay bare PEPERA's implementation: tactical selection, concealment, bribery and seduction by objects associated with pleasure.⁷⁵ In the period of the late 1960s, imported objects like Sanyo radios and Honda motorbikes were both extremely expensive and rarely owned by West Papuans. These were the first gifts in a series of deceptions that the Indonesian state and migrants deployed in order to gain power and land. The 'trickery' of the Indonesians worked because of the naivete of the West Papuans. Indonesia's incorporation of West Papua was founded on deception and ill-gotten power. The West Papuan imagination saw the event as the theft of their nationhood,⁷⁶ while the Jakartan imagination naturalised the 'unanimous' outcome of the 'referendum'.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ See Rowley's (1969) personal account of the conduct and implementation of three regional votes.

⁷⁵ John Saltford's research (2000) confirms West Papuan claims of fraudulence and United Nations complicity/negligence. Saltford claims that the terms of the New York Agreement were not fulfilled: the act of self-determination did not take place 'in accordance with international practice' and the UN Secretariat allowed Indonesian interference and collaborated with the Dutch and Indonesians in deciding to abandon the use of a direct voting system. According to the New York Agreement (August 15, 1962), UNTEA was established to run the territory for a minimum of seven months and while there was no maximum set, the UN withdrew at the end of this minimum period. In the lead up to PEPERA, UN officials witnessed the election of only 195 out of 1,022 assembly representatives who eventually took part in the Act of Free Choice.

⁷⁶ The song "Changes in 1969" (*Senis Long 1969*) arranged in Tok Pisin by Alex Hanueby at Iowara, depicts PEPERA as a revolutionary juncture in West Papuan history; an event which marks time, before and after 1969: In the past, in the land where the sun goes down (*Taim bifo long hap bilong san igo daun*) / You were a pleasant place where the cool breeze always blew (*Yu wanpela naispela ples oltaim kolwin i blow*) / Many birds of paradise made their song (*Planti kumul ol i mekim song*) / All kinds of flowers decorated your forest (*Kain-kain flauer bilasim bush blong yu*) / All the people were happy, moved around freely (*Olgeta people i amamas, raun long laik bilong ol*) / Betel nuts, sago and game were plentiful (*Buai, sak-sak na abus pulap i stap*) / They had gold and silver (*Gold na silver ol i gat*) / People's lives were not too hard (*Laif bilong people em ino hard tumas*) / But in 1969 things changed (*Tasol long 1969, ol samting i senis nau*) / Enemies came and stole your people's land (*Birua ol i kam na stilim graun bilong people bilong yu*) / Destroyed their rights...now they are poor (*Bagarapim right bilong ol ... ol i stap rabis nau*) / In your country (*Long country bilong ol*).

⁷⁷ The legend accompanying The National History Museum's diorama titled "The Referendum in Irian Jaya 1969" proclaims as historical fact: "On May 1, 1963, sovereignty over Irian Jaya was transferred to the Republic of Indonesia, under the condition that in 1969 an act of free choice for the people of Irian Jaya would be held. In order to implement the Agreement of New York 1962, the Indonesian government held a United Nations supervised referendum in Irian Jaya in July 1969. The result was a unanimous option for joining the Republic of Indonesia as an integral part of the Republic."

In this set of themes, West Papuans are consistently represented as victims caught up in the international machinations of others, and without recourse. People's willingness to die for the reclamation of nationhood evidences the unnatural and violent imposition of Indonesian colonial rule, challenging the PEPERA result. The subject of the next section concerns Indonesia's motivation and tactics to incorporate West Papua into the Republic.

Seventh set of themes: Eliminating us in order to claim our land

Panel 20 Re-naming our land

With the arrival of the coloniser came the announcement of their King. The Juliana peak of Dutch times became the Suharto peak. Mount Juliana became Mandala mountain named after Suharto's 1962 military command for the liberation of Netherlands New Guinea. The Oranje mountains became the Jayawijaya range. The Nassau mountains became the Sudirman range after the Javanese guerrilla who led the 1945-49 armed struggle against the Dutch on Java. Mount Wilhelmina became Mount Trikora after Sukarno's campaign to liberate Irian from Dutch control. Frederik Hendrik Island south of Merauke became Yos Sudarso Island after the Javanese commodore who led a doomed attack on a Dutch warship. The capital Hollandia became Kota Baru, Sukarnopura, then Jayapura. The Portuguese installed the name Irian in the sixteenth century. The Dutch used Netherlands New Guinea or West Irian [Compilation narrative. The history of naming was familiar to most informants].

The symbolic re-naming of the Papuan landscape in another nation's image is identified in the panel above as a colonising practice. Narratives historicise these places, providing genealogies of names for places and locating them at points in time installed by particular colonial leaders. These genealogies locate Indonesia as the latest in a history of colonial regimes, subverting the myth of Indonesia's 'liberation' of Irian Jaya from Dutch colonial rule. Ballard (2000:150-151) notes that the frequency of name changes in Irian Jaya betrayed their "relationship to any organic or indigenous referents"; making no reference to indigenous toponyms in use among local resident communities. Naming as colonising practice is the subject of the song 'Port Numbai' - the local name for Jayapura - composed by Jack Offide at Blackwater camp, Vanimo, in 1984.

Do you know the capital of West Papua? / Like a precious pearl in the evening / A cool breeze blows on the Cyclops mountain peak / From Yotefa Bay that is the city of Port Numbay, the capital of West Papua / Your name truly glows in the human heart / You are the words of our praise, I cherish you / In Dutch times you were named Hollandia / During the time of change you were called Kotabaru / President Sukarno also called you Sukarnopura / The Indonesian nation exalted you, city of Jayapura.⁷⁸

Since annexation, naming has constituted a dangerous practice because of its power to create its own truth; to mention West Papua was to constitute a place and a people (Rutherford 1999:44). The verse “Your name truly shines within the human heart, you have the words of our adoration” intimates such danger; manifestations of nationhood were violently put down by the state, leaving nationhood to lie instead, within people’s hearts. The next panel shifts from naming as colonising practice, to the colonial practice of resource extraction.

Panel 21 The vulnerable Garden of Eden

West Papua feeds the world. The world lives on our wealth. The ‘map of the gold’ (*peta emas*) or the ‘map of mineral resources’ (*peta hasil*) were taken to Holland. Stolen, secreted away then sold. Holland sold the map to Indonesia for a price which was not little. Indonesia then opened Freeport – ‘gloriously rich’ (*jaya kaya*). Two percent to Irian Jaya, sixty percent to Indonesia and the rest to investors. The island of Java is no ‘paradise’ (*surga*), it is a place of beggars. There is no place/room. There is no land. People sleep under bridges. The society is deceived. They [the government and newcomers] are taking land slowly from the coast spreading to the interior. Indonesia is preparing soldiers to become farmers to be re-located as transmigrants. They are not farmers. This is the strategy: transmigrants are placed in regions which the government wants to acquire for commercial purposes. First, the area is cleared of local people. Next, retired military personnel are settled there.⁷⁹ Every region is managed and supervised in this

⁷⁸ *Sudahkah kau mengenal ibukota Papua Barat / Bagaimana Mutiara indah di waktu malam hari / Hawa sejujupun berhembus puncak Gunung Siklop / Dari Teluk Yotefa itulah kota Port Numbai Ibu kota Papua Barat / Namamu sungguh semarak dalam kalbu insani / Kaulah kata pujaan kami Aku cinta padamu / Jaman dahulu Belanda disebut kata Hollandia / Jaman peralihan disebut Kotabaru / Presiden Sukarno juga menyebut Sukarnopura / Bangsa Indonesia agungkan kota Jayapura.*

⁷⁹ The settlement of retired soldiers on transmigration sites is public knowledge and the subject of diorama no. 70 titled “ABRI transmigrants outside Java” (*Transmigrasi ABRI ke luar Jawa*) in the ABRI Satriamandala Museum in Jakarta (ABRI 1997:109-110).

way. The military are agents for Suharto's business interests. The transmigrants are simply tools. Indonesia had the aim of extinguishing West Papuan people in order that their land may become the property of the state. Indonesians have a 'robbing attitude' (*sikap rampas*). Whereas the Dutch taught us to excavate resources and look for things of wealth, albeit for the Dutch state. Admittedly, we were used as labour power and our wages were low and this was not just, we were often deceived [Composite panel compiled from the narratives of several people. Appropriation and elimination comprised a common theme of conversation among informants].

Gold is a metaphor for other Papuan natural resources that require extraction and cultivation; their location below the surface rendering them inaccessible to Papuan landholders.⁸⁰ This situation is expressed in the proverb: "Destitute Irianese walk above their land that is rich"⁸¹ and in the expression "A beautiful land that is both rich and impoverished."⁸² In the narrative above, the Netherlands is indebted because of profit from raw materials in the period of colonisation, and the selling of a mineral survey map to Indonesia.⁸³ According to many informants, *merdeka*

⁸⁰ Several people at Iowara spoke about gold beginning to appear on the earth's surface across Irian Jaya. This is substantiated by the Merauke Committee's history: "In 1527, Alvaro di Saardra Seron landed on the island of Papua mid-journey to Peru. He named the island *Isla del Oro* meaning Island of gold. Alvaro gave this name because in the place of landing he discovered many fragments of gold. Alvaro considered the island to contain gold or to consist of gold ... While this name has never been used until now, the reality is that in the twenty-first century everywhere in Irian Jaya, gold can be discovered emerging/appearing on the earth's surface" (1998:12).

⁸¹ *Orang Irian miskin jalan di atas tanah yang kaya.*

⁸² This expression is contained in Sam Kapissa's soliloquy: "A song of desolation" (*Nyanyian sunyi*) in 1978. His lyrics were recalled by Johan, a Biak man at Iowara. First verse: A sad song with captivating lyrics (*Lagu nan sendu dan syair yang menawan*) / Its rhythm tears at my heart (*Mengalun disana menayat hatiku*) / A sad tone and captivating poetry tied there [to that place] (*Dan nada yang sedih, puisi yang menawan terjalin di sana*) / O, a desolate song (*O Nyanyian Sunyi*). Second verse: This beautiful land both rich and miserable, spread out but divided to the east (*Tanah yang permai, yang kaya dan melarat terhampar di sana di timur merekah*) / And the sound of its waves and birdsong merge (*Dan bunyi ombaknya dan siul unggasnya merangkai bersama*) / O a desolate song (*O Nyanyian Sunyi*). Refrain: A neglected paradise filled with smiles (*Sorga yang terlantar yang penuh senyuman*) / The sea of the black pearl that is buried (*Laut mutiara yang hitam terpendam*) / And swift rivers flowing with gold (*Dan sungai yang deras mengalirkan emas*) / And the sound of its wave and birdsong merge (*Dan bunyi ombaknya dan siul unggasnya merangkai bersama*) / O desolate song (*O Nyanyian Sunyi*).

⁸³ In 1931-32 the Dutch administration's agricultural development along the northern coast was largely unsuccessful despite establishing rubber plantations. Netherlands New Guinea could not compare with commercial interests elsewhere in the East Indies, nor did it result in the establishment of a settler economy (Jaarsma n.d.). See also Greg Poulgrain's (1999) account of the political ramifications of the discovery of a large oilfield in West New Guinea in the 1940s, and the role of large mining and oil companies in the period 1962-63.

would allow Papuan people to benefit from the resources of their land. Mentioned analogously as the Garden of Eden, West Papua is also a place of immense metaphysical or magical power that may be bequeathed to certain individuals. These powers may be extinguished if the conditions are not adhered to. In a song composed by a Muyu person at Iowara to accompany a dance called "Hunting the Cenderawasih," a metaphor of the hunted and the hunter is used to represent West Papua as riches or *harta*, desired by people and other nations. The hunter is also described as coloniser.⁸⁴

In panel 21, transmigration is also conceived as an example of appropriation. Transmigration is a monumental scheme engineered to relocate West Papuans to marginal inland regions away from the coast in order to resettle transmigrants, including retired Indonesian soldiers disguised as farmers.⁸⁵ Landowners, transmigrants, soldiers and the government are assigned hierarchical roles in relation to one another. The marginalisation of West Papuans by Indonesian migrants is the subject of the following panel.

Panel 22 Indonesia has no need for Papuan people, only our land and its riches

There are not many indigenous people left in the towns. Indonesia has no need for Papuan people, only our place and its riches. Let me give you some examples. In the market place, Indonesians sell their produce under cover inside the market building. Papuans sell their produce outside that building on the roadside where passing vehicles stir the dust. Second, Papuan fishermen from Yotefa Bay in front of Jayapura have had their fishing grounds overrun by migrants who have installed hundreds of fishing platforms and docks. Papuan fishermen may catch a few fish if they fish on the edges of these platforms, even if they fish far out to sea their catch is small. Third, our rights (*hak*) are always faulted. Perhaps that is our fate as refugees here, but there Supposing I want to sell peanuts for 5000 rupiah, a Makassar person will complain: "Oh, the price is too high, this

⁸⁴ A hunter very early in the morning leaves to go hunting (*Satu orang pemburu laki-laki pagi sekali pergi berburu*) / That hunter sees like this: there is a bird of paradise dancing (*Pemburu itu pergi lihat begini ada satu cenderawasih sedang main*) / He tests his aim with his arrow but cannot hit it (*Dia uji dengan anak panah tapi tidak kena*) / Who will finally shoot and take that bird? (*Siapa yang nanti akan panah burung itu diambil*) [The song was arranged in the Yonggom language by John Torip and Emmanuel Wopon and performed at Confirmation celebrations before the Bishop of Daru-Kiunga at Iowara in August 1999].

⁸⁵ On transmigration as an example of recolonisation, see Pouver 1999:173-177.

amount is enough” and he will pay that price and take the peanuts. If I complain to the authorities, they will say: “Ignorant person, a few peanuts for such a high price!” It happens like this every day. Our rights are not paid any due. We are called citizens (*warga negara*) but our rights are not the same [as Indonesians]. The banks discriminate against us, the requirements are so great, we feel we cannot even try. All sorts of letters and documents are required for even minor matters. In the garden, the village, the town and the state we are considered without rights. Here [PNG], indigenous people have full land rights. There [Irian Jaya], indigenous people are threatened at gunpoint and our land is state property [Composite panel comprising the narratives of two people. The theme of marginality/discrimination was common among informants].

The absence of West Papuan people in the coastal towns evidences Jakarta’s plan to gradually push back the original people to the interior, leaving the coastal areas to the state and Indonesian migrants. The three vignettes show the marginalisation of West Papuans in town: pushed outside of the marketplace,⁸⁶ pushed to the edge of the fishing platforms and docks, and pushed around by migrant merchants. The West Papuan is categorised as a second-class citizen in the eyes of the migrant and the state, mocking Indonesian citizenship as a veneer. In spite of their Indonesian citizenship, it is their status as ‘indigenous Irianese’ (*orang Irian asli*) that sees them as the subject of surveillance and prejudice, and it is their status as ‘Other’ that necessitates their domestication.⁸⁷

Doubtless, comments about landholder rights were influenced by refugee knowledge and experience of inalienable land rights in PNG. Ok Tedi Mining Limited based in the local towns of Kiunga and Tabubil was represented as dealing fairly with landholders; admitting fault for damage caused and arranging restitution (cf. Kirsch 1989, 1996b). It was commonly asserted that the state of *merdeka* would enable Papuan people to benefit from the resources of their land, and international companies with records of just treatment of landholders would

⁸⁶ I also heard it said that Papuan women were not comfortable selling their goods inside because migrants used the covered marketplace as a living/sleeping place.

⁸⁷ This set of themes is evocative of Anderson’s comment: “[the New Order] showed the local people that in the eyes of the Center, Irian mattered, not the people who lived there. In all their real diversity, they were lumped together as a primitive population named after the province. Once again Jakarta was understood to be saying: ‘What a pity there are Irianese in Irian’. The Irianese were never seriously invited into the common project, so it is only natural that they quickly began to feel that they were being colonized” (1999:5).

be invited to operate in the new state.⁸⁸ The final panel below moves beyond exploitation of natural resources and marginalisation by the state, to the matter of ethnocide.

Panel 23 They are trying to destroy the Papuan race

Medical treatment was used as an excuse to inject West Papuan patients with poison. What was important was that the patient had kinky hair. In other instances, seriously sick people were denied immediate treatment until they were beyond salvation. Indonesian hospital staff differentiated between Indonesian patients and indigenous people. If a West Papuan was admitted, although it was critical, the doctor would respond: "Treat them with whatever medicine is available," relying on the nurse's judgement and denying the patient an examination. If a blood transfusion was required, no priority would be given to match the blood type or summon relatives. There is a saying: "If you want to die, have yourself hospitalised." We have heard that young women in the homeland are being injected to prevent them from having offspring; extinguishing the West Papuan race. The drug is supposedly a contraceptive to prevent pregnancy but actually it stops their ovulation, sterilising them. In twenty years this means that the Papuan race will die out. A relative in West Papua advised: better you 'proliferate' (*berkembang*) there in PNG than return home. Prostitution has spread sexual diseases causing infertility. In the realm of morality, Indonesia has corrupted us. Previously, prostitution was prohibited. Indonesia brought prostitution as a business. Indonesian women are brought to Irian Jaya by ship. They sell themselves in the street. Indonesian prostitutes and houses of prostitution have brought syphilis and AIDS.⁸⁹ During the Dutch period, life was 'clean/innocent' (*bersih*). If I harassed a girl, she could report me to the police and I could be arrested and warned or imprisoned. Now there are many sins throughout West Papua. Prostitution is destroying Papuan morality [Composite panel compiled from the narratives of a northerner, Muyu and two Kanum people at Iowara].

Murder is categorised as 'direct' (*secara langsung*) or 'concealed' (*halus*). Indirectness manifest in politeness in the 'Javanese character' is deemed

⁸⁸ The third paragraph of the Port Numbay Resolution of June 4, 2000 from the Papuan People's Congress reads: "Further recognising the importance of adopting a constructive attitude to ventures for capital investment in West Papua, where such ventures respect the environment and the rights of the indigenous people." Resolutions from the West Papuan Congress were posted on Kabar Irian 05:55 PM, 2/3/01.

⁸⁹ For a discussion of rumours about HIV/AIDS in Irian Jaya see Kirsch (2000).

potentially deceptive because a person's actual thoughts are concealed. Concealment is contained in the following proverb, repeated constantly in relation to the Indonesian state's treatment of West Papuan people: "A habit or character [or event] that is bad, although concealed in various ways, will continue to be evident."⁹⁰ Indirect behaviour is compared analogously to the West Papuan 'sorcerer figure' (*swanggi*) whose demeanour is also categorised as *halus*. The analogy invokes an image of evil falling outside of the range of human behaviour in a West Papuan conceptual universe.⁹¹ The ordinary West Papuan character is described positively as *kasar*, inverting the Javanese binary *halus* (refinement of spirit and behaviour) and *kasar* (coarseness and impurity). Instead, *halus* behaviour is viewed as sinister while *kasar* is considered transparent and trustworthy.⁹²

Medical neglect, poisoning and sterilisation are categorised as indirect or concealed murder. In the panel, the relation of hospital staff to their West Papuan patients is seen in racial terms: Papuanness engenders neglect or abuse. The threat of poisoning was also perceived in categorical terms. The deliberate poisoning of West Papuans by the Indonesian state was anticipated even inside Papua New Guinea. The following speech was made by an elderly northerner man and former ABRI soldier, at a public meeting at Waraston in July 1999.

Recently, people from the south [Mindiptana, Merauke] visiting relatives at Iowara have brought sachets of cooking spices and monosodium glutamate

⁹⁰ "Kebiasaan/sifat yang tidak baik walaupun disembunyikan dengan berbagai cara, tetap akan kelihatan juga." The idea that concealed behaviour is manifest in *halus*-ness is contradicted by Anderson (1990:51). Rather, concentrated power which is thought to make a person of *halus* etiquette invulnerable, is undermined by *pamrih* (*J*) translated as 'concealed personal motive'. According to Anderson, the demonstration of *pamrih* in the behaviour of the administrator or military official undermines his ultimate interests "since the indulgence of personal, and therefore partial, passions or prejudices means interior imbalance and a diffusion of personal concentration and power."

⁹¹ Compare with Khmer refugees' identification of Khmer Rouge as supernatural, evil characters: "[they] behaved in ways that were outside the scope of normal human consideration, like beasts or devils without morality. They defied their place in the moral order of a Buddhist universe, and they were not afraid of the consequences of their actions" (French 1994:235).

⁹² Anderson (1990:50-51) identifies this opposition in traditional Javanese cultural practice where the *priyayi* (ruling class but also connoting etiquette) distinguish themselves as *halus* manifest in smoothness of spirit, behaviour and appearance. The rest of society is naturally *kasar*; demonstrating lack of control and balance causing disorder and disharmony. In traditional Javanese thinking, being *halus* is a sign of power because *halus*-ness is achieved through constant effort and control.

(*vetzin*) to sell in the market here. I asked a vendor: "Mama, brought this from there did you? Bought it from a small kiosk or shop or was it 'given' to you?" Afterwards the buyer will cough a little and begin to suffer from headache. I regret that people here are not aware of the dangers of deliberately poisoned foodstuff destined for Iowara.

Sterilisation is interpreted as a state program to systematically and covertly restrict Papuan population growth (see also Butt n.d.).⁹³ The effect of sterilisation was the subject of impassioned conversation at Iowara. Like intermarriage, talk of sterilisation evoked a discourse on race.

The Dutch era is reconstructed as a clean, pristine, social order adulterated by the arrival of Indonesia. Prostitution is described as a sinful, immoral practice; spreading sexually transmitted diseases and affecting West Papuan women's fertility. Indonesia has not just appropriated and destroyed the physical environment, but has also corrupted a West Papuan 'moral community' located in the previous Dutch era. The condition of dislocation and displacement has also resulted in the prostitution of West Papuan women by their PNG hosts, although this subject of conversation was never volunteered at Iowara. For example, the reputed prostitution of female refugees at both Kiunga and Tabubil by national mine workers (see Hammar 1992:30); the alleged case of PNG public servants coercing refugee women at Blackwater Camp, Vanimo, into providing sexual favours under threat of deportation;⁹⁴ and the accusation of prostitution by some PNG nationals of northerner women at Waraston which catalysed antagonism between northerner refugees and PNG nationals at Iowara, leading to the police raid known as 'the December incident' (detailed in Chapter 6).

This set of themes has explored the position of West Papuan people and their place in terms of Indonesian state desire. Indonesia seeks to reign over the landscape's physical resources but West Papuan subjects hamper this desire. The state's treatment of West Papuan people ranges from neglectful to exterminatory, but is represented as consistently ambivalent. The state seeks to smooth its appropriation of West Papuan land and resources by silencing, removing or eliminating the rightful owners. The following comment by West Papuan scholar

⁹³ Leslie Butt (2000) has examined a Dani rumour that "Family planning kills." She relates Dani experience of birth control in terms of three intimately connected realms: birth control methods which are physically invasive, historical memory of state violence, and intimation or the potential of violence 'at an everyday level' in the present. Butt observed Dani rumours about the actual reasons behind state programs to be underpinned by a theme of elimination.

⁹⁴ Reported in *The Times of PNG* Sep 1-7 1988 and the *PNG Post Courier* September 2, 1988.

and statesman Otto Ondawame is evocative of this set of themes: “Many [West Papuans] believe that the ultimate objective is to exterminate the Papuans and create a single kind of Indonesian man, the Malay race. This may sound unrealistic, and exaggerated, but Papuans have already suffered extensively under Indonesian rule and fear for their future as a people” (2000a:287). To outsiders, the idea of systematic sterilisation might be regarded as rumour.⁹⁵ At Iowara, rumour about contemporary state violence in Irian Jaya toward West Papuans was corroborated by refugees’ past experience of state policies and programs in Irian Jaya.

In the particular context of Iowara, these historical, thematic narratives can be posited as having several operations, each relating to the assertion of West Papuan nationness. West Papuans are distinguished as autochthonous and having precedence in relation to the category of ‘Indonesians’ constituted as foreign newcomers. An essential nature, which is not benign, is accorded to Indonesians and is manifest in the risks of intermarriage. The narratives redefine Indonesians and the state in relation to West Papuans and their country, constructing a West Papuan nation as a ‘moral community’ in contrast to Indonesia.⁹⁶ The moral community is seen to have existed in the Dutch period, but is corrupted and largely decimated in the recent Indonesian period of colonisation, for example in the normalising of violence, introduction of prostitution, and distribution of cheap alcohol. Malkki reminds us that the conflation of race, culture and nation are forms of categorical thought that can center on the purity of the categories in question, and that in extreme cases, the construction of one category [indigenous] can justify the dehumanisation of another [migrant or newcomer] (1995a:257). (This is the subject of further discussion in Chapter 7.)

The narratives of this chapter construct a collective West Papuan Self in opposition to a threatening Indonesia; an invasive and extractive ‘Other’. Simon Harrison (1999) has theorised ‘identity pollution’ and ‘identity piracy’ as concepts

⁹⁵ “... verbal propaganda has been spread in the camps. This plugs several themes: that Indonesian doctors forcibly sterilise Irianese women so that ‘we will have no children and the Javanese will take our land’; that Javanese settlers take over Irianese villages for settlement in areas scarcely able to support sweet potato and yam subsistence farmers, let alone rice eaters; that Irian Jaya has all but achieved independence and that therefore those who have crossed the border must remain there ‘until the final battle is fought’; that any border crossers returning to Irian Jaya will either be killed by the Indonesians or beaten up by the OPM for disobeying orders” (Hastings 1986:224).

⁹⁶ See a similar point in Malkki (1995a:73).

that delineate cultural boundaries. In the former, cultural boundaries are perceived to be threatened (contaminated) by foreign cultural forms, while in the latter, local cultural forms are perceived to be threatened (pirated) by foreign appropriation. The thematic narratives of this chapter are clearly underpinned by conceptions of identity pollution. The extractive character of Indonesia is conceived not in terms of cultural appropriation, for Papuans consider their culture to be deemed uncivilised by the state, but rather, in terms of material theft in the extraction of resources and appropriation of land.

The next chapter shifts from discourses of autochthony and race to another discourse of difference, namely, a discourse of 'culture'. Chapter 3 focuses on a popular cultural movement led by Arnold Ap between 1975-84 that represented a cultural performance aesthetic as distinctly West Papuan. The arrest, detention and subsequent murder of Ap in 1984 resulted in the flight of Ap's students, colleagues and others associated with the Cenderawasih University, to flee east to Vanimo seeking political asylum in PNG.

3. Arnold Ap's cultural performance movement in the political milieu 1984

On July 1, 1998, at Waraston camp, Iowara, an annual flag-raising ceremony was performed to commemorate the 1971 declaration of the independent state of West Papua made by OPM leader Seth Rumkorem. At dusk the flag was lowered, folded neatly and presented to the *Inspektur Upacara* or Master of Ceremonies. Later, people danced Yospan¹ to Irian pop music cassettes sent by relatives from Jayapura. Between dances, a woman pointed to several women who were either dancing, or watching the dance. One woman's father was serving life imprisonment in Kalisosok prison [Java]. Another woman's husband had been shot by ABRI in the forest on the border, then burned alive in the house into which he had crawled. A woman nursing her baby was the wife of the son of the freedom movement leader who made the independence declaration in 1971. The woman told me that the movements of the 'oar dance' mimicked the paddling of a canoe, yet young people at Iowara had seen neither sea canoe nor ocean; their exile in the forest had shut out their coastal world. Children at Iowara learned to paddle through the Yospan dance. I was told that the music accompanying the oar dance was Arnold Ap's *Misteri hidup* song recorded from his prison cell in the month before his death.

The event recounted above threads together much of the material of this chapter. The flag-raising ceremony celebrates the loss of nation-state and imagines its reclamation. The dancers themselves are defined spontaneously by their biographer in terms of their relation to the struggle for nation. The dance is accompanied by a song of yearning for liberty that speaks of Arnold Ap's desire for his own freedom, and his people's collective freedom.² Ap's

¹ Yospan was chosen as Irian Jaya's official provincial dance at a seminar convened by the regional government in the 1980s.

² This life is a mystery (*Hidup ini suatu misteri*) / That can be dreamed of but cannot be forecast (*Tak terbayang juga tak terduga*) / Thus is the fact of life (*Beginilah kenyataan hidup*) / And so I am here, closed in my own world (*Aku terkurung didalam duniaku*) / Supposing I were an eagle (*Andaikata aku burung elang*) / That flies high, eyes searching (*Terbang tinggi mata men'lusuri*) / But alas, to be only an unlucky bird (*Tapi sayang nasib burung sial*) / Looking for prey but snared in the end (*Cari buruan akhirnya terkurung*) / The only thing that I desire and am waiting for (*Yang kudamba dan kumanti*) / Is nothing other than

murder revealed the political danger of differentiating West Papuan culture. It stands out as a revolutionary moment, particularly in the minds of northerner people at Iowara. Ap's detention without trial and other events that occurred around this time in the Jayapura region, led to the flight in February 1984 of some two hundred and fifty northerners, many of them students, colleagues and musicians associated with Ap and UNCEN.

This chapter considers that event of flight seeking political asylum in the context of the cultural performance movement led by Arnold Ap in association with the Institute of Anthropology at UNCEN, in the period 1975-1984. The 'Mambesak' dance troupe and the 'Pelangi Budaya' (Rainbow of Cultures) radio show represented the materials of a West Papuan cultural performance tradition: the rhythms, lyrical structures and instrumentation of song; the movements, costume and ornamentation of dance; and the dialect and local cosmology of oral literature.³ In effect, Ap and Sam Kapissa⁴ and their peers produced a discourse of West Papuan (performance) culture. Elements of this discourse permeated conversations with northerners at Iowara, for example, in their categorisation of songs, dances and sculpture/carving tradition as 'Melanesian'. Arnold Ap's culture project – his inventorising, exhibition, and performance – is considered against the state's discourse of national culture in the motto *Tunggal Bhinneka Ika* (Unity in Diversity) and the concept *wawasan nusantara* (the unified archipelago).

The premise of a 'tradition' of West Papuan cultural performance is liable to the charge of identity politics, that tradition has been invented for political reasons. The *Cultural Anthropology* theme issue titled "Resisting Identities" (1996 11:4) asked how the ethnographer should relate to the identity politics of marginalised ethnographic subjects: should identities, even if essentialised, be validated by the ethnographer as acts of resistance by the oppressed, and should ethnographic analysis resist essentialised identities? (Segal 1996:431). Anthropological studies of 'invention of tradition' define

freedom (*Tiada lain hanya kebebasan*) [Translated by Tom Ireeuw in *West Papua Bulletin* Vol. 3 1994].

³ During the period mentioned, use of the word West Papua (rather than Irian Jaya) was considered separatist in intent and punishable. In this chapter, where Ap and Kapissa are quoted as using the term Irianese in relation to cultural tradition, I presume them to mean a cultural tradition more or less indigenous to Irian Jaya, rather than cultural traditions held by all people including migrants, resident in Irian Jaya.

⁴ Kapissa was a musician and composer who made a significant intellectual and artistic contribution to the cultural performance movement at UNCEN. In 1980, he left *Mambesak* and Jayapura for Biak where he arranged and composed Biak songs, forming a group called 'Sandia'. Osborne reported that in September 1984, Kapissa was warned by the Indonesian military that: "unless he toed the line, a fate similar to Ap's awaited him" (1985:153).

'constructed tradition' as tradition that is "created in the present, thus reflecting contestations of interest more than the cultural essence of a purportedly homogenous and bounded 'traditional' group" (Segal 1996:435).

This approach may ask of Ap's representations of West Papuan cultural performance tradition: did Arnold Ap seek to establish a legitimacy for performances/exhibitions based on the performers' origin, rooted in some cultural heartland, and continued participation in their own cultural traditions? Did their stage notes or promotion establish performances as historical, originating from a particular place? Were costume and ornamentation made from natural materials like feathers and palm fibre, intended to signify indigeneity? Whether or not Ap claimed for these projects legitimacy in terms of a cultural traditions is less meaningful however than the fact that West Papuan people themselves have done so.

In criticising the authority of such claims, the invention approach may undermine activist leaders of oppressed social groupings (Segal 1996:431-2).

... if there is no separate, privileged, distinct, and stable realm of past authenticity – then claims by 'inventors' ... are undermined as a rhetorical and political strategy (Briggs 1996:462).

Briggs shifts the terms of the debate by considering the politics surrounding the 'invention literature' not in terms of academic traditions, but in terms of the academic practices which constitute academic positions. He shows the way invention research rests on the opportunity for metadiscursive technique, available by virtue of one's social/political-economic 'position' or cultural capital.

I obtained the right to tape-record, transcribe, and translate nearly any discourse that I wished ... this same privilege enabled me to document the invented discourses I have described and to obtain accounts of how they were invented (Briggs 1996:456).

Briggs unravels both the practices deployed in an 'inventing cultural tradition' discourse and the forces that shape the politics of such research (1996:439).

This chapter places Ap's cultural performance movement within a 'dominated political environment' without taking issue with either the political argument or the analytical doubts raised. Like Briggs (1996:462-63) however, I mean to avoid *de-politicising* representations of a West Papuan cultural tradition as distinct from other Indonesian cultural forms. Briggs' resolution and standpoint is evocative of my endeavour in this chapter:

[to be] neither attacking or affirming the legitimacy of their performance; nor ... suggesting that the claims they make regarding the issues of authenticity and historicity are either valid or factitious (1996: 448).

This chapter considers the event of the first wave of northerner flight into PNG in February 1984, in terms of its relation to the detention, and subsequent execution of Arnold Ap by the Indonesian state. The politics of culture manifest in Ap's cultural performance movement are examined, providing the background to the iconisation of Ap as a national martyr by northerners at Iowara. The chapter begins at some distance from Iowara however, locating Ap's cultural performance movement and museum curatorship within the Institute of Anthropology in the 1970s.

The Institute of Anthropology and the museum

UNCEN was established by a special presidential decree on November 10, 1962, ten weeks after UNTEA had taken over administrative responsibility from the Dutch, and six months before sovereignty was relinquished to Indonesia (Wolfers 1969). According to Wolfers, the Indonesian government hurried the establishment of a university to stand as a dual symbol of the liberation of Netherlands New Guinea from Dutch colonialism, and Indonesia's reclamation of the eastern-most part of its archipelago. A university would equalise West Irian's status with the other provinces of Indonesia. UNCEN also provided political socialisation for West Papuan students through the compulsory subjects of military training and *Pancasila*.⁵ UNCEN opened with faculties of Law and Education and an Institute of Anthropology intended as a research institution. One of the Institute's first projects was a research/community development project among the Dani of the Baliem Valley, directed by Anwas Iskander.

The second edition of the Institute of Anthropology's bulletin *Irian: Bulletin of West Irian*⁶ published an article titled 'The Koteka Operation: an effort to hasten development in the interior region of West Irian' written by Oscar Siregar, an Indonesian anthropologist employed by the Institute of

⁵ *Pancasila* comprises five principles regarded as the ideological foundation of the Indonesian nation-state: belief in God, the sovereignty of the people, national unity, social justice, and humanity.

⁶ Inaugurated in 1971, the bulletin's title changed in 1973 in line with the province's name change. *Irian* ceased publication in 1993 (Vol. XXI). In 2000, the journal was revived under J. Mansoben, current Director of UNCEN's Research Center (*Pusat Penelitian*) and a West Papuan anthropologist who received MA and PhD degrees through the University of Leiden.

Anthropology and seconded to the staff of the Koteka Operation (*Irian* 1(2):123). In the article, Siregar expressed his regret at the operation's limitations: "it would take 100 years or more to bring the interior to the level of culture progress such as is found in Java and other parts of Indonesia" (1972:54). Siregar (*ibid.*) described *Operasi Koteka* in benign terms: "...the government together with the armed forces in West Irian have initiated a development project called *Operasi Koteka* ... aimed at helping the people [in the Central Highlands] to upgrade their economy and social conditions by providing practical training in such matters as improved gardening methods, animal breeding, better housing, health, hygiene and so on" (cf., e.g., Budiardjo and Liong 1988:56-57; Sharp 1977:25).

Siregar's uncritical article on the civilising assumptions of the *Koteka* Operation can only be described in terms of collusion. The subsequent *Irian* editorial implicitly responded to Siregar's article by outlining the journal's publication policy; welcoming articles advocating government policies and programmes or appraisal of existing or previous programmes, as well as ethnographic articles (*Irian* 1(3):1). Where was the Institute of Anthropology positioned through its publications and research projects in relation to state projects, which either codified or sought to extinguish aspects of regional culture? What sorts of theoretical frameworks did academics bring to bear on the Institute's research and teaching practice? How was nationhood conceived through an anthropological lens at this time?

The Institute of Anthropology at UNCEN was a product of Professor Dr. Koentjaraningrat and colleagues E.K.M Masinambow and M. Bachtiar from the Department of Anthropology at the University of Indonesia (UI). These academics were assigned by the Minister of Education to establish anthropology departments at provincial universities.

We usually started from scratch and had to share our already limited staff with an existing embryonic department of anthropology in the provincial university. Some of my colleagues became visiting lecturers and stayed in the province for a period of about six months. Most of us, however, flew over at regular intervals – for example, every two months – to give intensive, day-long lectures for a week at a time. The results were usually noticeable after six or seven years, and the first graduates in anthropology were generally integrated into programmes for further study abroad. After two years they returned with M.A degrees and were able to take over our tasks ... I have seen six anthropology departments develop in this way in Indonesia (Koentjaraningrat interviewed in Visser 1987:751).

Koentjaraningrat's epistemology, methodology and analysis demonstrate a positivist paradigm: quantitative inductive method, formulation of general social laws/rules, and cultural taxonomy (Masinambow 1997:20, Ahimsa-putra 1997:46-48). Doubtless, Indonesian postgraduate students who became visiting lecturers at UNCEN would have brought home diverse theoretical approaches from their research abroad. Koentjaraningrat's positioning of anthropology is demonstrated in his re-location of the Anthropology Department at UI from the Faculty of Arts to the Faculties of Social Science and Political Science (Masinambow 1997:16). Reflecting the state's development imperative, Koentjaraningrat's applied anthropology is also resonant in UNCEN's Social Laboratory Project, established to assist rural communities confront the changes brought about by development. Koentjaraningrat, Masinambow and Bachtiar were each philosophically dedicated to the role of the university in promoting rural and regional development (pers. comm. Visser 2000).

Koentjaraningrat wrote extensively on Irian Jaya including a sequence of five articles titled "Special development policy in Irian Jaya" published in *Kompas* at the peak of the refugee influx into Papua New Guinea in May 1984. His engagement with an applied anthropology framework is plain. His writing is premised on a view of the national political structure as benevolent, and the inevitability of development. In the sequence mentioned, he implied the absence of a unified Irianese identity because of the complex nature of both Irianese society and the physical landscape. Later, he declared one of the main purposes of anthropological study in Indonesia to be sustaining the multi-ethnic nation state.

... national integration in a multi-ethnic nation-state such as Indonesia may be promoted by mutual understanding and tolerance among the component ethnic units. Anthropology is a means to realise contact between different ethnic groups ... this education therefore serves to bring about a sort of theoretical unity ... Knowledge that can be used as a basis for political and economic analyses of the values that the bearers of different cultures adhere to (Koentjaraningrat quoted in Visser 1988:751-52).

Koentjaraningrat did not discount federalism. In other forums, he engaged most critically, writing comparatively of how other ethnic collectivities in

India, Belgium and Yugoslavia interrelated within the boundaries of the nation-state (Koentjaraningrat 1993).⁷

Koentjaraningrat aside, the Institute was also a product of international collaboration. In the early 1970s, UNCEN was the recipient of funds from the Foundation of the United Nations for the Development of West Irian (FUNDWI) which also assisted contracts between UNESCO and other universities to second teaching staff to UNCEN. The Australian scholar Malcolm T. Walker was seconded from Southern Illinois University to the position of Professor of Anthropology at UNCEN between 1971 and 1974. Walker had previously worked with the Department of Education of Papua and New Guinea between 1961 and 1964. Funds were received from the Asia Foundation, Jakarta, to fund research activity and publish *Irian*, and Walker became founding editor. Linguists from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) co-edited the journal and from 1973 produced a cooperative research program with the Institute.⁸ The bulletin's first editorial stated that *Irian's* principal function was not as an academic journal, but to serve the people of West Irian and publish research findings relevant to government policy. It advised prospective researchers to orient their research proposals to problems of development and change: "to consider in what ways the findings of the research are likely to be beneficial to those concerned with the economic development of the people of this Province" (*Irian* 1971 Vol. 1:3).

In the 1970s, the Institute of Anthropology sponsored research into the impact of the state and foreign enterprise on indigenous people. Examples include the effectiveness of cooperatives initiated by the Catholic mission in the Asmat region, culture change and development in the Baliem Valley, the impact of Macassan immigrants on the economy of Greater Jayapura, and socio-economic surveys of the copra industry at Sorong and fishing industry at Jayapura. An UNCEN workshop and report (Ajamiseba and Subari 1983) described local efforts to ground the subject and practice of university research in terms of the 'state directive of community service' (*pengabdian pada masyarakat*). At UNCEN this was to be met through action research practice,

⁷ According to Visser, Koentjaraningrat's research on models of federalism was a forerunner to the Central Government's discussion of special autonomy to be offered to Aceh and Irian Jaya (pers. comm. 2000).

⁸ SIL linguists are usually sponsored by Christian churches to: "translate at least the New Testament of the Bible along with other books which are important in the lives of the people so that they may develop concepts of the world beyond the village" (*Irian*, Vol. 2(3) 1973:71-74).

village-based work experience, village education, provision of legal aid,⁹ and co-operation with other non-government organisations. Research and teaching was to be grounded in matters relating to village life, re-settlement, transmigration areas, and protection of natural resources. The function of research was to understand the community's 'issues' (*masalah*), and build local problem-solving capacity to address the social, cultural and political issues emerging as a result of development.

Funds were received from The John D. Rockefeller III Fund¹⁰ to establish a University museum, train a curator at the Bernice Bishop Museum, Hawai'i, and purchase equipment and ethnographic collection items (*Irian* Vol 1(2):117). Museum bequests were also received from the Papua and New Guinea Museum and Art Gallery. In the late 1970s, Arnold Ap was appointed Curator of the Museum by the Director of the Institute of Anthropology, Ignasius Suharno. At the time, Ap was a practicing performer: singer, guitarist and tifa-drum player, folk dancer, performer of Irian *mop*¹¹ and painter, and had intimate ties with customary leaders¹² and artists. He was also a geography graduate from UNCEN.

West Papuan cultural performance and the *nusantara* concept

... clearly variegated arts of regional cultures need to be uncovered and cultivated and processed as well as developed in order to fill and enrich the national culture's treasury (*khasana*) (Ap 1983a:117).¹³

In the passage above, Ap's metaphorical use of *khasana* meaning treasury or storage area for valuable objects, imagines national culture as a container of regional cultural sequences. This meaning was similarly deployed in the

⁹ The Faculty of Law's community legal aid program viewed West Papuans as categorically disadvantaged in legal matters because of low levels of education (Ajamiseba and Subari 1983:10).

¹⁰ The Fund was a tribute to Michael Rockefeller who disappeared in the Asmat region in 1961. The Rockefeller Fund also sponsored publication of the *Asmat Papers* edited by Walker (1974).

¹¹ Sam Kapissa (1983b) described *mop* as a traditional Irian oral cultural art form particularly from the coastal areas. *Mop* in Biak is *fafriwek*. The term '*mop*' has Dutch origins, referring to a short verbal joke.

¹² For example, Aditjondro (2000f:209-217) relates the imprisonment in 1984 of Soleman Nari, an elderly customary leader of the Ormu region, Jayapura, to Nari's close relationship with Arnold Ap.

¹³ *Seni budaya daerah yang sudah tentu beraneka ragam ini perlu digali, diolah serta dikembangkan untuk mengisi dan memperkaya khasana budaya Nasional.*

Institute of Anthropology's reference to 'national cultural repertoire' in the foreword to the *Collection of Mambesak Songs Volumes I-V*:

We are pleased to welcome the Mambesak group's endeavours to produce a book of folk songs in the regional languages of Irian Jaya ... Also, through this effort, songs from Irian Jaya can be put on a par/paralleled with other regional songs in our [Indonesian] nation. Thus, these songs can become familiar so that they will be loved by our brothers and sisters in other regions. As well as this, by compiling these songs, consequently we increase the richness of the national cultural repertoire which is characterised by unity in diversity (Lembaga Antropologi UNCEN 1980:ii).¹⁴

The concept of *hasana* is also explicit in Paul Taylor's description of the archipelago or 'nusantara concept' of culture in Indonesian museum curatorship (1994). Museums throughout Indonesia produce 'nusantara sections' displaying sequences of material culture items from different provinces of the archipelago. These sequences represent both distinctiveness of an ethnic group, and its congruence as part of the archipelago.

The Indonesian state's *inventarisasi* project arranges certain items of material culture (folk-story, motif,¹⁵ wedding costume, weapon, dance) to form archipelago-wide sequences. Patricia Spyer claimed that it was in the absence of unity that the state codified tokens of difference in its motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. This codification process isolates cultural forms and practices of indigenous peoples throughout Indonesia from other aspects of their daily lives as 'culture', 'tradition', and 'custom' (Spyer 1995:25-50). Greg Acciaioli (1985) explained the fate of custom (*adat*) in the state's *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* logic. Pancasila philosophy, itself a kind of civic

¹⁴ Kami menyambut dengan hati yang gembira usaha kelompok Mambesak untuk membukakan lagu-lagu rakyat dalam bahasa-bahasa Irian Jaya ini ... Melalui usaha ini juga lagu-lagu Irian Jaya dapat disejajarkan dengan lagu-lagu daerah lainnya di negeri kita ini. Dengan demikian lagu-lagu dapat dikenal sehingga dapat disayangi oleh saudara-saudara kita di daerah-daerah lainnya. Selain itu dengan dibukukannya lagu-lagu ini maka akan bertambah kaya repertoire kebudayaan nasional kita yang bersifat *bhinneka tunggal ika* ini.

¹⁵ It was reported in *Cenderawasih Post (Cepos)* on July 8, 1997, that Ratu Hemas, wife of the Sultan of Jogjakarta (Hamengkubuwono X) visited transmigrants from Jogjakarta at the Arso XI site (Indonesian-PNG border) and was welcomed by transmigrant children dancing Yospan. Upon her appraisal of their performance they asked that she give them a new *gamelan*. She proceeded to advise them to produce batik using Irianese motifs that could become a national design, following the lead of transmigrants from Jogjakarta who produced Kalimantan motifs on batik. Ratu Hemas assumed motifs to be codifiable; as yet another regional culture sequence which might be reproduced as national designs. There is no language of local cultural property here; it is of no consequence that Jogjakartan transmigrants in Irian, or Kalimantan, design and manufacture 'Irian motifs'. On batik production in Irian Jaya, see Howard (1999).

religion (not grounded in any local order), and the impact of spectacle tourism, have separated cultural practice from *adat's* underlying system of meaning and belief, cosmological and moral order:

... culture has become art, ritual has become theatre, and practice has become performance (Acciaioli 1985:153).¹⁶

... regional diversity is valued, honoured, even apotheosized but only as long as it remains at the level of display, not belief, performance, not enactment (Acciaioli 1985:161) ...

Dutch anthropologist J.P.B de Josselin de Jong – who taught a generation of prospective colonial administrators as well as anthropologists (Ploeg 2000) - can be posited as intellectual predecessor to the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* concept. In 1935, de Josselin de Jong theorised the Malay archipelago, including Netherlands New Guinea, to comprise “a population whose culture as a whole appears sufficiently homogenous and distinctive to form a special object of study for ethnology and which at the same time appears to exhibit enough local variations for an internally comparative investigation ...” (quoted in Ploeg 2000:11). Structural features which were proposed as unifying the people of the Malay archipelago included: resilience to foreign cultural influence; socio-cosmic dualism; double descent; and generalised exchange of women (Pouwer 1992:89).¹⁷ Ploeg noted that if Netherlands New Guinea could be conceptualised as part of a Malay field, then the ethnic distinctiveness of West Papuans would be diminished and so

¹⁶ Acciaioli's observation of ritual as theatre is illustrated in the June 1989 tour of a group of Asmat artists to London recounted by Felicia Hughes-Freeland (1989:3-5). The Asmat group was organised by a Jakarta-based 'Asmat Progress and Development Foundation' established to “promote and preserve the existence of Asmat culture within the ethnic group in Indonesia” and choreographed by the Jakarta Arts Institute. The performance was preceded by a statement that the Asmat do not perform their dances for an audience however this presentation was ‘a slice of life’, a choreographic narrative based on six Asmat rituals, including initiation and spirit rites. Hughes-Freeland observed the London audience to be unenchanted, the performers even less so: “The most real moment of the event was after the audience had left, and the dances gathered behind the walls of shields and *bis*-poles and sang a lament ... [their homesickness] was more permanent than that, and the song spoke of more than any part of the staged show had done.” Were the Asmat performers grieving the reification of their ritual as theatre produced by a Jakartan choreographer? What desires might we attribute to the Jakarta Arts Institute and the Asmat Foundation and what could account for their interest in representing Asmat dance as they have? What of the Asmat subject's aspirations: do the Asmat performers really want to be performing initiation and spirit rites, and the movements of the sago larva, the cassowary, the bird of paradise and the butterfly, on a London stage?

¹⁷ See Pouwer's critical review of Leiden researchers' approaches to Indonesia as a ‘field of anthropological studies’ (1992).

too, subsequent Dutch claims to Netherlands New Guinea (2000:11). However, P.E de Josselin de Jong later claimed that the concept of the Malay archipelago as a 'field of ethnological study' was only ever intended as an areal field of study, not "a checklist of distinguishing features of the culture area Indonesia" (in Pouwer 1992:99). In a radically altered political context in the late 1950s, anthropologist Jan Pouwer conceptualised New Guinea as a field of anthropological study distinct from the Malay archipelago. Pouwer articulated a cultural boundary between New Guinea and the Moluccas and eastern Nusa Tenggara, significantly excluding the area from Indonesia (Ploeg 2000:13, 15).

Ap's production of material and performance culture demonstrated the distinctiveness of ethnic groups throughout Irian Jaya, and their congruence with one another. However, Ap was concerned to represent West Papuan cultural performance and material culture as united with Melanesia, rather than distinct but united with the rest of the Indonesian archipelago and nation. The institutionalisation of the concept of the unified archipelago permitted Ap and his colleagues a certain artistic liberty to represent and exhibit a material and performance cultural aesthetic as regional - so long as it was located alongside other regions, and within the wider national cultural repertoire.¹⁸

The popularity of cultural performance around this time provided the context for the Director of the Institute of Anthropology's public defense of an 'Irian artistic culture'. In a letter to the editor of *Tempo* (1978), Sal Murgianto asserted similarity in form between dance movement, harmonies and costume in Irian Jaya and in the Pacific, namely, Polynesia and Micronesia.¹⁹ Replying in the same national bulletin, Director Ignasius Suharno, introduced his authoritative self as someone who had urged the renewal of traditional Irian Jaya dance for the past fifteen years and as an observer of Irian Jaya culture. He then shifted to the position of *kami* (exclusive form of 'we') representing the Institute's position in relation to matters of regional culture.

... we as people who only know how to differentiate Irian ethnomusic and Pacific ethnomusic (which is so broad a field) cannot see the resemblance suggested ... about the movement of the hips? We think Mr

¹⁸ Robinson (1993:229) expresses this succinctly: "... the kinds of cultural differences which can be legitimately sustained [in terms of the Unity in Diversity national motto] are subjected to state-defined parameters of what kinds of cultural differences can be legitimately expressed." Robinson makes the point that whereas variations in cultural performances are legitimised through cultural displays, variations in concepts (like relations to the land differing from concepts of land ownership enshrined in state policy) are not regarded as legitimate.

¹⁹ *Bis Pak-mbui, dalam pada itu, ada kesamaanya dengan bentuk tari Pasifik – Polinesia dan Mikronesia. Kemiripan ini ada pada kostum, gerak pinggul yang dominan, juga warna nyanyian.*

Murgianto was simply mesmerised by the area around the hips. Whereas the Asmat dance mentioned, which is often performed on muddy ground like Murgianto's commentary, is precisely centred on movements (of that part of the body) from below the hips to the soles of the feet (Suharno 1979b).²⁰

What to make of this fuss over matters of regional influence in cultural performance? Did Suharno set out to distance Irian artistic culture from the Pacific particularly, or to make prescriptive comment on matters of regional culture, or was his response in terms of a discourse on authenticity? Ap was ambiguous about the circumstances or likelihood of transmission. More interesting was his logic that a dance not obtained from others must be ancestral and according to his logic of nature, bestowed.

Did Asmat ancestors obtain this exotic dance from Cape York, or has it indeed from the beginning been bestowed by the Almighty to the ancestors of Asmat people? For now at least we may answer that indeed that is the case with Asmat dance (Ap 1983a:121).²¹

The Institute of Anthropology's contestation over reference to Pacific style in West Papuan performance has continued in the press. In an article published in *Kompas* (1993), the author lamented that Irian music was beginning to be produced with a 'Pidgin intonation/harmony/cadence' (*nadanada bercorak Pidgin*). The article claimed that such influence could mark the extinction of 'distinctly Irian music' (*lagu khas Irian*). Reflecting Ap's practice from a decade earlier, the anonymous author advocated:

... that to prevent domination by outside influences there ought to be a body whose task it is to gather songs from the original place which are sung with tifa accompaniment. After that, whatever intonation/harmony/cadence [exists] may be studied. Then it can be recorded again in a modern Irian Jaya song form (*Kreasi Lagu Daerah Irian Jaya Modern*) by Irian musicians (Kompas 1993).

²⁰ Kami sebagai seorang yang hanya tahu membedakan ethnomusik Irian dan ethnomusik Pasifik (yang amat luas itu), juga tidak bisa melihat kemiripan yang dimaksud ... Tentang gerak pinggul? Kami kira Sdr. Murgianto terpujau oleh daerah sekitar pinggul saja. Padahal tari Asmat tersebut, yang tidak jarang dilakukan di tanah bertumpuk seperti ulasan Sdr. Murgianto, justru terpusat pada gerakan anggota badan di bawah pinggul sampai telepak kaki.

²¹ Apakah nenek moyang orang Asmat memperoleh tarian yang eksotik itu dari York Peninsula, ataukah itu memang sejak awal dianugerahkan oleh yang Maha Kuasa kepada nenek moyang orang Asmat. Untuk sementara waktu kita boleh menjawab bahwa memang demikianlah tarian Asmat.

The author's conclusion is antithetical to Ap's however: "The domination of Irian Jaya songs by Pigin *nada* or style must not be permitted to happen. Irian Jaya is different from PNG" (Kompas 1993).

Inventorising West Papuan cultural performance

... in recovering folk songs and folk dances, carving and sculpture as well as costuming, Arnold always made efforts to be faithful to the cultural roots of the indigenous inhabitants (Aditjondro 1984:29).²²

As curator of the UNCEN Museum, Ap accompanied foreign anthropologists on their fieldwork and used these opportunities to record dance, songs, and sculpture, and occasionally publish these findings. For example, Ap advocated the method of precise *inventarisasi* in order to record dance steps that were 'foundational or basic' (*dasar*). In his published article "Inventory of basic dance steps from Irian Jaya" (1983a), Ap detailed dance steps from the four most populous regions: Yapen-Waropen, Biak-Numfor, Baliem and Asmat. Ap claimed that the foundation movement of every customary or traditional dance was a response to the surrounding environment of that particular ethnic group (quoted in Aditjondro 2000c). He exhorted readers to meticulously detail and illustrate dance steps and their terms in the local language. Costume and ornamentation including make-up must also reflect the specific aesthetic and order of the dance's particular regional cultural origin.

... uncovering regional dance material which is still abundant in our region must be worked on with detail and care so that [we] don't disregard certain elements which constitute the character or identity of the dance material mentioned. In order that we can account for each element which is presented we need to gather information or data from

²² This chapter is indebted to the generosity of academic and political activist Dr. George Aditjondro for making available his collection of material relating to Arnold Ap, which he published in July 2000 in "The Radiance of the Morning Star" (*Cahaya Bintang Kejora*). A peer of Ap's, Aditjondro was Director of the Non-Government Organisation, Irian Jaya Development Information Service Centre (Irja-DISC) in Jayapura, located in the UNCEN Museum. Ap was an adviser to Irja-DISC; designer of their logo (*Laligjambun* or ceremonial shield from the Fa Valley in the north-eastern Highlands and Asmat *Bis* or totem pole); and instrumental in renaming the Irja-DISC journal *Kabar dari Kampung* (News from the Village).

around the area of the region of origin of that dance material (Ap 1983a: 122).²³

Ap considered to be shallow, any claim that performance costume that was ‘distinctly Irian’ (*khas daerah Irian Jaya*) elicited an image of backwardness, and that imported materials ought to be used: “Using imported materials means we erase the identity of the dance of that region” (Ap 1983a:123). Costumes made of local materials were said to autochthonise the dance, tracing its origin to a place. Ap’s comment is perhaps less about an authentic dance costume, than the care that ought to be taken in representing the dance’s place of origin. Earlier, members of Ap’s Mambesak dance troupe fabricated traditional Biak grass skirt costumes from the silken fibre of the banana palm leaf.²⁴ According to a Biak peer of Ap’s living at Iowara, a government official publicly criticised Mambesak members for wearing the grass-skirts made from banana fibre; claiming the costume to be “excessively traditional” (*sudah berbau terlalu tradisional*). Here, tradition is deemed measurable, and potentially subversive.

Ap criticised dancers who worked on new creations without first beginning to recover and recognise the basic characteristics of folk dances (Aditjondro 1984:29). He believed there was much unrealised ‘raw material’, different from Java where regional dance practices had been the subject of discourse and practice over a much longer period of time (Aditjondro 1984:29).

... it is still too early in Irian Jaya to busy ourselves with ‘creative dance’ (*tarian kreasi*) because that type is suitable for regions that have already exhausted their regional dance material. We need to direct our attention to unearthing traditional dance material which is still abundant and preserve it so that it can then be worked on in ‘new creations’ (*kreasi-kreasi baru*) (Ap 1983a:123).

Ap urged resistance to the influences of audio-visual media like film and television.

²³ Agar dalam menggali bahan tari daerah yang masih melimpah di daerah kita ini perlu digarap dengan teliti dan hati hati agar tidak melangkahi unsur-unsur tertentu yang merupakan karakter atau identitas dari bahan tari tersebut. Agar kita dapat mempertanggungjawabkan setiap unsur yang ditampilkan maka perlu adanya pengambilan keterangan atau data di sekitar lingkungan daerah asal bahan tari itu.

²⁴ The *cawat* skirt made of papyrus or bark is considered to be a West Papuan cultural symbol. For example, in a version of the Biak-Numfoor Myth of Manarmakeri, the protagonist sailed to the West after rejection by his own people. The *cawat* or grass skirt was the only indigenous gift offered, and the only object not chosen by Westerners. Manarmakeri then declared that later he would return the *cawat* to those for whom it rightly belonged.

[the media] has already, and will continue to 'pollute' (*mencemarkan*) our way of thinking and our attitude towards our own regional dance. For that reason we need to have awareness and a positive attitude which is completely consistent towards the future development of our regional dance (Ap 1983a:123).

However, he deemed productive the effect of outside influences such as tourism on other artistic forms such as carving and sculpture.

... new forms of carving works may be created that contain specific regional values (exclusive motifs) which have been adapted for the development of the tourism industry (Ap 1983b:172).²⁵

In 1981, Ap and Sam Kapissa advocated an annual sculpture prize to 'revitalise production' by encouraging young sculptors, providing an inventory of practising sculptors, and expanding the museum's collection of sculpture and carving (1981:30-31).²⁶ They were concerned that in activities concerning the restoration and development of the arts in Irian Jaya, development projects tended to focus their attention on the more popular forms of dance and music. The arts of sculpture and carving were neglected, limited to 'museumising' projects that merely collected and stored (Ap and Kapissa 1981:30).²⁷

Ap's approach to folk songs was similar: "He would go into villages and record the people's stories and rewrite them in books. Some songs in their own tunes too; he would record them and take them ... and turn them into proper tunes which could be played with modern instruments" (Rumakiek 1985:119).²⁸ Ap's approach popularised the traditional by utilising

²⁵ *Dapat pula diciptakan bentuk-bentuk seni ukir karya baru yang mengandung nilai-nilai khas daerah (motif khas) yang disesuaikan dengan perkembangan industri pariwisata.*

²⁶ Robyn Roper critically examined the risks of sponsored competition/exhibition to artistic production (sculpture, carving, painted barkcloth) in case studies of the Freeport-sponsored Kamoro Arts and Cultural Festival (1999:84-92) and the Jayapura Barkcloth Exhibition, sponsored by a migrant called Hamzah (1999:98-119).

²⁷ Commenting on regional influences in the development of local sculpture in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Koentjaraningrat and West Papuan anthropologists Mansoben and Biakai noted that upon Indonesia's return as a UN member state, FUNDWI funds were used to promote Asmat art internationally. However, earlier Australian promotion of Sepik art (Iatmul, Abelam, Tsambuli and Mundugumor) saw the 'primitive Papuan art' market difficult to penetrate (Koentjaraningrat et al. 1994: 349).

²⁸ Ap's *inventarisasi* approach to song is sustained in a statement by Mr Rumbewas, Head of the Papuan National Cultural Park (*Taman Budaya Nasional Papua*) that out of approximately 700 regional songs originating from 250 ethnic groups in Papua, only sixty had been notated. This would result in subsequent generations reproducing songs according to their own 'taste' (*selera*), causing the 'colour of the original' (*warna aslinya*) of regional songs to be lost (Kompas 2000a).

foundation (*dasar*) as the basis for innovation. I understand Ap's use of *dasar* in the context of tradition, to refer to basic or foundational elements that constitute a particular cultural aesthetic. These elements (harmonies, cadences, dance steps, gestures, ornamentation and other techniques) are represented as 'original' (*asli*), originating from a place within Irian Jaya.

Sam Kapissa's approach was somewhat different to Ap's. For example, in arranging *keroncong*²⁹ songs in the Biak language, his project was to Irianise popular music, rather than popularising Irian music to become part of a sequence of regional musical styles constituting 'national art' (*kesenian nasional*) (Aditjondro 2000c). By Irianising popular music, Kapissa subverted the *nusantara* concept, challenging the state's treatment of cultures as provincial. According to Aditjondro, Kapissa the artist was passionate about creating something new albeit evoking his Biak-Numfoor culture, while Ap, fitting the role of curator and therefore conservator and keeper, was interested in documenting and popularising traditional songs (2000c).

Yospan dance

The basis of Ap's artistic design was about consistency in recording the original or traditional material, allowing innovation's synthetic production to be traced back to the local. Yospan's production fits neatly here. According to Aditjondro, Mambesak invented the Yospan dance (pers. comm. 1999). Northerners at Iowara supported this contention. Rutherford claimed that Yospan was produced at a seminar convened to select the province's official dance in the early 1980s (1996:590).³⁰ Rutherford observed that Yospan's invented 'tradition' meant that innovations, ever-changing repertoire of steps, as well as new and unusual moves "come too quickly, leaving the genre perpetually poised to disappear ... Whose past anchors Yospan?" (1996:594).

This chapter's opening paragraph suggested that for Biak and Serui people at Iowara, Yospan's past was less ambiguous. They traced the Yosim and Pancar dances (as well as Lemonipis and Balengan) from which Yospan was synthesised, back to their own places as though its genealogies were constant.

²⁹ Popular music in Indonesia influenced by Portuguese musical style.

³⁰ The Yospan dance is promoted as one of several provincial icons displayed in the Irian Jaya pavilion at Taman Mini, Jakarta. In January 1998, I made a list of the scant exhibits in the honai-shaped pavilion: a map of Dobonsolo's Jakarta-Irian shipping route; photo of a supermarket in Biak; photo of the Matoa hotel in Biak; photo of Yospan dancing; photo of koteka-clad Dani performing mock war; four types of prawns displayed in a bottle; some rusted tins of tuna caught and canned in Biak; and a shelf of shark fins.

The Pancar dance is reckless. It reflects Biak's hot climate. It comprises sets of leaping or jumping movements called tuna fish and forward retreat repetitions called prawn. The dancer vigorously strikes his/her own buttocks with the heel making a sound like crashing of waves. The leaping movement in striking is like the exhilaration felt upon running alongside breaking waves. The Yosim dance from Serui is slow and inviting. It is a firm stepping dance because Serui houses are close to the ground. It may have originated from Sarmi, taking its name from the Yosim mountain there. It is said that a student from Sarmi taught friends to dance Yosim while at school in Serui. The Lemonipis dance comes from Sarmi, Jayapura. It is characterised by 'order' (*peraturan*) and synchronised steps. Dancers hold hands and dance in a large group usually in a field, not in a house, circling a person beating the *tifa*-drum. The Balengan dance from Manokwari is more refined with little body movement. Steps are tread lightly because houses in this region are built high above swamps (Johan).³¹

Yospan held different meanings at Iowara, however. In northerners, Yospan invoked nostalgia; reminding people of those they had danced with, and the places where they had learned and practiced Yosim and Pancar. Southerner perception of Yospan was different:

In the south we do not know Yospan only Yosim, perhaps taught to us by a teacher from that place. On PNG Independence Day September 16, 1998, a group from Sota on the western side of the border was invited to perform traditional dance at Morehead to the east, inside PNG. They performed the Yospan to taped Yospan music. Our Kanum dance is not entertainment.³² It is performed with attention to time and place; with complete ornamentation in a group on a certain occasion to submit bridewealth to a woman's side where the bride exchange cannot be fulfilled, or to recognise the birth of a child. In both, a *dema* may be invited to join the dance to encourage its guardianship over a prospective couple or newborn child.³³ Even in the ceremony practised 40 days after a person's death (*acara 40 hari*), Yospan is sung, not hymns. So, our

³¹ Johan's insights provided the initial foundation for this chapter. A student at UNCEN, and peer of Ap's, Johan worked in the area of recording and marketing Mambesak music before fleeing to Vanimo, PNG with his wife and son in 1984.

³² Johan explained that Yospan is a synthesis of the gestures and movements of four social dances. He categorised these dances as 'new version': performed by young dancers wearing street clothes at social occasions. Whereas 'traditional dance' comprised mainly older people in costume, performing standardised movements that had been passed down from previous generations for the purposes of a ritual occasion.

³³ *Dema* are mystical figures from an ancient Marind age. After the world came into being *dema* no longer had powers of their own but their powers flowed instead to human beings, animals, plants, creatures and objects; to everything which now takes the form of nature and society (Van Baal 1966).

people die and we play other music (Single narrative by Frans, a Kanum man at Iowara).

The cultivation of northern-identified Yospan as a provincial dance was contested by southerners whose traditions did not anchor Yospan. Southern dances were not being eliminated but their neglect by virtue of Yospan's popularity, had led to their abandonment.

Ap's Mambesak dance troupe

Yospan was performed by Mambesak and other music groups that emerged in Jayapura (Suwbiyari, Mansuwi), Biak (Kurana Mambesak, Kup Manyori, Apuse, Sandia), and in the northern regions of Sorong and Yapen-Waropen in the early 1980s. These groups comprised students and civil servants, and most made recordings.³⁴ Ap's involvement in the evolution of these groups can be traced back to the previous decade.

Working out of the Institute of Anthropology's Museum during 1974-75, Ap formed a performance group called 'Manyori' (B) (sacred bird indigenous to Biak-Numfoor, also meaning clever speaker and mimic) with fellow Biak performers. According to Johan, the Governor of Irian Jaya at the time advised against using the name Manyori because it implied speaking out. Manyori had its beginning in the Church of Hope, Abepura in the 1970s. Arnold Ap and Sam Kapissa – who were members of this congregation – with Japie Jouwe and Demianus Kurni,³⁵ contested the European orientation of the liturgical church music of the Christian Protestant Church (*GKI*). They claimed that church music was not 'rooted' (*berakar*) in their own culture.³⁶

³⁴ For an inventory of music groups detailing names and places of origin see Aditjondro (1984:29-30).

³⁵ Kurni left Mambesak in 1982 to establish the Christian Theatre of Jayapura. He fled with others after Ap's detention in 1984, and lived at Blackwater, Vanimo, and later at Iowara, before applying successfully for political asylum in the Netherlands.

³⁶ On the Protestant Church's prohibition of Biak music, Markus Wonggor-Kaisiepo is outspoken: "On one occasion I was invited to a ceremonial feast in Mariaidori on the island of Supiori. At such feasts people usually sang and played the flute but on this special occasion I introduced for the first time the Koreri *wor* dances to the sound of *sireb*, the Papuan drum. The missionaries had put pressure on the people not to sing the Koreri songs or perform the Koreri dances. Everyone was scared, but since my idea about Koreri was so strong I did not care. I didn't like Koreri being oppressed and abolished and therefore I started to promote Koreri on this occasion. People were so scared of the missionaries since they forbade us to sing the Koreri songs. But I had such a strong feeling about Koreri. The Government and the Zending, the Dutch missionaries, did not accept Koreri, but it is the *traditional way of our religion*" (in Sharp 1994:84-85; original emphasis). Kamma recalled that Church leaders on Numfoor

Manyori members composed gospel songs in the Biak language with Biak-Numfoor cadences accompanied by accordion, tifa-drum, ukelele and guitar (Aditjondro 1984:27). 'Indigenisation' - making like Biak, or like Yapen - meant that lyrics were translated into regional languages, local instruments were used, and composition structures reflected familiar ones.³⁷

Manyori's approach was also inspired by Danielo C. Ajamiseba, an American-trained West Papuan linguist, and Theys Wopari, a Java-trained theologian and musician. Other West Papuan pastors who had trained in Rabaul, PNG, introduced accompaniment with guitar, ukelele, accordion and tifa (Ansaka 1988).³⁸ Around this time, the choir 'Batu Zaman' (Rock of Ages) was formed by the GKI congregation at Martin Luther Church, Abepura. They performed regional songs using religious lyrics accompanied by tifa (Ansaka 1988). The Harapan congregation also formed the group 'VG Sinar Rohani', arranging religious songs in regional languages including Windesi (Manokwari), Skou (Jayapura), Yali (Jayawijaya), and Aitinyo (Sorong). Sometimes secular music styles such as Malay-Portuguese *keroncong* were made sacred with religious lyrics (Ansaka 1988). Aditjondro observed that the trend toward indigenising music in the Protestant church in the north, spread to Catholic congregations in the south. For example, Yufensius A. Biakai, Director of the Asmat Museum, arranged hymns in the Asmat language using Asmat melodies (Aditjondro pers. comm. 1999).

In August 1978, Ap with Marthinny Sawaki, Yoppy Kafiar, and Sam Kapissa changed Manyori's name to 'Mambesak' (B). The name change has

agreed to a rule to permit *wor* singing in church with one drum. On other occasions such as secular parties, up to six drums were allowed (in Rutherford 1997:535).

³⁷ Kapissa's essay (1983a) describes the Biak composition structure of the hymn "For You, Praise and Respect" (*Bagimu, Pujian dan Hormat*). While the lyrical subject for the hymn is taken from Revelations 4:11, the melody is *randan*, characterised as a traditional Biak melody of praise sung during certain rituals. The lyric form is also *randan*, characterised as a traditional poetic form and comprising verses made of two parts: the tip (*kadwor*) which mentions the verse's subject in an obscure way, and the starting point (*fiar*) where the subject is revealed. The lyrics are in Bahasa Indonesia with the exception of the greeting 'Allah' which Kapissa substitutes with *Neno-nene*, a Biak term of greeting for a revered, titled person. By using *Neno-nene*, the hymn is given the form of a song of praise for a titled person, and beginning with dedication, it becomes a classical *randan* hymn. Kapissa categorised this synthetic style as a 'Christian Irian Hymn' (*lagu spiritual Kristen Irian*).

³⁸ In the 1970s, the Protestant church (GKI) underwent a process of 'theological indigenisation' (*pribumisasi teologia*). GKI pastors and evangelists were predominantly West Papuan. It was the GKI church's gospel music that northerners at Iowara recalled when identifying the church as West Papuan. They also knew the history of the GKI Church quite intimately, reciting significant dates and events in the church's history. Some people even carried a history book of the GKI at the time of their flight into PNG in 1984. The imperative for some northerners of preserving their own Protestant Church (GKI) in Papua New Guinea is explored in Chapter 4.

been explained in terms of the symbolism of birds: Manyori was a sacred bird native to Biak-Numfor, whereas Mambesak or bird of paradise (*cenderawasih*) was revered throughout Irian Jaya as a tribal leader's headdress (Aditjondro 1984:29-30). Sawaki described the bird of paradise in analogous terms, like the nation, the bird of paradise species includes varieties of different colour, size and movement; it is a unique (*khas*) species of bird, easily audible and identifiable in the middle of a forest among other birds; and it possesses a long history, its feathers prized by royalty throughout Europe. According to Sawaki, like the various ethnic/tribal groups imagined as the West Papuan nation, the classification 'bird of paradise' contains scores of sub-species. The bird of paradise too, has a history of appropriation and theft (Sawaki pers. comm. 2001).

In renaming the group, members sought a regional translation of *cenderawasih* that was already popular among West Papuans. They settled on the Biak translation *mambesak* as it was already a 'household name' following the televised performance of the Mambesak dance at Taman Mini, Jakarta, in April 1975 (Sawaki pers. comm. 2001). Mambesak originates from the word *man* (B) which means both bird and male person, usually with the nuance of courage and spirit, and *besak* (B) meaning radiant (Simopiaref 1990:27).³⁹ Mambesak's repertoire widened, influenced by performers from Sorong, Waropen and other places. The museum became known as 'Mambesak's palace' (*istana Mambesak*). *Istana* or palace is ordinarily used in the context of state institutions like the presidential palace or the state parliament. Its use here mocks stately edifices, elevating Mambesak's project and perhaps Ap himself in stately terms.

Mambesak's pan-Irian form was a response by performers to state efforts to fabricate an 'Irianese' artistic culture. Popular music was being produced in diatonic form while their own 'authentic' (*asli*) music was in the minor key. At provincial and national occasions, a mandatory folk song was usually represented by the Biak folk song 'Apuse'.⁴⁰ New dances did not have roots in 'living or practiced people's dances' (*tari-tari rakyat yang*

³⁹ Ottis Simopiaref was studying in Jakarta at the time of Ap's arrest in November 1983. A friend of Ap's, Simopiaref and four other West Papuans protested Ap's arrest at the Indonesian Legislative Assembly (DPR-RI) and later sought asylum in the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta after pursuit by Kopassandha intelligence. The four were granted political asylum by the Netherlands in 1984 where Simopiaref remains a vigorous activist and writer.

⁴⁰ *Apuse* is a Biak song of farewell composed in the 1930s by a teacher- evangelist. The lyrics are: Grandmother, we sat together too long / I have to leave for the Doreh seas / Wave your handkerchief! Alas! / You're on your way! (Rutherford 1997:263)

hidup) (Aditjondro 1984:28). The state's representation of Irianese performance culture was jarring for Ap, Kapissa and fellow performers.⁴¹

Some West Papuans themselves - perhaps reflecting Indonesian attitudes - were ambivalent about their own songs and dances: "Melanesian songs were at that time only identified with village people and not popular among town dwellers of various origin and nationalities, even the Melanesians. Songs of Melanesian origin ... folksongs, were considered rustic" (Ireeuw 1994). At Iowara, several informants complained that their traditional dances were considered 'shameful' (*memalukan*) by the state.

Indonesians consider it shameful to bare one's breasts; nakedness is shameful. War dances are considered to invoke a spirit of resistance. Papuan dance has a rhythm which is energetic and heated. Indonesian shadow puppet (*wayang*) dancing is refined. It is not that our dances are prohibited, rather they are just not permitted (Johan).

This narrative is evocative of Shelley Errington's comment that in Indonesia, 'primitive' people and their arts do not disappear because of progress, "rather, they are *made* to disappear as a result, sometimes unintended, of government policies" (1994:142; original italics).

Mambesak also performed *mop* in an era when there was no field of published Irian literature.⁴² Kapissa (1983b) distinguished two forms of *mop*: street or 'porno *mop*' is shallow, entertaining, and risks 'objectifying people by [other] people' (*pengobyekan manusia oleh manusia*). Whereas the art form of *mop* is an oral literature form through which people are made aware of their position and existence as human beings. As art form, *mop* mirrors aspects of social life and is a means or process towards 'moralising the people' (*proses moralisasi bangsa*).

... a heart which is unscrupulous may be corrected, excessive ambition bridled, power which is corrupt restricted, greedy appetite controlled.

⁴¹ Aditjondro makes the point - with reference to Dutch anthropologist G.J Held's 1951 work 'The Papuan. Cultural Improvisor' (*De Papoea, Cultuurimprovisator*) - that northerner music at least, had long been influenced by a variety of popular musical styles including Hawaiian ukelele and Malay-Portuguese *keroncong* (2000c).

⁴² In an article published in *Kompas*, David Hill (1980) commented on Ulli Beier's publication *Voices of Independence: New Black Writing from Papua New Guinea*, the second volume of indigenous writing from PNG. Hill lamented the absence of Irianese writing in Rosidi's edited anthology of sixty Indonesian writers titled *Laut Biru Langit Biru*: "Perhaps also, one day Papua New Guineans will want to know whether Irian culture and literature across the border is being looked after similarly and assisted to flourish by the literati in Jakarta or Jayapura" (Hill 1980).

This is important, for the creation of a human earth that is imperishable and eternal in this land (Kapissa 1983b).⁴³

Mop use Irian dialect that “truly touches the ear and heart of the people” (*lebih 'kena' di telinga dan hati rakyat kecil*) (Irja-DISC 1983) and can “tap the feelings of rural Irianese” (*dapat mengetuk isi hati masyarakat pedesaan Irian*) (Ajamiseba and Subari 1983:13).⁴⁴ *Mop*'s humorous veil enables its performance and publication despite its subject matter of scruples, ambition, power and greed. Its meaning is often esoteric: to know *mop* is to intimately know local social life. Mambesak performed *mop* on the radio program ‘Betelnut stall’ (*Warung Pinang*) broadcast on Radio Republik Indonesia in Jayapura. *Mop* continues to be published in a daily column called ‘Papeda Stall’ (*Warung Papeda*) in the Irian daily, *Cenderawasih Pos*.⁴⁵

Mambesak was embraced by the public: “People began to love and sing the songs at parties and festivals, and even in broadcasts of the Government’s rural development programmes” (Ireeuw 1994). By 1983, five volumes had been recorded, including the reproduction and re-arrangement of folksongs from nine regions in Irian Jaya.⁴⁶ These cassettes were marketed throughout the province. With the return of Kapissa to Biak in 1980, the Biak music industry underwent a revolution with recordings made by at least ten groups, and thousands of cassettes sold (Aditjondro 2000f:122-125).⁴⁷ From 1978 Mambesak performed live on Sundays, broadcast on Radio Republik Indonesia’s *Nusantara V* program *Pelangi Budaya*.⁴⁸ Reflecting the banner

⁴³ *Hati yang bengkok dapat diuruskan, ambisi yang berlebihan dapat dikekang, kekuasaan yang korup dapat dibatasi, dan napsu serakah bisa dikontrol. Ini penting, demi terciptanya sebuah bumi manusia yang langgeng dan lestari di negeri ini.*

⁴⁴ Suharno (1979b) differentiated ‘Standard Indonesian’ from ‘Irianese Indonesian’ spoken in Irian Jaya in four respects: phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. Suharno proposed Irianese Indonesian to be influenced by Moluccan dialectical features; evidence of Irian Jaya’s inclusion in the (pre-Republic) Moluccan Sultanate of Tidore.

⁴⁵ Areca nut (*pinang*) and sago porridge (*papeda*) were categorised by many people at Iowara as features distinguishing West Papuan culture from Indonesian cultures. However, in Dutch anthropologist Jan Pouwer’s research into models for ‘Indonesia as a field of anthropological study’, he notes that the chewing of *pinang* is an exceedingly widespread custom in Indonesia and other parts of Southeast Asia (1992:94).

⁴⁶ In 1987-88, George Aditjondro deposited a complete set of Mambesak recording and cassette notes at Cornell University’s ethnomusicology library.

⁴⁷ Two volumes of cassettes were produced by groups Sandia, Ai Mando 81, Kurana Mambesak and one recording by Apuse. Six other groups also recorded cassettes (Aditjondro 2000f:122-123).

⁴⁸ By 1983, *Pelangi Budaya* had gone to air 187 times (Irja-DISC 1983). Several times when the program had not gone to air, the producers were met with a barrage of protest (Ajamiseba and Subari 1983:11).

'Rainbow of Cultures', the program functioned to promote the *khasana* concept. This was articulated in UNCEN's report on service to the community:

[Pelangi Budaya aimed to] introduce regional Irian Jaya culture and awaken as well as develop community appreciation toward regional culture in a framework of protecting the values of regional culture and the enrichment of a treasury of national culture (Ajamiseba and Subari 1983).⁴⁹

In a 1983 submission for the annual *Kalpataru* prize for outstanding contributions to environmental conservation (Irja-DISC 1983), Mambesak's candidacy, put forward by Irja-DISC,⁵⁰ was framed in terms of conservation including the perpetuation or preservation of culture. Mambesak's collection, arrangement, recording, and performance of traditional dances and songs in regional languages was listed. Other Mambesak activities listed related to environmental conservation: use of Pelangi Budaya as a forum to educate listeners about protecting mountain forest in the Jayawijaya highlands during the 1978 famine; arrangement and recording of songs like "Our unique food" (*Makanan kami yang istimewa*), "The Sago Swamp" (*Rimba Sagu*) and "Yotefa Bay" (*Teluk Yotefa*) which advocated preserving sago stands and coastal areas; as well as the formation of youth conservation groups in the villages of Injros and Tobati in 1983. Mambesak and Irja-DISC worked co-operatively on the matter of environmental conservation. The latter provided the research material about the state of the local environment and conservation strategies, while the former disseminated this knowledge through artistic means. The partnership subtly provoked people's awareness of the relation between West Papuan people and their land, and the Indonesian state.

⁴⁹ *Memperkenalkan kebudayaan daerah Irian Jaya dan membangkitkan serta mengembangkan apresiasi masyarakat terhadap kebudayaan daerah dalam rangka pelestarian nilai-nilai kebudayaan daerah dan pengayaan khasanah budaya nasional.*

⁵⁰ The Non-Government Organisation, Irja-DISC operated from 1979 until 1984 when it changed its name and entity to become the Irian Jaya Rural Development Foundation (YPMD), an independent legal body, separate from its previous sponsors UNCEN and the Asia Foundation (Jakarta). See Aditjondro (1990) on the state's perception of YPMD's rural development bulletin *Kabar dari Kampung* as subversive for its stance on transmigration, and the prohibition of its publication in 1986. The bulletin ceased publication in August 1999 due to lack of funds, but expected to recommence in 2001.

Mambesak's political movement

Teaching art is like sharpening the blade of a knife with a stone.⁵¹

The project of sharpening people's cultural sensibility is like sharpening a weapon that may be used in people's defense or resistance against the state. Unlike Java where students formed political movements, in Jayapura student resistance was characterised by students singing, dancing and playing tifa: "that was their politics there" (Aditjondro 1993a:11).



Figure 4. Yospan dancing accompanied by Mambesak musicians in front of the Governor's office, Jayapura c. 1981. (This photograph was loaned by a Mambesak member living at Iowara.)

Mambesak and other groups' cultural performance represented as distinct from 'mainstream Indonesian culture' constituted a political contest (Aditjondro 1993a:11). Costuming also contested the state. At the time of the state's *Koteka* campaign, Mambesak members danced unclothed as a

⁵¹ This proverb was recounted by a Biak man at Iowara who was a member of a group of West Papuan artists that submitted an (unsuccessful) proposal for an Arts School to the provincial government in the early 1980s.

statement against the Indonesian state's attempt to extinguish aspects of Dani culture. Dancing a dance of known, local origin to music played by local performers among people considered 'us', is affective (see figure 4). Dancing may be subversive, communicating from body to body and evading words (Bottomley 1992:73). Collectivism is literally embodied in a dance's progression or form (Bottomley 1992:72), and in the nature of audience or crowd formation. For Papuans, "to dance while singing constitutes an expression of feeling buried in the depths of one's heart" (Pigay 2000:298).⁵²

Producing and recording music in regional languages rather than Bahasa Indonesia, was also considered a political statement. A song in one's own regional language may invoke feelings of nationalism. The following comment was made by an elderly man from Manokwari living at Iowara: "When we hear songs sung in our regional language it is like it is our own flag that is waving; to hear the lyrics of a song in one's own language outside of one's place, is enough to make that person weep." Tom Ireeuw, a lecturer at UNCEN who fled to Vanimo commented:

The practice of the songs was practically not an easy one, in terms of pronouncing words of different languages. There are hundreds of languages in West Papua. Before launching the songs into the public, Ap stressed always to the members that correct pronunciation of the words should be kept intact so as not to damage the speakers' self respect. After all, he said, language is pride and dignity of a certain community. Apart from good pronunciation they should also maintain the original styles of singing as they are done in villages (1994).

The political sub-text of lyrics in Bahasa Indonesia can also be concealed through the use of metaphor. For example, in the song "The Orphan Child" transcribed in the previous chapter, 'orphan' signifies to West Papuan people, their abandoned condition. Songs that use *Sup Mambesak* (B) translating literally as bird of paradise, are signifying the land of the cenderawasih or West Papua (Simopiaref 1990:27). The song "The Land of my birth" composed in the Biak language by Ap in 1979, recalls sunrise and sunset. The song engages the national imagination of West Papuans living in exile; reminding them of the beauty of their place, diminished by Indonesia's presence.⁵³ According to Johan, the song impels those in exile to maintain the

⁵² *Dan berdansa sambil bernyanyi merupakan ungkapan/ekspresi perasaan yang terpendam dalam lubuk hati mereka.*

⁵³ The first verse of this song: Mother Father (*Mama Bapa*) / O Mother, how is it with this land (*Aduh Mama bagaimana dengan Tanah ini*) / The radiance on morning (*Cahaya pada pagi hari*) / Makes me feel sad (*Membuat saya merasa sedih*) / Trees on the sea's edge that soar (lean) towards the sea (*Pohon di tepi pantai yang menjulang ke laut*) / Increase the

struggle in order to reclaim the original beauty of their place. Musicians perceived the state to be suspicious of songs arranged and performed in regional languages that were opaque to non-speakers. Although the songs that Kapissa composed were translated into various regional languages, after Ap's detention it is said that Kapissa stored the original texts in Bahasa Indonesia (Aditjondro 2000c) as though to guard against accusation of subversion.

Several events of interrogation affecting Mambesak members preceded Arnold Ap's final arrest on November 30, 1983. In July 1982, after a group of UNCEN students raised the West Papuan flag outside the Provincial Assembly building in Jayapura, Ap was arrested under suspicion of instigating the event, but was later released without being charged (Smith 1991:173-74). In September 1983, the family of Alex Mebri - a member of Mambesak - was interrogated and his father subsequently executed in public by the Indonesian military (Smith 1991:174). Later, Mambesak technical coordinator Constant Ruhukail was arrested and detained in relation to the accusation that the lawyer Henk di Suvero had been guided to an interview with OPM leaders at Genyem (Smith 1991:174-75). In November 1983, Ap was arrested on suspicion of the following charges: making contact between di Suvero and an OPM leader, funding the flight into PNG of UNCEN lecturer Fred Hatabu and OPM leader Seth Rumkorem from the profits of Mambesak recordings, and assisting in preparing documentation for West Papuans who planned to flee into PNG (Aditjondro 1993b). The Military Commander of Irian Jaya claimed that Ap had confessed that his Mambesak songs were intended to inspire the OPM separatist struggle (Budiardjo and Liong 1984:126-7).⁵⁴ The Indonesian military also alleged that a 'network of OPM sympathisers' (*jaringan simpatisan*) operated from within UNCEN and other government offices, supporting the resistance activities of West Papuan ABRI deserters in the forest.

Ap continued to produce and record from prison where he was detained. Another Mambesak member visited him in prison "sometimes staying till late at night chatting, singing and making recordings" (Budiardjo and Liong 1984:28). Composed from prison, the lyrics of 'Yaso Yayun B' (I am sailing away) suggest that Ap anticipated his fate.⁵⁵ Ap understood his favourable

morning's glory (*Menamba keindahan di pagi hari*) / O Mother (*Aduh Mama*) / The land of my birth (*Tanah kelahiranku*).

⁵⁴ According to Aditjondro, it had been at Ap's suggestion that Mambesak cassettes be played in Indonesian-PNG border villages to encourage OPM guerillas to leave the forest and return to their own villages to the west (1993b:11).

⁵⁵ I am sailing away (*Yaso Yayun*) / I am sailing away (to make my way) (*Yaso Yayun*) / To the place where the sun rises (*Bemuno Orideki*) / To look for knowledge as a foothold in life for the time to come (*Yasewaro fawawi kankenem*) / Clouds at the peak of the blue mountain

treatment – he was allowed his guitar, tape-recorder and cassettes – through the Biak proverb: “Feed your enemy well before you kill him” (Ireeuw 1994). *Yaso Yayun*’s arrangement in the Biak language concealed its meaning from prison guards and other agents of the state. In the song, Ap establishes his nativeness by mentioning his place as ancestral.⁵⁶ The suffering of his people recalls their colonised state. Using a culturally stylised metaphor, he sails away from this world for a heavenly other. He describes his individual journey to death and the collective suffering which he leaves behind. His feelings around confronting death are ambiguous, however. Is the basis of his joy the prospect of his death’s purpose, in the name of the struggle? Or a reflection of his Biak or Christian faith in passage to a braver world?

On April 26, 1984, Arnold Ap was killed by soldiers, allegedly as he escaped from jail where he had been detained since his arrest in November 1983 (see Budiardjo and Liong 1988:125-136; Ruhukail 1985; Aditjondro 1993a). Following Ap’s death, students did not go to the UNCEN campus for months. Those who arrived were fingerprinted and photographed (Aditjondro n.d.). Some students returned to their villages of origin in order to conceal themselves. Others fled to Vanimo, PNG. Remaining Mambesak members were told by the authorities that if they wished to perform publicly they must “sing not of Papuan culture, but of the unity of Indonesia” (Osborne 1985:153).

Johan explained that at the time of fleeing Jayapura for Vanimo in February 1984, he entered Ap’s office at the museum and took the original mastercopies of the Mambesak recordings and a large dual tape recorder, carrying only these items in flight. In August 1984 at Blackwater camp, Vanimo, musicians formed a group called Sampari. From their site of exile, they arranged and recorded songs categorised as ‘songs of the struggle’ (*lagu-lagu perjuangan*) such as “Blue 7 White 6” referring to the stripes on the West Papuan flag. At Iowara in 1989, Sampari held several performances and made new costumes. Other West Papuans at Iowara received Sampari well but members gradually dispersed, leaving Iowara for other cities in PNG, receiving third country asylum, or returning to Irian Jaya.

In 1998 a member of the Mambesak group in the Netherlands, himself an in-law of Arnold Ap, visited relatives at Iowara. During his visit, people

(*Makadiser bon urek beramen*) / Sad hearted but joyful (*Saneri swar bape yamarisen*) / In the land of my ancestors (*Romowiwa yafawi*) / On a certain day tomorrow (*Raso Mana*) / I imagine the suffering of my people/nation (*Saneri swar kawasa yamananis*) / Mother, Father as well as people (*Awin kamam kawasa ayena*) / That earthly land I leave behind with great yearning (*Memu iwa yabur yamanderi*).

⁵⁶ Ap sang the song *Sup Mowiya* (B) (O, My ancestral land) on his deathbed (Ruhukail 1985).

talked about forming an art and culture youth group and calling it Mambesak. An original Mambesak member at Iowara remonstrated:

Mambesak cannot be used arbitrarily as a name nor is it something personally owned [referring to the Dutch Mambesak group's founder, one of Ap's sons]. The spirit of Mambesak must follow the spirit of Arnold Ap, i.e., open. Everyone must be permitted to join. Mambesak is a symbol of West Papua, not just the island of Biak or just for Waraston people and it must not be a family enterprise but rather a national thing otherwise it will insult Arnold Ap's memory and be without basis. Also, it must have performance expertise and ought to consult original Mambesak members.

The rebuke identified Ap as a public icon, Mambesak as an historical, public symbol, and the original members as custodians, keepers of Mambesak's performance culture.⁵⁷

Ap as politico-religious prophet

In Biak terms, '*konor*' is a person who receives divine inspiration from Manarmakeri⁵⁸ or God in the Biak language. Exiled West Papuan Rex Rumakiek likened Ap to a Biak prophet figure (*konor* B) and Christ.

In English, *konor* would translate as a philosopher, or a saint, who had many powers. These people always think good thoughts, have a true understanding of life and can even foresee the future. For example, Arnold predicted his own death well in advance. He knew that his destiny was inevitable. In that regard you could make a comparison with the death of Christ (Rumakiek quoted in Osborne 1985:149).

Other exiled West Papuans spoke of Arnold Ap in similar terms: Tom Ireeuw described the way Ap could "spark fire" in others (1994), and Markus Kaisiepo claimed that "Arnold Ap made Koreri live again" (in Sharp 1994:64).

⁵⁷ In November 1998, the Australia Museum exhibited 'Images of Mambesak' comprising drums, shields, photographic display and live performances of traditional dance and songs launched as part of the Pacific Wave Festival. The promotion claimed Mambesak to be: "a symbol for West Papuans of hope, and of pride in their many rich cultures" (AWPA 1998).

⁵⁸ The two words *Mansar Manarmakeri* can be translated as scabrous old man. In the Biak language, *mansar* is a term of respect for old man. '*Man*' means male or bird, '*armaker*' means scabies and '*i*' is a personal pronoun marker. Mansar Manarmakeri is the name of the protagonist. In addition to this name, the hero of the myth is also called by several others, such as Mansarmanggundi, Mansren Manggundi, or Mansren Koreri. His original name was Yawi Nushad. (Kamma 1972).

'Koreri' (B) refers to a religious-political movement of the north coast of Irian Jaya based on the expected return of a mythical figure called Manarmakeri.⁵⁹ Koreri is also used as a metaphor for heaven, and a calm harbour where there is neither wind nor wave, and one can sleep soundly.⁶⁰ Koreri means: "We shed the old skin and wear the new one" (Kamma 1972) or in Kaisiepo's words "the general name for changing something" (in Sharp 1994:6). Kamma proposed that elements of the Bible were incorporated into the Koreri mythical sphere, and that efforts were made to prove the congruity between the Koreri ideal and the Bible (1972:282). According to Rutherford, Biak people locate the myth of Manarmakeri as the Bible's secret source, like the Old Testament narrative it reveals a man blessed with a son in his old age and like the New Testament, it depicts a virgin birth (1997:415).

The Koreri religious-political movement of Biak-Numfoor remains meaningful for people from Biak-Numfoor, Serui and Manokwari living at Iowara.⁶¹ With his youngest son Emmanuel on his lap, Johan personalised Koreri, telling me matter-of-factly:

⁵⁹ Protestant pastor and anthropologist F.C Kamma whose monograph *Koreri* is still foundational, summarises a standard version of the myth (of which there are various versions): "In the principal myth of Manarmakeri, a traditional or a real ancestor appears in whom many mythical heroes are embodied. That which appears scattered everywhere in the whole mythology of Biak is concentrated in him. He appears in the disguise of an Old Man. He is a hero with a genealogy who recaptured the secret of the land of the dead and was therefore enabled to revive the mythical primaeval time. He finds out that the true nature of things is hidden but by recovering the secret he succeeds in discovering it. this put him in possession of the 'treasures and the food', the principal elements of the ceremonial exchange and of the functioning of the community. By this reconquest he could have put an end to roaming, dissension, insecurity and death, but neither in the disguise of the Old Man nor in that of a youth rejuvenated by the baptism by fire is he recognised as the Lord of the Utopia (Manseren Koreri). Therefore he departed westward, after having promised, however, that one day he would return" (1972:275). In another version of the Manarmakeri myth, the Javanese narrator Suyadi Pratomo (1983) has rewritten the ending to fit state desire, recasting the birth of the West Papuan nation as the moment of its full integration into the Indonesian Republic: "After seven generations of descendants Manseren Manggundi will return home to Irian. By that time Irian will be advanced in all fields and will be part of one great unified, prosperous and glorious country" (1983:99).

⁶⁰ Koreri is depicted in the song below: *First verse*: Oh, my longing for that land over there, that land of Koreri / My original home, Koreri, that I see from a great distance / I look to the tiny straits, the tranquil shores, the oh so tranquil shores. *Refrain*: Oh, my Lord, my loving Lord, steer the canoe of my life. So that I can arrive / At that port, that destination / Koreri, the land of eternity. *Second Verse*: Swiftly, I sail with the East Wind / I sail to the land where we all eat in one place / I look to those shores, where there is no burning heat. *Third verse*: Oh, my mother, my father, my father / You see that we all have to search on our own / Who will arrive way over there, at that distant land?

⁶¹ In the mid 1960s, Kamma counted forty-five Koreri movements in his historical survey dating back to 1855.

My first born was named Arnold after Arnold Ap. He died of malaria at Vanimo in 1984 aged four. My second born was named Cory after Ap's wife. My last born [in 1998] we named Emmanuel Koreri. Emmanuel means God is with us. Koreri is Biak for a hope or expectation that there will be freedom (*satu harapan akan ada pembebasan*).

Johan explained Koreri in terms of an episteme of desire; the 'desire to be free' (*ingin bebas*). In the ritual of naming, Koreri's histories are preserved for several more descending generations. The circumstance of exile into which the child was born is included in this history. For northerners at Iowara, knowing Koreri is to know minimally that their holding out for 'an ideal state' has an historical basis and sensibility.⁶² In conversation with some northerners about Manarmakeri at Iowara, I was cautioned not to mention his name arbitrarily; narration of the legend bears certain risk. Manarmakeri's name ought not be quoted in full, but shortened to become *Mansar*, meaning old man.⁶³ At Iowara, people narrated the legend of Koreri in historical terms; recounting the story of Mansar as a history of the Biak people, and relating themselves to the territorial traces of Mansar's existence.⁶⁴

In 1977, Ap wrote a synopsis in the Biak language (1977:3) to accompany an article in which the theologian Thimme depoliticised Koreri. This is not to suggest that Ap agreed with Thimme's premise, merely to relate the collaboration. In the article, Thimme disclaimed the notion that Koreri

⁶² Kamma used this phrase in the following context: "The notion of an ideal state, as expressed in the Koreri movements of Biak and Numfor ..." (1972:283). Kamma also notes: "There is a great difference for the Biak people between the 'real' and the 'ideal' world" (1972:274) and that resistance to crises is "founded in the conviction of the possibility of breaking through the actual to the mythical reality and thus bringing the Koreri (Utopia) to this world" (1972:278).

⁶³ I was told the story of a student or lecturer from UNCEN who sought permission from Biak elders to dramatise the story of Mansar. The death of the man's first-born was subsequently interpreted as disapproval for the style of the dramatisation. The narrator's conclusion: some things are not appropriate subjects for dramatisation.

⁶⁴ They dated Mansar's life saying he had promised to return in seven generations and this might date the event back at the latest to the end of the eighteenth century. Benyamin told me that when he was a child, he knew an old man whose father claimed to have given a coconut seed bud (*tonbon*) to Mansar who then planted it at Wundi. Where upon in three days it had grown to become a mature palm and used to make wine (*sauger*). This coconut palm grew on until the Second World War when the Japanese destroyed this sacred [site] tree and another person identified an ironwood to be the tree from which wood was cut to build the fire where Mansar entered to renew his skin. Someone else told me the Dutch took this tree with them when they left Biak. Other traces mentioned include: the Wundi family name Miokbun means 'the island that was left behind'; at Yobi, people claim Mansar's anchor still lies off the coast; at Numfoor snakes emerged after Mansar's departure; on Biak, Mansar's skin disease (*kaskado*) emerged after his departure; and on Numfoor, there is no sago.

held any foundation for a political movement.⁶⁵ Kamma similarly proposed that while in principal the Koreri ideal did not allow for the use, made by educated people, of “Koreri expectations for the purpose of finding acceptance, via a mythical interpretation, for their rational ideas,” in practice, nationalistic aspirations and opposition to foreigners became part of the list of expectations connected with Koreri (1972:280). The notion of ‘an ideal state’ contained in Koreri, like the Bible, allows West Papuans to imagine a liberated world.

The logic of Ap as *konor*, and Mambesak as Koreri movement is: if Ap’s musical composition,⁶⁶ leadership and following was considered to be bequeathed by Mansar or God, then this recognition of him as *konor* would manifest in the emergence of a Koreri movement, conceivably, Mambesak. The posthumous veneration of Ap as *konor* can perhaps be compared in analogous terms with the canonising of a person as a Christian saint.

The political murder of a cultural statesman

He opposed his enemy using the weapon of verse and song. He united his nation through verse and song. He revered his homeland in verse and song (Simopiaref 1990).⁶⁷

Ap and his culture project were iconised both by the Indonesian state and Papuan nationalists. The ordinary claim made upon Ap’s cultural performance movement was that cultural performance promoted as distinctly West Papuan, challenged Indonesia’s denial of the existence of nationhood. The claim upon Ap was that he used cultural performance as a nationalist vehicle. For example:

⁶⁵ “Evidently the hope arose that with Manarmakeri’s return, Koreri, too, would begin and become a possibility for the life of those who are found to be Manarmakeri’s true followers and disciples. However, the interpretation of the myth itself gives no indication of any basis for such a hope. According to our interpretation, the essence of the myth is precisely the fundamental separation between the temporal world and Koreri. Therefore, a hope that Koreri will come about in this world is completely contrary to the tendency of the myth” (Thimme 1977:43-44).

⁶⁶ According to Markus Kaisiepo, Mambesak’s first song was called Koreri: “the words were about the birth of Jesus of Bethlehem and the love of the Lord Almighty for us all; the inner meaning carried the strength and divine inspiration of Manseren Nanggi, Almighty God” (in Sharp 1994:65). Many people at Iowara claimed Ap’s powers of composition to be ‘inspired by the divine’ (*ilham*).

⁶⁷ *Dia melawan musuhnya dengan mempergunakan senjata syair dan lagu. Dia mempersatukan bangsanya melalui syair dan lagu. Dia memuja tanah-airnya didalam syair dan lagu.*

The movement which was driven by the Mambesak music-dance group beneath the leadership of Arnold Ap (deceased) constituted an anti-colonial political manifestation categorised as the biggest since 1969. The majority of Mambesak members fled to reside in Papua New Guinea whereas a small part still exist and are active in West Papua (Simopiaref 2000).

It was also claimed that Ap sought to re-orient Irianese culture towards the Pacific:

... the movement to resurrect Irian culture was perceived [by the military] to be merely a 'cultural wrapping' (*bungkus cultural*) for the latent danger of Papuan nationalism ... in Irian, the factor of culture (dance and music in its narrowest form) could be seen as something exclusive, something which made people there feel they were not Indonesians, related to pan Melanesia ... meaning to separate the Melanesian regions in Indonesia (e.g., Irian and Moluccas) to be more Pacific-oriented (Aditjondro 1993b:9-10).

In April 1969 at the time of Dr. Ortiz-Sanz's visit as the UN's special representative to West Irian during PEPERA, Ap led a demonstration with fellow UNCEN students and was subsequently imprisoned at Gunung Ifar prison (Ireeuw 1994). According to Aditjondro, after this experience Ap made a decision to struggle so that West Papuan people might preserve their cultural identity, despite existing inside the context of the Indonesian Republic (1993b:9). Ap engaged this struggle for identity in the field of performance culture, setting in motion a movement for the 'resurgence of Irianese culture' (*kebangkitan kebudayaan Irian*) (Aditjondro 1993b:10). Benedict Anderson linked Ap's work and his political fate.

[as] curator of a state-built museum devoted to 'Irianese' (provincial) culture the link between Ap's assassination and occupation is hardly accidental ... For museums, and the museumising imagination, are both profoundly political (Anderson 1983:178).⁶⁸

Aditjondro contests the notion of the museum functioning as 'primary maker' (*pembentuk*) of Irianese nationalism. Rather, it was Mambesak's project on the edge of the Institute of Anthropology museum that was more likely to invoke Irian nationalism among followers (1993b:16), and to provoke the state's suspicion.⁶⁹ The state restricted Mambesak's exposure by refusing the

⁶⁸ Benedict Anderson (1983:176-178) discusses the census, map, and museum as institutions of power shaping a West Papuan national imagination.

⁶⁹ Indeed, in the field of museum curatorship in Indonesia, the orthodoxy of *wawasan musantara* can be described as integralist rather than subversive.

issue of overseas visas, including to the PNG South Pacific Festival (di Suvero 1984:54-59). Di Suvero was advised by Ap that: "They don't like us to develop contacts with foreigners. Foreign mail never gets delivered, and I can only invite you to my home once" (1984:58). The logic here is that international relations must be mediated by the state, and relations established between an entity deemed provincial (regional) with another state, subverts the 'between nations' logic.

Ap's death did not occur in an "atemporal space or a symbolic vacuum" (Aretxaga 1997:102). Rather, it was the perpetuation of two decades of state capture and execution without trial of West Papuan citizens. Ap is represented as one other addition to a list of men and women from different generations and socio-political contexts elaborating an historical tradition of West Papuan resistance to Indonesia.

West Papuan populace through their leaders since the beginning have conveyed various political statements to reject becoming a part of the Republic of Indonesia ... Frans Kaisiepo, Johan Ariks, Angganita Menufandu and Stefanus Simopiaref, Raja Ati Ati (Fak Fak), Jakadewa, Lodewijk Mandatjan and Obeth Manupapami, Barend Mandatjan, Ferry Awom, Permenas Awom, Jufuway, Arnold Ap, Eliezer Bonay, Adolf Menase Suwae, Dr Thomas Wainggai, Nicholas Jouwe, Marcus Wonggor Kaisiepo... (Simopiaref 2000).

After the murder of Ap, people began to make political claims on him. The Indonesian government had created a martyr, generating West Papuan national awareness in Irian Jaya and uniting OPM factions (Aditjondro 1993b:9-12). Speaking on Radio Australia from his exile in Athens after Ap's murder, OPM leader Seth Rumkorem claimed Ap as the Home Affairs Minister in his government-in-exile (Osborne 1985:150).⁷⁰ Ap was also claimed as a Minister of Education and Culture (in Aditjondro 1993b:12), and the mastermind of the failed coup (*West Papua Update* 1993:2). These claims are not without a certain irony. According to Aditjondro (1993a:6), at the end of 1983 both Ap and himself were criticised by other OPM sympathisers as not radical enough; speaking out about the civil and political rights of Irianese but not explicitly framing this in terms of rights of self-determination nor aligning themselves politically with the OPM. Ap's wife refused to be politicised as a 'Cory Aquino figure' by OPM factions and after gaining political asylum in the Netherlands, removed herself from public life (Aditjondro 1993b:12).

⁷⁰ Rumkorem's comment brings to mind Anderson's long-distant nationalist who creates: "a serious politics that is at the same time radically unaccountable" (1998:74).

Obituaries represented Ap's life as refracting the substance and resilience of West Papuan people and their struggle for freedom: "... no people, bringing forward an Arnold Ap, can ever be destroyed" (*West Papuan Observer* (8) 1984:28-29). Obituaries by human rights lawyer di Suvero (1984), and Aditjondro's below, describe Ap's murder in revolutionary historical terms, evocative of Aretxaga's description of an "historically transcendent action" which changes the historical tide (1997:103).

It was as though the murder of Arnold Ap, which indirectly constituted the death of non-violent struggle used to build an Irian identity through cultural arts as well as radio broadcasting, gave the sign that in the context of the Indonesian Republic, there was no chance to preserve – let alone develop – Irianese identity. Consequently, it was as if political struggle to secede from the Indonesian Republic and establish an independent state for people of the same stock (meaning Melanesian) was spurred on again (Aditjondro 1993b:14).⁷¹

Ap's murder meant that the state would not tolerate the terms of his cultural project, and signalled to West Papuans that their cultural identity could be neither preserved nor developed within the framework of the Indonesian state. Ap's death functioned as catharsis. No-one was invulnerable: "For no one is there anymore any escape" (*West Papuan Observer* 8:1,2 1984:29).

Iconisation of Ap in northerner narratives

The following three panels constructed from northerners' narratives at Iowara, provide other vantage points from which to understand the meaning of Ap's death in the context of the struggle for nationhood. In the panels below, it is Ap's West Papuanness (or his Biakness) that is violated by the state. The state's denial of matters of cultural importance to West Papuans underwrites a fundamental antagonism and basis of their struggle for nationhood.

Panel 1 The state's violation of the cultural nature of the gift

In November 1983 at a Mambesak performance in the Parliament building, Jayapura, military officials from Jakarta led by the Minister of Defence, and guests from other nations including India, Korea and

⁷¹ Pembunuhan Arnold Ap yang secara tidak langsung merupakan pembunuhan perjuangan tanpa-kekerasan guna menegakkan identitas Irian melalui kegiatan seni-budaya serta siaran radio, seolah-olah memberikan isyarat bahwa dalam konteks negara Republik Indonesia tak banyak kans untuk mempertahankan – apalagi mengembangkan – identitas orang Irian. Maka, perjuangan politik untuk memisahkan diri dari Republik Indonesia dan mendirikan suatu negara merdeka bae' orang-orang serumpun, seolah-olah dipacu kembali.

America, were invited by Mambesak members to dance the Yospan. Then the wife of the Minister for Defence [General Murdani] asked Ap for his *cenderawasih* headdress. According to custom, feathers ought not be requested nor given. Ap gave the feather. He made the comment that perhaps the gift would get him out of trouble at a later time. While Mambesak members ate outside, Ap remained inside speaking intensely with the international guests. Later in the taxi journey home he told his wife that she must be prepared for the worst. He was arrested the following day [Narrative recounted to me by most northerner informants at Waraston, Iowara].⁷²

This narrative places Ap and Mambesak in an international setting where Ap plays the role of statesman, and the provincial Yospan dance is showcased at a national function for international recognition. Ibu Murdani's request exemplifies the state's disdain for local *adat* and attitude towards cultural artefacts as souvenirs.⁷³ Ap's surrender of the *cenderawasih* is portrayed as a violation of *adat* resulting in his capture. It is the culture of the gift that is violated, for Ap's gift is met not with reciprocity but capture. The narrative juxtaposes customary local belief against the state. Narrators explained that Arnold Ap was offended by the request because he respected the custom that proscribed *cenderawasih* worn by non-*ondoafi* (north coast tribal leader). Such proscription was lost on the state.

Panel 2 The state's disregard for Biak customary obligation between cousins (*nafirem*)

Ap's cousin Edu Mofu was imprisoned with him. Mofu chose to remain despite the offer of his own release. Mofu's body was dumped in the sea. Had Mofu abandoned Ap their relatives would say: you forgot your cousin. Between *nafirem* it is like this: if he dies, I must also die. Mofu had to intervene or his parent would ask of him: "Where is your brother?" One heavy burden to bear.

Northerners at Iowara recalled the killing of Ap's cousin (*nafirem* B) Eduard Mofu. At Iowara there were people who had known Mofu and Ap as *nafirem*. Ap's father was Mofu's maternal uncle, his mother's brother. Mofu's own father had also been murdered by the state. It was explained to me that the relation between cousins is more intimate than between siblings; closer to the

⁷²The final Mambesak performance and Ap's surrender of the *cenderawasih* is also recounted in Aditjondro (1993a), Osborne (1985:149-150) and in the *West Papuan Observer* 8 (1,2):29.

⁷³ Indonesian soldiers are renowned for commoditising *cenderawasih* and the bird circulates as a material for the 'culture of bribery' (*budaya upeti*) (Aditjondro 1993a:23).

relation between male in-laws.⁷⁴ The narrative reveals the state's effort to negate Mofu's obligation of *nafirem*, pitting a customary familial relationship against the state. People did not explain why Mofu was arrested, only that he was offered freedom but chose to stay. His upholding the Biak principal of *nafirem* was punishable by the Indonesian state.

Panel 3 The West Papuan as songmaker

Ap had three mottos. The first one: "I sing to live, singing is a sign of life. If I am not singing it means I am already dead."⁷⁵ The second: "I continue to sing yesterday, today and tomorrow."⁷⁶ The third: "Maybe you think what I'm doing is stupid but it is what I think I should do for my people before I die" [Recounted by most northerners at Waraston, Iowara].

West Papuan people sing at the time of joy. West Papuan people sing when already sad in a form of lamentation. West Papuan people sing when hungry or sick in order that people will fetch them food. West Papuan people sing their appreciation of food at customary feasts. West Papuan people sing as they work together to reduce their weariness. Coastal people sing to lift their spirits when paddling a canoe a long distance. Mountain people sing to lift their spirits when carting cooking stones [Single narrative - the subject of singing as an activity particular to West Papuan people, was expressed by both Muyu, Dani and northerner people].

The state's suspicion of songmaking undermines a fundamental everyday cultural practice that evokes West Papuanness. Singing accompanies the activities of raiding expeditions (*hong*)⁷⁷ and stone cooking (*bakar batu*), depicted as distinctly West Papuan practices. Singing is a West Papuan expression of humanity, and an enduring cultural tradition:

But since we only stop singing when the last West Papuan leaves this world, new groups sprang up, both in the country and abroad. Even in

⁷⁴ "In the heat of battle, a man will leave his dying brother and flee to safety, but if his cross-cousin has fallen, he will perish by his side. When a man spends the night at his sister's home, he knows he can sleep soundly; at his brother's he must keep up his guard. Cross-cousins cannot bring themselves to step over each other's feet, but brothers can fight to the death" (Rutherford 1997:173).

⁷⁵ *Saya menyanyi untuk hidup. Bernyanyi adalah suatu tanda kehidupan, kalau tidak bernyanyi berarti sudah kematian.*

⁷⁶ *Saya tetap bernyanyi dari dulu, kini dan nanti.*

⁷⁷ According to some, *hong* was restricted to the Cenderawasih Bay area only (Aditjondro pers. comm. 2000).

the refugee camps, where suffering and worrying is the people's daily food they sing, form choirs, make simple instruments and continue their musical folklore as they did at home for centuries (*The West Papuan Observer* Vol 9 (3):186-7).

At Iowara, Ap's mottoes were reiterated constantly by northerners in conversation about Ap. The final motto "Maybe you think what I'm doing is stupid but it is what I think I should do for my people before I die" clearly positions Ap as a national martyr.

The performance movement that emerged from the Institute of Anthropology's museum at UNCEN in the mid 1970s, extrapolated the cultural performance of regional groups (e.g., Biak-Numfoor, Asmat, Sentani) in terms of a 'bounded West Papuan cultural repertoire'.⁷⁸ Arnold Ap and his peers represented West Papuanness to be undermined by the intrusion of 'Indonesian' cultural forms, and ambivalent and misguided state programs. Contained in the notion of intrusion and damage is the objectification of culture and symbols as things that can be transmitted and circulated, and are vulnerable to loss or even extinction. Thus West Papuan cultural performance and artistic practice came to be conceived as material that could be diluted, or lost through an inward flow of foreign culture. The inventorising and performance activities of Ap and other artists and musicians were in line with the Indonesian state's inventorising of provincial cultures towards a unified national culture. However, the motivations were divergent. Ap sought control over the flow of foreign, Indonesian cultural forms into, and out of, a repertoire of cultural performance practices represented as West Papuan.

Mambesak and Pelangi Budaya's performance repertoire was culturally bounded; limited to songs and dances deemed *asli*, or originating from Irian Jaya. The bounded nature of the repertoire imagined a certain cultural congruity; an overarching cultural West Papuanness. It was this project of cultural differentiation at the level of nation that was used as a model by nationalists, and saw the political and religious iconisation of Ap. The reaction to Ap's project revealed the boundaries of the state's own culture project articulated in the government's statement "Broad Outlines of the Nation's Direction" (*GBHN*).⁷⁹

... there was no suitable reason for those in power to put Arnold Ap and his Mambesak group on trial. Because, what was carried out by Ap, that

⁷⁸ This section draws on Simon Harrison's (1999) writing on the construction of a bounded cultural repertoire in nation-making.

⁷⁹ *Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara*.

is, to uncover, revitalise and introduce Irian Jaya regional traditional artistic culture was in line with the substance and spirit of *GBHN* which constituted the principal basis of the pattern for Indonesian national development (Ruhukail 1985:2).⁸⁰

However, according to Ruhukail and Aditjondro and others, it was the eastern orientation of Ap's performance movement - towards Melanesia and distancing Java and the rest of Indonesia - that was perceived as culturally separatist, threatening national Indonesian unity.

That West Papuanness could no longer be expressed in artistic forms caused the flight of musicians and intellectuals into Vanimo, PNG, seeking political asylum. Events of flight into PNG throughout the period 1984-85 by some ten thousand other West Papuans, occurred against a history of antagonism and differentiation of the sort elaborated in this chapter and the previous one. The following two chapters take the reader forward in time to the period after 1987 when West Papuan refugees - including northerners who were the subject of this chapter - were relocated from the border camps to the large resettlement area at East Awin in Western Province. Chapter 4 explores the way refugees conceived their dwelling at Iowara as temporary exile, influenced by their understanding of themselves as a distinct people having their own legitimate place and nation, to which they would eventually return.

⁸⁰ ...tidak ada alasan yang tepat bagi para penguasa ini untuk mengadili Arnold dan Group Mambesak-nya. Karena apa yang dilakukan oleh Arnold, yaitu menggali, mengembangkan dan memperkenalkan seni-budaya tradisional daerah Irian Jaya, adalah sejalan dengan isi dan jiwa Garis-garis besar Haluan Negara (*GBHN*) yang merupakan dasar utama daripada pola pembangunan nasional Indonesia.

4. Generating a place of exile as a dwelling place

Wherever one lives constitutes a *dusun*. Wherever one lives or shifts, one must plant sago as a sign they are living in that place.¹

The preceding two chapters comprise the first thematic part of the thesis examining predominantly racial and cultural constructions of West Papuan nationhood that shaped the political milieu in which flight occurred. This chapter explores the way conceptions of nationhood underpin a 'teleology of return' to the homeland among refugees.

Several aspects of an 'ideal type' or model of diaspora are evocative of the desires of West Papuan refugees at Iowara. These include the belief that they are not or cannot be accepted by the host country; maintenance of a vision or myth about the homeland; conception of ancestral home as a place of eventual return when the time is right; and commitment to the restoration of the homeland (Clifford 1997:247). Clifford has paraphrased such a model to be "oriented by continuous cultural connections to a source and by a teleology of return" (1997:249). It is not the object of this thesis to identify elements characterising West Papuan refugee experiences at Iowara in terms of diaspora. However, the element of a 'teleology of return' is strikingly evocative of refugee desire to return to a West Papuan homeland when the time is right. This chapter explores teleology of return as it affects a state of waiting in the time leading up to return to the homeland. That this period of waiting is not simply lacunal time, is suggested by the activities of dwelling undertaken.

Philosopher Edward Casey (1992) has described the activity of dwelling as a process of cultivation involving navigation, orientation and building. Being mid-journey does not preclude stability or the process of a place becoming a familiar habitat. A habitat place cultivated mid-journey may even become a genuine

¹ This was expressed by a Muyu schoolteacher at Iowara who claimed to have planted sago in every place he had taught in the Muyu region.

stopping place: "... sufficiently settled to exhibit the requisite density for ending a journey..." (Casey 1992:292). At Iowara, the will to return is expressed in people's comment about being in a state of 'mid-journey' (*sedang perjalanan*), referring to people's desire to re-trace their journey to the place they have come from. This yearning has not inhibited refugees from dwelling at Iowara in order to build a familiar place. It is in terms of this concept of dwelling, and practice of re-inhabitation that sees the displacement situation of this fieldwork study converge with an anthropological literature on displacement.²

This displacement literature has evolved out of anthropology's focus on boundaries and borderlands as central rather than peripheral to analysis (Malkki 1992:25).³ The literature identifies notions of nationhood and origin to be increasingly complex in a period where people identify themselves, or are categorised in reference to a 'homeland', 'culture' and 'origin' that is deterritorialised. In other words, in an era of enormous mobility and displacement, people make or invent 'homes' and 'homelands': "in the absence of territorial, national bases ... through memories of, and claims on, places that they can or will no longer corporeally inhabit" (Malkki 1992:24).

The way that people dwell in the time and space prior to return to the homeland is explored in this chapter. For example, in the formation of camps, and arrangement of houses and gardens that produce social and spatial alliances at Iowara, and in religious practices that enable domestication of the metaphysical realm at East Awin. The first section of this chapter considers the historical formation of Muyu and northerner camps, corners, and clusters at Iowara based on the composition of villages in Irian Jaya, or border camps. This section examines the configuration of camp space, and articulation of alliances inside and across camps, in order to map the generation of a social space; the creation of "new maps of attachment" (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1988:i) at Iowara.

² Casey (1992: 302) writes: "The most dangerous displacement is doubtless that from the homeland ... With literal re-inhabitation of the homeland precluded, the only way out is through re-inhabitation of another sort."

³ This literature (e.g., Rosaldo 1988; Appadurai 1991, 1996; Malkki 1990, 1992; Massey 1992; Gupta and Ferguson 1992) theorises the post-modern world metaphorically in terms of displacement - characterised by time-space compression, place boundaries dissolved by global flows, and instant communication producing disorientation and the loss of a sense of place.

GENERATING SOCIAL SPACE

Formation of Muyu camps

In 1987, Muyu people from several border camps in Western Province were the first to arrive to the surveyed relocation site. Later in the same year, northerners and Dani people living at Blackwater camp, Vanimo, shifted to Iowara. Refugee narratives represented East Awin at this time as a space encompassing more determinate places like the surveyed re-location site, and within this, individual camps and public space. Most Muyu people at Iowara knew, vaguely at least, the neighbouring tribal boundaries that contain the East Awin landscape; where Pare becomes Awin land, and Awin becomes Yonggom land. People could orient Iowara's location within the landscape as most had walked from Iowara to the Fly river several times, and travelled by truck or tractor many more times in the period since arrival.⁴ The forty km route from the Fly River to Iowara passing through Pare land into East Awin, was measured by old survey camps numbered one to eight located at intervals along the clay track. Remains of these camp sites had been visible in 1987.

According to refugee narratives, upon arrival to Iowara in 1987, the administration proposed that Muyu people establish camps to encircle the administrative center known as Station camp.⁵ Muyu camps at Iowara were based on previous border camp formations.

Muyu people have a disposition: we cannot be enclosed in the one place. On the border we had already lived at a distance from one another. The characteristic of each camp was different. [Border] camp members felt 'attached' (*terikat*) and did not want to be 'disturbed' (*terganggu*) by others. In distance there is freedom. Finally we settled according to our previous

⁴ The role of the navigating, orienting body in building places and transforming a *site* into a dwelling *place* is explored by Casey (1992:28-9).

⁵ Preston's account (1992:864) differs: "There was not any plan, and the order in which refugees were relocated became a matter of political expediency which changed from day to day. Similarly, there was not any plan about which groups should be relocated in which place once they reached the relocation site. In the end, this became a matter of refugee choice, influenced above all by access to water and roads."

camps on the border that had been formed because of shared villages of origin to the west (Maximus).⁶

Within larger Muyu camps, 'corners' were divided into clusters named after the village of origin in Irian Jaya.⁷ In these corners, families and in-laws often lived alongside each other. For example, Komokpin camp at Iowara was named after the village on the eastern side of the border where groups of Muyu villagers had crossed in 1984. At Iowara, Komokpin camp comprised several territorial and kin-based corners named after villagers' places of origin in Irian Jaya: Kawangtet, Ninati, Waropko, Amuan and Wanggatkibi. Similarly, Atkamba camp at Iowara comprised three corners. Corner 2 comprised groups of villagers who live in clusters based on their village of origin in Irian Jaya: Mokbiran, Arwan, Amupka, Kataut and Umap. Naming a corner in this manner not only memorialises but evokes a wide range of associations with people's villages of origin in Irian Jaya. Basso (1988 in Feld 1996:125) describes placenames as richly evocative symbols that summon forth associations through their inseparable connection to a locality: "associations of time and space, of history and events, of persons and social activities, of oneself and stages in one's life." The bestowing of place names referring to previous dwelling places in Irian Jaya, and on the border, generates an historical space out of what might be construed as a 'blank environment' (Casey 1996:14).

The following section explores the social alliances of five people at Iowara grounded in everyday life events. I presented several people with a diagram of concentric circles and asked them to label the diagram, adding more circles if needed, or using less circles by leaving some unmarked.⁸ The inner circles

⁶ Maximus is a graduate of sociology and theology, and worked as a church elder and community health worker at Iowara. He relocated to Iowara from the border with his wife and family in 1987.

⁷ The term 'corner' while not a distinctly Western Province appellation, is used to similarly describe places in Daru, Kiunga and Tabubil as sites where people from a smaller place reside within a larger place, often on the edge of a mission station or airstrip. Dwyer and Minnegal (pers. comm. September 2000) who have done research among the Kubo north of the Awin region, define corner as a "permanent group with fluctuating membership" compared with a "permanent group presence of particular individuals." Dwyer and Minnegal elaborate corner in terms of 'security' as a place where people of *wantok* reside because corners are always at some level located in 'foreign' places. Muyu corners at Iowara are perhaps an anomaly in Western Province. Despite their formation in 1987 comprising 'permanent membership' of particular individuals from the same village of origin, the intention to reside is only provisional.

⁸ This methodology is inspired by Jerry Schwab's concentric circle representation of the conceptual categories in Aboriginal recognition of Aboriginal identity in Adelaide (1988).

represented individuals or categories of people identified as closest (called on in the event of crisis or celebration), while people categorised as distant (those people engaged with least) were graphed as the circle's outer rim. Some people re-framed my explanation of 'alliance' in terms of people identified as 'my people' or 'us'.⁹ These circles might otherwise be referred to as an individual's mapping of their social terrain at Iowara.

Maximus

Maximus elaborated seven categories of social alliances at Iowara:

1. The center was identified as the 'nuclear family' (*keluarga inti*) consisting of Maximus' two wives and their children.
2. The second circle was marked as 'closest family' (*keluarga terdekat*) comprising Maximus' own siblings and their children and grandchildren. The relationship with his sister's children was privileged; among Muyu people this relationship was characterised as more intimate than the relationship a father enjoyed with his own children.
3. The third circle was marked as the 'same village' (*sekampung*) meaning Muyu people living at Iowara who had previously lived in the same village of origin in Irian Jaya before flight. These people did not necessarily reside in the same camp at Iowara.
4. The fourth circle was marked as blood relatives or 'lineage' (*fam*) living at Iowara.¹⁰ Some of these people had previously lived outside of Maximus' own village in Irian Jaya.

Reminiscent of Evans-Pritchard's mapping of relational identity among the Nuer (1940), Schwab concluded that an individual's identity was perceived in terms of five conceptual categories. Kinship was the primary basis of identification followed by persons from home, known persons (membership in an identifiable local family), recognised persons (member of a major kin group from a major reserve) and unknown persons (not acknowledged as having a legitimate place in that community).

⁹ This phrase was used in other contexts. A Dani man who needed medical assistance complained to me that he did not have Dani relatives to stay with in Kiunga, the closest town: "I do not have people there" (*Saya tidak punya orang di sana*). In the hospital at Iowara, I overheard some women talking about finding a lactating mother to feed a newborn baby whose (Muyu) mother was having difficulty producing milk. The mother and her friends qualified that the lactating mother must be 'one of us'. In this context, 'us' meant from Irian Jaya as opposed to local Awin people.

¹⁰ Maximus defines *fam* as several descending generations from one shared male ancestor or forefather that have multiplied to become an 'extended family' (*satu keluarga besar*). I follow

5. The fifth circle comprised other Muyu people living at Iowara.
6. The sixth circle was marked as the relationship of in-law i.e., a person and his/her family from whatever ethnic origin, who was married to a Muyu person and lived at Iowara.
7. The seventh circle comprised people of other ethnic origin who share the same 'political standpoint' (*pendirian*) as Maximus.

Maximus plotted social alliance at Iowara with non-kin who had come from the same village in Irian Jaya, as well as kin who lived outside of his village of origin. Neither of these groups necessarily lived in the same camp at Iowara. Maximus described the alliance between people from the same village in Irian Jaya as the relation between 'dusun neighbours' (*tetangga dusun*), referring to villagers' relationships through the proximity of their original *dusun* in Irian Jaya. His camp (Atkamba) at Iowara was not mentioned as a category of alliance. He explained that many Muyu people had shifted outside of Atkamba camp to establish houses on vacant land along the edge of the main road into Iowara. Atkamba had become too cramped, risking accident or 'misfortune' (*celaka*); a euphemism for sorcery. According to Maximus, for Muyu people, dense living space increased people's interaction, thereby increasing the risk of being misunderstood, misrepresented or faulted.¹¹ The roadside settlement mentioned was also located closer to the vicinity of Atkamba gardens.

An alliance at the level of the camp was difficult to manufacture among Muyu people. Maximus described the construction of the market tables for the St Berthilla church at Atkamba to illustrate this. On behalf of the church's parish council, Maximus had requested that the congregation work together to build permanent standing tables for the market place adjacent to the church. Maximus found himself expected to personally provide 'in-kind payment or reimbursement' (*imbalan*) to individuals, as though he was 'head of the church or beneficiary'

Schoorl's use of 'lineage' to describe the largest social and territorial unit of Muyu society, underpinned by principles of patrilineal descent combined with patrilocal marriage (1993:18; 1988:541). The term 'clan' (a standard translation of *fam*) refers to a much wider group, its members may not know their common forefather although they may recognise that they share a common forefather (pers. comm. J.W. Schoorl 2000). In this respect, Muyu people use the term 'fam' to refer to an order of grouping that is actually closer to patrilineage than clan.

¹¹ Maximus characterised Muyu people in terms of their wariness. This condition is so constant that there is no word in the Yonggom language to describe it. However, the term *katkile* is used to warn someone to be especially cautious. *Katkile* is a social demeanour practised to avoid causing envy or grievance in others.

(*tuan gereja*). In his commentary, he distinguished between *gotong royong* as true community self-help (i.e., work without the expectation of some return) with community work that only appeared to have this character. According to Maximus, Muyu people were not familiar with the former because work was premised on the expectation of in-kind payment, comprising cash for a couple of people, or in the case of many people, cooked or raw food and/or a portion of the harvested crop, or tobacco. Among Muyu people at Iowara, community work was done in the garden at the time of planting peanuts so that the crop could be planted at once to achieve a uniform harvest. Sewing palm roof thatch also required assistance because an old roof was removed entirely and a new roof fixed immediately.

Maximus claimed that Muyu people at Iowara would only involve themselves in business (e.g., kiosk) with a group comprising people from different clans from the same village in Irian Jaya. An individual developed a small business at his own peril. (Social envy or *anup-anep* (Y) is discussed further in Chapter 5.) According to Maximus, some people claimed refugeeness as an economic condition to be shared by all, therefore, wage-earning Muyu people contrasted the remaining people at Iowara toiling in the garden for a few lousy *toea* (tp). Maximus himself combated these sentiments by purchasing produce from Muyu sellers in the market despite his own extensive garden, and fulfilling requests for assistance wherever he was able. For Maximus, political standpoint did not intersect with ethnicity, rather, his alliance with Muyu people as an ethnic/regional category came before the matter of shared political allegiance.

David¹²

David mapped four categories of social alliance:

1. The center was marked clan (*fam*) including his own wife and children, and his sister and her children who lived in the house alongside David's.
2. The second circle comprised people from the same village in Irian Jaya living at Iowara, but not necessarily at David's camp Atkamba.
3. The third circle comprised other Muyu people from Atkamba. David explained:

¹² David is a farmer and church elder who relocated from the border in 1987 with his wife and children, and widowed sister and family.

In 1984, family groups from several scattered villages crossed the border and established a settlement on the edge of the existing Atkamba village on the PNG-Indonesian border. Here, everyone became united. This camp was re-located in 1987 to Iowara. By then we considered our place to be one village.

4. The fourth circle comprised Muyu people living in other camps (not Atkamba) at Iowara.

David's identification of Atkamba camp at Iowara as a category of alliance, contrasted with Maximus' mapping which referred to the village of origin in Irian Jaya and relatives, but did not mention his own camp at Iowara as a category. David illustrated this camp-wide alliance through reference to an incident that occurred in the Saturday afternoon church market held in front of the St Berthilla Catholic church at Atkamba. On the day of the incident, a prominent woman from Atkamba - a teacher and leader of women's activities in the church - made a public announcement that Muyu women from other camps at Iowara were no longer welcome to sell their produce at the church market located at Atkamba.¹³ David explained that Muyu women from other camps whose gardens were located in the vicinity of larger rivers, were able to grow large, fresh vegetables and irrigated varieties: cucumbers, broad-leafed *kangkung*, chives and snake beans.¹⁴ The incident illustrated an alliance of Muyu women from Atkamba camp against other Muyu women from other camps. It also demonstrated the situational nature of Muyu alliance: a Muyu person may ally themselves with other Muyu people in relation to another ethnic group, and may ally themselves with a Muyu person from their own camp in relation to a Muyu person from another camp at Iowara.

¹³ I overheard a Muyu woman (not from Atkamba) comment on the incident: "They want to limit the sellers; like a *wantok* system, privileging their own sellers."

¹⁴ Some gardeners at Iowara freighted garden produce (peanuts, sweet potatoes, green bananas) to sell in the market at Kiunga. While prices were up to five times higher than Iowara, the vendor needed to support themselves while in Kiunga, and pay a transport fee of 12 kina (return trip). Also, crowded vehicles meant that produce often became crushed or damaged.

Cecilia¹⁵

Cecilia drew seven circles to represent her categories of alliance:

1. The center circle was marked as family.
2. The second circle was marked as *fam* meaning her parents' (Muyu) siblings and extended family living at Iowara.
3. The third circle comprised Kanum people from Cecilia's town of origin in Irian Jaya, living at Weski camp, Iowara.
4. The fourth circle was marked as Yay people from the neighbouring region in Irian Jaya living at Weski camp, Iowara.
5. The fifth circle was marked as northerners from Waraston camp, the neighbouring camp to Weski at Iowara.
6. The sixth circle was marked as other Muyu people at Iowara.
7. The seventh circle comprised Jayapuran people living at Iowara categorised as in-laws. These people were relatives of a Jayapuran man who had married a Kanum woman. The couple mentioned lived in Irian Jaya but the man had relatives living at Iowara.

Cecilia's mapping underscores the personal-historical nature of alliances at Iowara. After her relationship with her Muyu parents' families living at Iowara, Cecilia allied herself with Kanum people among whom she was raised in the same town in Irian Jaya, and among whom she lives at Weski camp, Iowara. She differentiated between Kanum (originating from around Sota on the southern Indonesian-PNG border) and Yay peoples (originating from Torai and Erambu further to the north).¹⁶ Cecilia explained that she had not known Yay people before their simultaneous relocation to Iowara from Weam and Suki border camps in 1992: "Until arrival here, we were afraid of Yay people. They appeared to be 'other people' (*orang lain*), whereas they were actually 'us' (*kami*)." It was said that in the past, following Kanum-Yay rivalry, marriage between Kanum and Yay people

¹⁵ Cecilia was born to Muyu parents who lived among and had been bequeathed land by Kanum people. She was adopted from the age of five until twelve by a Javanese-Chinese mother and Timorese father. She was caught up accidentally in her town's flight into PNG in 1992 and was relocated to Iowara four months later. At Iowara she learned to speak Kanum but does not speak the Muyu language although she can understand it. Her biological mother lives at Iowara and speaks both Yonggom and Kanum.

¹⁶ Weski is an abbreviation of Weam and Suki, two villages located on the eastern side of the southern border. Kanum and Yay people crossed to these villages in 1992 and were subsequently relocated to Iowara.

was also the subject of taboo or *pemali*. At Iowara, this ethnic differentiation manifested spatially with Yay families settling on the high side of the road, and Kanum people on the lower side. Kanum or Yay languages were spoken inside the household, and Malay in public space.

People at Weski conceded that their perception of living at Iowara was affected by their small population, and late arrival after most UNHCR assistance had ceased. For example, they claimed that they had not received basic kitchen items such as tin plates that had been distributed in earlier years. In 1993, about fifty-four families from Weski joined a UNHCR repatriation program leaving only six families at Iowara. According to Cecilia's neighbour, people at Weski were compelled to practice public humility and acquiescence in order to avoid dispute at Iowara.

When we first arrived, [Weski] women baked cassava cakes to sell in the market. Because the cakes were enticing, other vendors protested that buyers were spending all of their money on our cakes and they were taking home their produce unsold. Then some of these other women copied our cakes, but buyers still bought from us and those women took their cakes home, unsold. They protested again and we thought: better we stop selling cakes than have this bitterness between us -- we are only a few people here.

Formation of northerner camps

The territorial or spatial basis of Muyu border camps, and subsequent camp formation at Iowara, contrasted northerners who fled east to Vanimo in a more disparate manner, as individuals or nuclear families. Most were urban dwellers from Sorong, Manokwari, Serui, Biak and Jayapura, including people from other areas who were working or studying in the capital. In many cases there was no pre-existing relation between northerners who fled. Alliances were established at Blackwater camp, Vanimo, when two groups formed behind one leader from Biak and another from Serui. The Biak group left Blackwater to live at a beach camp known as 'Waraston *pantai*' between 1987-89, and the other group remained at Blackwater camp, eventually re-locating to Iowara in 1988. Waraston *pantai* dwellers were forcibly re-located to Iowara in 1989 (see Chapter 6 for an account of their eviction) where they were resettled in a camp some twenty-five kilometres from the other northerner group. They stayed less than one month in their

allocated space near Kuiu, re-locating themselves against the wishes of the camp administration, to unsettled land next to Station camp (see map 6).

Some northerners claimed that the location of the camps was pre-determined by the camp administration to be at opposite ends of Iowara. The 'divisive separation' (*pecah belah*) of people into separate camps was deemed strategic. A Biak man at Iowara used the term *mengotakkan* - meaning to compartmentalise from the word *kotak* meaning box - to describe the division of groups on the basis of ethnicity. At Iowara, Dani people lived in two neighbouring camps, and northerners also formed the two distant camps of Blackwara and Waraston. Northerners read their segregation as an attempt by the administration to prevent possible solidarity. As it was, northerner division into pro and anti-military resistance diluted the OPM politic at Iowara. Military activity was proscribed by the camp administration, and this proscription was a principal condition of residence at Iowara. Some refugees also suggested that the administration had intentionally segregated refugees and Awin and Pa landowners by holding separate meetings.

Several of these alliances are manifest in the two northerner narratives below.

Damianus¹⁷

Damianus drew four circles to represent his alliances:

1. The first circle was marked as the same family and/or clan at Iowara.
2. The second circle comprised other members of the same church denomination.
3. The third circle comprised other members of the same political alliance (led by a man from Damianus' region in Irian Jaya).
4. The fourth circle was marked as other people originally from the same Bird's Head region living at Waraston and Blackwara camps, Iowara.

In Damianus' mapping, his camp of residence (Waraston) did not register as a category of alliance, possibly because there were no members of either his evangelical church or his political faction living there. He placed in the fourth and

¹⁷ Damianus was born at Manokwari. He is a lay pastor and founder of a new PNG evangelical church at Iowara, and aligned with the West Papua New Guinea National Congress, a pro-independence, political alliance (not aligned with the OPM) based in Port Moresby. After leaving the OPM in the early 1990s, he moved to Iowara to join his wife and children who had lived there since 1988.

last circle, other people from his region or origin living at Waraston or Blackwara camps at Iowara. At the time of this research, Damianus had moved from his dilapidated house at the center of Waraston camp to a relative's unoccupied house on the edge of the camp. He explained that he was compelled by the 'order of custom' (*tata kebiasaan*) to put his family and clan as first category of alliance. If he denied assistance to a clan or family member in need, he would ultimately be denying himself because he would be unable to draw on others in his own time of need. As an afterthought, Damianus added acquaintances with some Papua New Guineans at Iowara as a category.

Johan¹⁸

Johan drew five circles of alliance.

1. The first circle comprised his own family.
2. The second circle comprised people from Johan's village on Biak, Irian Jaya living at Waraston or Blackwara, Iowara.
3. The third circle was marked as people from other Biak villages living at Waraston or Blackwara, Iowara.
4. The fourth circle was marked as non-Biak northerner people living at Waraston who are members of the same GKI church at Iowara.
5. The fifth circle comprised all other northerners from Waraston camp, Iowara.
6. The sixth circle was other northerners from Blackwara camp, Iowara.

In Johan's mapping, his social alliances were consistently spatial (territorial) in nature, that is, people from the same Biak place of origin living at Iowara. Johan explained that his father was from Biak, his mother from Serui, and he was raised in Jayapura among non-Biak people. It was not until he lived among Biak people at Blackwater, Vanimo, that he became inspired to learn the Biak language. Johan explained Waraston as a category of alliance based on an 'urban disposition' (*sifat kota*). By this he meant a disposition where neighbours act as relatives to one another; not differentiating on the basis of ethnicity.¹⁹ People at Waraston often

¹⁸ Johan (mentioned in Chapter 3) was raised on Biak. He is a member of the GKI church and is aligned with the OPM. He spent 9 months in prison in Jayapura in the late 1970s and was forcibly relocated to Iowara with his wife and family from Waraston coast camp in 1989.

¹⁹ This disposition was also described as God's 'law of compassion' (*hukum kasih*) meaning that you will attend your neighbour's needs out of your Christian obligation to them as a human

commented to me that in other camps at Iowara, compassion was conceived as the responsibility of kin, whereas, at Waraston, the illness or death of a person was handled by the person's neighbours and the camp generally. Like migrants in other contexts, perhaps it was northerners' flight as individuals and separate families that saw them depend on neighbours in the absence of kin.

Johan resisted making political factionalism into a category of alliance. He claimed the splitting of northerners into two groups at Blackwater, Vanimo, to be engineered by the Indonesian government in an effort to weaken the struggle (i.e., a *provocateur* had been planted in the camp). Consequently he refused to view other northerners at Blackwara, Iowara, as anything other than kin, saying: "Family that is family and politics ok politics." In other words, separate family from politics, and place family before politics.

Johan explained that the struggle for 'political unity' (*persatuan*) had affected the practice of elopement where a couple may elope to force the woman's parents to accept their engagement or advance bridewealth negotiations. Johan recalled an incident at Blackwater, Vanimo, where a political leader pressed a man to 'return' the woman he had eloped with because he did not want the elopement to become a matter of dispute which could unsettle or damage political unity. According to custom, if the woman had 'already ascended' (*sudah naik*) the steps to a man's house she could not be returned to her parent's house, and the man must be prepared to confront his in-law's anger and meet their demands for bridewealth. In spite of the man's preparedness, in this instance he 'returned' his prospective wife on the camp leader's advice about the imperative of unity in exile. The leader advised: "Look to the future and avoid causing tension in the current situation."

At Waraston *pantai* camp near Vanimo, members of the camp had worked as a co-operative. They sold seafood in the market and saved money to purchase a camp-owned outboard motor. At Iowara, business operations included a passenger/freight truck operating between Iowara and the Fly River (rampsite), and a motorised canoe operating between rampsite and Kiunga. Profit made from the truck and canoe was managed by a group called the Committee for Community Prosperity. Funds supported activities like catering for commemorative flag-raising ceremonies, and small seeding grants to women's groups for baking ingredients, as well as family enterprises that sold kerosene or rice. These funds

being: "In the past, in a small village my neighbour was also kin. Now my neighbour may not be related to me but *hukum kasih* means they will assist me in a time of need."

also supported administration (post, phone, transport) related to political activities. Northerners living at Waraston were virtually unanimous in their political allegiance.

This section has not been concerned to theorise alliances into a categorical model like Schwab's. Rather, I have used his methodological approach to explore the subjective nature of individual alliances at Iowara mediated by people's historical and political experiences, and alliances. In the social maps above, some of the interlocking nets of relations that inscribe Iowara as a social space have been explored. What can be said minimally of alliances at Iowara is the enduring category of kinship, and the salience of the village and region of origin in Irian Jaya. The generation of camps at Iowara as a category of alliance is evocative of Doreen Massey's comment of the production of new social effects:

... a place is formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location. And the singularity of any individual place is formed in part out of the specificity of the interactions which occur at that location (nowhere else does this precise mixture occur) and in part out of the fact that the meeting of those social relations at that location ... will in turn produce new social effects (1992:12).

Another (dubious) social effect represented as new by several informants, was that the camp administration's practice of compartmentalisation and segregation at Iowara had encouraged West Papuans to think in terms of their own tribe. Like regionalism, this was held to be negative as it undermined the project of unity towards nationhood.

The following section examines the practice of 'exchanging faces' (*tukar muka*) with individuals who appear similar to a deceased or absent relative. This identification produces relations between people of different origin, living in different camps at Iowara.

Approximating kin in their absence

If one's own 'biological relatives' (*saudara kandung*) are not present, and another person's physical characteristics resembles that relative's appearance, a relation may be built. [The principal is] I see that person living close to me in the same way as I see the one living far (Eduard).

In his writing on the perspective of experience in conceptions of space and place, the philosopher and geographer Yi-Fu Tuan has suggested that the depth of sentiment or value of a place may be “borrowed from the intimacy of a particular human relationship” (1976:140). Further, a parent or close relative may constitute a child’s primary place, in other words, it is a person that may constitute a ‘place’ or ‘home’. This section looks at the practice of *tukar muka*, literally ‘exchanging faces’, referring to the adoption of a person resembling a deceased or absent relative. In addition to feeling consoled by the resemblance, certain obligations may be assumed, for example, the role of the maternal uncle in organising bridewealth.

Exchanging faces may be practiced when a person experiences the absence of a close relative because they are outside of their place of origin, or the loss of a relative in the event of death. It is not specific to the condition of exile. If a person - by chance - recognises the physical characteristics of an absent relative in another person, they may approach that person and invite them to take on the role of the person whom they resemble. The relation will depend on an individual’s willingness to be recognised in the kin role. The relation established with a person resembling a deceased relative may be more enduring than the relation with a person who is absent and may return. However, it was said that an established relation might continue despite a person’s return.

Invitation may be extended in the following manner:

If by chance a person meets someone whose physical appearance resembles those of an absent or deceased relative, they may ‘take’ (*ambil*) that person as their relative. They will invite the person to eat, perhaps offering small gifts before revealing their intention: “I see you the same as [person]. I want to take you as [this person].” It may be a moment of great sadness, tears may be shed (Eduard).

At Iowara, exchanging faces was described as a ‘custom’ (*kebiasaan*) practiced by many, and recognised by most people, and possessing a reciprocal or exchange character. If a person accepted the other person’s identification of them, both would assume the obligations of their respective roles. For example, a woman recognising a man as her maternal uncle assumed the role of his niece.

Angelina’s narrative below provides an example of the practice at Iowara. A Muyu teacher at Iowara, Angelina identified a Muyu woman from another camp who appeared as her mother had when she last saw her; the woman resembled Angelina’s memory of her mother. Angelina called the woman ‘Mama’, and the

relationship extended to their daughters. The relationship was signified by the generous exchange of gifts.

My own mother lives near Merauke. I have not seen her since fleeing in 1992. This child's mother resembles my own mother, her face and stature/movement. I call her *Mama* and my daughter calls her 'grandmother' (*Nenek*). I always buy produce from her in the market and I let her keep the change. If I buy rice in bulk, I give her several kilos. Sometimes she gives me produce from her garden. Her own daughter stays with my family. *Mama* appears as my own mother did when I last saw her.

The assumption of economic responsibilities integral to the (assumed) kin role is found in a second example of exchanging faces between Eduard and his neighbour at Iowara called Maria. Eduard saw in Maria the features of his deceased younger sister. Eduard called Maria 'younger sibling' (*adik*) and her husband, 'brother in-law' (*ipar*). Maria called Eduard 'older or respected sibling' (*kakak*), and her children addressed him 'maternal uncle' (*om*). Eduard's identification of Maria as his deceased younger sister and Maria's acceptance of this role, meant that they held expectations of one another as siblings. As his sister's brother, Eduard had also assumed the responsibilities of maternal uncle to his younger sister's children.

Among northerner, Dani, and Muyu peoples at Iowara, the role of maternal uncle was in principal, to receive bridewealth payment for his sister and provide bridewealth payments for his sister's sons, although both of these exchanges involved several other contributors and receivers also. At Iowara, this relation was approximated pragmatically, rather than with reference to appearance. In one instance, a man's bridewealth was provided by his paternal aunt and her husband in the absence of the man's own father and uncles. The payment was acknowledged by his parents and uncles on Biak, who then returned the payment to relatives of the paternal aunt also living on Biak.

Exchanging faces simulated relations of kin between non-kin; bringing to Iowara or to the camp(s) of the people involved in the exchange, a depth of sentiment. The building of social space and mapping of new emotional attachments also produced a sentiment of loss in those staying and those leaving Iowara.

Repatriation as homeparting

The repatriation of friends and relatives was not merely viewed with disappointment at their premature return by those with permissive residency status, it was also viewed poignantly as the loss of loved ones from a familiar place they had shared. The event of repatriation might be conceived as homeparting; leaving a place where one had experienced a sense of social belonging. Experiences of locality are also the sounds and sights of the camp where one shared one's life. Casey describes the way that places gather things in their midst, for example, animate and inanimate entities, experiences, histories, languages, and thoughts (1996:24-25). The song below titled "It's said you want to leave" recalls a person learning of the imminent departure of another person, perhaps their beloved, and imagines everyday life at Iowara in that person's absence. The landscape is disrupted, rendered dark by the loss of that person. The song approaches Iowara uniquely, as a place from which departure/parting occurs:

*First verse: It's said you want to leave / The sun will go down / When your face no longer radiates / Our village will become dark. Second verse: Until now you have not yet said / Don't understand the pounding of my heart / I will wait faithfully / Until your news arrives. Chorus: Let's sit for a moment and talk / You can't leave in a rush / Don't forget the valley of Iowara / And a certain person and their affection.*²⁰

In 1993 almost the entire Kanum/Yay village of Weski except for six families was repatriated to Irian Jaya. Describing the sense of abandonment at this time, a Kanum person living at Weski used the phrase *pambi pre* (K) which is ordinarily used to mention a child abandoned by its parents, or if a person has no surviving relatives. *Nepnangeng* (K) means left behind.

We felt *pambi pre nepnangeng* (K) when we recalled those people who had already returned, and at other times when there were disputes with the neighbouring camp at Iowara. We were now a very small camp and felt threatened, enclosed. So we tried not to make trouble, preferring instead to yield to other's demands. We adopted an attitude of *nai sepne* (K) which means just leave it!

²⁰ *Kata orang engkau mau berangkat / Matahari hendak terbenam / Kalau mukamu tak bercahaya / Kampung kami menjadi kelam / Sampai kini belum kau berkata / Tak mengerti debar hatiku / Saya akan menunggu setia / Sampai datang perkataannya / Mari duduk sebentar bercakap / Tidak boleh pergi tergesah / Jangan lupa lembah Iowara / Dan seorang dengan kasihnya.*

Here, a sense of loss was experienced pragmatically as the smallness of the camp, which increased people's vulnerability in relation to other larger, neighbouring camps. In this instance, mass repatriation occurred twelve months after arrival. In other events, repatriation in spite of its naming as homecoming, was departure from a place of recent and fairly prolonged inhabitation. Casey says of such a paradox (1992:293): "... in homecoming I can find myself in the extraordinary situation where I return to a place which I can be said to know for the first time, even though in fact I have been there before and still retain intact memories of my earlier experiences there." The matter of leaving the graves of family members behind at Iowara in the event of repatriation is the subject of the next section.

The matter of the graves of the deceased at Iowara

Unless there are siblings to care for our parents left behind [in West Papua] we must go home. A parent is a part of our own 'spirit' (*jiwa*). Some parents came to Iowara with their adult children but have subsequently returned home. To leave behind a parent or a child [buried at Iowara] is to 'leave behind a part of the soul of those of us who are living' (*sebagian jiwa dari kami yang hidup*). Our own spirit will be 'incomplete' (*tidak lengkap*), we cannot live peacefully, it will be a matter of deep regret. To leave behind graves of family members here [at Iowara], whereas I have already returned home, will be a source of 'disturbance' (*gangguan*) and worry. I do not want to leave that person behind in a place of internment; in this distant place. In other circumstances if a person dies outside of their place, the corpse can be arranged in a sitting position and the decomposed matter will settle on the floor leaving only the bones that are carried back to that person's 'valid place' (*daerah sah*). Each time someone dies here I am reminded again of this matter. How can I easily 'take apart' (*bongkar*) a grave so that I can return the bones. I have thought about this often. The grave must have cement walls and lid, an elevated bed to lie the wrapped corpse, and it must be protected with a tin roof. Returning the bones to that person's place will allow 'the feeling that we are together again here' (*bisa merasa kita sudah bersama di sini*) [Narrative compiled from conversations with several Muyu and northerner people].

Obligation to deceased family members provides another lens through which to view the fraught decision to reside or repatriate. Residing at Iowara meant the neglect of ageing parents and the graves of deceased family members in Irian Jaya. Yet repatriation meant that the graves of deceased family members at Iowara would be left derelict. In both places a person is incomplete. Burial of family

members at Iowara increased the ambiguity of the place as a temporary place. Kirsch (1991:125-6) has noted that for Muyu people in the period following death, places associated with the deceased are the subject of avoidance as features of the landscape “resonate with events from the life of the deceased.” Kirsch observed deceased person’s activities as ‘inscriptive practices’, transforming the landscape into a “social version of history.” Residence followed by death and burial in the same place generates an enduring emotional attachment to that place for the relatives of the deceased.

When Saul’s adult son drowned in the Fly River near Iowara, Saul buried him at Kiunga, which he considered to be ‘our land’ (*kami punya tanah*); within closer proximity to his own Muyu *dusun* in Irian Jaya than Iowara. Upon return to his own region, Saul could attend the grave in Kiunga more easily than if the burial had taken place at Iowara. Burial of children born in exile in PNG was a source of particular sadness, as it was considered that they had never seen their actual place of origin. This was expressed similarly by several Muyu people, for example: “Why so long? [Children] live and die here without ever seeing our region; buried here in the forest.”²¹

In lamentation, the death of an adult person at Iowara may be mourned because that person passed away in a place outside of the homeland, and at a time of anticipated return. That person would not see their beloved place of origin again. In May 1999 at the funeral of a Dani woman called Mama Marta, lamentations (*lendawe* D) recalled her flight from the Baliem Valley and mourned her premature departure.²² A *lendawe* was sung at her funeral by an elderly Mamberamo woman who had cared for Dani people in the Mamberamo region in 1977, teaching them how to process sago and make canoes before joining their journey to PNG. This *lendawe* re-traces the mourner’s perception of her

²¹ *Kenapa sampai lama-lama. Tinggal, mati di sini. Belum lihat ke daerah. Dikubur di sini di hutan.*

²² *Lendawe* is a sort of eulogy that speaks of the past when the deceased lived, and imagines the future and how the deceased’s family will cope in their absence. Usually *lendawe* mentions what the deceased has left behind: one’s village, one’s close relatives (child/mother/wife/husband) and one’s mountain and river. In spite of its improvised character, *lendawe* must be sung with care to avoid offending the deceased person’s relatives. *Lendawe* sung in the time when night enters dawn on the day of burial increases in intensity and poignancy. Sitting around the deceased person, people think: this is the last day we will see his/her face, the last day we will meet; tomorrow we cannot meet again. At Iowara, Dani people constantly reiterated their regret at not burying corpses in a manner deemed ‘fitting’ (*layak*), during their journey of flight from the Baliem Valley to Mamberamo in 1977, and in 1979, from Mamberamo to Papua New Guinea (see appendix 3).

relationship with Dani people through the activities that they undertook in certain places on their journey, and regrets that they will not re-trace the journey home together:

You arrived at our place / starving, suffering / we gave you food / showed
you how to mattock sago to cook sago / to make a canoe / together we came
to this place / O you have left us before we could return home / you have
abandoned us in this foreign place which is not ours.

The eulogy for Mama Marta was a litany of departures and separations: separation from her husband after his flight in 1977; prolonged detention by Indonesian soldiers following this event; forsaking her young daughter to travel to Jayapura where she walked on foot to the border to be re-united with her husband; death of her second-born child upon arrival to Iowara in 1987; and finally, leaving behind two young children in the event of her death.

At the funeral of Markus, a young Biak architect who died at Iowara,²³ lamentations (*wor* in the Biak language) mentioned his death in a place distant from his parents and village of birth, and at a moment before he had attained that which he had aspired.²⁴ *Wor* sung at his funeral anticipated the grief of his parents who had accepted their son's flight and exile in PNG and the separation that this entailed, based on the promise of 'result' (*hasil*) or freedom. In the *wor* lyric sung in the Biak language: "He sought the most noble of aspirations in a foreign place,"²⁵ exile is depicted as a matter of sacrifice and nobility in the name of freedom. Markus's grave was one of several visited ceremonially (with prayers dedicated and flower petals strewn onto the grave-top by onlookers) during commemorative flag-raising ceremonies at Waraston. His burial site was beside

²³ This man was knifed to death in a night market at Iowara by another refugee from Fak Fak. However, his death was described by his relatives and other northerners not as murder but simply as 'a death', perhaps in order to avoid further ethnic tension and differentiation at Iowara.

²⁴ While *wor* ought to be sung in the Biak language accompanied by drum (*sireb*) and conch shell (*triton*), at Iowara, it was sung mainly in Malay because there was no-one sufficiently fluent to improvise and lead the singing in the Biak language. It was explained to me by a Biak man: "Outside (*di luar*) there is no *wor*. There is no-one to perform *wor* here [at Iowara]. People here were raised in towns outside Biak. *Wor* cannot be performed 'arbitrarily' (*sembarang*). Old people must direct the ceremony carefully. It is practised in a small way here. But it is better to avoid performing *wor* 'incorrectly' (*salah*) and become the object of ridicule. In this case it is better not to perform *wor* at all."

²⁵ *Dia mencari cita-cita masa depan yang paling mulia tanah di luar.*

the GKI church at Waraston rather than the official cemetery at Tarakbits camp some 8 km away. His relatives explained:

Here, everyone is determined in spite of the consequences (*nekad*), to bury their dead beside their house. If the deceased is beloved, the person's family will not permit the grave to be far [from their house].

People were reluctant to bury the dead in the public cemetery because rumour circulated that pigs from the neighbouring camp roamed freely, even exhuming burial sites. It was also a matter of pragmatics. The cemetery was too far to carry a coffin if there was no transport, a close grave was more readily cared for, and the grave could be readily identified in the event of exhumation. It was claimed that a PNG government regulation prescribed the public cemetery as the official place of burial. In the past, the camp administration had provided transport of the coffin from the deceased person's home to the cemetery. However, since the decline of government services, burial had begun to take place inside of camps and particularly on the perimeter of churches.

In the event of return, some people spoke of exhuming the bones for reburial in a patriot's cemetery (*taman pahlawan*),²⁶ while others spoke of returning some people's remains to the person's village of origin.

We regret leaving the graves of children here. When we attain *merdeka* we will dig/exhume the graves of 'important people' (*orang besar*) at the back of the church and return the bones to that person's *dusun*. For those buried in the cemetery, we will leave a sign like a cement surface or tin roof, or trees like coconut, *ketapang* and breadfruit. Signs will point out to younger generations so that they know, so that they can remember. Parents must not 'disappear' (*habis*), their graves must be known by their grandchildren (Compiled from conversations with several people).

Some claimed the site of burial was not their land, and without protection by law graves were vulnerable to tampering, even removal of bones. Some people feared the forest would eventually become overgrown, concealing the cemetery. However, others described the cemetery as historic: a site/tribute to the history of

²⁶ A Tanahmerah man at Iowara described a book he had read about a Vietnam war memorial in the US that gave a complete history of those buried (name, rank, date and cause of death). He suggested that the bones of 'patriots' (*pejuang bangsa*) killed on the border, be recovered: "Bones or ashes, it is important that their families see the remains with their own eyes." According to the speaker, the parents of the deceased would be eligible to claim compensation or repayment for services.

West Papuan people's struggle, demonstrating the nature of their parents' struggle.²⁷

The precariousness of a state of exile where one risks living alone and dying alone is the subject of a story recalled as parable. The brother of a Tanahmerahan at Iowara who had lived in Holland since 1962, died alone in his apartment in a Dutch city. His body was already decomposed when it was discovered and the apartment was filled with the odour of his putrefied body. People recounting this parable to me were mortified that someone could die in an urban setting and remain undiscovered for a long period of time; the body neither watched over, lamented, or cared for (washed, dressed and buried respectfully). The risk of exile is the risk of not being among one's own people in one's place of origin. The imperative of return to the homeland in old age, and burial in the homeland, was recalled in stories told of elderly West Papuans living in exile in the Netherlands. One man wrote a letter to Indonesia's President Habibie about his desire to return to West Papua to die. The letter recalled the two places metaphorically in terms of objects deemed native to each: "[When] I die, [better to be] buried beneath a coconut palm than an apple tree."²⁸ Former Irian Governor Eliezer Bonay, living under political asylum in the Netherlands, was also rumoured to have written to the Indonesian government requesting permission to return amongst his family to be buried in his own village.

For people exhumed and reburied after decades in 'mortuary exile' as well as people returning from exile in order to die and be buried in their home village, home is conceived as a place of return "... an original settlement where peace can finally be found and experienced, even after death" (Lovell 1998:3). Burial made ambiguous people's relationship to Iowara, which was ordinarily considered a foreign place. To repatriate or relocate away from Iowara was to leave behind traces of a deceased person's productive activity, and the memory of a social relationship with the deceased conducted in that place. In the following section, refugees' relation to their house and garden at Iowara is explored through production and building activities.

²⁷ *Menjadi sejarah perjuangan orang Papua Barat – lihat orang berjuang.*

²⁸ *Saya mati: dikuburkan di bawah pohon kelapa, bukan pohon apel.*

CULTIVATING HOUSES AND GARDENS

My garden and house are places of solace. Without a house or garden or *dusun*, a person is without 'life-sustaining principle' (*nyawa*). He/she is no longer a human being, is considered an 'inanimate object' (*benda mati*) (Maximus).

The loss of a house I call my own, in a foreign place

On December 20, 1999, a raid by the PNG riot police summoned by the resident policeman at Iowara, resulted in two houses at Waraston being burned to the ground (this event is examined in Chapter 6). The burning of Markus²⁹ and Elisabet's house - their first house that they had built themselves in time for the birth of their third child - was the subject of everyday conversation at Iowara in the following months. These conversations provided a lens to view people's conception of a 'house of one's own' (*rumah sendiri*), located in a place declared transitory or mid-journey, through the destruction of that place. Did their mid-journey state mean that they experienced the destruction of their house differently?

A house was said to contain a family's 'spirit/soul' (*jiwa*). To burn a person's house was to burn their *jiwa* and to have one's house burned or destroyed was to 'leave behind part of one's spirit' (*tinggal sebagian jiwa*). Commenting on the destruction of the house, Elisabet's father Eduard explained that a house was built by the owner's sweat that had been shed:

According to [north coast Tanahmerah] custom, my house 'mirrors' (*mencerminkan*) myself, my body. I do not burn my own skin. This house has been built by 'my own sweat that has been shed' (*keringat yang jatuh*). It is also property (*harta*). A house is never 'at fault' (*bersalah*). To burn my house is to kill me. How will I survive afterwards? All of my possessions and house have been burned.

The analogy 'my house is like myself' was also pragmatic. To be without shelter and without tools and cooking implements was to be destitute:

²⁹ Markus fled from Jayapura to Vanimo in 1984. After working as a volunteer with medical teams and becoming fluent in tok pisin, he trained as a community health worker in PNG.

If a house is burned deliberately, it is a curse. My house is my living place, it protects me and guarantees my survival. To burn my house and burn my property is to kill me.

For Muyu people, the intentional burning of a house or garden was akin to the shooting of a child with an arrow; the feeling of pity experienced in both was expressed by the word *inggrik* (Y). The destruction of a house was also compared to the burning of a productive garden, or the killing of a person's pig or other animal. All of these were classified as instances of indirect murder and their retaliatory reaction referred to as *nenekombep* (Y).

In some circumstances, burning one's house before departing was a protective measure. Regina, an elderly Muyu woman explained that when her family eventually returned home to Irian Jaya, they would gather their 'traces' (*bekas*) and old things for burning: "For the unknown contents of a person's heart may cause trouble." In other words, sorcery may be performed by a person with a grievance, using the departed person's belongings. If the house is new it may be surrendered to another family but an old house must be burned. It would seem that the period of time a family inhabits a house establishes the house as a (metaphysical) extension of that family; it becomes the most tangible trace and therefore, the most vulnerable to sorcery if abandoned intact. Maximus explained that among his own *fam*, houses were not permitted to be abandoned in an intact state. Rather, a house must be dismantled or abolished so that it cannot be re-inhabited, for new occupants are at risk of being disturbed or intruded by the 'guardian spirit' (*pengikut*) of the former residents. A *pengikut* may continue to occupy an empty house in order to dissuade intruders. Biak informants claimed that an unoccupied house ought to be pulled apart and its timber used as firewood, but the house could not be burned. An old house could be re-occupied if a prayer of well-being/salvation (*doa keselamatan*) was performed to exorcise the place of harmful spirits.³⁰ Otherwise, an abandoned house was described as dominated by ambiguous, sedentary spirits.

Houses appeared as metaphors in people's dreams. To dream of one's house as collapsed or reduced to rubble was a (Biak) sign of the death of a mother or a father, for "My house is my family." To dream of a new house meant a man would take a second wife. In all of the extracts above, the destruction of the house was

³⁰ The narrator, a GKI lay pastor, claimed that in the past people had used spells and incantations or *mantera* whereas today they use prayer.

related to the body or self.³¹ The house as body was also articulated in Muyu people's conceptualisation of the hearth as the navel or 'center' (*pusat*) of the house - all things arrived to the hearth. In a Muyu ritual practised at Iowara to mark the occupation of a new house, the hearth was set, lit for the first time and celebrated as the source of life in the new house. A *dukun* 'prayed' that what was required - game, garden produce, cash - would be drawn to the hearth of the new house; procured quickly and successfully. The *dukun* also wished the place to be 'warm' (*panas*) and to manifest good fortune and prosperity. Church elders imparted similar blessings focusing on the hearth as symbol; seeking God's protection of the occupants of the new house, and guarding against the house becoming cold or affected by 'hindrances' (*halangan*).³² The church elder installed a ladder or steps to the house with a prayer seeking that many visitors would enter and exit by way of the new steps.

The destruction of Markus and Elisabet's house relativised the condition of displacement at Iowara. The family was suddenly faced with a more profound dimension of displacement, of losing their house and belongings in a place already deemed threatening. During the raid, Markus had attempted to mediate an armed conflict in support of Waraston people against the police. Social theorist bell hooks has written about state structures that deprive some people of the means to make homeplace, and the inverse, being given the means to make homeplace allowing for the building of "a meaningful community of resistance" (1990:47). The police action of burning Markus' homeplace can be viewed as an act which penalises a community perceived as resisting the PNG state.

A practice of dwelling (differently)³³

Upon initial arrival to Iowara in 1987, the camp administration directed refugees to construct rectangular dormitories sited on the edge of camps. People gradually built individual houses, a small house taking three weeks to build, a larger house four weeks. House size and quality was justified in the aphorism: "We did not

³¹ Casey writes of this analogy: "In view of the intimate relationship between the human body and the dwellings in which it is placed (and where it places itself), it is only to be expected that dwellings will themselves be likened to bodies" (1992:118).

³² Kirsch (1991:129) associates Muyu perception of states of warmth and cold in the house, with the death of a woman e.g., mother and the loss of her nurturing presence.

³³ This heading is borrowed from Clifford's phrase about diaspora "... as a practice of dwelling (differently)" (Clifford 1997:269).

need very big houses because we were mid-journey.” Northerner, Dani and Muyu people whom I visited at Iowara would apologise for the state of their house with the expression: “We are ashamed, this is not a proper house (*rumah betul*).” Then they would proceed to describe the house the family had lived in before fleeing:

We left behind a very good house and we remember that place with regret. Upon arrival here we slept precisely like animals. There were no walls. Diana, you could cry. The house we left behind had a tin roof, cement walls, electricity and running water. The house was made by a tradesperson or builder. Here, we were forced to build this ourselves but it is not a house in which to live, really. In our own place we would use this as a place to store *kumbile* [tuber staple], or as a kitchen. We don’t choose to live like this or to live here (Regina).³⁴

To live in this way was inhuman to Regina, the elderly woman narrator. Her house at Iowara served as a constant reminder of her other home. Many people lamented the lack of building materials for it meant they could not set aside a room to receive visitors in the practice of their previous home. They desired to offer any guest a chair and table to sit at, and to eat at a table in an ordered way. Chairs and tables were valued features of a house, enabling the practice of ‘etiquette’ (*sopan santun*), and guarding against descent into a state mentioned as arbitrary or disordered (*sembarang*) used in opposition to order (*teratur*). Houses at Iowara were characterised by their bricolage quality; made from whatever material was available. However, Maximus claimed that where Muyu people live among other Muyu, the meaning of the placement of the door remained constant:

Our houses are constructed *sembarang*, but ‘judgement’ (*penilaian*) is still made about the placement of the door. A door placed at the back of the house is considered ‘stingy’ (*sekakar*) and is considered to reflect the closed nature of the occupants – they want to eat on their own. Whereas a door facing the main path gives a visitor courage to arrive and is considered to reflect the good character of the occupant. If one’s door is always shut it acts as though entry is forbidden. A door ought to be kept ajar as a sign of welcome.

Lack of building materials meant that some Muyu houses at Iowara were less substantial than the owner’s previous house in the border camps where bush materials were plentiful. One woman complained that she and her husband and

³⁴ Regina had built three houses at Iowara since 1992. She purchased timber foundation pillars and roofing material with money received in bridewealth, and other compensation payments.

two young children were compelled to occupy one end of her father's house because of the lack of roofing material to build a separate house. The general rule of residence at Iowara was patrilocal, and although it had occurred that a man resided in the house of his wife's family in the same camp, it had not yet happened among Muyu people that a man shifted to his wife's family's home in another camp. People compared their own situation, allowed to choose a site and design and build their own houses, with other refugees they had read about in UNHCR magazines and calendars in the school library at Iowara:

Compared to other refugees in the world who are 'penned like animals' (*dikandang*), we have been permitted to build our houses and open gardens and consider ourselves fortunate.

Some limits were placed on refugee housing, however. A plan to kiln-fire clay bricks was obstructed. According to a Muyu man who helped make the bricks, the camp administration prohibited the plan on the grounds that refugees were not permitted to build extravagant houses, but rather, must live in the same way as the landowners. The explanation that refugees must not appear to be privileged or live differently to the local landowners, was common.

Casey has described a dwelling place as a place that must "possess a certain felt familiarity" (1992:114-115):

What matters here is not the sheer calendrical length of our acquaintance with a given dwelling; the familiarity may emerge rapidly and may bear on the *kind* of dwelling rather than on a particular building. Thus we need not have literally inhabited a given dwelling to find it familiar in its ambience and structure (Casey 1992:352 original emphasis).

At the front entrance to his house at Atkamba, David produced a familiar structure by installing steps, carved in semi-circular fashion out of a tree trunk. Mentioned as *kum* (Y), David described the steps as the "ancestral tradition of his Muyu tribe."³⁵ David's fixing of *kum* and the particular stepping movement required to

³⁵ Previously, David planned to build a 'traditional forest house' (*rumah tradisi hutan*) of the type constructed in pre-Dutch times: up to five metres above the ground, windows comprising small holes sufficient for a person to shoot an arrow through to the outside in a time of attack, and a door frame built into the floor below. David planned that all 'cultural relics' would be displayed, including weaving (*hanyam*) and painting (*lukisan*). He postponed the project as he was uncertain whether his efforts would be wasted – who would come to see it and how much longer would they be living at Iowara anyway? David planned to curate material aspects of Muyu

mount *kum* recalls the way that the body inhabits a dwelling place. Casey explains the state of 'inhabiting' in terms of the body and movement. In residing, the body is an agent of habit and 'habit memories'; memories formed over a period of time and "realised by the re-enactment of bodily motions" (Casey 1992:117). Familiarity created by 'habitual body memories' allows people to orient themselves in a place or residence. People at Iowara commented that they had to adjust to having a hearth in the floor, rather than the standing hearth built off the floor that they were accustomed to. Similarly, they had adjusted to having a hearth and cooking activity in the middle of the house at Iowara (rather than a segregated space) in order to harden the roof thatch.

Selling, gifting, renovating houses

The sale, gifting and renovation of houses reflected people's conception of their house and garden at Iowara as their own property. This, in spite of the fact that these houses were located on land that, according to the owners, had not been fully compensated. This apparent anomaly was explained by several Muyu people as follows:

Although this is not my place and I hold rights of use only, my house is considered my own property. It can be sold: it is an object of value. According to land regulations, it cannot be sold. But if I return home or shift to another place I may sell my house or new garden to compensate my building materials and labour. The payment may be in-kind (*imbalan*), not necessarily cash.

At Iowara, a house classified as a 'proper house' (*rumah betul*) boasted tin roofing and guttering and/or milled timber wall and floor boards, and could command a very high price. However, most houses were made from bush materials with little saleable or salvageable material as the tropical rainfall caused materials to decompose. Building materials such as tin roofing and milled timber were traded. Departing residents commonly sold their houses to neighbours, or houses were sold and dismantled on-site for use as building materials for the extension of an existing house, or a new building. Some houses were gifted to relatives or friends upon the owner's departure. During the period of fieldwork, construction or

culture that he had determined were no longer practiced in order to educate Muyu children born outside of their parents' place of origin.

renovation of houses was often postponed due to people's uncertainty about the choice of permissive residency or repatriation.

Iowara was a forest when we arrived

When we arrived here, the forest was entirely empty (aphorism at Iowara).

The perception of emptiness refers to the absence of features that make the landscape meaningful and productive. Muyu, Dani and northerner peoples deployed 'empty' (*kosong*) to describe Iowara where there is no opportunity to undertake the production activities of their own place - fishing, hunting and sago cultivation.³⁶ The use of empty contrasts with local Awin and Pa peoples whose historical and metaphysical relation with East Awin might situate the place as centre (see Bird-Rose 1996:38-9). Refugees referred to Iowara as 'isolated' (*terisolir*) perhaps referring to its remoteness from the closest town Kiunga - at least one day's travel, and from their place of origin in Irian Jaya. A standardised story about Iowara as an empty site prior to the arrival of refugees, questioned the legitimacy of the claimant landowners.

When we arrived here there was not a single cassava plant, breadfruit tree or banana palm. We carried banana seedlings from the border. If the land was truly owned, the old people would have planted long-living trees.

In other words, if the old people had planted foodstuff including long-living, productive trees such as breadfruit, the landscape would be marked by use and production; marked as possession. Most refugee comments on landowner claims started from an assumption of sedentary gardening. The absence of these traces at East Awin meant the site was conceived as uninhabited. The notion of a space being empty because of the absence of human habitation is ordinarily represented as a western-derived concept.

[western concepts of the wild] involve the peculiar notion that if one cannot see traces or signs of one's own culture in the land, then the land must be 'natural' or empty of culture Not seeing the signs of ownership and

³⁶ Compare with Weiner's (1991:22) writing on the Foi of the Hegeso area who call their Mubi valley place 'the empty place' or 'the dry place' because there is only sago and no animals for hunting (i.e., meat).

property to which they were accustomed, many settlers assumed that there was no ownership and property, and that the landscapes were natural (Bird-Rose 1996:17).

While the conception of space as empty may be a fairly conventional response to any new space that is not the person's own space, the remoteness of East Awin coupled with its extremely low population density rendered it 'empty'. Upon arrival, sites at East Awin had been provisionally mapped but camp or garden areas had not been cleared. Writing about the cultivation of camps in Tanzania by Hutu refugees as 'battles with wilderness', Malkki suggested this cultivation constituted a trial in the process of becoming 'true refugees' (1995:114). Refugees at Iowara described their cultivation of camp sites out of wilderness in terms of a trial in the context of the wider struggle for nationhood, rather than a trial towards becoming true refugees. Like the Hutu, they had cultivated several places and experienced several episodes of displacement before arriving to Iowara. For example, people living at Waraston had previously lived at Blackwater (1984-87), Waraston *pantai* (1987-89), and a camp site near Kuiu (December 1989) before relocating to their current site near Station camp. In each setting except at Kuiu where they stayed less than a month, they had built churches and houses, and cultivated gardens.

Refugees were sympathetic to the landowners' claims to 1500 kina per landowner family per year since 1987, for loss of tallwood/hardwood trees, cassowaries, pigs and birds. The sentiment was repeatedly expressed that it was the landowners' right to claim compensation as this was the land of their fathers, and refugees intended staying 'provisionally' (*sementara*) before returning to their own place. The cultivation of gardens and houses at Iowara established possession rights. Some people claimed that certain landowners prohibited refugees from planting long-living trees inside and outside the boundary, as a tree planted on someone else's ground was considered the possession of the planter. Long-term trees described as thick-barked trees - durian, rambutan, mango, citrus, breadfruit, coconut, *ketapang*, pandanus, soursop and sago - comprised an 'estate or legacy' (*peninggalan*). Muyu people stressed that these trees would be left behind for the landowners upon Muyu return to their own region. However, descendants of the planter would also inherit certain rights to the tree:

We don't want to take any of this home, we will just leave it here. Although I have planted this sago garden here, if I should return home, they [landowners] may have it. But if my descendants come here to see what I have left behind,

they may have a part [rights of use]. According to the past, whoever planted sago was the owner.

The subject of planted trees as a legacy to the landowners was a common topic in conversations with Muyu people at Iowara. It was commonly expressed - as though in defence of their presence at Iowara - that what was left behind would balance what had been removed. Refugees generally represented the Awin and Pa people as people who had not been touched by government administration, and had therefore benefited from the refugees' development of Iowara, namely, health clinics, schools and agricultural production.³⁷

A garden inside someone else's *dusun*

In the beginning, the land at Iowara was divided like this: refugees were permitted to use land on the northern side of the road whereas the southern side was reserved for the landowners' use. But people had already begun to make gardens and hunt to the south. People immediately sought out gardening land on the edge of rivers and streams inside the Iowara boundary in preference to inland or higher, dry ground (Maximus).

Choice of garden site at Iowara was determined by water source. People marked their gardens in the forest by felling tall trees and clearing undergrowth. Some erected a sign or *tanda* by sinking a stake vertically into the ground, making a groove or fork into the top of the stake, and then inserting two pickets in a crossed position into the fork. Muyu people explained that the installation of signs was not Muyu customary law (*adat*) as their own boundaries had been defined and observed for generations, and were the subject of public knowledge. This method had no term in the Yonggom language and had been borrowed from other people at Iowara.³⁸ People also entered into a 'spoken agreement' (*persetujuan*) with

³⁷ Refugee perceptions of the landowners at East Awin as lacking sociality and worldliness was expressed in a standardised narrative that I heard from virtually every informant: "[refugees] wanted to exchange tinned fish and salt for banana and taro seedlings. Someone who spoke Motu approached them but they fled into their houses. They did not know rice or tinned food. We taught them how to cook rice. They took tins with wooden tongs and tossed them into the fire. Later, locals (*as ples tp*) told us that they had an image of West Papuans as white-skinned and evil and were surprised to see we had the same skin and hair; one blood (*wanblut tp*)."

³⁸ Other signs of ownership observed at Iowara included weeding around the base of a food-bearing forest tree such as the *genimo* tree, inserting pieces of barbed wire or thorns into the trunk of a coconut palm, and tying a piece of coarse reed around the trunk. These signs may

their neighbour as to their mutual boundaries. According to Maximus, trespassing violated Muyu *adat* and people knew not to enter another's garden at Iowara to cut firewood, fish or hunt. It could anger the other person and lead to a dispute or sanction.

I have rights to the rivers and streams that enter my garden, to the trees and the animals that live in the tall grass, all of this becomes my possession (Maximus).

The notion that one's cultivated garden at Iowara constituted one's own property was relative. Gardens were described as a 'garden close by' (*kebun sekitar di sini*) referring to its constricted space, and contrasting the owner's prior extensive *dusun*. Some people described their garden to be enclosed by the landowners' *dusun*.³⁹ The cultivation of garden space over a long period of time transforms the landscape and becomes a process of inscription of the gardener's personal history on the landscape (Kirsch 1991:16 drawing on Battaglia 1992). James Weiner has commented that for the Foi, even 'casual productive acts' such as pausing to inspect fruiting trees, cutting a piece of rattan from a tree overhanging a path, or gathering the edible larvae and leathery nest of a certain moth can turn a path into "conduits of inscribed activity" (1991:38-39). Maximus began cultivating his garden at Iowara in 1987, naming some areas in the garden with reference to events that had occurred there, while other areas were named in the manner of a descriptive adjunct rather than a place name.

There is a place where [people from Atkamba] Corner 2 collect drinking water. The garden near this water source is called the drinking place garden. The area where a tall tree has been felled across the river to make a bridge is called *kimbirimtim* (Y) meaning the trunk of a large tree in Yonggom. The area where a banyan tree had previously been felled is known as *irimtim* (Y) meaning a tree that has been felled. There is a shallow stream – ankle depth – running through the garden. There is a sago garden. Planted on the edge of the stream are potato, taro, peanuts, bananas, sugar cane, *aibika*, *kumbile*. Previously there was a *kangkung* garden growing on the edge of the stream also. There are breadfruit trees but the coconut palms are planted next to my house in the camp – a coconut palm needs the salt from hearth smoke and ash in order to fruit. There is a peanut plot. There is an area of uncleared forest

indicate ownership in order to discourage theft, the death of the tree's owner resulting in the postponement of harvest until after a period of mourning, or simply that the owner wishes to rest the tree in order to increase the size of its fruit or harvest.

³⁹ *Kebun saya punya dalam dusun tuan dusun punya.*

for firewood and building materials. There is a 'makeshift shelter' (*pondok*) to sit and rest or get cover from the rain. In the river which flows through the eastern part of the garden, prawns and fish may be caught.

Weiner has described a similar generative effect of land used by Foi clan members. Using a portion of land by making a garden and planting sago and tree crops, as well as harvesting sago and catching fish beyond the Iowara boundary, gives to those 'unnamed' tracts, a human history: "they ascribe to it a dimension of people's memory" (Weiner 1991:41).

A refugee's garden conceived as boundaried personal property is illustrated in two incidents recalled below. The first incident took place in the market at Iowara where an *as ples*⁴⁰ woman bought some fish from a refugee seller, saying she would return in a short while with the correct amount of money. Upon her return, the *as ples* woman said that she would not pay for fish that had been caught outside of the Iowara boundary, on *as ples* land. Speaking among her friends afterwards, the seller explained that she had caught the fish by her own effort, with a fishing line not poison, from the stream running through her garden located inside of the Iowara boundary. In this incident, the seller perceived the place where she caught the fish to be her own, qualifying her right to sell the fish.

The subject of the second incident was the activity of 'rockpool draining' (*ok mana juni* Y) practiced by some Muyu people who had sufficiently deep streams running through their gardens at Iowara. A group of people from a neighbouring camp bailed the water from a pool in a stream that ran through another person's garden, collecting the prawns and fish from the drained pool. The group had not sought permission from the garden owner who claimed that since his wife's death, he had intentionally left the pool and surrounding garden - where his wife had fished and irrigated the garden - lie idle. The man's claim was based on his prior cultivation of the pool and fallow garden. The surrender of compensation vindicated his claim to boundaried land that had been trespassed. Gardens were conceived as private property because of the cultivation efforts of the gardener, but also because they were located inside the Iowara boundary, which many people claimed had been bought by the PNG government in the name of the refugees.

A shelter in one's garden or *dusun* was considered a sign of habitation, without which a garden could be considered unoccupied or empty (*kosong*). Some

⁴⁰ At Iowara refugees used the tok pisin term *as ples* to refer to Awin and Pa as people who originated from East Awin, and were landowners. Papua New Guineans employed at Iowara who originated from other provinces were referred to as 'nationals'.

Muyu people at Iowara constructed makeshift shelters or *pondok* in their garden at Iowara. Some had also built a *dusun* house outside of the Iowara boundary. According to Maximus, refugees claimed that the landowners would receive compensation from the government for the dwellings outside of the Iowara boundary. In a Muyu *dusun* in Irian Jaya, a shelter or house would ordinarily be occupied for several weeks at a time during the time of hunting or sago processing. According to Maximus, Muyu people in Irian Jaya understand their *dusun* house known as *ambiptit* (Y), to be their true house. It is a place where they feel at home (*betah*): "My *dusun* is truly my place." The sentiment of *ambiptit* embraces the meaning of one's entire *dusun*, including the *dusun* house. There is no specific term in the Yonggom language for a house or residence in a village - it was conceived simply as living outside one's *dusun*.⁴¹ According to Maximus, a Muyu person's village house in Irian Jaya is merely a place where the owner of the house visits, and the owner is even categorised as a 'visitor' (*tamu*). Muyu people stored objects of value and other large items in their *dusun* house rather than their village house; the *dusun* house was 'completely equipped' (*lengkap*). In contrast, at Iowara, Muyu people removed their axes, machetes and cooking implements from their *dusun* house because of 'the mischief of fellow refugees'.⁴²

Acquiring right of use to another people's *dusun*

Muyu people's efforts to acquire rights of use to *dusun* beyond the Iowara boundary was a tactic for increasing prosperity and enabling the practice of everyday life reminiscent of their prior place, namely, hunting and sago cultivation.⁴³

A group of Muyu people at Iowara purchased rights of use to an area of Awin-owned land with a sago garden and *ketapang* trees located near

⁴¹ See Schoorl (1993:181-191) on changes in Muyu settlement brought about by the Catholic mission and Dutch administration.

⁴² Some people at Iowara locked their house with padlocks, others used steel mesh in windows. Even locked houses had been broken into. If families were leaving their house to travel to Kiunga they would usually invite a neighbour or relative to stay in the house to discourage theft and to look after chickens or other animals.

⁴³ De Certeau's comment on a person dwelling in a foreign place in a way peculiar to his native place is evocative of Muyu purchase of rights of use to Awin *dusun* at Iowara: "...[creating] for himself a space in which he can find *ways of using* the constraining order of the place ... Without leaving the place where he has no choice but to live and which lays down its law for him, he establishes within it a degree of plurality and creativity" (de Certeau 1984:30; original emphasis).

Drimdenasuk, close to the Fly River. Comprising members of several clans originating from the same or neighbouring villages in Irian Jaya, this group had cut and processed sago several times on this land before being approached by the landowners and requested to pay compensation for the owners' loss. Each group member contributed pigs and cash sufficient to recompense the owners for past damage, and permit ongoing rights of use to the land. The 'permission' (*ijin*) was categorised as 'unrestricted' (*bebas*), and included the right to lay hunting snares and fishing poison. A cleared path was determined as a boundary. Subsequently however, another group of landowners claiming rights to the same area, approached the Muyu group for compensation for past use, and fifty kina for each sago palm felled in the future. At the time of leaving the field, I was unaware of the outcome of this wrangle over boundaries and compensation. According to Maximus, purchasing rights of ownership to a sago palm was not ordinary among Muyu people, only the tree's content i.e., sago flour was considered saleable.⁴⁴ At Iowara, the payment of fifty kina assured the buyer full rights, and the owner on whose land the tree grew surrendered ownership of the sago tree.

The marriage of a refugee daughter to a local landowner was another way of acquiring rights of use to *dusun* outside of the Iowara boundary, for right of use to the man's *dusun* could be requested as bridewealth payment.⁴⁵ However, these arrangements were described to me as 'coincidental' (*kebetulan*), rather than intentional. Some Kanum people claimed additional rights of use to East Awin *dusun* through the relation of in-law. Several years earlier, a Kanum woman visiting relatives at Iowara had married an *as ples* man. Because the man's land was located several day's walk from Iowara, his relationship with his *dusun* neighbours – located closer to Iowara – was utilised. Kanum relatives of the

⁴⁴ Commenting on this matter from a Biak perspective, Johan explained that a sago tree might be bought for the price of an object of value, or cash. The buyer would fell the tree and process the sago. It was considered more economical to purchase the entire tree so that the palm leaves might be used for roofing material, than paying for the flour alone.

⁴⁵ Marriage, elopement and kidnapping by *as ples* of refugees was the subject of children's play at Iowara. I overheard a ten year old boy teasing his six year old niece pining for her mother who was late returning from a fishing trip: "Your mother has been taken by *as ples* and she will not return. They have given land to her and now she is making sago." The child's mother making sago was a reference to the primary occupation of the landowners as hunters and sago eaters, different from the refugees who had become sedentary gardeners inside the Iowara boundary. Children at Iowara had opportunity to observe *as ples* family groups travelling along the main track at Iowara on their way to or from the forest with their dogs and bows/arrows, and returning with long parcels of sago flour. *As ples* were conceived as a group who were least like the refugees as Malay-speaking, gardening, sedentary people.

woman living at Iowara were offered in principal, limited rights of use to the land of the husband's neighbours: fishing, hunting and collecting sago leaves but not processing sago.⁴⁶

The final section of this chapter shifts away from physical inscription of a space deemed foreign, to consider the metaphysical nature of such a landscape.

DOMESTICATING THE METAPHYSICAL REALM

Refugees ordinarily represented the forest beyond Iowara's boundary as wild and undomesticated, and stories circulated of refugees arrowed by landowners upon venturing outside the boundary. Muyu people who were practicing Catholics⁴⁷ and also believed in a metaphysical realm, ascribed agency to other non-human inhabitants of the landscape. They expressed a sense of vulnerability at Iowara as they did not know Awin spirits. However, their beliefs and religious practices of incantation (*mantera*) and talisman (*ajimat*) were transportable into the new physical environment at East Awin.

The building of Christian churches as places of worship provided comfort in a foreign place, and gave meaning to the condition of exile. Almost without exception, refugees at Iowara dwelled in a Christian 'habitus'. They constructed churches before their own houses, attended church and fellowship groups regularly, displayed Christian icons in their homes, incorporated prayer and biblical reference into all public commemorative ceremonies, and Protestant pastors and lay people at least, read their situation of exile through the Bible.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ However, even the neighbour's *dusun* was located too far from Iowara to be useful to Kanum people.

⁴⁷ Maximus, a church elder, qualified this statement explaining that for most Muyu people: "[Christian] religion has not touched our skin, it is only a garment for church then it is stored away and replaced by 'customary clothes' (*baju adat*) for everyday use. Christian religion is secondary whereas everyday we use talisman and incantations."

⁴⁸ The Christian Protestant church (GKI) at Waraston was led by lay members of the congregation. The PNG Lutheran Church at Waraston was led by several refugees from Biak and Mamberamo who had subsequently trained as pastors in PNG. The PNG Christian Revival Church (CRC), established at Station camp in 1999 was led by PNG-trained pastor from Biak, also a refugee. At Blackwater, the PNG Seventh Day Adventist Church was served by a PNG-trained pastor from Serui. At Wamena, a Baptist Church was serviced by a Dani pastor and other lay members of the congregation. In Muyu camps at Iowara, Catholic churches were administered by one parish council comprising church elders from each camp, as well as several Muyu catechists. Since 1987, Iowara's St Berthilla parish has been served by priests from India,

Anthropologist Lindsay French has explained religion in the context of political exile, as a practice that gives a sense of connectedness to a situation of displacement: “[such practice] is not just functional, and is never completely explanatory or ‘integrative’. But they are, or can be, part of what makes the universe coherent: a place in which in spite of inconsistency and contradiction, there is an overarching sense of the connections between things” (1994:226-227).⁴⁹

Taking refuge in Christian ritual

On August 25, 1999, I attended the GKI Emmanuel Church congregation’s tenth anniversary at Iowara. The anniversary commemorated the building of the first Emmanuel church at Waraston coast camp, Vanimo, in 1989. The service was led by two lay pastors - a teacher and an OPM leader - who explained that two GKI churches had been built by refugees in PNG, the first given the name Emmanuel and the second carrying the name of the first. The imperative of preserving the GKI congregation in PNG, and building a second GKI church at Iowara, cannot be understood apart from the deliberate burning of the original church by government officials (PNG Department of Foreign Affairs) to force the relocation of Waraston coast camp people to Iowara in 1989 (see Chapter 6).

During the tenth anniversary service, one pastor re-read a passage from Revelations (21:3) that had been read at the time of the planting of the foundation pillar of the first Emmanuel church at Waraston coast camp, near Vanimo: “And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying, ‘see, the home of God is among mortals. He will dwell with them as their God; they will be his peoples, and God himself will be with them’.” The preacher recalled that the congregation had built a place to worship God inspired by Jacob’s revelation in Genesis.⁵⁰ Both churches

the Philippines, Italy and France. Some of these priests had also serviced Muyu camps in the border region of Western Province. In the years 1995, 1996 and 1999, all of these churches joined to celebrate ecumenical Pentacost on May 23.

⁴⁹ French conducted research among Khmer refugees on the Thai-Cambodian border in the early 1990s.

⁵⁰ Jacob received a revelation about salvation and God’s presence in exile: “Know that I am with you and will keep you wherever you go, and will bring you back to this land; for I will not leave you until I have done what I have promised you” (Genesis 28:15). Jacob’s vow in response: “If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go ... then the Lord shall be my God, and this stone which I have set up for a pillar, shall be God’s house; and all that you give me I will surely give one tenth to you” (Genesis 28:20-22).

had been built before people constructed their own houses. Reading the building of places of worship before one's house through the Book of Genesis, the two lay pastors explained the building of a church as a symbol of faith, and an invitation for God's presence or witness to their condition of exile.

A church allowed refugees to resume their Christian practice which was a source of comfort; allowing people to "take refuge in the ritual" (French 1994:242). The display of religious icons in people's houses - framed pictures of Christ, miniature crucifix statues, and rosary - were all symbols of faith, inviting guardianship. A bible was considered an animate object, a symbol of God's witness. This latter point was explained with reference to the raid on Waraston camp in December 1999. Police had removed bibles from several houses at Iowara before trashing or burning them, as though seeking to conceal their actions from God's witness. At Iowara, many aphorisms circulated about the bible having agency:

1. A bible in the house will repel *Satan* or evil spirits.
2. A bible may be used to safely store money, letters and photographs.
3. A bible or hymn book carried against the body in battle will protect the carrier.⁵¹
4. A bible carried in flight will act as a 'moral guide' (*pedoman*).

Despite the similar Calvinist origin of GKI and the Lutheran church, and the presence of PNG Lutheran churches at both Vanimo and Iowara, many West Papuans remained members of GKI. The indigenised nature of GKI saw refugees claim it as a West Papuan institution: "We exist in the middle. Neither Indonesian nor Papua New Guinea citizens. We considered the GKI as our own. So, we sought to hold onto something that we alone possessed."⁵² A Biak man explained the imperative to retain GKI in Papua New Guinea in familial terms: "My relatives left behind are members of this church and my own father is a pastor of this

⁵¹ In the forest on the Indonesian-PNG border, OPM fighters carried bibles and hymn books on their body, inside of their clothes. It was explained to me: "Let me be shot at. I cannot die. I will still be standing. Whereas to carry inside one's pack is to risk being shot at constantly."

⁵² It was also claimed that GKI in Jayapura had been unwilling to provide funds, bibles, hymn books or pastoral service on the grounds that their support would have been construed politically to be supporting an OPM congregation: "GKI Jayapura saw us as 'escapees' (*pelarian*) who had 'detached' (*lepas*) from GKI. They could not recognise us - the relationship was severed." See also Aditjondro (2000f:162-165) on the position of GKI in the period 1983-84.

church.” He described the sacrament ritual contained in baptism as a ritual of attachment, conceiving the baptismal church in terms of the maternal metaphor *induk*, meaning something that can be regarded as mother or something from which something else descends. A more pragmatic explanation is that materials from PNG churches were written in English or Pidgin, and in 1984 most West Papuans could not speak either language. Keeping the GKI church in PNG was a source of reassurance and solace; it retained a sense of connection to other West Papuans, and symbolised their resistance to integration in PNG.

Guardian spirits mediating between Muyu people and East Awin

Some Muyu people claimed that deceased old people who had not ‘detached or relinquished’ (*lepas*) their guardianship over a living descendant became guardian spirit or caretaker of what that descendant regarded as their own at Iowara. For example, a ‘guardian spirit of the garden’ (*penghuni kebun*) guarded against theft and caused sickness in thieves. A guardian spirit was described as the ‘shadow or image’ (*bayang*) of a deceased person, usually a close relative. A Muyu man identified his guardian spirits as his deceased parents who had accompanied him (from Irian Jaya) to Iowara:

They manifest like this: I have left my house but to outsiders it appears occupied, ‘warm’ (*hangat*) - there may be noises from within. Strangers will be reluctant to enter. The presence of these spirits ensures good fortune and destiny.

These spirits were not territorial, rather they accompanied their own ‘descendants’ (*keturunan*). In a new house, an offering ought to be made to the ‘occupant or house spirit’ (*penghuni rumah*) or ‘person’s guardian spirit’ (*pengikut orang*). Guardian spirits were classified as good spirits, however certain rules were to be observed. Denied offerings, a guardian spirit could cause misfortune or abandon the person,⁵³ returning temporarily to its place of origin in Irian Jaya. A person abandoned by their guardian spirit may feel alone and still, their body cold and weary. Such a time of vulnerability may be used by a landlord spirit to invoke illness.

⁵³ For example, a Muyu man claimed that his parental guardian spirit(s) had abandoned him after his second marriage following the death of his first wife. He said that he now views God as his guardian spirit and ‘intermediary’ (*pengantara*) but did not feel truly blessed like before.

A guardian spirit may mediate the relation between refugees and 'landlord spirits' (*tuan tanah*) at Iowara, repelling the latter in the event of an 'attack' (*serangan*).⁵⁴ Characterised as 'foreign' (*asing*), many refugees claimed Iowara to be inhabited by evil spirits causing people to live with a feeling of caution: "If we build a house in a particular place and members of that household are constantly sick and cannot be treated, it means there is a 'disturbance' (*gangguan*) and it is the place of a landlord spirit." Contrasting guardian spirits, the territorial nature of landlord spirits was described as "nailed in place 'til death" (*paku mati*). Among many people at Iowara, landlord spirits were not considered benevolent to strangers. Rather, they were mediators of the landowners of that place; even their odour simulated the odour of local people. Their presence was claimed to be identifiable. They smelled of tobacco, cooking oil, food and even flowers, in places where these odours/fragrances would not ordinarily exist, and could cause a person's hair to become stiff and heavy with fear.

Some Muyu people made requests to local landlord spirits at East Awin seeking a fertile garden or a successful hunt, and made offerings such as betelnut, tobacco or pig meat, but not money as that was considered a new item. According to Alfius, an elderly Muyu man, if the refugees had not approached the landlord spirits through the landowners seeking permission to use the land, refugees' gardens would be rendered barren, or people would be injured while felling trees. However, after formal introduction, there was no need to request permission again to open a new garden as the parties would already be familiar. Alfius explained it this way:

If introductions have not been made, the landlord spirits will think this person [refugee] is not mine, this is another person, and will be angry. But after the landowner explains that they [the refugees] are from here, are just the same, and are the landowner's people, and requests that the landlord spirits endow them with fertile soil, then the landlord spirits will welcome them and invite their presence.

Damianus, a northerner from Manokwari, similarly described landlord spirits as 'caretaker of the resources of a place' (*penjaga hasil setempat*), warning that newcomers such as refugees could fall sick if they violated the custom of that place. However, landowner taboo (*pemali*) proscribing consumption of certain

⁵⁴ Note that *tuan tanah* in this context refers to landlord spirit. In other instances, *tuan tanah* refers to a landlord or landowner who is a person. However, at Iowara people tended to use the Indonesian term *pemilik tanah* to refer to landowner, or simply the tok pisin term *as ples*.

animals and plants by the landowners was seldom observed by refugees. A Muyu schoolteacher at Iowara claimed landowners' forbidden places to be a 'tactic' (*siasat*) for proscribing hunting in places where game was most abundant. Animals classified by the landowners at Iowara as *pemali* included the long eel, the large black gabus or snakehead fish, and a type of tree possessing white resin that was not allowed to be used as firewood for cooking. The schoolteacher commented: "We said: these things are *pemali* for you, not us." His standpoint was that refugees were 'people from outside' (*orang luar*) and not vulnerable to sanction if they violated a local taboo; *pemali* was not a territorial proscription but a cultural one. Refugees did not have relations with the Awin or Pa 'departed spirits or souls' (*arwah*) that bestowed *pemali*:

Alam is the natural world and a metaphysical realm, both God's and Satan's realm. This natural, metaphysical world is occupied by *arwah* that are deceased ancestors that died in a particular place. The relation between a person's 'inner spirit' (*batin*) and *alam* is bound, and its violation brings sanction. Here [at Iowara] this relation has been broken. We have left behind our *alam* and here there is a world that is new. The relation between *batin* and *alam* has diminished because here there are none of our own ancestral spirits that have bequeathed *pemali* of their place. These [territorial] ancestral spirits have been left behind (Muyu schoolteacher).

At Iowara, spells or charms (*mantera*) and talisman (*ajimat*) were brought from people's places of origin and practiced by Muyu people. It was also claimed that Muyu shaman (*dukun*), believed to possess a direct relationship to the natural world and drawing curatives/potion (*obat*) from that world, practiced at Iowara.⁵⁵

Muyu spells practised at Iowara

For every action, deed or performance that is important, there is a *mantera* (Muyu aphorism).

A *mantera* or *waruk* (Y) is an arranged speech or incantation directed to the 'metaphysical world' (*kekuatan gaib*). There are good and not good, and more and less potent *mantera*. Those *mantera* related to the natural world are perceived

⁵⁵ The resident Catholic priest did not counsel Muyu people to extinguish their belief in landlord spirits, rather, that they believe in God before landlord spirits - belief in God would eliminate fear of landlord spirits.

to be territorial; they affect a familiar lowland ecosystem, and are directed at the 'creator' (*pencipta*) of that environment. It was explained to me by several Muyu informants that *mantera* are potent in both the Muyu region and East Awin because of the shared environment and creator figure.⁵⁶ According to Maximus, *mantera* were practised at Iowara to effect prosperity and surety, for example, at the time of opening a new garden; before lighting the hearth or installing the steps to a new house; before hunting and installing an animal snare; before selling a pig; and to cause and cure sickness in another person.⁵⁷

Kirsch has described the use of magic in this context as "enchanted forms of production." Muyu magic is 'adverbial'; it seeks to modify rather than cause events, thereby influencing "such attributes as position in place and time, or quantity, or manner, or degree, or number" (Kirsch 1991:247-248) For example, in hunting activity, *mantera* enhances the conditions for success rather than seeking to guarantee a specific outcome; it is a "technique of elicitation" (Kirsch in press). In hunting, *mantera* act to make hidden creatures visible: "the aim of magic is not success per se but rather the opportunity for success" (Kirsch 1991:247). Kirsch's point is that *mantera* such as *waruk* enhance rather than produce. At Iowara, like Muyu people's own *dusun*, informants claimed that magic was used to modify or enhance the conditions and productivity of everyday life.

Kirsch (in press) has noted that "central to the Yonggom notions of place is the presence of animals and other beings that are conceived of as having powers of agency comparable to that of people." At East Awin, where the distribution of species is fairly similar, Muyu people are still able to read familiar signs - East Awin is still subsumed under a single and familiar Muyu cosmology or scheme of explanation. For example, birds in the Muyu region and at East Awin may signal the time of day by their calls and movements; the season by their consumption of ripening fruits; the weather - drought or rain - by their presence or absence at particular times of the year; and both misfortune and fortune. Kirsch's conclusion (drawing on Wagner 1972:55-84 in Kirsch in press) that the referents of these signs: "provide critical social information, including warnings, predictions and the indication of opportunities upon which people can act" applies to East Awin also.

⁵⁶ Kirsch writes that spells are based on the assumption that people and animals form a "single speech community" (in press).

⁵⁷ Kirsch (1991:82-83, 237-249) has noted that many *waruk* are centred around secret and often privately-owned *waruk* names for animals or objects, for example, the *waruk* name of the animal that the hunter hopes to shoot.

Muyu talisman held at Iowara

Spells and talisman are two powers that a Muyu person must possess. In the past without these powers would mean I have already died: I do not have 'inner power' (*daya*), I am considered a person who is ineffectual, I am compelled to submit, accede defeat. If I possess spells and talisman I am a 'true human being' (*manusia betul*) (Maximus).

Carrying an *ajimat* or talisman acts as a source of strength for the bearer, providing a sense of impregnability. According to Maximus, the bearer of *ajimat* is visible from their self-assured movements and gestures. Impregnability is a countenance to be developed and coveted in a foreign place, and an *ajimat* protects the bearer - through enchanted means - against the "hidden possibilities" possessed by the landscape (Kirsch in press). Hidden possibilities refer to the agency extended to other beings with whom Muyu people share their place (Kirsch in press). An *ajimat* is usually a material object: a sea-shell, piece of wood or stone said to be endowed with a supernatural spirit or force, and appearing to the bearer in a mysterious way at a particular time and place. The bearer may recognise the object that is *ajimat* through a vision received in a dream, from the form or appearance of the object, or through 'success' (*hasil*) considered extraordinary. An *ajimat* object may also comprise a payment in kind from another person. For example, it was said that a deceased relative may reveal an *ajimat* to the person who arranges his/her funeral and burial.

An *ajimat* can be inherited at the time of the owner's death or the deceased person may reveal an *ajimat* to the person afterwards.⁵⁸ An abandoned parent who possesses *ajimat* may choose to discard their *ajimat* rather than bequeath neglectful offspring. An *ajimat* may be bought but only weaker talisman would be sold - a more potent *ajimat* would be coveted by an owner. For this reason younger men yearn to possess *ajimat*. Some *ajimat* are used for the purposes of 'incarnation or transformation' (*penjelmaan*), usually assuming an animal form.

⁵⁸ Maximus' cousin lost his *ajimat* through his ignorance to its revelation. Maximus - who living in another district at the time - had arranged for his cousin to undertake the services of funeral organiser (*bop je adiman* Y) in the event of Maximus' mother's death, paying him with household items, cash and a pig. During the first night after the burial of Maximus' mother, the cousin was woken suddenly by a fire in the corner of the room (where there was no hearth). Upon shouting "fire!" the flame doused itself and only then did he recognised this as a sign of revelation. He felt a profound sense of remorse that his own ignorance had caused the revelation of *ajimat* to be lost.

The holder assumed the form of a bird, enabling flight in the event of danger. Or, in the activity of hunting, the hunter assumed the form of the pursued animal to entice other animals towards the hunter.⁵⁹ Other less potent *ajimat* were placed in the garden to ensure a garden's fertility and abundant harvest in spite of the barren state of the soil. Here, the *ajimat* was said to have a direct relation with the 'garden spirit' (*dewa kebun*). Other *ajimat* possessed protective powers. For example, the holder may fall from a coconut palm, landing on their feet as though they had merely stepped, or a person's purse may always have money in it.

If a person's *ajimat* disappeared, it would feel to the bearer as though they had already died; they would feel constantly sick and have no energy to work. At Iowara, an old Muyu man confided in a clinic health worker that no medicine could assist his condition; the disappearance of his *ajimat* had left him feeling 'abandoned' (*ketinggalan*), extinguishing his vitality. According to Maximus, the loss of one's *ajimat* was not coincidental – like its revelation or appearance, its disappearance was also determined; signalling that the bearer had violated a taboo associated with the *ajimat*. The question might be asked of the old man whether his sense of abandonment in losing his *ajimat* at Iowara was more profound in a place outside of his own *dusun*.

This chapter began by mapping the way that social relations have accorded Iowara a depth of sentiment, from which parting effects sadness. People's social maps show enduring alliances with kin and *dusun* neighbours from their previous border camps and villages in Irian Jaya. In this there is a sense of 'doubling' - Ninati (Irian Jaya) is reproduced at Ninati corner in Komokpin camp at Iowara (PNG). New relations are also forged within and between camps through practice such as

⁵⁹ Maximus explained the act of assuming the form of an animal like this: to assume the form of an animal is not to diminish oneself or become insignificant, but rather, incarnation is practiced as a means to flight in the event of pursuit by one's enemy. In this instance, the incarnated form is a creature characterised by its skilful flight or camouflage, for example, birds that can fly long distances, large worms and snakes, the giant hornet, the cassowary, or the form of a tree. Incarnation as a hunting tactic entices animals of the same species towards the hunter ensuring his bounty. The person may assume the form of a forest pig, cassowary or fruit-eating bat or a bird of prey like the hawk or eagle. An experienced hunter will know to avoid hunting the incarnated animal as it appears slightly bigger than other animals. Maximus rationalised incarnation: "In fact people themselves do not change to become an animal but rather, 'change [form] in the eyes of the other person' (*putar mata orang lain*). The other person perceives that person has become an animal, sees me become a pig. But they will not see me change form gradually before their eyes but rather, I will vanish and in my place an animal will appear. It is not certain whether that person truly incarnates or merely appears in the sight of another."

'exchanging faces' (*tukar muka*) where one's deceased or absent sibling, parent or relative is 'replaced'. Grief at the wanton burning of a family house reveals a depth of sentiment and attachment to Iowara at the level of the household. A sense of ownership and certain autonomy in the places that people have built and cultivated themselves, is evident in the practice of selling and gifting houses, and productive gardens; in the proscription of trespassing; and in the belief that a person's guardian spirit assumes the role of caretaker for those places regarded as the person's own at Iowara. While a person's garden at Iowara is generally conceived as being located within someone else's *dusun*, they may still prosecute against trespass, and may sell their garden to another person for the landscape has been transformed by their labour. Cultivation since 1987 has inscribed refugees' biographies onto the garden landscape, and some Muyu people have enhanced the production of their garden by using incantations and other 'enchanted technologies'. The experience of displacement is mediated by religious practices which are transportable. Faith in guardian spirits and practices of incantation and talisman allow some Muyu people to read the East Awin landscape inhabited by supernatural beings, pre-empting danger and enhancing production. Christian faith gives to congregations at Iowara a sense of solace in their faith in God's witness to their condition of exile.

This chapter has illustrated the generation of Iowara as a dwelling place in spite of refugees' belief in a teleology of return. Iowara is cultivated as a dwelling place in order to 'endure or hold out' (*tabah*) in exile, until the right moment to return. A salaried Muyu schoolteacher's decision to build a new house in front of his dilapidated one at Atkamba after several months of procrastination, is illustrative. His decision to build the solid house (full tin roof, guttering, roof trusses, milled timber walls and flooring) in spite of the offer of permissive residency enabling him to live elsewhere in PNG, and the other offer of assisted repatriation to Irian Jaya, did not reflect his intention to end his journey and remain at Iowara. Rather, it reflected his political commitment to remaining outside Irian Jaya until independence had been achieved. The generation of Iowara as a dwelling place thus has a political imperative also. Most other Muyu people at Iowara however, were disenchanting and not aligned to political factions at Iowara that proscribed holding out in exile until *merdeka*. Their plans to return were more subjective and prone to vacillation. The following chapter explores the meaning of waiting-in-exile for Muyu people whose region lies contiguous to East Awin.

5. Muyu people living at Iowara, waiting to return to their region (*daerah*)

In 1998, a public meeting was held in the Catholic church at Niogamban camp, Iowara. An official from the PNG Department of Provincial and Local Government addressed the audience on the matters of permissive residency and repatriation. During the presentation, a Muyu person in the audience rose, explaining to the official and the audience, his dilemma about the choices offered: "If I stay here there is nothing, yet if I return, I do not know whether I will be safe." Whereupon the official suggested that perhaps the best thing to do would be for the distraught man to hang himself from a ceiling, bringing to an end his unbearable indecision.¹

It is telling that the distraught man was not a northerner, for many northerners at Iowara conceived return teleologically and collectively with little space for individual vacillation on the matter; return was timed for the moment of *merdeka*. For other northerners who were members of the West Papuan Indigenous People's Association (WPIA), the moment of return was determined by their leader described as a Moses figure (see Chapter 6). Muyu people at Iowara were less exposed to lay Protestant or vernacular interpretations of exile and teleological return. Muyu flight and waiting-in-exile lacked purposive design; many narratives suggested events leading to flight and exile were circumstantial, even accidental. (These are probably subject to reinterpretation over time, however.) At different times, Muyu desire to return had been restrained and proscribed by external elements. During the period of fieldwork, several Muyu acquaintances at Iowara registered for repatriation and then postponed the event at least twice, despite earlier enthusiasm. While the moment or circumstance of Muyu return was less dependent on the interpretation of signs or the realisation of nationhood

¹ The truth or otherwise of the narrative is less important for the purposes of this chapter. According to the official mentioned, his comment was as follows: "I told that refugee person that if he cannot decide on those two offers made by the government - permissive residency or voluntary repatriation - and wants to be a fence sitter all the time, he might as well relocate himself to the sky, because there are no governments, rules and regulations to govern his residency in the sky."

than it was for most northerners, fixation with return to the Muyu region or homeland was undoubtable.

It has been said that most refugee predicaments involve 'cultures in violent collision' and that policy-makers tend to perceive movement inside of a region to require less cultural adjustment, because refugees are living with their own people on the other side of a colonial-imposed boundary (Harrell-Bond and Voutira 1992:7). Muyu territory is located only several day's walking distance from Iowara, closer than either Dani, Mamberamo or northerner peoples to their place of origin. How Muyu people understand their displacement at East Awin, contiguous to their own Muyu region, and how they perceive return to their region, is the subject of this chapter.

The chapter begins by contrasting Muyu flight from the Waropko-Mindiptana region to PNG in 1984, with other forms of Muyu movement categorised by Muyu themselves as 'leaving one's place of origin to make one's way in life' (*merantau*) and 'fleeing for one's life' (*melarikan diri*). The ridge or watershed known as Aknim running between the Digul River and its tributaries Kao and Muyu rivers, and the Fly River and its tributary the Ok Tedi, reveals the borderland region to be at once conjunctive and contiguous.² Narratives of synchronic time and sound relate the two regions through a shared natural world, namely, the seasons of tortoise and breadfruit, and the presence of the afternoon bird. Muyu perceptions of living at Iowara are explored through the absence of *dusun*, imitation of their staple food sago, and experiences of the 1997 drought at Iowara, invoking narratives of comparative abundance of the Muyu region. The subject of the final section is the maintenance of relations with Muyu places of origin in Irian Jaya, explored through the practices of mapping *dusun*, installing a *dusun* caretaker, and in the naming of children.

MOVEMENT THROUGH TERRITORY, CONCEPTION OF PLACE

Social envy compelling flight

In the passage below, social envy (*anup-anep Y*) is characterised as a Muyu cultural disposition compelling flight.

² The Muyu area (see map 7) covers approximately 5,000 square kilometres running from the foothills of the Star Mountains in the north to Lake Murray in the south and River Kao in the west to Ok Tedi or Alici-River in the east (Kirsch 1991:2).

If a person is not respected, or hears of a plan by others to kill him, or fears pursuit, then flight is an option. Muyu people never surrender to the threat of murder, but rather flee to another place considered safer. The arrival of missionaries and hunters to the Muyu region provided a 'gate' (*pintu*) through which people could flee, following people who had arrived from the outside. Perhaps more recently this is described as *merantau* - going to the country or place of other people. People who *merantau* may plan to leave, whereas flight is compelled by a threat made upon one's life. For Muyu people, the value of independence - to live independently of one's neighbours, to struggle to survive and not 'fall/topple' (*gugur*) - is paramount (Maximus).

Social envy may be avoided by adhering to a set of proscriptions relating to excess. One must appear almost destitute, and anything that differentiates a person from their neighbour risks drawing attention and invoking envy in others.³ One keeps up the appearance of destitution by wearing shabby clothes, not revealing cash money in public, and not disclosing details of compensation or bridewealth payments received. Maximus located the emergence of *anup-anep* to the time of Muyu people's contact with traders, hunters, catechists, pastors and government officials:

Western civilisation produced difference, a new modern world where everything must be purchased, but to earn money requires new skills and merit, and some people - in spite of their efforts - cannot acquire these goods.

According to Maximus, *anup-anep* can begin as a simple mockery but once articulated it begins the process of 'killing' (*pembunuhan*).

If I go hunting often, my neighbour might say: "Eating meat continuously! Try and share it why won't you?" You see, it is a simple enough speech but brings the process of killing. There is a saying: "A new house means you're just looking to die" [i.e., by invoking envy in others]. On the one hand this compulsion to distribute evenly is a good thing guaranteeing 'equality' (*seimbang*). On the other hand, it drives people to migrate (*merantau*).

Anup-anep compels Muyu people to leave their place in order to distance themselves from the risk of threat or retribution.⁴ It was said that in

³ Some Muyu people explained how they would splash water into a pan before frying so that the sound of sizzling oil would not invoke envy in a neighbour who could not afford the luxury of cooking oil. The same logic of concealment was applied to batteries for radios, kerosene for lanterns and soap for washing clothes.

⁴ Schoorl makes the point that a Muyu person's 'many relations' will safeguard them against possible attack (1993:26).

spite of flight, an individual and his offspring maintained rights to land that could not be extinguished. Some Muyu people desired to live in towns because *anup-anep* was said to be diffused in an urban setting: "If I live among other peoples (*suku*), I feel 'liberated, released' (*bebas*)." Even at Iowara and in spite of its composite nature, *anup-anep* caused tension because people were compelled to borrow.

All Muyu people know they must make an effort themselves to be independent. Borrowing something or requesting something risks becoming the subject of conversation and mockery later. This place [Iowara] compels people to borrow because every person experiences shortage. Money remains a difficult thing to borrow. If too much time lapses before a person repays a loan then the situation is fraught with danger and the borrower is vulnerable to the aggrieved giver (Maximus).

However, flight from a place of exile - away from Iowara where people had previously fled to - was more difficult to entertain.

Economic migration (*merantau*)

To leave one's place to make one's way in life (*merantau*) can be used to characterise Muyu movement in the period when the formation of mission stations and towns in the region provided neutral public places to migrate to. J. W. Schoorl⁵ has related Muyu mobility and migration to a character of individualism manifest in Muyu patterns of residence, and production (organised at the level of the individual nuclear family), and a division of labour allowing male mobility (1988:544). In the 1920s, a police and government administration post at Tanahmerah attracted Muyu people who accompanied bird of paradise hunters there (Schoorl 1997:242-243). By the 1950s, Schoorl had noted the circulation of tales recounting Muyu travel to Tanahmerah, Merauke and Sorong. Schoorl wrote of Muyu migration outside of the Merauke region to Sorong and Hollandia, as well as places beyond Netherlands New Guinea like Daru, Port Moresby, and Ambon (1997:368). In

⁵ J.W. Schoorl, a Dutch administrative officer trained in anthropology undertook research in the Muyu region in 1954. His research was commissioned by J. Van Baal, Governor of Netherlands New Guinea (1953-58) and himself administrator and anthropologist who had published articles and several books on Netherlands New Guinea. Schoorl's research culminated in the monograph *Kultuur en kultuurveranderingen in het Moejoe-gebied* (1957) translated into English (1993), and subsequently into Bahasa Indonesia (1997). In his foreword, Schoorl described the monograph's re-publication in the context of Muyu flight into PNG in 1984: "The description of the background to their culture, and the history of the contact situation in the first half of this century till 1957, can help all those responsible to gain insight into the existing situation, and on this basis, to take the right decisions" (1993:x).

1953-54, the Catholic church and Dutch government post surveyed the migration of Muyu people from their region to gauge the perceived social effects of the absence of young men. In 1956 as many as 289 Muyu people were employed by the oil company NNGPM (Nederlandsche Nieuw-Guinee Petroleum Maatschappij) at Sorong (1997:372). Schoorl claimed that Muyu desire to gain knowledge and experience outside was a means to return and 'open' (*membuka*) their own region (1997:380), as well as an opportunity to earn foreign money and purchase imported goods, and distance oneself from sorcery (1988:552). Men who travelled to Sorong chose to return to the Muyu region at the end of their contract despite an offer of resettlement by the Dutch administration. However, Schoorl noted that Muyu people intended to return from Sorong to the towns of Mindiptana and Tanahmerah in the Muyu region, rather than to their own villages.

Easterly flight

Easterly flight is contained in the legend of the figure Komot, characterised as a 'pedagogical, moral story about human character and sociality' (*budi pekerti*) and recalled by Muyu people at Iowara.⁶ This Muyu 'topogeny' depicts Komot's flight from the Muyu region along a ridge called Binggombit that runs from Membok or Aiambak in the south, to Barramundi and on to Nomad and Kerema.⁷ Kirsch (1991:158-159) has noted that the myth of a figure like Komot had a regional distribution among the Awin, Ningerum and Mandobo of the North Fly-Digul Plateau.⁸ The legend of Komot's flight constructs a spatial relationship or route through the Muyu region to East Awin, and beyond to Nomad. Komot's flight path through East Awin was mentioned as an historical precedent for Muyu movement to the east.

⁶ The repertoire of Komot myths include: the mode of construction of a Muyu house; stories of the origin of such things as the pig snare, forest vines, garden produce, day and night and the canoe; as well as cures for toothache, wounds of the feet and many other illnesses/afflictions (Schoorl 1993:165-166).

⁷ Fox mentions as common among Austronesian populations, narratives that "define paths through the landscape, setting forth ancestral journeys or recounting the passage of objects from place to place" (1997:8). Komot's flight may be mentioned as a Muyu 'topogeny' - recounting the journey of an ancestor through specific locations in a landscape - which relates a history of Muyu encounters with Awin people through the story of Komot's flight.

⁸ Schoorl (1993:163-168) recorded two versions of Komot's destination. The first version recounted by Muyu people at Kawangtet and Yibi near Ninati (to the north) located Komot at Birimtetkapa, a sacred place and whirlpool on the Birim River several hours journey to the east of Kungim in PNG. The second version recounted by Muyu people from Imko and Amudipun near Mindiptana (to the south) located Komot in the sacred place Binggombit in PNG, to the east of the Ok Tedi or Teri River.

Narratives about feuding between Muyu and Awin people circulated at Iowara, constructing longstanding historical associations between Muyu people and East Awin.⁹ Some Muyu people at Iowara claimed that in earlier times, Muyu people from the Digul area to the west fought the original Awin people in their place on the Fly River, driving them south to the area around Kiunga. Some Muyu people at Iowara claimed their own forefather was killed in a dispute over East Awin, and was buried downstream at Drimdenasuk (near the Fly River entry into Iowara).¹⁰ East Awin was occasionally mentioned by Muyu people as “also the land of Muyu descendants.”¹¹ These historical narratives make ambiguous the notion of Muyu people as *pendatang* or newcomers to Awin territory with limited rights of use arranged through third parties, the UNHCR and the PNG government.

From the 1930s, movement of Muyu people east across the border was compelled by escape from the re-territorialising tactics of the Roman Catholic mission and the Dutch government post. Kirsch identified three waves of Muyu flight south-east in the 1930s and 40s, including the Ok-Pari speaking Muyu people from near Mindiptana who established settlements near the villages of Membok, Erehta and Karengu (1991:45-46).¹² These Muyu people live on the eastern side of the Fly River and most have become PNG citizens.¹³ They were however perceived by Muyu at Iowara to be

⁹ A history of feuding between Muyu and Awin was alluded to by a Muyu refugee quoted in the ICJ report: “The location will give rise to problems between us and the Awin people there. We belong to different clans. Eventually such a situation would lead to war between the Yunggim (sic) and the Awin. Secondly, we have more means of making our livelihood than do the Awin. The Awin will become jealous of us. That will produce problems. Thirdly, the area in which we live is Yunggim territory. That’s our clan territory – that’s where we want to live. The Yunggim and the Awin are not compatible” (1986:51).

¹⁰ Schoorl (1988:547) has proposed that the Muyu only resorted to warfare in circumstances of suspected sorcery or murder. They did not fight territorial wars, preferring to retain trade relations with neighbours.

¹¹ *Tanah keturuman Muyu juga*.

¹² A 1984 survey of the Western Province region requesting people to state their place of birth found that 13.8 per cent of adults (mostly in the north Fly) claimed to have been born in Irian Jaya (Pula et al. 1984:35 in Blaskett 1989:55).

¹³ According to the Yonggom-speaking Muyu refugees at Iowara, ‘Yonggom’ was the name given by the Australian administration of New Guinea to the Yonggom-speaking population east of the border. Muyu people at Iowara referred to these people as ‘PNG-Yonggom’ whose *dusun* lies naturally to the east of the Fly River. Whereas, ‘Muyu-Yonggom’ refers to Yonggom-speaking peoples who fled from the Muyu region in the period prior to the 1970s to settle to the east of the border outside of the reach of Dutch and later, Indonesian administration. Kirsch notes that the Yonggom language is composed of named dialects that are no longer coterminous with particular territories due to the centralising projects undertaken by the Dutch government and church. Kirsch used the term ‘Yonggom’ to refer to Yonggom-speakers from both sides of the border in order to counter the PNG government’s perception of them as foreigners in the period of refugee influx (pers. comm. Stuart Kirsch 2000).

'newcomers' (*pendatang*) to PNG, whose alterity was reinforced by constant obligations to the actual landowners and whose yearning for their 'land of origin' (*tanah asal*) endured.¹⁴ While their *dusun* in Irian Jaya had become dense forest, it remained an 'area of ancestral inheritance' (*wilayah warisan keturunan*); its boundaries still known precisely.

Muyu people described their flight into PNG in 1984 compelled or forced in a particular direction at a certain moment, and in a timeframe that allowed no time to settle affairs or gather possessions. At Iowara, Muyu narratives about journeys of flight were bare, and not offered spontaneously. Military violence and surveillance aside, Muyu people were also enticed to join the flight at this time because they felt disenfranchised by the government's failed promise of 'development' (*pembangunan*) interpreted as deliberate and categorical neglect.¹⁵ Between April 1984 and July 1985, local church representatives in Waropko-Mindiptana reported that 9,435 mainly Muyu people had left their village and homes, 7,500 had been reported as reaching PNG, and the other 1,935 "moved around in their own traditional forest/land around the border area, on both sides, just leaving the villages empty" (Jayapura Diocese 1998). The exodus was distinct because of its size and limited area of origin, the Waropko-Mindiptana area. By mid 1985 it was reported that established villages in the Muyu area were deserted, and only a small number of Muyu people remained in Mindiptana (Jayapura Diocese 1998).

In some places, whole populations fled, in others, partial populations. Complete families and individual members fled. Some people crossed the border taking familiar paths (already marked by footprints) known as *kiman* (Y), emerging at a village on the eastern side of the border. People did not necessarily stay in the village of arrival, many travelled on to other villages where they had relatives. Others were described as 'emerging [on the other side] at random' (*tembus sembarang*). Some Muyu people were received as

¹⁴ The availability of repatriation aid by the UNHCR, International Red Cross and the Catholic Church reportedly led to some West Papuans (living in PNG prior to 1984) registering themselves as 'border crossers' in order to benefit from the offer of assisted return (Jayapura Diocese 1998:8).

¹⁵ In 1985, the Indonesian government admitted that only four of the 116 administrative sub-districts in Irian Jaya were above the poverty line. Another government source claimed that the interior where 80% of the region's population lived, had not yet been touched by the government's development programs (Blaskett 1989:172). Manning and Rumbiak (1989:108) described a vicious cycle of development policies in Irian Jaya where military conflicts in rural areas obstructed development activities.

kin (*kerabat*) by the PNG landowners, Yonggom-speaking people whose *dusun* lie to the east of the Ok Tedi river.¹⁶

Kirsch (1996a:226) proposed an inter-subjective construct of 'unrequited reciprocity' to describe Muyu reasons for flight. According to Kirsch, Muyu refugees did not speak in terms of racism, cultural imperialism, or ethnocide to describe Indonesian treatment, but rather, Indonesian refusal to establish reciprocal relations with them. Indonesian refusal to treat them as equals or to establish reciprocal relations with them represented serious grievance, compelling their flight. Kirsch claimed that "to do otherwise [than flee] would be to accept the Indonesian evaluation of them as less than human." Unrequited reciprocity cannot adequately account for the moment or terror of flight, however.

The OPM was said to have motivated people to leave their villages with promises of a better future, but they were also perpetrators of violence against villagers. A Muyu woman at Iowara composed a song of lament or *tamagop* (Y), recalling retaliatory events between ABRI and OPM that led to the flight of the woman's entire village into PNG in 1984.¹⁷ Titled "You are Strong, I am strong," 'you' refers to ABRI while, significantly, 'I' refers to the OPM.

1. We leave our place behind, we leave, all of us have left / 2. Rain, rain,
hungry all the journey / 3. You are strong, I am strong caused us to leave
our place behind and flee.

At Iowara, this *tamagop* was sung at funerals. It was the fighting that drove people to flee, and indirectly caused people's subsequent suffering and premature death at Iowara.

Below is a chronology of events or inventory of terrorism in the Waropko-Mindiptana area between 1984-85 based on a report by the Catholic Pastoral team at Mindiptana. It documents a crescendo of violence at the time of flight, extraneous to the usual pattern of ABRI : OPM attack and counter-attack. It constituted the most recent 'memory' prior to flight of the state's treatment of Muyu people.

¹⁶ For other Muyu people living in camps on the border, their lives were a litany of tensions and incidences with landowners. Kirsch expressed this dynamic (1991:53-54): "Local villagers are torn between the desire to support the refugees because of kinship and cultural affinity, anger at the refugees for depleting local resources, and fear of the refugees' potential to cause illness and death through sorcery."

¹⁷ *Tamagop* is characterised by a slow, laboured rhythm that can invoke weeping in the listener. The song is subject to a repetitive cycle called a round or *time* (pronounced tim-ay). The lines are sung : 1/2/3, 2/3, 1/2/3.

1984 April 9: the body of a girl raped by a security officer was found in Waropko; April 11: an army man attacked by 400 OPM people at Kanggewot; April 12: an army group attacked by OPM people at Kakuna; April 13: additional army troops flown in from Merauke; April 14: troops moved from Mindiptana to Waropko; clashed with OPM-group; the first villages reported empty (Kanggewot and Upecetko; people of the Kakuna village followed suit); April 15: three local Catholic leaders arrested in Mindiptana, although they hadn't been involved in anything; Waropko village reported empty; April 16: more arrests; more people leaving; April 16-18: villages Ninati and Timka already empty; troops destroy properties in these villages; April 19: troops clash with OPM; April 25: Sesnukt village reported empty; May 2: Angkamburan village reported empty; people refusing to leave were reported tortured by the OPM; June 10: many people left Mindiptana; OPM prepared an attack on the main centre Mindiptana; more people fled; June, 11: OPM group moves into Mindiptana; some of them were killed (according to a reliable report three people were killed); people still living around Mindiptana looked for security in the centre; October: some 20 people from the Kakuna village who had been hiding in the forest came back to Mindiptana; 1985 July 25: Wangkatkibi and Awayanka that had remained populated during the April-June ; troubles were abandoned; August, 4: an OPM group enters the Womsim village in the North Mandobo area: Muyu people fled the village (direct quote from Jayapura Diocese 1998:6-7).¹⁸

Muyu people squatted in makeshift camps alongside Ningerum and Yonggom villages on the eastern banks of the Fly River. According to the Diocesan report, despite some people's eagerness to return to their villages, OPM forces within and around the border camps restrained their return to Irian Jaya: "they wanted to keep the problem alive and obtain as much national and international publicity as possible" (1998:9).¹⁹ This comment ought to be juxtaposed against people's fear of punishment by the Indonesian military upon return. By mid 1987, approximately 1800 Muyu people had returned to Irian Jaya (Jayapura Diocese 1998:2). Remaining Muyu people in border

¹⁸ The chronology is evocative of a pattern of arrest and detention of West Papuans by the Indonesian state, identified by Amnesty International in 1985: where a person is suspected of OPM involvement, arrest, interrogation and detention without trial follows; people previously detained and released are likely to be detained again; after detention and release people are required to report to the police two or three times per week; when incidents occur, *en masse* arrests are carried out; and relatives of suspects are also detained and detainees are recruited as spies for the state (Smith 1991:311-314).

¹⁹ Aditjondro's (1987a) report also mentioned refugees' desire to repatriate, obstructed by OPM members. It is useful to recall that the Indonesian State argued from the beginning that flight had been incited by the OPM, see for example the article in Kompas by Brigadier General R.K Sembiring Meliala, Territorial Military Commander Irian Jaya (Pangdam XVII/Cenderawasih) (1984).

camps were coaxed by PNG government civil servants and UNHCR officials to relocate to a site at East Awin. It was thought that resettlement away from Muyu land would encourage Muyu to seek voluntary repatriation (Blaskett 1989:249). Despite the enticement of education, health services and rations by the UNHCR, and the severance of aid to border camps, the majority of Muyu people refused to relocate, instead, reorganising themselves into several large camps. Muyu people at Iowara explained this refusal based on people's desire to remain close to their *dusun*, the availability of sago on the border, and links with local OPM groups. In 1987, some two and a half thousand Muyu people were relocated to East Awin, an uncleared, unserviced site located in the middle of the forest some 40 kilometres from the Fly River. It was a second significant experience of displacement; neither the place they had come from nor the place they had subsequently settled into.

MUYU SPATIAL NARRATIVES OF BOUNDARY AND TERRITORY

We are a happy people, quick to rejoice / Because the Muyu river of our homeland is indeed grand / In the forests, there are noisy birds / In the rivers, fish leap from the water / In the forests, there are noisy birds / Where the Roman Catholics fly their flag from Ninati to Kanguap downstream, the Muyu hold that religion dear (transcribed by Saul, an elderly Muyu man at Iowara).²⁰

The lyrics of this 'regional song or anthem' (*lagu daerah*) define being Muyu in terms of their territory as a Catholic diocese,²¹ and the ecology of their region. In Muyu discourse, the arboreal metaphor rootedness²² is present, tracing people's suffering at Iowara to their loss of *dusun* place or region.

²⁰ *Lagu Daerah Muyu / Kami bangsa muda bersuka cita dan hati senang / Karena Kali Muyu tanah air kami yang bagus memang / Mana di hutan ada burung ribut-ribut / Mana di kali ada ikan mau melompat / Mana di hutan ada burung ribut-ribut / Mana agama Rom Katolik berkibar bendera yang dari Ninati sampai Kanguap hayu kali Muyu meyaga baik agama mu* [original spelling and repetition].

²¹ In the Muyu region, the Dutch Roman Catholic Order of the Sacred Heart and Dutch government posts were established at Ninati in the Muyu region in 1933 and 1935 respectively (Schoorl 1997:246-249).

²² Deleuze and Guattari (1987) explain language and social practice that territorialise both cultural and national identities through the dominant use of arboreal metaphors. In anthropology, arboreal thinking sees culture as a territorialised concept, and territorial displacement is conceived in terms of the botanical metaphor 'uprooted' (Malkki 1992:34).

Actually it is like we have all died, there is no feeling of being in a place. The body feels weightless. We are 'drifting' (*melayang*). We appear busy enough here, eating and speaking, but we do not feel in a place. Our 'inner selves' (*batin*) have been disturbed. Neither is it true that we are healthy. We are corpses, like dried bones without flesh or blood. But if we can return to the homeland, if there is 'freedom' (*pembebasan*), our flesh and blood will return. It is as though our 'life force' (*kekuatan hidup*) has been sapped. We don't feel 'sated' (*kenyang*). We feel awkward (*kaku*) and exist in a constant sense of 'hostility' (*musuh*) in our relation with the landholders, and 'vigilant, guarded' (*waspada*) fearing repatriation by the government. In this place we are humiliated, 'trash' (*sampah*), 'waste' (*kotoran*). Indeed, Indonesia has already killed me in a 'refined/unseen' (*halus*) manner by forcing me to flee my *dusun* and homeland (Maximus).²³

Displacement has more than a singular dimension, it represents the loss of particular social places like *dusun* where one feels 'at home' (*betah*). Use of the verb 'drifting' suggests they are not able to determine the direction of their journey. It is also the greater loss of their Muyu region that contains neighbouring *dusun*, sago forests, landmarks like continuous ridges and rivers, *fam* or lineage members, and ancestral spirits.²⁴

Watersheds delineating Muyu place

Muyu people at Iowara described natural boundaries that mark other landscapes. For example, the mountain range running east-west from Port Moresby through the Sepik until Sorong is mentioned as a 'backbone' (*urat punggung*) dividing the area between the Arafura Sea to the south, and the Pacific Ocean to the north. This line is also mentioned as a 'partition'

²³ Explaining the state of living on another person's *dusun* for a Kanum person, Frans used the Kanum expression *mbeam yekel* (K) meaning a person who does not have a *dusun*; a person who is considered destitute. It is used elsewhere as a term of humiliation or ridicule. Whereas *pakas men* (K) is a term of exaggerated praise about one's living conditions and happiness. Frans explained simply that it was not possible for a Kanum person living outside of their *dusun* at Iowara to experience a sense of *pakas men*. Another Kanum term used to explain living at Iowara was *frak yekel* (*frak*: hungry, *yekel*: damage something) described as a constant state of not feeling satiated. Frans explained that this sentiment may arise in the following circumstance: "If I am alone I may feel destitute, I may compare how my life was before this and regret that my life has been reduced to this."

²⁴ Kirsch (in press) describes Yonggom knowledge of *dusun* in biographical terms: the places of rockpools, water holes, paths, camping places, orchards, sago stands, swidden gardens all represent experiences in a person's life and are therefore, metonymical. Kirsch notes that like the Kaluli who have been written about by Feld (1996), Yonggom people remember via the conjunction of place and event. Therefore, separation from *dusun* place also entails "the displacement of memory" (Kirsch 1996a:227).

(*dinding*) dividing the Sepik and Fly rivers to the south. People from the eastern part of the Muyu region drew attention to the boundary of a 'low-lying dividing range' (*batas urat tanah*) or 'watershed' (*urat*), named as Aknim (Y) (see map 8).²⁵ This watershed runs north to south, between the Digul River and its tributaries Kao and Muyu rivers, and the Fly River and its tributary the Ok Tedi.²⁶ In some parts, particularly the south, this Aknim is barely distinguishable and is marked by signs. Trees growing on the periphery of the ridge lean towards the opposite side; trees to the west lean to the east and vice versa.

In the past (and it was asserted, until now), Muyu people routinely travelled west to east across the Aknim in order to hunt in the sparsely populated and abundant region of the Fly River.²⁷ At the crest or site of the Aknim, people lit a fire of leaves that emitted a noise when burned. It was said that there was also 'prohibition' (*pemali*) and 'customary rules' (*aturan-aturan adat*) associated with consumption of meat hunted to the east. This ritual gave a sense of people travelling across rather than through the Aknim. In the narrative below, hot and cold states are mapped onto familiar and foreign in relation to the watershed.

Those of us living in the western part in the Digul area consider that area to be hot whereas the area to the east around the Fly is a cold area. This question of hot and cold is a matter of 'conviction or belief' (*keyakinan*) only, 'a feeling' (*perasaan*). It is also known to be cold because of its sparse habitation. A fire made of certain leaves like cork and other branches is built [on the Aknim crest] to guard against the risk of

²⁵ School mentions *aknim* also as *atmin* and *admin* and proposes *aknim* as a generic term for watershed (J. W. School, pers. comm. 2000).

²⁶ Writing in the 1950s, School claimed the eastern Muyu boundary to comprise the Rivers Mat, Birim, Teri (also known as the Ok Tedi by Yonggom-speakers) and Fly. According to School, several Muyu settlements were also found to the east of the Terry and Fly Rivers almost as far as the government settlement at Kiunga in PNG. However, the majority of these settlements were formed by Muyu people who had fled regions which were at that time administered by the Dutch (i.e., to the west of the border). Muyu inhabitants live mainly in the area between the large rivers Kao and Muyu. In this region, rivers flow almost entirely from the north to the south (1993:3-4). The following watersheds exist in the Muyu region: Amupka watershed separates the Kau and Muyu rivers; Kamka separates Kao and Oga Rivers; Arimop separates the Mandobo and Digul rivers; and Niandit separates the Kao and Digul River and tributaries, Mandobo and Iwur (School 1993:7). These watersheds also influenced Muyu mobility. School noted that in 1955-56 a forty km road linking Mindiptana and Waropko was constructed along the Kamka and part of the Amup watersheds and was named Kamka road (J. W. School pers. comm. 2000).

²⁷ Muyu movement to the south-east was influenced by pacification of the Middle Fly-Digul Plateau (Busse in Kirsch 1991:45). Traditional communication and trade routes ran east-west rather than north-south meaning that contacts across the border rather than on the same side were more important for some communities (Herlihy 1986:177 in Blaskett 1989:53).

sickness in entering to the east, and on the return journey to extinguish or 'distance' (*menjauhkan*) sickness that may follow us home. For example, in the Digul area to the west, elephantiasis is less common than the area of the Fly. The ritual 'releases' (*kasih lepas*) the person from one state or condition into another.

Muyu people crossed over the Aknim at the time of flight into PNG in 1984.

A Muyu man who came from a region far from Aknim, previously was unaware of custom associated with crossing Aknim and at the time of fleeing into PNG, he and his group crossed over the Aknim without any ritual that ought to have been performed. He did not say that his neglect would cause ill in the group. He does not like to speak of this. But I am certain that some people would claim that they would suffer sickness or death for such carelessness (pers. comm. Jacques Gros 2000).

While some people insisted that Aknim was merely a watershed, others described Aknim as a 'natural boundary' (*perbatasan alam*); a continuous range curbing tributaries. An elderly Muyu man called Arnold mapped the space on paper, marking the two rivers and filling in the middle with the north-south running Aknim. Aknim is depicted as interstitial, defining the space to the east and west. Arnold's subjective exposition of Aknim begins as a simple climatic distinction but is extrapolated to become a set of comparative binary features that establish a mythical opposition:

To the west, bananas and taro are large, to the east, small;

To the west, game is small bodied containing a high quantity of fat and oil, to the east game is large bodied and the fat contains water;

To the west, seven coconuts yield one litre of cream, to the east twelve coconuts yield this amount;

To the west, there is little malaria, human beings are 'clean, pure' (*murni*). To the east, malaria is prevalent and there are many abnormal people;²⁸

To the west, soil is *murni*. In certain places, soil may be baked until hard then eaten. To the east, soil cannot be eaten as it contains too much sand;

²⁸ Arnold's actual phrase was "*banyak kurang normal*."

To the west, people are small in stature and continue to appear youthful.
To the east, people age quickly.

Another ecological divide is based on the east and west banks of the Fly and Ok Tedi Rivers. While the bulge of the Fly River constitutes the international boundary, Arnold constructs east and west in terms of species distribution and landscape.

To the west, there are no eels. They are only found to the east of the Rivers Fly and Ok Tedi;²⁹

To the west of the Fly, the bird of paradise is golden-yellow and of short body and makes the sound *kong kong kon*, to the east it is a dark red bird and sings *ke kokokoko*;³⁰

To the west, there are caves that stretch right across to the other [western] side and spring-fed streams.³¹ To the east, streams flow by virtue of rainfall.

Arnold's characterisations suggest that these places are not members of the same material region; they do not share a 'material essence' that might affiliate them as belonging to the same region (Casey 1996:30). However, in these sets

²⁹ Arnold's *ikan belut* (eel) story exemplifies the spatialising nature of Aknim. In the northern Muyu region where the Aknim is born near the Arem mountains to the west, a powerful Muyu man/prophet was pursued by another man and fled to the east, entering the Alice River where his hiding place in a clump of pandanus was revealed to his pursuers by the '*mep mep*' call of the white hornbill bird (*on kewet Y*), and upon his capture he assumed the form of an eel. According to Arnold, there are no eels in the Muyu region, they are only found to the east of the Teri and Alice, and Fly Rivers, in the Awin region. Indeed, if an eel appears in the Muyu region it is considered a 'bad sign' (*tanda buruk*). An eel may be demanded as part of a compensation payment claimed by relatives of the deceased of the latter's spouse and/or family. The request is made to deliberately burden the family concerned because the eel is not found in the Muyu region and its value is higher than that of a pig.

³⁰ The type of *cenderawasih* (bird of paradise) is known according to its relation to a boundary marked by neither Aknim nor international border, but by the Fly River. Arnold used the principle of marriage exchange and locality to explain a bird's location in a place that is deemed foreign or out of place, according to the bird's colour. Dark red mapped onto the east and golden onto the west is a natural order and its unsettling is explained by a social rule of exogamy: if a dark-red feathered bird is seen to the west or a gold feathered bird to the east, it means the birds themselves have '[a system of] marriage exchange' (*pertukaran perkawinan*).

³¹ These caves were mentioned as places where corpses (victims of the Indonesian military and the OPM) were concealed.

one area is not valorised over the other. While Aknim is physically located to the west of the international border,³² some Muyu *dusun* straddle both Aknim and the border, stretching as far as the western bank of the Ok Tedi in PNG. Although most Muyu people are located to the west of Aknim, and non-Muyu people namely Awin to the east, neither the international border nor Aknim constitute a definitive Muyu boundary; both are porous cultural boundaries. In spite of Aknim mentioned by some Muyu people as ‘boundary’ (*batas*), it bounds Muyu territory ambiguously and does not represent where Muyu and non-Muyu space begins or ends. The western and eastern banks of the Ok Tedi river is another perhaps more concrete threshold between Muyu and Awin regions. In the Muyu region, both watersheds and rivers are fundamental to any specification of the landscape.

Spatial and temporal narratives imagining conjunction

The afternoon bird or *kumuk* (Y) is found across the Muyu region and as far as East Awin. In a song titled “The edge of the Fly River” (*Birak kepet Y*),³³ the afternoon bird is depicted as drawing to the surface a discontent or grievance. The song writer - a guerilla living in the forest on the Indonesian-PNG border - explained that Muyu people believe the *kumuk* bird’s song compels the listener to act on a matter that is held or ‘buried within one’s heart’ (*terpendam*).³⁴ The meaning and effect of *kumuk*’s call depends on the listener’s place at that moment. The song’s lyrics in the Yonggom language, represent a Muyu

³² The border is commonly described in terms of its longitude: “defined by the 141 degrees east meridian from the north coast south to the point where the Fly River cuts the 141 degrees meridian; it then follows the waterway (or thalweg) of the Fly until it reaches 140 degrees 01 East, whereupon it follows this line until it ends at the mouth of the Bensback River on the south coast” (Blaskett 1989:45-46). Frequent redefinition however, reveals the border’s negotiated history. In 1989, the PNG government defined the eastern border area as that area lying up to 50 km east of the international boundary. Blaskett notes that on the western side, the Indonesian government’s policies for the border area differ little from its policies for the province as a whole, perceived as a frontier zone – and in different periods, a politically quarantined zone - with security concerns not restricted to the border area: (1989:46).

³³ I am indebted to Father Jacques Gros and John Koknat for the ethnographic material on the song *Birak Kepet*. The translation of this song from Yonggom (according to the songwriter, in Kamindep dialect) into Bahasa Indonesia, and the song writer’s explanation was undertaken entirely by Gros during a patrol trip to a Muyu camp on the Indonesian-PNG border in February 2000.

³⁴ The idea of something buried brought to the surface fits Kirsch’s observation of Yonggom techniques of elicitation and forms of revelation (in press). There is a sense in the *kumuk* song that the will or means to *merdeka* is present, but remains hidden until elicited by the *kumuk* bird. On the extension of agency to birds among Yonggom speakers, see Kirsch (1992:172-174; in press).

homeland spatially through the Fly River as an approximate eastern boundary of the region conceived as Muyu homeland. In conversation, this boundary is often recalled in terms of the metaphor 'inside:outside' (*dalam:di luar*). For example, people rarely if ever, described movement to the west as 'crossing the border' (*lalu lintas*). Rather, they talked about 'entering or going into the interior or inside' (*masuk ke dalam*), and easterly movement into PNG as 'going outside' (*ke luar*). In the song, the *kumuk* bird delineates inside:outside. Flight has forced Muyu people to live outside of their own *dusun* and their Muyu region, and living outside - without *dusun* rights - is a source of regret and grievance. *Kumuk's* call physically reminds the listener of the other place (inside) where the same call is heard. In the song, it is a yearning to return to this Muyu homeland that is assumed to be the matter buried in the heart of the exiled Muyu.

On the edge of the Fly River / I am sitting enjoying the mood of the afternoon / The sun begins to set at the lower end of the Fly River / A cluster of new clouds adorn the setting of the sun / At the moment of enjoying, a voice is heard which is distressing / The voice of the afternoon bird that ushers in the afternoon, its name *kumuk* / Unsettles my inner thoughts / That moment reminds me again of my homeland / Where that matter makes me weep, it urges me to immediately free my Muyu homeland so that I might return.³⁵

According to the song's writer, upon hearing the voice of the *kumuk* bird a person must immediately halt other activities and act according to the summons and the person's sentiment, and/or according to a matter that is buried or held in the heart. The character of this action must side with the weak, or effect salvation. In metaphysical terms, *kumuk* is believed to be a messenger of the Muyu Creator figure Ambenggom. Wherever and whenever a Muyu person hears *kumuk's* voice, it is interpreted as a 'summoning' (*panggilan*) by the Muyu creator figure called Ambenggon. Ambenggon is almighty (*komomo* Y), a voice that is great (*wengmo* Y), and eyes that are all seeing, all knowing (*timopmo* Y). The *kumuk* bird is claimed to have been created by Ambenggon in order to summon people into action by way of a 'command' (*perintah*). Ignoring the command is considered to be a 'violation of custom' (*pelanggaran adat*) sanctioned by a curse, affecting the individual

³⁵ *Di Tepi Sungai Fly / Sedang saya duduk menikmati suasana sore / Sedang matahari mulai terbenam di ujung bawah Sungai Fly / Terlihat gerombolan awan yg muda menghiasi suasana terbenam matahari / Seketika menikmati, terdengar suara yang menyedihkan / Suara burung sore pengantar sore namanya Kumuk / Membuat pikiran hati saya goncang / Seketika itu terkenang kembali akan tanah air saya / Di mana hal itu membuat saya mencurahkan air mata, yang mendesak saya untuk segera bebaskan tanah air Muyu saya agar bisa kembali.*

and their descendants. If a person follows Ambenggon's command conveyed by the *kumuk*, that person and descending generations of his lineage will be blessed by Ambenggon.

Upon hearing the voice of *kumuk* from a position of exile, a Muyu person understands that the struggle to free the Papuan nation must be advanced until 'completed' (*tuntas*) regardless of the cost, even death. Ambenggon's summon to liberating action recalls lay Protestant interpretations of the Old Testament's Book of Genesis where the struggle for nationhood is qualified as a struggle to reclaim the nation granted by God. A Muyu theological episteme is not dissimilar: the liberation of nation invoked by Ambenggon through the messenger bird *kumuk*.³⁶

Drawing on Feld's 'acoustemology',³⁷ Muyu homeland or place is sensed by the *kumuk* bird's song, and simultaneously, sensually placed by Muyu people. Feld describes this as a 'doubly reciprocal motion': "as place is sensed, senses are placed; as place makes sense, senses make place" (1996:91). That Muyu people also possess their own 'sound world' is suggested by the invocatory powers of bird sound and other soundful beings. The extension of (at least part of) Muyu people's 'sound world' as far as East Awin, senses their displacement. Familiar sounds heard in their camp do not effect a sense of place at Iowara or on the border, rather, they evoke sentiments of loss of their Muyu region 'inside'. Senses experienced both there and here are placed there. Muyu experiences of East Awin as out-of-place and their own Muyu region as yearned-for-place are evoked, partly at least, in sound. According to the composer of the song above, the sound of the *kumuk* bird does more than evoke nostalgia however, it is also provocative - summoning people to act to restore their homeland.

The Awin region is also related by narratives to the Muyu region through a conjoined (spatial and temporal) natural world in the shared seasons of tortoise and breadfruit.

³⁶ Kirsch (1991:328-331; 1996a:226) and Schoorl (1993:282-284) mention a body of myths central to Muyu cult ritual, centred around the mythical figure Kamberap. These myths have been extended into the present by Muyu narrators. In one of these myths, Kamberap's son will return from abroad to assist in the struggle for independence. He is identified as Jesus Christ and his return is like the second coming. The figure of Kamberap is like Manarmakeri of the Biak-Numfoor Koreri movement.

³⁷ Grounded in his experience of Bosavi in Papua New Guinea, Feld describes 'acoustemology' as an exploration into the ways in which sound is central to meaning, knowing and experiencing place (1996:97).

The tortoise season is like this: in October/November the hot season causes the lowering of the river's water level and the tortoise emerge to lay eggs on the river's sandy edge. In November/December the tortoise eggs begin to hatch. In January/February the rainy season causes the river to rise and the hatchlings swim away on their mother's back. The breadfruit season follows. In January the breadfruit tree flowers. Between May and September breadfruit may be harvested, the secretion of *getah* or white sap indicating the ripe fruit (Arnold).

A Muyu narrator explained that the same seasonal markers exist in both places. The seasons of tortoise and breadfruit, synchronised from Samarai until Sorong, constitute part of the discourse of New Guinea as a natural island, mentioned in Chapter 2. According to another elderly Muyu man called Viktor, birds that herald the hot and rainy seasons, and times of day break and nightfall, are present from east to west because of the island's form. Season is identified as an unbounded feature of the entire island. Animal and insect sounds³⁸ are also conceived as overlapping. The presence - rather than absence - of sounds of birdsong and insect hum, locate the listener in their garden or house at Iowara, not in their Muyu place at that moment. In the following section, it is more than a distribution of sago species that distinguishes the Awin and Muyu regions, rather it is the experience and memory of sago cultivation and consumption that produces a sense of loss in Muyu people at Iowara.

MUYU NARRATIVES OF INCARCERATION AND DESTITUTION AT IOWARA

To describe this place? Iowara is sago poor (Muyu aphorism at Iowara)

³⁸ Insects like the *enet* also mark synchronic time. *Enet* is an insect with glass-like wings. It inhabits the banks of broad rivers and is a sign of late afternoon. Its call is a constant, single pitch. At four, its call signals readiness for people working in their gardens to prepare to return home. At five, the call is repeated and signals the time for women to leave their work and return home carrying garden produce and children. At six, the *enet's* third call summons men to return home as the darkness will shut out the trees and the path.

Familiar sago³⁹

In the southern Muyu region, the principal sago species is known as *om maim* (Y). This type grows from shoots that spread from a central plant, or may be transplanted from elsewhere. This cultivated species or *sago dusun* cannot be propagated from the seed of fruit that falls to the ground and ordinarily consumed by cassowary, or taken by bats and other birds. By contrast, forest sago or *sago hutan* refers to naturally growing sago trees that sucker to form extensive groves, or spread via birds and on the water. In the northern Muyu region, a sago tree is known as *om monggop* (Y). In the regional dialect, *om* means tree and *monggop* means planted. Northern Muyu people know the sago tree as a tree cultivated by an ancestor; there are virtually no stands of forest sago in this area. Every tree constitutes a 'legacy or remainder of olden times' (*peninggalan purbakala*) and a reminder of the planter. In any one *dusun*, there will be sago trees planted by the current generation, that person's father, grandfather and so on. Displaced Muyu people also experience the loss or separation from particular sago trees as heritage markers.⁴⁰

Om maim matures in 3-5 years and has thorns or spikes that must be stripped carefully before the tree is felled. Its leaf is considered to be the most durable thatching material for roofs, lasting for up to six years. However, in the East Awin region, the sago species is *om bi* (Y). It spreads by way of seed from the fruit and by suckers from the main palm, and is a slower growing palm maturing after 10-12 years. Upon arrival to Iowara, there were no naturally occurring sago stands. Some people planted *om bi* from suckers collected from near the Fly River by the PNG government and distributed in 1987.⁴¹ *Om bi* also grows in some Muyu regions but is not used for its palm

³⁹ It needs to be qualified that sago is not evenly distributed throughout the Muyu region and consequently it is not the staple food of all Muyu people. To the south near Mindiptana, there are extensive sago swamps, however in the higher territory to the north, bananas and tubers constitute the staple food.

⁴⁰ Kirsch (in press) notes that for Yonggom, flowering sago palms are associated with feelings of sorrow and loss. A sago palm ought to be harvested before flowering which occurs after twelve years or so. The process of flowering consumes the tree's edible starch. According to Kirsch, the sight of a sago palm left to flower, its starch wasted, evokes memories of deceased relatives who once prepared sago for the person as a child, or those too old to harvest the flowering palm. See also Jimmy Woia's song on this subject transcribed by Kirsch (1991:128). The flowering sago palm as metaphor for fertility was also present in dreams. At Iowara, it was said that to dream of a sago tree that had already flowered was to catch an older pig with tusks, while to dream of a sago tree still to flower was to catch a young (i.e., succulent) pig. Compare with Weiner's exposition of the fallen *furabu* tree (a *Ficus* variety) as a conventional metaphor in dream and song for the death of a headman (1991:19).

⁴¹ In conversation about the benefits of *om maim* compared with *om bi*, Muyu people at Iowara questioned why the PNG government had distributed the inferior variety yielding less flour and less durable leaf for the purposes of roof thatch.

leaf as it is considered a less durable roofing material, lasting between 6 months and 2 years depending on exposure to hearth smoke. Some Muyu people at Iowara re-positioned the cooking hearth in the centre of the house because the smoke was required to harden and blacken the roofing material. Whereas in their own region, the sago palm leaf was more naturally water-resistant and it was preferred that hearths be kept separate in order to avoid inhaling smoke.

At Iowara, to gather sago outside of the boundary required the permission of the *dusun* owners who were to be compensated for the loss of their tree. While hunting and fishing was often done without permission, cultivating sago was in a different realm. One Muyu man explained the difference between hunting game or fishing, and gathering sago outside of the Iowara boundary, in terms of the rooted nature of sago.

If you want to look for fish, [fish] don't gather in the one place. You must make an effort to find and catch fish. A pig too roams about, it does not have a particular place. The hunter of the pig takes a risk, he may be gored. A sago tree's location is known. It is located in someone's *dusun*. So permission must be granted and payment made.

The narrator's point was that the emplaced nature of sago - inside the boundary of certain people's *dusun* - and the deliberation of its harvesting activity, differentiated it from hunting and fishing expeditions characterised as not territorialised, and relying on the hunter's own dexterity.

Resisting planting sago

Upon arrival at Iowara we did not plant sago. We wanted independence quickly. We did not want to be here long (Collective Muyu expression at Iowara).

Some Muyu people carried their sago mattocks, used to pound sago pith, when they fled across the border in 1984. It was not merely the mattock's value or associated sentiment that was important, but the practice of sago cultivation that it allowed. A sago pounder ensured survival. Muyu people at Iowara referred to themselves using the autonym 'sago people' (*orang sago*).⁴²

In 1987, most Muyu people living in the border camps - where they had lived for four years - refused to shift from the border to other people's *dusun*,

⁴² Other exonyms used by Yonggom speakers mention staple foods: dry sago (*om kok*) and dry bananas (*yum kok*) (Kirsch 1991:185).

declaring: "Better we remain here and fetch sago and hunt in our own *dusun* than go there [to Iowara]." Even among those people who relocated to Iowara, many resisted planting sago in spite of the seedlings offered by the government. Planting a sago tree would serve to 'locate' the Muyu at East Awin. They did not want to imagine themselves still living at Iowara, still living out of their place, at the time of harvest ten years on. Resistance to planting sago was an act of defiance, resisting cultivating Iowara as a longer-term place of residence; 'putting down roots' in exile.

Refugees claimed that Awin and Pa landowners prohibited planting sago outside of the Iowara boundary, and discouraged planting sago inside of the boundary. This response is congruous with a Muyu worldview that special permission is required to plant sago on another person's land because sago trees perpetually produce suckers that colonise the area of the initial planting, producing an enduring and ambiguous relationship between the planter and the other person's land (Schoorl 1997:123).

Some Muyu people had planted sago trees at Iowara but the trees' harvest was delayed by the owner's constant removal of palm leaf for roof thatching. The removal of the palm leaf slows down the maturity of the sago pith. Sago palm leaf was purchased in the form of a cone-shaped parcel or *bungkus* from landowners, harvested from forest sago.⁴³ One *bungkus* comprised seven sheets of palm thatch or *bengkarang*, and thirty *bungkus* was sufficient to roof a medium-sized house and kitchen. At Iowara it was difficult to purchase sago palm leaf from Muyu people who had planted their own sago trees, because people had sufficient for their own immediate need only, and were mindful of the pith's harvest.⁴⁴

There was a sentiment of futility about gardening at Iowara. Opening new gardens and planting long-term trees was countered by the knowledge that one's other garden lay fecund, wasted. Imminent repatriation would render gardening effort at Iowara fruitless.⁴⁵ These sentiments were expressed

⁴³ At the time of fieldwork, one *bungkus* cost K5 or the equivalent of 1.5 kilo rice.

⁴⁴ Dani people at Iowara experimented with tall, coarse grass as roofing material. However, the grass in the highlands is short, fine and strong – more resilient than the grass at Iowara which decomposes because of the heavy rainfall. Other people had experimented with the leaves of the forest coconut palm which may be gathered without payment to the landowners at Iowara. However, this thatch leaks after only 2 months.

⁴⁵ A Biak woman, recalled her father's *kayob* (B) or song of lament at Iowara. Leaving his garden exhausted after clearing tall trees and forest undergrowth, he often returned to the house, singing in Biak in a mournful tone that would reduce his granddaughter to frightened tears: So weary because I am not working my garden there but here/ How has it happened that I am gardening in another person's land whereas I have a garden there / How has it happened that I am so weary here making a large garden / I live in this forest here, only gardening / I ought to be living on the coast: seeing the beach, going fishing.

in the song lyrics below written by a Muyu person at Iowara in Bahasa Indonesia:

Indonesia don't you make all sorts of things against us / Give our rights to independence so that we can live well / This place that is too far, why did we come here? / For what purpose? / Until this bird sits and sings, we yearn for our place / This place has no sago, there is no breadfruit tree like our place, we see the dense forest / We arrived to live here, cleared, planted seedlings / But one thing we still remember: when will we return to our own place so that we can enjoy our own resources?

The hardship of clearing dense forest and the task of planting new seedlings that would not bear for several years, contrasted with the memory of their own mature, yielding gardens and *dusun*. It was explained to me that if a person's *dusun*, recalled as 'abundant' (*limpah*) is not looked after, then that person will be constantly thinking about the austerity of their life at Iowara.⁴⁶

Restrictions in another people's land

The Awin and Pa landowners constituted a part of the total social field in which Muyu people conceived their displacement. Refugees perceived themselves to be incarcerated⁴⁷ at Iowara by 'rules' proscribing their hunting activity, mobility and trading rights. This perception was reflected in the proverb: "A little excess/superiority provokes the landholder's objection," and aphorism: "Permission must be sought from the landholder, don't do as you please like you would in your own place."⁴⁸ While people at Iowara spoke abstractly of rules installed by the landholders, details of installation and regulation were difficult to elicit.

Saul, a Muyu man at Iowara, listed rules⁴⁹ prescribed for living in other

⁴⁶ See also French's writing on Khmer refugees who yearned to restore familiar daily agricultural activities of cultivating rice and fish (to make the Cambodian staple fish paste *prahouk*), that had previously marked the passage of time and organised village space (1994:109-111).

⁴⁷ Biak people at Iowara made the ironic comparison that in the Biak language, the word *iwarai* means: "There is no way out: want to go here but cannot, want to go there but cannot, here [we] cannot go anywhere else, it cannot happen" (*Sudah tidak ada jalan, mau ke sini tidak bisa, mau ke sana tidak bisa, sampai ke sini tidak bisa ke mana lagi, tidak jadi*).

⁴⁸ *Mesti permisi tuan tanah, jangan suka-suka daerah sendiri*.

⁴⁹ Kirsch (pers. comm. 2000) makes the point that in the past, most of these rules were probably applicable in the Muyu region in Irian Jaya. See Schoorl 1997:121-126.

people's *dusun*:

1. Don't possess more than the landowner of that place.⁵⁰
2. Don't open a large garden.
3. Raise a little cash only for soap and salt.
4. Don't raise pigs for sale, only chickens.
5. Don't use dogs, guns, snares or traps in hunting.
6. Observe the boundary determined by the landowner.
7. Do nothing to disappoint the landowner.

According to Saul, these rules constituted a warning against leaving one's place, as prosperity would be severely curtailed. Another older Muyu man proposed that '*dusun* rules' (*peraturan dusun*) were established by the Muyu deity figure responsible for ordering nature known as Woe. He claimed that according to Woe, Muyu people could be absent from their *dusun* for up to two generations, but not until three or four. Absence was considered to be a 'temporary state' (*sementara*). Second, if a person deceived the landowner who had granted them rights of use in land, then the newcomer would in turn be cursed by Woe for this deception. The third prescription was that daughters may marry into landowner families and remain in a new place, but sons must return to their land of their father.

The section below explores how rules manifested at Iowara. These rules relate to the use of the fish stupefying bomb called *tubah* made from tree-root, the sale of pig meat hunted outside the boundary, the raising of domesticated pigs, and the cultivation of gardens.

Fishing

Two types of *tubah* were made and used at Iowara. One was made from the pounded root of a garden plant mentioned as *enong* (Y). The root powder was soaked in water and laid on the water's surface, making active fish dizzy but not affecting fish concealed in the mud floor. This type of *tubah* was allowed by the landowners, as was the use of goggles to spear prawns. However, *tubah* made from the grated root of a forest tree called *wuun* (Y) was proscribed. Laid on the surface of the water in the dry season when the river runs slowly, *wuun* kills fish (not prawns) beneath the surface. People using *wuun* ought to inform their downstream neighbour so that they might also

⁵⁰ This imperative to be inconspicuous was described by a Biak man at Iowara as becoming like *gurita*, the chameleon-like octopus that can disguise itself as a stone: "If we arrive at a different place, we must socialise and adapt our ways to theirs."

gather fish from the water's surface. It was claimed that the landowners at Iowara had prohibited the use of *wuun*. Kanum women told me that unlike Muyu people, they always used fishing line to catch fish, unless a woman was very old and poor-sighted and could not see or hold the line, and could not wait a long time for a catch. Only then may she use *tubah* in a pool, isolated from the river flow. The use of *tubah* was a matter of some tension at Iowara, between landowners and refugees, and among refugees themselves.

Wild pig meat

Muyu people at Iowara distinguished 'wild or forest pig' (*awon kuip* Y) from 'domestic pig' (*awon amonggop* Y). It was already a Muyu tradition that wild pig meat ought not be sold, but eaten and shared among the hunter's neighbours. If a hunter used a spell or incantation to capture a wild pig and subsequently sold the pig meat, this action was claimed to diminish his spell's power in the future. It was suggested that other Muyu hunters at Iowara used a preventative spell at Iowara to ward off the possible consequences of hunting wild game for the purposes of sale. Additionally, wild pig meat ought not be consumed arbitrarily. Certain foods were proscribed after eating pig meat; considered a 'hindrance or obstruction' (*penghalang*) to the hunter's spell. For example, the consumption of *aibika* or *gede* leaf - which becomes slippery on contact with water - was said to make the pig snare slippery, allowing the pig to release itself. Eating taro was said to cause taro leaves in the vicinity of the snare to tremble, allowing the pig to evade the trap. Domestic pigs were raised precisely for the purpose of wealth (to sell or to gift), or slaughtered for ceremonial consumption. A domestic pig's value was high because it had been raised like a child. The serving of domestic pig meat in a funeral ceremony is a mark of respect to the deceased whereas in other 'ordinary celebrations' (*pesta biasa*) such as weddings or birthdays, wild pig is served.

In an incident in the marketplace at Iowara in 1995, a landowner announced that the sale of wild meat by refugees - pig, kangaroo, cassowary, large fish including cat fish, and tortoise - was prohibited.⁵¹ According to the Muyu narrator, little game remained inside the Iowara boundary, therefore, game sold in the market by refugees had most likely been hunted outside of

⁵¹ While landowners had previously allowed the hunting and sale of cassowary meat, the trade of live cassowary was proscribed from the outset; its live value as a ritual exchange item of great wealth would be considered a lost opportunity to the landowner and a profit for the refugee. It was claimed that a live cassowary sold to Goroka or Mt Hagen could command thousands of kina.

the camp boundary.⁵² According to Saul, landowners checked the meat sold in the market, querying: "Where was that animal hunted?" In 1999, a landowner announced in the market that refugees could not sell wild pig meat for more than three kina. It was explained that while refugees hunted pigs 'with their own effort' (according them some right of benefit), landowners resented being asked to pay high prices for wild pig grown on their land.

Domestic pigs

Muyu people did not have *dusun* at Iowara. While people had a camp or village residence, and a space for gardening, there was no expanse of uncultivated hunting ground or sago forest.

Muyu farmers feel 'oppressed' (*tertekan*) here. We do not feel 'free' (*bebas*). Our own place is divided into *dusun*, and each *dusun* has a boundary that is not crossed arbitrarily. Hunting on land, sea, river has a boundary limit, but life inside one's *dusun* is unhindered. Living here in another people's place is difficult. The place is still 'dominated, controlled' (*dikuasai*) by the owners who have divided the place into areas. Here, we 'live inside the cultivated garden' (*hidup dalam kebun*).

At Iowara, the constricted nature of the space meant there were constant tensions about raising pigs, including suspicion and accusation of sorcery. For example, one camp allowed their pigs to roam freely resulting in damage to the neighbouring camp's gardens. Warnings and reprisals followed and when sickness occurred in the pig owner's village, the garden owners were blamed in terms of a logic of 'retaliation' (*dendam*) i.e., there was a pre-existing grievance. Where a pig is caught inside a person's garden it may be killed, and if the garden owner is angry he may sell the meat, but if he is a reasonable man he will divide the meat with the pig's owner. The killing of a pig to avenge a damaged garden installs another layer of grievance. Damaged gardens were only part of the effect of roaming pigs – chickens were eaten by pigs, and young pigs were eaten by domestic dogs. According to a Muyu man whose garden had been destroyed on several occasions by pigs from the neighbouring (non-Muyu) camp, all of these incidences were a result of limited, undefined space at Iowara.

⁵² Several people told me that it was only some time after their arrival to Iowara that they were informed in a public meeting, that the white wallaby and white eggs laid by the forest hen (which usually lays red eggs), were considered taboo by landowners at East Awin. According to the Muyu narrator, the warning came too late as white wallaby had been hunted until extinct inside Iowara.

Stabling pigs inside the camp meant that the owner was compelled to cart large quantities of cassava from the gardens, and water from distant streams, in order to tend the pigs. In 1996, Muyu people from Atkamba collectively fenced an open area inside the camp so that pigs could roam inside an enclosed space. The fence was completed but the effort required to cart cassava from distant gardens proved too labour intensive, and the project folded. Allowing pigs to roam in the vicinity of the camp was said to cause disease and risked damaging relations with people whose gardens lay in this area. Penning pigs in the garden - at a distance from the camp - compelled the owner to make the journey to the garden several times a day. In 1996, the Iowara administration prohibited the raising of pigs inside the camps. Police distributed letters to each camp outlining the prohibition due to disease risks caused by pigs defecating on village paths, and disputes caused by damaged gardens.

Gardening

According to Maximus, since 1987 the Catholic church had repeatedly advised the mainly Muyu congregation to be 'economical' (*hemat*) in their use of garden land:

1. Gardens should not be too large.
2. New gardens should be opened only after the previous one is barren.
3. Forest should not be cleared too early because left ungardened it quickly becomes barren, reverting to undergrowth. If cleared again it will become [*kunai*] grassland.
4. Uncleared forest should be conserved for gathering timber for building, firewood and rotan.

The continuous clearing of new gardens was called 'wild gardens' (*kebun liar*) or gardens that are 'not ordered' (*tidak diatur*).⁵³ This practice had produced open grassland. Maximus explained that it was less effort to open a new garden than dig the tall, coarse grass into the soil as humus. Over zealous clearing also produced quarrels among refugee neighbours at Iowara. For example, gardeners who had determined their boundaries but not yet cleared

⁵³ Among highlanders, gardening at Iowara was conceived as an activity without order. A Dani woman explained to me: "This [Iowara] is a refugee place. We work the gardens 'without particular order' (*tidak teratur*). In our own place there are distinct seasons and months for planting and harvesting." By refugee place, she referred to Iowara as the temporary place of people who had arrived from another place, and remained unfamiliar with the local order of things.

the entire space, often found this area 'seized, appropriated' (*dirampas*) by their neighbours.

Here, there is no recourse for complaint because people don't respect each other's 'right' (*hak*) over any place. They think like this: "I am here temporarily therefore using the forest extravagantly in the short term does not matter" (Maximus).

Constant expansion also meant that people walked longer and longer distances to gather firewood, and to attend their gardens. Sources of building materials such as rattan, hardwood for foundation posts, and *nibung* palm for flooring and walls, became scarce inside of the boundary and people were forced to seek these materials outside, compensating the landholders. According to Maximus, the condition of temporariness in relation to gardening and other practices at Iowara was illusory – one could not count on *merdeka* happening in one's own lifetime, therefore people should adapt their practice to the situation at Iowara. Maximus warned that the conversion of forest to grassland inside the Iowara boundary would eventually cause famine, flight outside of Iowara, and forced return to people's places of origin in Irian Jaya.

Three quarters of the refugees at Iowara were dependent on subsistence crop production before they left Irian Jaya (Preston 1992:852). Many Muyu people were previously reliant on subsistence strategies that could not be practiced at East Awin: the gathering of uncultivated plants (seasonal fruits, berries, nuts, flower buds, palm hearts), the hunting of edible insects and small animals (grubs, larvae, ants, spiders, grasshoppers, frogs, fish, prawns, lizards and birds), as well as wild pig, cassowary, cuscus, iguana, snakes and bats (Kirsch 1991:201). Bananas and sago were said to leave people feeling hungry for meat and fat, whereas the rainforest was described as a place of abundance, where a person's hunger can be satisfied (*ibid.*). At Iowara, game was quickly hunted to the point of extinction and hunting beyond the boundary required permission from the landowners.

Muyu people's customary practice of shifting cultivation was hindered by the restricted area at Iowara. Shifting cultivation practices sustainable in extensive forest areas with small populations, were not sustainable where several thousand people were relocated within a few months to a restricted area.⁵⁴ In the gardens at Iowara, at least two crops were planted before fallowed to become low woody regrowth, compared with only one planting for

⁵⁴ For many Muyu people living in the border camps in Western Province, their garden area is also restricted and exhausted after 15 years of continuous planting. There is little possibility of extending the gardening area because of conflicts with the landowners (Lutz and Hansen 2000).

surrounding areas. Fallow periods of 12 months were considerably shorter than the 15 years observed in surrounding areas (Allen et al. 1993:79). In their own region and in the border camps, most Muyu people relied on sago for the bulk of their calories. In the absence of sago at Iowara, green banana had become the main carbohydrate staple. Bananas were categorised as a wasteful crop i.e., productivity was high in the first year and then declined rapidly, compared with peanuts and sweet potatoes planted in rotation, or other vegetables that could be planted in old gardens. Other crops at Iowara included Chinese taro and taro, pumpkin, snake beans, cucumbers, kangkung (leafy green), aibika, lowland pit pit, corn, pawpaw, pineapples and up to twenty varieties of banana.⁵⁵

The 1997 drought

What is the use of being thirsty and hungry in another place in a time of drought? (aphorism at Iowara)

Experiences of the (island-wide) drought and bushfires in 1997 invoked memories of Muyu people's abundant *dusun* in Irian Jaya. Camps at Iowara were all but abandoned in this period as people followed landowners into the forest beyond the Iowara boundary to harvest sago. The right to harvest forest sago was purchased from the landowners for a price of 50 kina (\$A35) per tree or 100 kina for a large tree. Some people claimed they could not bargain because they were mere refugees dealing with the landowners. Others claimed they were given another tree at no additional cost. Some families purchased trees themselves, others did so in groups.⁵⁶ Some people complained that many of the trees had no substance or yield. Others claimed that to say a sago tree had no substance whatsoever was false, rather, it may be said that one tree may yield less than another.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ A post-drought field study conducted at Iowara in August 2000 sponsored by OTML, concluded that refugees faced a bleak future at Iowara from a perspective of food production (Askin 2000).

⁵⁶ For example, the Wamena Baptist church at Iowara spent 450 kina of church funds to purchase nine sago trees. At Atkamba, the *komite* negotiated an arrangement with landowners to allow villagers to fell and mattock sago trees, and divide the flour with the tree's owners as compensation.

⁵⁷ According to Maximus, a sago tree's content may be deduced from signs: the *pelepah* or palm leaf's broadrib will be open and bowed toward the ground, and the trunk's girth will be wide. Another test is to chip away a small piece of bark exposing sago pith that is subsequently chewed and spat onto a leaf. A white colour indicates a high yield. It is commonly understood that an uncultivated tree will produce less flour.

The song below reveals the drought invoking memories of one's own place and sago *dusun*. Categorised as a song of yearning (*lagu kerinduan*), "The Sago song" was recounted by a Muyu woman at Iowara who did not transcribe the song verbatim, instead offering a paraphrased version.

Thinking of [my] region, the sago *dusun* / With yearning recalling in my heart [the seat of emotion], thinking of the sago gardens in [my] region / Here there is hunger; there is no sago, fruits and vegetables are just for the time being / When the hot season comes then food becomes scarce because of the heat, scorched / Gradually our strength fades, we perish from hunger / Searching for food, entering [the forest] to look for sago anywhere and everywhere in the forest / Until there are some who fall sick in the forest, taken back to the village and die / Hungry, searching for sago, travelling far / Old people have no energy, fall sick, die / In the last dry season we experienced one mother in our village, die.⁵⁸

The drought conditions revealed Muyu people's vulnerability in a place where there was no perennial sago, and where gathering forest food was also restricted. Seasonal vegetables and fruits were contingent, perishing quickly in a dry season. The song's narrator spoke of states of hunger and survival affected by the absence and presence of sago. She remembered her place as a place of sago, and in her state of hunger sickness recalled the abundance of sago with longing, her *hati* or seat of emotion, touched. During the drought, people travelled deep into the forest beyond the Iowara boundary, forced to search for sago arbitrarily. Their intimacy with their own place, recalled as a reliable place, would never allow or require this. At Iowara however, landowners' proscription of food gathering beyond the camp boundary, rendered the deep forest territory to be foreign.

In another instance, an old woman's death was interpreted as a yearning for sago, commonly understood as a metaphor for homesickness. The date July 25 was circled on Saul's calendar, marked with the word *duka* meaning grief. Saul's description of the circumstances of his wife's mother's death follow. The family had gone into the forest to cut firewood and harvest peanuts but the old woman returned in daylight, in order to negotiate her way through the darker spots in the forest. Insisting on carrying one of her great-grandchildren so that she would not return empty-handed, she tripped and fell

⁵⁸ *Pikir daerah dusun sago / Idam ingat dalam hati pikir dusun sago di daerah / Di sini lapar tidak ada makanan sago, buah-buah sementara / Kalau musim panas datang nanti makanan habis, karena panas nanti hangus / Akan-akan tidak bisa kuat, kita mati lapar cari makan / Masuk cari sago sembarang-sembarang di hutan / Sampai ada yg jatuh sakit di hutan, bawa masuk ke kampung dan mati / Lapar cari sago jalan jauh / Orang tua tidak ada tenaga dapat sakit meninggal / Baru-baru musim kering kita alami Mama satu di kampung meninggal.*

during the journey home and immediately died. Saul explained: “She did not want to eat bananas or potatoes only sago. Every day she would ask if there was any sago. She died from ‘hunger’ (*kelaparan*) and ‘yearning’ (*kerinduan*) for sago.”⁵⁹

The old woman’s fall and sudden death was explained by her son-in-law according to a logic of unbearable yearning. The cause of her death became his projection and pre-occupation, and in our conversation, he used the narrative to foreground his most recent efforts to repatriate residents of his camp at Iowara back to their village in the Muyu region. The son-in-law explained that Muyu people from the south ate sago at every meal, they even ate sago ‘by itself’ (*kosong*). If a person yearns to return to their homeland but cannot, their death may be induced by their yearning to eat sago. In this example, consumption of sago is represented metaphorically as being ‘at home’.⁶⁰

(Dis)simulating sago

A young woman at Iowara explained to me that she had heard on the village self-sufficiency program broadcast from Jakarta on RRI (*Radio Republik Indonesia*), instructions on how to make *papeda*⁶¹ from grated cassava in the hard times of the ‘monetary crisis’ (*krismon*). She exclaimed delightedly: “Java is behind with the news!”⁶² This decentralising tale reveals the ‘backward’ eastern periphery practicing something long before the center (represented as Java) discovers it, and subsequently tries to teach the periphery what it already knows. There is irony here too. It was claimed that

⁵⁹ Writing in the context of the Southern Highlands of PNG, Ballard makes the point that famine or hunger may be phrased in terms of a lack of the staple or ideal crop, even in the instance of abundance of other crops (1995).

⁶⁰ Kirsch (1996a:226-227) has written about Muyu despair caused by social disruption such as living outside of one’s own place. Translated into Yonggom as ‘*iwari*,’ Kirsch recorded an elderly Muyu refugee’s lament: “I am an old man. I came here by myself and I have no family with me. I am alone (*iwari*). Just look at my body; I am no longer strong. I am short of breath, so I don’t leave my house. I just sit inside all day long. I have no sons or daughters, no brothers or sisters. In the morning I wake up and make a fire ... and wait to see whether anyone will bring me food. I will stay here and die; they will bury me here.”

⁶¹ *Papeda* is a foodstuff made from sago flour that has been soaked and strained. Boiling water is then added, transforming the paste into a stiff, opaque jelly flavoured with meat or fish juices.

⁶² *Jawa ketinggalan berita!*

previously, Javanese people considered the Irian staple *papeda* to be like eating glue.⁶³



Figure 5. Grating cassava to resemble sago.

The processing of cassava to imitate sago at Iowara is contained in the following three expressions: “[cassava] changed to become sago”, “to resemble the taste of *papeda* because I usually eat this” and “I want to eat the

⁶³ Jan Pouwer recalled a Kei person’s claim that Mimika spoke such poor Malay because they could not open their mouths to enunciate properly due to the sticky sago they ate (Pouwer 1999:163). Contained in this comment and the one in the text, is the implicit valuation that sago consumption represents primitive ‘taste’.

same as there.”⁶⁴ Muyu people processed cassava to make flour used in *papeda*. They described *papeda* made from cassava flour as simply an imitation of authentic *papeda* made from sago flour. In their view, sago could not be simulated. Among Muyu people, sago’s dissimulation may have less to do with its appearance or representation and more to do with its place in Muyu social and cultural life, particularly the rituals associated with sago cultivation: felling of a sago tree, the day-long journey to the site, choosing a tree that may have been planted by someone who had since passed away, working collectively on the task of processing pith to become flour (felling, mattocking, water flushing and squeezing), then wrapping the flour in order to carry it home, and finally, reaching one’s village both fatigued and restored by the sago expedition.

For most northerners at Waraston who were previously urban dwellers, sago was a staple food that some people mentioned as distinguishing West Papuans from Javanese and other non-eastern Indonesians. Some adults retained memories of processing sago in their village as children, and as young adults when visiting their village from town. In an urban setting however, people acquired sago by purchasing flour in the market, or through relatives living in the village. At Iowara, northerners processed cassava to make *papeda*. Some claimed that *papeda* made from cassava rather than sago flour was preferable because it did not produce indigestion. However, sago production in coastal villages was still the subject of memory, and the term ‘cassava sago’ sustained northerners’ memory of sago.

Theory of simulation is revealing in the situation of displacement where absent materials become the object of imitation. Some things are not able to be simulated, other things may become ‘simulacrum’.⁶⁵ In spite of the proximity of Muyu people to their own *dusun* or territory, their experience of displacement at Iowara was partly mediated through their sense of absence and loss in relation to sago.

⁶⁴ There are other instances of sago simulation in New Guinea. East Sepik people who resettled to West New Britain in the late 1960s and early 1970s as part of an oil palm resettlement scheme along with Chimbu and Tolai people, processed the pith of the fishtail palm (*Caryota rumphi na*) to imitate sago (pers comm. Mike Bourke 2000).

⁶⁵ This draws on Baudrillard’s writing (1994) to explore the meaning of cassava processed to resemble sago. Baudrillard’s approach can be used to examine people’s efforts to reproduce material objects in a situation of displacement. Baudrillard posits simulation not as pretense, but rather as unsettling the difference between the true and the false, the real and the imaginary (1994:3). Whereas dissimulation is pretense, leaving the principal of reality intact, and the difference is always clear, simply masked. Baudrillard describes the process of becoming simulacrum in terms of precession. An image shifts from being a good appearance to playing at being an appearance to no longer being in the order of appearances, but rather, simulacrum (1994: 6).

A cassava dance

At a performance celebrating the anniversary of the patron saint of the Yogi-Dome Catholic church at Iowara, some members of the congregation performed the progressive Muyu dance called *ketmom* (Y). The dancing was a procession of vignettes. One of these vignettes comprised a man holding a cassava grater, a flattened milk powder can, its coarse surface made by nail holes. His partner meanwhile performed the 'wringing' (*ramas*) action necessary to squeeze the sediment from the grated cassava pulp. The father of the brother-sister duo enacting the cassava vignette commented: "It is about wringing cassava. We live at Iowara where cassava has become our staple food, replacing sago." It is in relation to the other vignettes that cassava production is located as another everyday practice at Iowara. These vignettes included: 'combing hair' (a man held a mirror tilting it so that his female partner could view her hair while combing - every morning the face must be washed and the hair combed before going to school or work); 'sweeping' (a woman made sweeping movements with a broom made from the spines or ribs of coconut palm leaves - every morning the yard and house ought to be swept) and 'planting paddy' (a man and woman stooped low as though to plant paddy by hand - in the Muyu region, men and women plant rice and pound it by hand).⁶⁶ The inclusion of 'cassava sago' as a practice of everyday life alongside the other vignettes (combing/sweeping/planting) suggested that it had become habitual practice at Iowara. However, its character as signifier was preserved in the man's comment about cassava 'replacing sago'.

A cassava song

During the Catholic Bishop's visit to Iowara to officiate in confirmation rituals in August 1999, several youth and women's church groups performed songs and dances including "The Cassava Song" in the Yonggom language.

Every day I am fed up with eating cassava living at Iowara, hungry,
hungry / We want to return home to the place where we eat sago / Those
of us here want to return soon to our place / The afternoon bird has

⁶⁶ The explanation of the third vignette 'planting paddy' identifies the practice with Muyu territory in Irian Jaya. However, at Iowara several Muyu farmers at Kuiu and Weski camps successfully planting dry rice fields. The narrator may have been referring to the absence of paddy in his own camp at Iowara.

called therefore we want to return to our place / Here is not our place of origin, our place of origin is where the sun goes down.⁶⁷

In this song, consumption of cassava marks Muyu displacement. In spite of the availability of cassava, appetites remain unsatiated. In the lyrics, cassava is not mentioned as cassava sago, it is only in the subsequent line 'we want to return home to our sago place' that the connection is made implicit. The song uses two images popular in songs of yearning at Iowara. The Muyu region is represented as the western horizon, as though there is nothing further west than Muyu place. The moment when the sun finally sets bringing dusk,⁶⁸ is made poignant by the exclamation: "O! our place is over there" (*Aduh! Kami punya daerah di sana*). The sound of the afternoon bird's call, examined earlier in this chapter, reminds the listener of its identical call in their own place.

MAINTAINING RELATIONS BETWEEN IOWARA AND MUYU *DUSUN*

Several practices maintained Muyu people's relations with their places of origin in spite of their location at Iowara, considered to be 'outside'. These practices include mapping *dusun* in order to familiarise sons born or raised outside, granting rights of use to a caretaker in order to maintain one's rights of ownership of *dusun*, and the practice of naming which ascribes *dusun* and other entitlements to a child. Each of these practices anticipates eventual return.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ *Setiap hari saya bosan makan cassabe tinggal di Iowara, lapar lapar / Kami mau pulang ke daerah makan sago / Kami yg disini mau cepat pulang ke daerah / Burung sore sudah bersuara maka mau pulang ke daerah / Di sini bukan kami punya tempat asalnya, kami punya tempat asal di mana matahari turun.*

⁶⁸ A northerner similarly explained the setting of the sun as evocative: "When the sun sets here, I am reminded of watching the setting of the sun there. I remember the trees radiant in its glow and fish playing on the water's surface. I remember my place with deep sorrow."

⁶⁹ There were instances of Muyu people returning and remaining apparently by choice, outside of their own *dusun*. In 1986, thirty-four families were resettled at a transmigration site at Tanah Miring near Merauke and given the status of *translokal*. The Jayapura Diocese reported in 1998 that almost half of the families had left the site seeking better opportunities but had not returned to their own *dusun*: six families had been assigned to new places as civil servants, other families shifted to Merauke town for education opportunities, and others moved to the neighbouring Muting-Asiki area for economic opportunities. In relation to the matter of *dusun*, the report noted: "Although the returnees have settled down in the transmigration site, they are keenly aware of the fact that they still own traditional land (*dusun*) 'at home'. The rights on this land are watched carefully and normally taken care of by relatives on the spot. If needed they will travel to their land if there is a need to arrange

Mapping *dusun*

A father may illustrate the boundaries, topography and biography of his abandoned *dusun*:

I drew a map of my *dusun* for my youngest son. I carried him here as a small child in 1984. He has no recollection of his *dusun*. I explained to him the name of the *dusun*, the watersheds, the rivers and sago swamp. I told him places with other names that he must not disturb because these are owned by someone else. I told him about the places of *kenari* trees and three deep river pools. I told him where his own share lies in relation to his brothers inside of the family *dusun*. I advised him that there is no point in making a garden on the hilly part, the low-lying ground is the most fertile and can grow rice paddy and mung beans. I told him of the forbidden places above a waterfall. If he goes to that place he may be cursed, that place will not ever bring fortune, but rather barrenness and sickness (Isaak).

Isaak explained that he would tell his young son to approach particular *dusun* neighbours and request that they inform him of the 'markers' (*tanda*) of their own *dusun*. Later, Isaak would quiz him about the neighbour's commentary, confirming or disputing their claims. In an instance of oral *dusun* mapping at Iowara, Isaak described the way a dying man might counsel his sons:

If a man should not die suddenly and takes to a deathbed, he will give a final counsel about the division of his 'property' (*harta*) namely, *dusun*. He will advise his sons not to seize one another's land but to work together and avoid conflict. A dying father's final counsel will also detail once again the boundaries of the *dusun* and within this, the boundaries of each son's portion. He will map these boundaries again mindful of his son's lack of familiarity with his *dusun*.

Dusun was also mentioned as the material foundation or basis (*dasar*) of existence:

When the time comes for us to stand alone we will be compelled to return. We only arrived here [i.e., it is only a transitory phase]. But my origin is over there, the land of my parents and their parents and their parents; the land of my forefathers. Gardens have been planted and bequeathed over and over. This is the *dasar* upon which my own sons will return. It must be 'pointed out' (*tunjuk*) to them: these are your orchards of perennial trees: sago, rubber, rambutan, coconut, breadfruit, *matoa*, *ketapang*, *kenari*, *pandanus*, areca nut, rose-apple and mango. All

something. They feel quite secure as to their rights and therefore there is hardly any eagerness to move back to their village" (1998:23).

of these were planted by your own grandparents. This is your 'wealth' (*kekayaan*) and 'property' (*harta*) (Arnold).

The narrator of this passage claimed that his name, and his lineage of the same name were perceived by emplaced Muyu to exist in a 'condition of flight' (*dalam lari*), for "without *dusun* there is no foundation."⁷⁰ Here, *dusun* place is memorialising and identifying, telling "who and what we are in terms of where we are" (Casey 1992:xv).

Installing a *dusun* caretaker

'Right of use' (*hak pakai*) meant a person was allowed provisional rights to harvest sago and to hunt on another person's land. 'Right of ownership' (*hak milik*) meant that rights were 'bequeathed' (*diwariskan*) to descendants, and occupation was unconditional. A descendant's right of ownership was considered to be an 'agreement' (*janji*), like a covenant or pact that was 'legal' (*sah*). For Muyu people, rights to *dusun* were divided according to lineages of descent from the original shared male ancestor. An absent family's shareholding may be cared for by another family and this arrangement may be referred to as 'right of care' (*hak jaga*).

Some family members had intentionally returned from Iowara to Irian Jaya in order to look after their lineage's *dusun*. Since 1984 when Isaak's entire village fled into PNG, landowners had installed 'caretakers' (*penjaga*) or 'representation' (*perwakilan*) on their *dusun* along the Waropko-Mindiptana Road. On behalf of absent owners, caretakers had fixed stakes along the road's edge and built houses visible from the road so that *dusun* appeared to be occupied. Isaak claimed that the Indonesian government considered his area as an ideal transmigration location as it comprised Kau riverflat country, its black fertile soil ideal for cultivating rice, peanuts and fruits.

In spite of flight, *dusun* boundaries had been carefully measured and noted by neighbours. People could not enter a *dusun* in an arbitrary manner but ought to do so through the caretaker. A caretaker was a pragmatic arrangement in other senses too. One man claimed that if he did not allow right of use, or right of care to a male relative living within walking distance of his *dusun*, then it would revert to overgrown forest. This man allowed his relative to fell sago on the condition that he cleared the area so that a replacement sucker would grow.

⁷⁰ *Tanpa dusun, tidak ada dasar.*

Depending on the circumstances, absence from one's *dusun* could diminish a person's claim to ownership. Isaak used the metaphor of 'thinning' (*menjadi tipis*) to describe the effect of absence on ownership. Inversely, a caretaker's rights could increase with the passing of time, manifest in his reluctance to relinquish his rights in the event of the landholder's return. Kirsch (1991:15) noted that among the Muyu, distribution of land rights to non-agnates was flexible; in the instance of land surplus, usufruct may be granted to a friend, affine or person from another area. Continued use of land may effect full ownership, but it was more likely that full ownership and lineage membership would be installed in their descendants. Muyu people at Iowara claimed that in some cases, an absent person may lose his rights to organise his *dusun*, and upon returning could not 'force' (*paksa*) his authority over the caretaker.⁷¹ The relation between caretaker and landowner was not without tension, and was perceived to be caught up in other political manoeuvring.⁷² The following parable was told by a Muyu person at Iowara of the risk of absence from one's *dusun*:

A Muyu person stayed behind in order to look after another person's *dusun* at the time of flight. Subsequently, the actual *dusun* owner returned from Iowara and sought to re-establish his full rights of ownership. The caretaker reacted by reporting the returnee to the Indonesian military, claiming him to be an OPM member.

Naming practices enshrining history and territory⁷³

Naming can align a child to the place and kin of its parents, in spite of the child's birth and raising outside. Naming can also historicise flight by referring to the physical, social and political circumstances of the child's birth. In this way, events of flight and exile are incorporated into Muyu and other

⁷¹ Referring to the version that entire Muyu villages fled, the Jayapura Diocese Secretariat's report on the situation of Muyu returnees stated there were no 'special problems' of the returnees integrating back with the people that stayed behind as the population of the villages consisted exclusively of returnees (1998:13).

⁷² Contrasting antagonism between absentee landowners and resident caretakers, a Tanahmerahan man at Iowara claimed that people from his village of origin living at Iowara were still considered present: "Although we are 'outside' (*di luar*), we remain counted in the village census; we have not been 'erased' (*dihapuskan*) as members of the congregation. The village head regrets our absence. He will be thinking of us here as 'my people' (*saya punya rakyat*)."⁷³ This man perceived fellow villagers to understand his absence as only provisional.

⁷³ This section extends examples of naming practice to northerner peoples and Dani at Iowara. Children's names tie them to their parents' distant place of origin.

people's histories. Children at Iowara were ordinarily given three names: the first name mentioned as Christian (*serani*),⁷⁴ the second or 'native name' (*asli*), and the last name referred to as a lineage name that may also mention the place of the lineage (*fam*). Origin - territory and genealogy - was usually inscribed in the second and third name.

Some Muyu children had been given a second name, invariably drawn from the local language of the child's parents, that mentioned the state of displacement that made the circumstance of birth difficult. In the Muyu language, Mitikim referred to a child born in darkness during flight; Kiri or Kirikup mentioned a child born during the journey of flight in 1984; Wanguwangu was the name given to a child born in a temporary or provisional place or settlement; Kiriwain recalled unassisted birth in a place far from one's place of origin and far from one's own parents; and Benandim meaning 'with nothing' (*hanya kosong saja*) recalled birth on the bare ground - without so much as material to wrap the child with, or a string bag to carry it in.

Benandim's mother explained naming as historicising practice: "When people ask why this daughter has the name Benandim, I will explain the destitute circumstances of her birth." Benandim's mother imagined returning to her place of origin and explaining to people there, her child's name and the circumstances of birth contained in the name. Another child was given the name Octaviana recalling her birth month October. Relating the child's name, the mother explained: "October was the month we shifted from the West Papuan side in the direction of PNG."

People from Serui and Biak living at Waraston mentioned the second name as a 'customary name' (*nama adat*) or 'name of the land/country' (*nama tanah*). A place name functioned to "point out one's place of origin" or "the land where he/she is" or "where my ancestors were born." A place name may refer to a generic landscape form, or to a particular place. The name Barrisen referred to the waves that characteristically pound the north Biak coast, directly locating the bearer originating from there. At Iowara, a father named his son Barrisen for its analogous meaning. At the time of his son's birth, the political situation in Irian Jaya was "still in upheaval, struggle, waves, not yet calm".⁷⁵ Waterborne or drifting was another metaphor for displacement. A

⁷⁴ *Nama serani* were sometimes chosen to express opposition: Papua, Papuanus, Papuana, Melanipa (shortened version of Melanesia Papua), Melan, Melania (short for Melanesia), Markus (in reference to the OPM bases (*markas*) on the northern border). Names that recalled flight and exile included Refi (short for refugee), Refo (short for revolution), Ungsiana (from the root word *ungsi* meaning to flee), Manuel (meaning 'much grief [in our exile] but God has accompanied us'), Insoraki/Mansorak (meaning born in the time of revolution or battle in the Biak language).

⁷⁵ *Masih pergolakan - perjuangan, gelombang, belum tenang.*

child of Biak parents born at Blackwater camp, Vanimo, was named Adorbari by his grandfather. In the Biak language, *ador* means driftwood or hollow coconut shell taken by the tide, floating on the sea following any current; its mooring point and time indefinite. *Bari* means 'pity' (*kasihan*). The child's mother explained to me that her father named his first-born grandchild to record the family's displacement. At the time, deportation, resettlement or third country asylum were equally possible. Like Biak people referring to a coastal landscape form, Dani people at Iowara named their children recalling particular landscape features like mountains, rivers, large rock outcrops and stone mountain faces from the parent's village of origin in the Baliem Valley. This was explained: "If Mama and Bapa die at Iowara their children will also remember their parents' place of origin."⁷⁶

The third name or *nama fam* mentions a lineage name ordinarily derived from an ancestor or a place, 'installing rights in land' (*kasih hak*) in the bearer. Among north coast people, *nama fam* may mention an animal or plant or object believed to be the 'source' (*asal-usul*) from which the lineage descended. A distinction may be drawn between an acquired and ascribed *nama fam*. A person may comment: "They have this other lineage name, but actually they originate from here."⁷⁷ Others claimed *nama fam* to be 'unchangeable' (*tetap*). A lineage name locates the bearer, informing others: "This person is from here" or in a mixed Malay/Pidgin phrase heard at Iowara: "You are from this family [therefore] you have this land/place."⁷⁸

One Muyu person, pointing out the significance of naming and territory, explained that *nama fam* had been used as the basis of identification for landowners and recipients of compensation from OTML (Ok Tedi Mining Limited). Royalties were paid to people whose lineage name corresponded with a land boundary identifying them as claimants. This example provides a neat concluding analogy to this section: the imperative to maintain a relation with one's *dusun* - even from afar - as the material basis for Muyu existence.

Muyu experiences of exile at Iowara were mediated by the precedent of easterly flight, proximity of their own *dusun*, and connections maintained to that *dusun*, as well as dependence on a subsistence livelihood. It was perhaps because of proximity to their region that Muyu displacement at Iowara was experienced poignantly. The absence of sago and *dusun*, and restrictions on mobility, hunting and fishing, coupled with the recent experience of the

⁷⁶ *Kalau mama dan bapa mati di sini anak-anak juga akan ingat.*

⁷⁷ *Dia punya nama fam tapi dia sebenarnya berasal dari sini.*

⁷⁸ *Yu dari keluarga ini, yu punya tanah ini.*

drought at Iowara, invoked nostalgia. Return was impelled by experiences at Iowara conceived as dystopic, affecting the projection of Muyu places of origin in utopic terms. It was not however a whimsical nostalgia. Rather, it was about the absence and yearning for their own ancestral *dusun* and sago: the things that defined their lives and were meaningful to them.

There are similarities between displaced Muyu whose loss of *dusun* is revocable, and other (PNG) Yonggom speakers whose traditional river land and cosmological world has been irreversibly disturbed by mining pollution. Kirsch has written of the Yonggom landscape damaged by the impact of the Ok Tedi copper and gold mine, affecting Yonggom people's perspectives on place and time. Mine tailings and waste material have transformed local places, displacing memory, and disrupting religious beliefs and practices. Silting has erased traces of the past, producing a "scene of loss" (Kirsch:in press). For Muyu people, it is their displacement from their own productive and meaningful *dusun* that generates Iowara as a scene of loss.

The planned repatriation of a Muyu village at Iowara to their *dusun(s)* of origin in Irian Jaya, is one of several studies contained in the next chapter which explores the primacy of timing in the event of return.

6. Returning to the homeland with result (*pulang dengan hasil*)

And at this moment in camp there are no changes apart from several refugees who wish to return like Blackwater camp and parts of Wamena 2, Mamberamo, Dome 1 and 2, Telefolmin and Yapsie. Yeah, what can anyone do? However their repatriation does not diminish the desire of the Papuan people for *merdeka*. Because that is usual, just the same as in the country of West Papua. [The rest of us] are not really affected by their repatriation plan. Because in fact they are not political refugees like us who still hold out at Iowara camp as well as in various camps the length of the border of West Papua and PNG to the east. Why? Only with *merdeka* will we return home to West Papua the homeland. I am certain that GOD is JUST and Almighty. And at that moment the POWER of GOD will assist us, the people of West Papua to be free and independent (Letter from a northerner at Iowara dated June 29, 2000; original emphasis).¹

West Papuans live in exile at Iowara under the assumption of teleological or eventual return to the homeland. They generate Iowara as a dwelling place through their socialising, inscribing and domesticating activities, in spite of their understanding of the place to be mid-journey to their trajectory of return to Irian Jaya.² Those West Papuans whose political ideology accords with the idea of

¹ *Dan saat ini kemp tidak ada perubahan cuma ada beberapa pengungsi yang ingin pulang seperti camp Blackwater dan sebagian dari Wamena 2, Mamberamo, Dome I, II, Telefolmin dan Yapsie. Yah apa boleh buat. Namun pemulangan mereka tidak dapat mengurangi hati orang Papua untuk merdeka. Karena hal itu sudah biasa, lagi pula, di dalam negeri PB. Tidak terlalu pengaruh dengan rencana pemulangan mereka karena memang mereka bukan pengungsi politik seperti kami yang masih bertahan tetap di camp Iowara maupun di berbagai kemp disepanjang perbatasan. Papua Barat dan PNG (timor). Karena apa? Kecuali merdeka itu baru kami akan pulang ke tanah air Papua Barat. Saya yakin bahwa TUHAN itu ADIL dan berkuasa. Dan ini saatnya KUASAH TUHAN AKAN menolong kami orang PB, untuk bebas dan merdeka.*

² Compare with Rakova's (1988) survey of the citizenship aspirations of 248 West Papuan refugees living in Lae, Port Moresby, Madang and other towns in 1988. These West Papuans crossed into PNG mainly in the 1960s and 1970s with some also crossing after 1985 (but not settling at Blackwater). Particularly interesting are Rakova's figures that approximately 50% of West Papuans living in the towns mentioned had 'blood relatives' in PNG (Vanimo, Daru and other places), and that of the 248 respondents, 199 claimed they were interested in taking up

holding out until the moment of *merdeka*, generate Iowara as a dwelling place in order that they can endure exile in Papua New Guinea until the 'right' moment of return to Irian Jaya. Thus the cultivation of Iowara is reconciled with a political imperative. In contrast, Muyu people tend not to be aligned with political factions at Iowara and their yearning to return, although heightened by proximity to their own place and their dependence on a productive landscape, is hampered by their fear of incrimination by both Indonesian soldiers and the OPM, and the vulnerable border location of their region. Muyu people's vacillations do not imply irresoluteness, but rather, the graveness of their predicament.

This chapter moves beyond practices of dwelling at Iowara in the period leading to return, to focus on the nature of return to Irian Jaya. The relation between return and millennialism, and the way that Christian faith underwrites refugee belief in the possibility of *merdeka*, and therefore the possibility of return, is central to an understanding of teleological return. The timing of return was expressed philosophically by northerner, Muyu, and Dani peoples at Iowara as 'returning home with result' or 'returning home with expected result realised' (*pulang dengan hasil*).³ The fact of desired return and the primacy of timing are explored in relation to the conditions of the program of repatriation or permissive residency, offered by the Indonesian and PNG governments assisted by UNHCR in 1998. The perception held by some refugees of permissive residency as a program to compel repatriation, provides insight into the uses of history by refugees at Iowara.

The second part of the chapter examines actual plans and events of repatriation in terms of the imperative to return with result. These events include the proposed return of a Muyu group at Iowara impelled by the prospect of 'development' (*pembangunan*) in their village of origin in Irian Jaya, the return of the West Papuan Indigenous People's Association (WPIA) membership led by a northerner described as a Moses figure, and the return of Marind people at Suki camp seduced by the promise of a new millennium bringing forth *merdeka*. The chapter concludes with an account of northerner desire to relocate from Iowara back to the north coast as permissive residents.

PNG citizenship, 35 were not interested and 14 were already citizens. These figures dramatically contrast the aspirations of refugees at Iowara who claimed disinterest in permanent citizenship. We might speculate on the different political and economic motivations of refugees who have left Iowara for other places in PNG, and those who remain at Iowara.

³ Note that *pulang* means 'return home' while the word *kembali* simply means 'return'.

TELEOLOGY OF RETURN AND PERMISSIVE RESIDENCY/REPATRIATION

Exile, return and Christian religiosity⁴

Our West Papuan future viewed in 'worldly terms' (*secara manusia*) is too heavy (*berat*). We no longer feel capable of liberating ourselves. Our only hope is in 'spiritual terms' (*secara rohani*). If the new Indonesian government and Constitution rejects *merdeka* for West Papua, we view this as our last, final hope. It will mark the time for God's 'action or measure' (*tindakan*); a miracle (*mukjizat*). We must reject military means. We must humble ourselves before God and confess our inability and ask for forgiveness (Obeth, northerner from Blackwater camp at Iowara, August 1999).

There is an explicit connection between Christian faith that inspires refugees to trust in their own liberation, and refugees' faith in their ultimate return to a place considered as their West Papuan homeland. Christian faith also ensured the salvation of those who fled Irian Jaya to PNG.⁵ Among West Papuans, the church is described as an emancipatory institution; a pillar or buffer in the journey of the Papuan nation, and a last bastion bringing new hope to a people faced with a rigid state order (Giay 2000:59-60). According to West Papuan theologian and scholar Benny Giay, West Papuan people hear the Bible according to what they want to hear, and the church both absorbs the peoples' aspirations for freedom, and is itself

⁴ This section has benefited from many conversations with Father Jacques Gros in the field and throughout the period of writing.

⁵ A Dani woman's narrative of flight from the Baliem Valley to Papua New Guinea in the period 1977-79 is contained in appendix 3. The narrative shows to be not incongruous, Dani belief in animals (the bat, mountain dog and dragon snake or *ular naga*) as 'landlord spirits' (*tuan tanah*), as well as their belief in a Christian God. Both landlord spirits and God ensured Dani salvation during the period of flight. The discovery of food such as human-size fish, which broke periods of famine, and many other aspects of the journey, are represented in miraculous terms. A song written by Luther Pagawak categorised as a 'song of oath' (*lagu sumpah*) refers to the time of Dani flight to Mamberamo during the war in the Baliem Valley in 1977. A local pastor asked his congregation whether they would surrender to Indonesia or return to the forest in order to continue the struggle. People declared their willingness to sacrifice their life to the struggle. The pastor declared an oath that their life and death would now be in the hands of God. Pagawak's song follows: Whether in a forest, in a cave or anywhere (*Biar di hutan di gua di mana saja*) / It is all God's (*Tuhan punya semua*) / Death and life is in the hands of God (*Biar mati, hidup di tangan Tuhan*).

a source of inspiration based on the perception that God supports liberation (2000:60).⁶ Additionally, the Bible allows congregations to imagine a world free of trickery, intimidation and trauma; the Bible is a window onto another world identified by some as a liberated West Papua (Giay 2000:61).⁷ Giay acknowledges that the church and fellow theologians may argue that such an explanation and interpretation of the Bible cannot be confirmed or even allowed. But even if this is the case, for many colonised West Papuans their interpretation stands as their truth, and the church and the biblical text constitute pillars of their struggle (2000:62-63).⁸ Giay proposes that the biblical text gives hope to a repressed and struggling society:

In such a situation, Papuans unconsciously and unintentionally identify themselves and their experiences and struggles with the experiences of the nation of Israel that fled from Egypt. Because every person/group in society reads the Bible through their own lens. Meaning, the biblical text gives radiant light and renewed spirit to the struggle for peoples' emancipation from the shackles of trauma and ideology restricting their steps (2000:61).⁹

Many people at Iowara were familiar with the Old Testament's Book of Exodus, depicting the archetypal flight of the Israelites out of Egypt, across the Red Sea to the desert of Sinai where they wandered for forty years before crossing the Jordan

⁶ Timmer has described Imyan (Bird's Head region, Irian Jaya) eschatology to be more transparent still. The Imyan anticipate that the Second Coming of Jesus will bring wealth and prosperity to West Papua; re-establishing the previous order of the world when Papuans possessed knowledge and power and were at the center of the world: "...Imyan equate 'merdeka' ('freedom') with *berkat* [blessing]" (2000:300).

⁷ This formulation is similar to a reading of Kijne's '*Kota Emas*' where the heavenly City of Gold is understood analogously as a liberated West Papua.

⁸ Giay recounts (2000:62-63) the story of a resistance fighter who was challenged by a pastor to surrender. The man responded that the pastor had forgotten God's pledge contained in the following three Psalms: "For the needy shall not always be forgotten, nor the hope of the poor perish forever" (Psalm 9:18), "O Lord you will hear the desire of the meek, you will strengthen their heart, you will incline your ear, to do justice for the orphan and the oppressed, so that those from earth may strike terror no more" (Psalm 10:17-18), and "Because the poor are despoiled, because the needy groan, I will now rise up," says the Lord; "I will place them in the safety for which they belong" (Psalm 12:6).

⁹ *Dalam situasi demikian, orang Papua tanpa sadar dan tanpa disengaja, mengidentifikasi diri mereka dan pengalamannya dan perjuangannya dengan pengalaman bangsa Israel keluar dari Mesir. Karena setiap orang/kelompok masyarakat membaca Kitab Suci dengan kaca matanya. Artinya teks Kitab Suci itu memberi cahaya dan semangat baru bagi perjuangan emansipasi masyarakat dari belenggu trauma dan ideologi yang membatasi gerak langkah mereka.*

River to occupy the 'Promised Land'. Sermons at Iowara contained passages from the narrative of Jewish exile lifted from 2 Kings, Ezekiel and Jeremiah, and teleological return to the 'Promised Land' in Joshua. According to the biblical narrative, the entire generation of adult Israelites who had left Egypt died in the desert. It was the second generation that crossed the Jordan River to enter the Promised Land led by Joshua, and were subsequently deported to Babylon where they experienced a second period of exile (some returned again to the Promised Land and others then formed the Jewish diaspora). Exodus was a popular source of sermon in all of the churches.¹⁰ It was paraphrased as a motif about "people's yearning to return to or re-possess their place: every human being yearns for their land of birth." People would mention Moses' liberation of enslaved Israelites in Egypt in everyday conversation.¹¹ Like Israelites circling in the Sinai desert, West Papuan refugees are close but cannot return.¹²

Christian faith was inextricably caught up in political life at Iowara where the object of exile was political, as well as personal, salvation. Faith in God meant belief in the possibility of *merdeka*, giving meaning to the situation of prolonged exile. *Merdeka* would be brought at least partly into being by Christian faith and particularly, proscription of retribution (*balas dendam*). Several informants claimed their situation to be the result of their 'Melanesian' practice or character of

¹⁰ Exodus was also the name of a band of musicians formed in 1985 at Blackwater, Vanimo: "... they shared a similar story so he [bandmember] chose the name. They too had fled from some bondage to another country. Perhaps not slavery like the Israelites but from suppression from their basic rights, and struggle for independence" (Tugum 1988).

¹¹ In Demi Kurni's lyrics below, West Papua experiences of persecution are placed analogously alongside the flight of Jesus, Mary and Joseph from Bethlehem to Egypt (Matthew 2:13.15) and blacklisting by King Herod. Composed in 1991 for the Waraston Sunday School at Iowara, the lyrics are: Jesus, aspiring King (*Yesus, Calon Raja*) / Blacklisted (*Didaftarkan hitam*) / Hey, friend (*Eh, Kawan*) / The same as Bapa, Mama and me (*Seperti juga Bapa, Mama dan saya*) / Nowadays in the eyes of the Indonesian King (*Di mata Raja Indonesia kini*) / Blacklisted (*Didaftarkan hitam*) / We became refugees in Papua New Guinea (*Kami jadi pengungsi di Papua Niugini*) / And Jesus, and his Bapa and Mama (*Dan Yesus, Bapa dan Mamanya*) / Became refugees in the land of Egypt (*Jadi pengungsi Di tanah Mesir*).

¹² An analogous relation was drawn between Israel and Irian Jaya in the calculation that *merdeka* will be attained in 2002 (i.e., 40 years since annexation in 1962) based on the period of time that Moses led his people in the desert (*Post Courier* 1998). In another example, a West Papuan leader referred to Nauru and Vanuatu's advocacy as "taking up the lead as Davids versus [Indonesian] Goliath." The reference related to speeches made by the Presidents of Nauru and Vanuatu to the United Nation's Millennium Summit in New York (September 7, 2000) supporting self-determination for West Papuans, and also, the inclusion of West Papuans as observers by the Nauru delegation to the Pacific Islands Forum in Kiribati (October 27-30, 2000) (Runawery 2000).

retaliation.¹³ Knowing that retaliation was sinful,¹⁴ turning God from their political struggle, contested a cultural imperative of retribution in order to restore honour. The story was told of a Biak pastor who received a revelation (*wahyu*) in the 1970s, that West Papuan people would be granted freedom if they reduced their sin. Imitating the movement of scales, the narrator explained that the pastor had weighed up 'sin' (*dosa*) against 'bloodshed or suffering' (*darah*), and that these balanced each other. The narrator went on to explain that if sin was less and suffering more, then this imbalance would be conceived as sacrifice and rewarded by God's blessing and his intervention.

A popular notion at Iowara particularly among Protestants, was that certain events were deemed 'answered' or 'responded to' by God who was given agency as spokesperson (*juru bahasa*).¹⁵ A standard aphorism at Iowara was: "Whom will respond in each and every matter? God will respond."¹⁶ According to the Catholic priest at Iowara, this conception that misfortune may be redeemed is in opposition to the notion of the 'suffering of the just' in the Old Testament, particularly in the Book of Job. Suffering for others construed as personal sacrifice for the good of the nation, was a theme among refugees at Iowara (pers. comm. Jacques Gros 2000).

Biblical stories allowed West Papuans to imagine a liberated world. Refugees' own interpretations together with those mediated by (Protestant)

¹³ *Balas dendam* is represented as a cultural matter, perpetuated by the allegiance of kin networks. For example, Johan explained: "If I am humiliated, I also have family who will join in my anger. Whereas Westerners watch, they don't interfere; for them it's an individual matter." Melanesian *balas dendam* was contrasted with Javanese forms. The former was described as a direct response; only when there is no opportunity to respond directly is it stored as a grudge to be replied at another time. Javanese retaliation was characterised as secretive; neither direct nor brave but unseen (*halus*).

¹⁴ Rutherford notes that one of the principal missionary objectives in New Guinea was to end "the Papuan practice of avenging every fatality, no matter what its causes" (1997:559-560).

¹⁵ Two events occurring during the period of fieldwork were popularly considered to have been answered by God. Two people mentioned the 1998 Aitape tsunami as devastating the village of origin of the PNG official who had ordered the burning of the refugee camp and church at Waraston coast camp, near Vanimo in 1989. It was explained that Aitape suffered misfortune for the state's mistreatment of West Papuans in the violation of customary obligation between kin. It was stressed that Aitape people themselves were not at fault; they had provided refugees with seafood and other food upon their arrival to Vanimo in 1984. The second event involved the sudden death of a PNG riotsquad policeman *en route* from Daru to Iowara preceding the raid in December 1998. The unexplained death was a cautionary sign; a response to the raid's 'evil intention' (*tujuan kejahatan*).

¹⁶ *Yang akan membalas segala sesuatu lagi, Tuhan akan membalas.*

pastors at Iowara, offered the possibility of *merdeka* through divine intervention or assistance. The Exodus analogy loaned honour and historicity to West Papuan exile, underwriting ultimate return or a teleology of return.¹⁷ Belief in return to be undertaken at the time of *merdeka* affected many refugee's reception to the offer of permissive residency or repatriation administered during the period of fieldwork 1998-1999.



Figure 6. The entrance area of a Serui person's house at Waraston camp, Iowara, showing religious icons and stencilled maps of Irian Jaya.

¹⁷ *Our land, our life* by West Papuan Protestant Pastor and scholar K.E Erari (1999) does not draw an explicit analogy between Jewish and West Papuan exodus. However, his interpretation of the Promised Land figuring in historical episodes of slavery and exodus, followed by periods of exile, lend substance to the analogous relation drawn by West Papuan refugees at Iowara, particularly, the notion of a teleology of a return. Erari mentions as a process of 'liberation or independence' (*kemerdekaan*), the summons of Abraham resulting in the exodus from Egypt, as well as the pledge to return to the land of Canaan from exile (1999:23).

The offer of permissive residency or repatriation

In October 1998, the PNG government finalised application procedures for permissive residency, first mentioned and lobbied by various bodies including the ICJ since 1984.¹⁸ However, it was the historical moment of the offer, and conditions associated with the offer, that affected disillusion among refugees. The moment of return was not simply a matter reduced to arrangements of identification, registration and passage. Rather, the moment of return was determined by events occurring at Iowara, and in Irian Jaya. People's reactions to the offer of permissive residency or repatriation revealed decisions determined both by timing and judgement: whether they or their group had achieved what they had set out to, and whether they thought it was safe to return; and most recently, whether the new era of *reformasi* could guarantee their amnesty in spite of the humiliation they had caused to the Indonesian state by seeking political asylum in a neighbouring state.

All sorts of rumours circulated at Iowara, partly because of the lack of access to news or radio reports of the situation across the border and political developments in Jakarta. People's cognisance of rumour caused anxiety about the decision to apply for assisted repatriation or permissive residency. People often came to my house, entreating me to verify whether I knew something to be true or not. For example, news circulated that ABRI troops were stationed at border

¹⁸ The PNG Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade listed the conditions of permissive residency status as follows: 1. Abide by the laws of Papua New Guinea; 2. Not to engage directly or indirectly in any political activity that might affect the good relationship between the Governments of Papua New Guinea and Indonesia; 3. Not to reside in the border areas of West Sepik and Western Provinces except East Awin Camp; 4. Not engage directly or indirectly in OPM activities including holding of military and civil positions in the organisation; 5. Not to hold executive positions nor be financial members of any political parties in Papua New Guinea; 6. Not allowed to vote or stand in national, provincial and local government elections in Papua New Guinea until attainment of citizenship; 7. To notify the appropriate authority of any change of address and place of residence in Papua New Guinea; 8. Permissive Residency Permits are subject to renewal annually. Permissive Residents would have similar rights as nationals but not the full rights of citizens of Papua New Guinea. Some of these rights are: 1. Free Movement within Papua New Guinea except to and in border areas; 2. Engagement in business activities including leasing of government land and access to banking facilities; 3. Employment with similar conditions as nationals; 4. Enrolment in PNG schools and tertiary institutions; 5. Access to health services and facilities; 6. Access to PNG courts; 7. Freedom of Worship; 8. Freedom of Marriage; 9. Eligible for Naturalisation after 8 years qualifying period as Permissive Residents; 10. Freedom to return to Indonesia again to take up permanent residency at own expenses. See also the critique by Joku (1996) of the initial conditions for permissive residency announced in 1996 by the PNG Government.

villages blocking the entry of refugees returning to Irian Jaya. During the period of constant postponement of the WPIA group's repatriation, it was rumoured that the Indonesian government had prohibited refugees from returning from PNG. West Papuans living at Iowara without regular news 'knew' the new state order through rumours of political violence, and through their experiences of the previous regime that had caused people to flee for their lives into PNG. The relation between rumour and experience is articulated by Kirsch: "Through rumour people may both concretely *experience* the threat of political violence and *express* their concerns about it ... even though they constitute a reaction to terror, they may also generate (or amplify) it in their wake" (2001; original emphasis).¹⁹

The offer was also constraining because of its timeframe. The ideology to 'return when there was result' collided with the urgency of the offer of repatriation or permissive residency:

Assistance from the Government, NGOs and UNHCR has been provided to you for many years. However, such assistance cannot continue indefinitely. Before, the only option was voluntary repatriation. You now also have the choice of Permissive Residency. The time has come for you to make a decision ... It is in your best interest to apply for one of the above alternatives as soon as possible (DFAT PNG n.d.).

After becoming a permissive resident, a person was required to wait three years before they could seek assisted repatriation to Irian Jaya. These restrictions meant that for some people the dilemma was whether to register for repatriation immediately, register as permissive residents and inside of three years return home as self-funded individuals, or register as permissive residents and join a repatriation program after three years. In the period 1998-99, approximately 1000 people at Iowara registered for repatriation with the remainder applying for permissive residency status. Very few people registered for repatriation as individuals and those registering were mainly members of WPIA. People applied for repatriation clandestinely, aware that return prior to independence was considered premature.

The first batch of permissive residency applications in 1997-98 was intercepted and seized by landowners at Iowara. According to the Bishop of Daru-Kiunga, landowners feared two consequences arising from the granting of permissive residency. First, a condition of permissive residency allowing re-

¹⁹ The UNHCR's guidelines for defining refugeeness also take into consideration the element of fear as a state of mind and subjective condition (UNHCR 1979:11-12).

settlement elsewhere in PNG would possibly relieve the government of its obligation to compensate the landowners. Second, the prerequisite that West Papuans living elsewhere in PNG seeking permissive residency relocate to live at Iowara for six months, would further deplete natural resources that had not yet been fully compensated.

Permissive residents were offered fifty kina per adult and twenty-five kina per child “to help improve your living situation at East Awin” (DFAT PNG n.d.). The same single page leaflet distributed to refugees stated that: “Those of you who will reside outside of East Awin will be assisted with transportation to your place of intended residence.” A Muyu refugee referred to the amount as their ‘final payment’ as refugees, deriding its capacity to help improve their living situation: “The money is not real money, what can it buy? It can be consumed in a day. Now, 1,000 kina per person – that might be sufficient to start a small business of some sort.” Another man who had registered for permissive residency refused to accept the payment, claiming it was money to silence the refugees about their condition and political situation.

Some people at Iowara claimed that permissive residency would legitimate or legalise their status. It is important to reiterate that a campaign advocating permissive residency had been publicised since 1984 by West Papuan individuals and NGOs in newsletters such as *Suara Papua* and *West Papuan Bulletin* in the Netherlands, and *West Papuan Observer* in PNG. The campaign advocated that the PNG government permit residency, thereby removing the threat of arbitrary repatriation of West Papuans. Permissive residency status and ratification of the 1951 UN Convention and 1967 Protocol relating to the status of refugees was also recommended by the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) following their visit to refugee camps in September 1984.²⁰ However, it was the condition of permissive residency relating to political activity that was claimed by refugees to deny their history and political situation: “The condition of silence is against my reason for being here [which is] to let the rest of the world know what is happening in West Papua.” Some claimed that a person’s political position or stance was neither extinguishable ‘nor changeable’ (*tidak luntur*):

²⁰ In 1984, neither Indonesia nor Papua New Guinea were signatories to the principal international treaties concerning refugees (Smith 1991:7-8). Smith’s thesis provides a detailed discussion of Papua New Guinea’s position in relation to the West Papuan refugees in the context of international refugee law and treaties.

We are not overjoyed with the permissive residency arrangement. It is a situation of 'compulsion' (*keadaan terpaksa*). We are just going along with the program. As refugees we had certain protection and attention accorded us by Human Rights bodies like the Red Cross. Permissive Residency has detached us from the attention of the UN. In Irian Jaya we have second class status to Indonesians. In PNG as permissive residents we have second class status to nationals. Permissive residency does not have the sentiment of citizen. We don't feel like we are Papua New Guineans. It allows us to live more freely here. In the past as refugees, we could be 'pursued' (*dikejar*), now as permissive residents we have become legal (Single narrative by a Muyu person).

In the lead up to lodging applications for permissive residency, people discussed the matter of retaining refugee status in order to maintain their West Papuan identity, that is, their differences from the two hierarchies of Indonesia and Papua New Guinea.²¹ Refugees identified themselves as 'people from West Papua' (*orang Papua Barat*) rather than in terms of the language of 'state citizenship' (*warga negara*). It was conceded that permissive residency or provisional Papua New Guinean citizenship would not affect their Papuaness. Perhaps this was influenced by their only other experience of official citizenship as 'Indonesian', considered even less congruous. The relation between nationhood and citizenship being offered by the country of asylum is the subject of the single narrative below:

The soldier son of a West Papuan who had become a PNG citizen was killed on Bougainville and given a state funeral with both PNG and Morning Star flags flying. PNG Lawyer Bernard Narokobi commented that the young man had died for PNG; he was no longer a refugee, he had become a Papua New Guinean. [But] if we become Papua New Guineans, there is no West Papuan struggle anymore. We did not come here to become citizens.

The offer of other citizenship negated the sentiment or ideology of return that defined their past, present and future identity as West Papuans. Retaining refugee status or even permissive residency status, that is, rejecting repatriation and the possibility of PNG citizenship, would hold West Papuans in 'an antagonistic

²¹ Speaking of Hutu holding onto refugee status in order to remain outside of hierarchies in Burundi and Tanzania, Malkki claimed: "The separation made possible an antagonistic equality between Hutu and 'other' and closed off any possibility of a reinstatement of hierarchical 'symbiosis' ... being a refugee signalled a tie with the homeland and, hence, the possibility of an eventual return" (1995a:230).

equality' in relation to Indonesians and Papua New Guineans.²² However, when the PNG government offered permissive residency to West Papuan refugees in 1998, their acceptance nullified their status as refugees, and the UNHCR services and international legal protection concomitant with that status.

***Pulang dengan hasil* and the offer of repatriation**

In people's decisions to repatriate or remain, they anticipated their reception by other West Papuans in Irian Jaya. A Biak man used a fishing analogy to explain the expectations of the emplaced.

If I plan to go fishing, my family and neighbours observe me preparing my nets and line. They expect me to return with catch and they expect me to share it with them. If I return empty-handed they will gossip: "You are not capable of becoming a fisherman." We have left behind our families, father, mother and siblings. They have great hope that we will be successful. So, if I return to West Papua before independence, before our goal is achieved, people will contest: "When will Independence come?" (*Kapan merdeka*) and "What have you brought home?" (*Kau bawa apa kemari*). We pledged on oath that we would return with result. If we have not yet achieved it, then we must strive until it has been achieved. I will be branded a failure, an ignorant person. I will be rejected. Shame is not evident; I alone will feel it in my heart. But it will become the source of ridicule for many years to come. If there is an event that evokes anger, for example, if my child steals from my neighbour's garden, my neighbour will say: "Your father left his garden behind for years, now you steal from mine." It is later that humiliating words will emerge. If independence is achieved and then we return, our names will be honoured. I may claim: "I did not go for myself alone but for the society." Whereas if we return without result, we will be considered courageous but it will become a potential source of derision [Narrative compiled from conversation with several northerners at Iowara].

Explicit in the compilation narrative above is that repatriation prior to *merdeka* signals the struggle's end; as though there is no longer purpose in holding out in exile because *merdeka* is not possible. At Iowara the aphorism: "Who knows if [merdeka] will be sooner or later" (*entah cepat, lambat*) was used to describe the unknown time of waiting-in-exile that would hopefully culminate in return. Hope existed as long as they remained outside of Irian Jaya in protest at Indonesian rule

²² Malkki makes a similar point for Hutu people in relation to Tutsis and Tanzanians (1995a:230).

and in support of political independence. The compulsion for Biak people to return with result was alternatively explained in terms of Biak cosmology, in the *fanmunggi* (B) rituals of pre-Christian times held to determine the success or failure of expeditions.²³ Any departing expedition could not return home without success, further, those on the expedition had to show loyalty to this aim.

The narrative panel above underlined the risks to the individual and the collective political struggle in the event of return before result. Some claimed that upon return, their formal 'document of character reference' known as *surat kelakuan baik*, and that of their children's, would be affected. Denied advanced education or employment, they would be reduced to the life of a farmer. Others claimed that they would become *translokal* in transmigration locations, as had happened to Kanum people upon their repatriation to Sota, Irian Jaya, in 1993. The risk of resettlement in transmigrant sites upon repatriation was seen to deny their rights as people indigenous to Irian Jaya, possessing villages and *dusun* of origin.²⁴ The Jayapura Office for Justice and Peace (1998:23-26) reported that in 1986, 155 Muyu returnees had been resettled as *translokal* at Tanah Miring, Merauke. However, while over half had left Tanah Miring by 1998, very few had returned to their village of origin in the Muyu region. In another instance of Muyu repatriation, returnees were provided with land to build a new village on the edge of Mindiptana as there were no people remaining in their village of origin.²⁵

²³ See also Sharp in association with Kaisiepo (1994).

²⁴ The following extract is taken from an interview in Jayapura with a northerner member of the group WPIA that returned to Irian Jaya in September 2000: "We are currently being processed, a decision has not yet been for us to return to our places of origin or own a place granted by the government. But there is a possibility that we will return to our places of origin. If we are in a location area like transmigrants, it must be weighed up because there is a difference between us and transmigrants. We are not transmigrants or translocals. We are refugees. We are not people who have fled in order to look for a place. But we have returned to our homeland. So, we are people who have left behind the place of our homeland and returned again to our home village ... It is we whom have a place, have a homeland. We are not transmigrants. We are indigenous inhabitants. So, where is the government attention towards us? What we request is that the government see to the interests of indigenous Papuan inhabitants" (Keagop 2000).

²⁵ The following is an excerpt of a letter to a Priest in Kiunga by a Muyu returnee who was a member of a group repatriation in 2000: "Of those of us who have returned some have already returned to respective villages and for those of us who have opened the new village, there were no people remaining in our [original] abandoned village, so provisionally we took a place in Mindiptana. Now we are endeavouring to open a new village together with other villagers in Mindiptana, recognised by the landowners, the government, the village, the neighbourhood association and its administrative unit. When everything is already approved then we will open the new village next to the rubber plantation."

Premature return would not see repatriants 'taken in' without expectation or obligation. Even in the meaning of *merantau* - leaving one's home area to make one's way in life - there is an expectation that those with wanderlust do not return destitute. To be destitute is to have lost one's way. Premature return was represented as betraying both those who had already died in the struggle since their flight in 1984, as well as victims' relatives. If people were to suddenly appear after sixteen years in exile, their relatives and neighbours may suspect the object of their return. Nostalgia was proscribed both in the direction of the homeland, and outward from the place of origin.

My mother yearns to see me again. I know my mother. She is easily saddened. But she has not shed a tear over my disappearance. It is not allowed. According to Biak *adat*, to shed tears over my absence will obstruct my journey and the struggle (Biak man at Iowara).

At different times people had wanted to return home. It was said that (emplaced) others had urged them to hold out in exile until *merdeka*. In the single narrative below, a Muyu man claimed that premature return would release violence. Some people perceived the refugee population to be at the center of military strategy; their exile and access to the outside world held the key to a relatively peaceable Irian Jaya.²⁶ Both the previous narrative and the one below illustrate people's consideration of their reception in the event of return, and its political effect.

We left thinking our flight would produce freedom through world attention. To return now would mean great humiliation in the eyes of our family and in the eyes of the Indonesian government. Upon return, our family will view us as 'guests' (*tamu*) and the state will view us as third class citizens. Indeed they live peacefully inside because we are outside. The Indonesian government has kept the peace in order to draw us home. Upon our return, the

²⁶ Scholars Bell, Feith and Hatley (1986) argued that while the 1984 flight attracted international attention to West Papuan injustices, it also led to a shift in Jakartan representations of the situation in Irian Jaya: the press reported on the basis for West Papuan grievance, mistakes were acknowledged, government officials visited the province, and some intellectuals wrote about the enduring nature of West Papuan nationalism. Events in 1984 moved the Indonesian government to consider reform in Irian Jaya. In April and May 1984, academics Koentjaraningrat (1984a-e) and Ikrar Nusa Bhakti (1984a-c) as well as political observer Manuel Kaisiepo (1984a,b) wrote sequences of articles in the national press about the situation in Irian Jaya.

retribution will begin. If murders and tortures occur inside, the government knows refugees will not return.

By default only, some refugees applied for and became permissive residents to remain in exile in order to return home at a time when *hasil* had been achieved. The inverse of this - returning home without achieving what one had expected - was considered to be a matter of 'deep shame' (*malu besar*).

Withdrawal of the UNHCR and the offer of permissive residency

In everyday conversation at Iowara, the PNG government's position in relation to West Papuan refugees was described in ambiguous terms. West Papuans had rejoiced at PNG's independence in 1975 "Our brothers and sisters had gained independence."²⁷ Their reception by PNG was shocking; only by virtue of UN intervention did West Papuans avoid deportation back to Irian Jaya in the period 1984-86. Betrayal was expressed in the aphorism: "We arrived into the arms of our brother."²⁸ An alliance between Indonesia and PNG against West Papua was considered to be historically unfounded; symbolised in the Yos Sudarso statue. Gracing the central area of Jayapura, the bronze statue of the Indonesian commander whose ship was sunk by the Dutch in the Aru Sea in 1962 is commanding. Sudarso's scope is positioned eastward; his other hand poised as though directing a forward expansion into PNG.²⁹

Some of the more historically and politically engaged refugees at Iowara claimed that in the period 1984-86, the PNG government colluded with Indonesia by neglecting the refugees in order to compel their repatriation.³⁰ Similarly

²⁷ *Kita punya saudara merdeka.*

²⁸ *Kami datang di tangan saudara.*

²⁹ For an analysis of Indonesian expansionist intent in PNG in the mid 1980s see Mackie (1986) and Blaskett (1989). Hastings claimed internationalism would prevent such a move: "An Indonesian attack on Papua New Guinea, with a view to subjugation or virtual annexation, [unlike East Timor] is an attack on a sovereign, independent country, a member of the UN, the Commonwealth, the South Pacific Forum and an associate state of ASEAN, as well as a country with a specific relationship with Australia. Invasion, a security Council matter, would not be in any of Indonesia's perceived regional interests" (1986:227). In terms of PNG's perception of Indonesian expansionist intent, Australia's inaction at the time of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975 may have affected PNG's confidence and bilateral relations with Indonesia (Smith 1991:122).

³⁰ Writing about the PNG government's neglect of Muyu refugees at Komokpin camp resulting in death by starvation of fifty-one people during the period August-September 1984, Hewison and

interpreted was the relocation of refugees from the border to East Awin, an uncleared site that had no services and was located in the middle of a rainforest some 40 kilometres from the Fly River. Refugees were required to cultivate Iowara from dense forest into a settlement. People recalled their initial arrival to East Awin in terms of engulfing wilderness: dark forest replete with snakes; giant cockroaches that emerged in the night to chew the fingers - smelling of tinned fish - of unwitting children and adults; unrelenting mosquitoes; needle-thorned plants to be cleared, and unseasonal wind gusts that tore off house roofs as they were laid, and coated tin dishes with dust.³¹ The ICJ report (1986:15) also suggested that the conditions at East Awin would compel repatriation:

It was apparent that both in the UNHCR and the PNG Department of Foreign Affairs, a belief initially evolved that once the East Awin relocation plan became known to the border crossers (whether in prospect or aspect) its forbidding nature – the area is tall rainforest country, extremely remote, and without accessible groundwater – and the daunting task of building houses, services and clearing garden land, a significant number of Irian Jayans would volunteer for repatriation.

Some refugees claimed that in 1987 the PNG government and the UNHCR had persuaded the refugees to relocate - in the case of northerners, with coercion - from their border camps to Iowara. It is interesting to note Preston's observations from her fieldwork in 1986:

...refugees felt that they would be under threat of forced repatriation if they did not comply with the wishes of government or UNHCR officers. This impression was reinforced by the fact that immediate action would be taken to repatriate, usually by air, any refugee expressing the desire to return. On many occasions this proved to be precipitous as nagging uncertainties about their reception upon returning to Indonesia caused refugees to procrastinate and postpone their departures. Sometimes such second thoughts were not communicated until after the arrival of the plane chartered to take them back to Indonesia (1992:860).

Smith projected that the: "calculated neglect reflects a determination to 'wish them away' or 'ignore them and they'll go away'." The latter position seems to reflect the position of [Department of Foreign Affairs] secretary Matane who saw that ignoring the refugees could also mean applying pressure to force them back across the border and, indeed, to dissuade others from coming across" (1986:214).

³¹ Malkki (1995:113) proposed that Hutu refugees' confrontation with wilderness in exile was another kind of foundation myth, reconstructing the foundation of statelessness and exile illustrating "the 'uprootedness' and foreignness of the Hutu in the wilderness."

A UNHCR-sponsored survey in 1986 soliciting refugee attitudes to resettlement concluded that across all sixteen border camps, sixty-four percent of the refugees indicated willingness to be relocated elsewhere in PNG, thirty percent wished to remain in their border camp location and less than seven percent expressed the wish to be repatriated (Gau 1987a, 1987b; ICJ 1986:49-51). Refugees from Blackwater, Vanimo, appealed to the UNHCR not to be resettled at East Awin. A declaration with 300 signatures was sent to the UN, the PNG government, and international NGOs. The declaration rejected relocation on the grounds that refugees had houses, productive gardens and good relations with the local Ninggra people, and they were wary of a large scale camp for reasons of security (risk of aerial bombardment), as well as practical matters relating to integrating refugees of different ethnicity (*West Papuan Observer* Vol 9 (3):7-8).

It was commonly perceived among refugees at Iowara that the Daru-Kiunga Diocese was obliged to look after the welfare of the refugees because they had advocated relocation from the border camps to East Awin in 1987.³² In several meetings with the Bishop of Daru-Kiunga at Iowara in August 1999, Muyu congregations requested that the Diocese assume responsibility for maintenance of the road from Iowara to the Fly river, secondary education, school fee subsidies, and medicine supplies. Persistent claims made by refugees of the government and church might be understood - at least for Muyu people - in terms of a principle of reciprocity and compensation called *tinenkadap* (Y) articulated in the following single narrative by Maximus.

In 1987, the previous Bishop asked that we come to Iowara from the border camps. We joined the resettlement program of the UNHCR and the PNG government. We submitted to their will, we followed their command. Against our own will we surrendered to their wishes to relocate us here. Here we have limited rights of use in a restricted area. In the border camps some could still enter their own *dusun*, others had in-law relations with landowners, and there was sago. Yet in coming here we have suffered 'loss' (*rugi*). We 'gave' by following their command against our judgement. According to the principle of *tinenkadap*, which is the obligation to reciprocate, we have suffered loss because their reply has been insufficient. The benefits of coming to Iowara have been less than the risks of staying where we were. These benefits must be material. Muyu people do not recognise abstract objects. Indeed we have

³² In 1959, the Pope entrusted the region of Western Province to the Montfort Fathers of Canada and the Mission was named the Montfort Catholic Mission. In 1987 it became the Diocese of Daru-Kiunga. In 1988, East Awin relocation site was named St Berthilla Parish (Diocese of Daru-Kiunga n.d.).

received food rations, second-hand clothing, and gardening tools. But other appeals have been ignored or only partially granted: the neglect of roofing material, the withdrawal of rations, and delayed compensation have caused the landowners to view us as intruders. Living here has produced greater suffering than living there.

Living conditions at Iowara cause suffering perceived to be a manifestation of unfulfilled *tinenkadap*. People's claims on the administration were deemed just; a matter of fulfilling the obligation of *tinenkadap*. However, petitions and requests for material things drew the suspicions of the PNG government, the Catholic mission, and other visitors who claimed that the refugees were preoccupied with their immediate material needs above their political circumstances (pers. comm. Jacques Gros 2000). It may also be said that in the wake of UNHCR's withdrawal, existential questions about political exile and history were subsumed or lessened in importance by other material struggles: cultivating food from subsistence gardens, raising money for freight to transport produce to Kiunga, and procuring roofing material.

In 1998, the arrangements of permissive residency that saw refugee status nullified and services withdrawn was viewed as a tactic to compel people to eventually register for repatriation: "[Permissive residency] allows survival that's all, until there are those who cannot endure who will request to go home."³³ Some refugees suggested that Indonesia had exerted pressure on PNG to cause the withdrawal of UNHCR from Iowara. The underlying motivation was to make life as miserable as possible for the refugees, compelling their repatriation. Hardship would invoke thoughts of returning home and the sentiment "better I return home than die here."

The period 1987-1996 was identified by the refugees as 'the era of the UN' (*masa PBB*). Withdrawal from Iowara was expressed in the standardised phrase: 'the UN freed its hands, or detached itself from responsibility' (*PBB lepas tangan*). Refugees used 'before the UN freed its hands' and 'after the UN freed its hands' as markers of time, and momentous change in their prosperity. The announcement of the period of withdrawal beginning in 1996 was perceived as an augury of a new era for the refugees. Following the screening of the final applications for permissive residency, the Border Affairs Unit within the Department of Provincial Affairs planned to hand over administration to the Western Province

³³ *Boleh tinggal tinggal saja sampai ada yang tidak bisa bertahan dan mereka minta pulang saja.*

Government.³⁴ Decline in services and deterioration of infrastructure was observed at Iowara: hospital patients were no longer provided with food; electricity in Station camp including the hospital ceased; transportation of coffins from the camp of the deceased to the cemetery stopped; fares were introduced on transport from Iowara to the Fly river; road maintenance halted;³⁵ sago roofing material was no longer subsidised; correspondence English courses ceased; and the secondary school was closed down.

Of the withdrawal of this last service, several refugees claimed that the PNG government viewed West Papuans as some Americans viewed the Jewish diaspora: after one generation the diaspora would come to dominate certain sectors of the economy.³⁶ It was this rationale that led to their explanation of why the PNG government had signed the UN Convention on Refugees with a reservation in relation to education. Educated West Papuans claimed that the PNG government had refused to recognise their status, treating refugees categorically as farmers whose task was to fell trees and clear gardens. An invidious comparison was made with West Papuans granted political asylum in the Netherlands or Australia where they had been provided with the opportunity to complete post-graduate studies.³⁷

Withdrawal of UNHCR services at Iowara was resisted. In reaction to the introduction of transport fares and the cessation of other services, a demonstration was held on January 25, 1993, in front of the administration building at Iowara. The UN flag was lowered and in its place, the West Papuan flag was flown at full mast parallel to the PNG flag, symbolically equalising their sovereign status. The UN flag was raised to full mast on another shorter flagpole, appearing from a distance to be at half-mast. Previously, only the UN and PNG flags had flown

³⁴ In September 2000, the Western Province government was suspended and placed under investigation by the national PNG government for alleged misuse of funds.

³⁵ At Iowara, everyday conversation centred around the condition of the road. A Muyu woman explained “[Other] people who go outside of their country are punished. There are those who are fenced in and must eat and drink in certain areas. But for us, the road has become our punishment. We are free but how can we go anywhere?”

³⁶ Preston observed in 1986 that: “Local and national administrators perceived it to be simply a matter of time before the seemingly greater motivation and acumen of [certain] refugees and their better education resulted in their domination of private sector, small-scale enterprise in the area and greater presence in the skilled sector of camp administration” (1992:867).

³⁷ Northerners particularly recounted the event of flight in terms of disruption to their plans to graduate, commence a new job, sit a final exam, or shift to another town. Some mentioned their relationship to those West Papuans in exile elsewhere or at home who had ‘succeeded’ i.e., had completed their education and secured careers. These conversations often concluded with a comment about sacrifice of personal gain for the collective good or for the sake of the nation.

parallel at full mast. The relocation of the flag was to protest the matter of withdrawal; the UN flag ought not be flown at full mast if its presence was only half felt. Five leaders were arrested over the protest. On the following night, some refugees raided a warehouse taking rice and other supplies, and fifty-four were subsequently arrested and fined 50 kina each. In 1996 when the offer of permissive residency was announced, extinguishing their status as refugees and relinquishing UN responsibility, the UN flag was once again lowered and removed.

Some refugees drew an analogy between UNHCR's withdrawal from Iowara beginning in 1996 and handover to an ambivalent PNG state, with the UN's capitulation to Indonesia in the period surrounding PEPERA in 1969 that effectively surrendered Netherlands New Guinea to Indonesia. The signing of the New York Agreement in August 1962 by the Netherlands and Indonesia effecting a temporary UN administration until May 1963, followed by the United Nation General Assembly's ratification of PEPERA in 1969, were represented as precedents of UN betrayal and abandonment of West Papuan people.³⁸ Malkki's explanation of the way that contemporary events are transformed into what she labels as mythico-historical events, that is, acquiring standard versions through telling and retelling, is useful:

These 'standard versions' were not simply isolated accounts of particular events, told for the sake of telling and soon to be forgotten. Rather, they were accounts which, while becoming increasingly formulaic, also became more didactic and progressively more implicated in, and indicative of, something beyond them (1995a:106).

UNHCR's staged withdrawal from Iowara was conceived by some refugees in terms of a "conjuncture of perceived relations [of collusion] between past and present" (see Malkki 1995a:106).

Some refugees viewed the withdrawal of UNHCR as a ruse by the Indonesian and PNG governments to break their resolve to endure exile until the event of *merdeka*. In spite of the offer of permissive residency, without the services and facilities they had grown used to, they would be compelled to register

³⁸ This attitude towards the United Nations was amended somewhat however by the implementation of the UN-sponsored referendum in East Timor in 1999. West Papuans represented this referendum as a significant precedent; the international community comprising powerful national governments such as the US and Australia as well as the UN, supported a referendum that acknowledged the injustice of Indonesian occupation, and the right to self-determination.

for repatriation. Planned and actual events of return illustrating uses made of the official arrangements and conditions of permissive residency and repatriation according to particular group's politics, are elaborated in the section below.

PLANNED AND ACTUAL EVENTS OF RETURN TO IRIAN JAYA

Usually on sunset here, adults yearning to return cry a little. It is not just me, it is everyone here. I ask myself: why until now have we remained so long in the jungle when there is no sentiment to stay? We came to live here without the slightest desire. We are waiting (Muyu man at Iowara).

Plans to repatriate or register for permissive residency cannot be isolated from people's or group's particular circumstances preceding flight, and experiences in exile, as well as their political affiliation at Iowara. The uses or operations of permissive residency by refugees in order to sustain their political exile (in the case of northerners from Waraston), and use of repatriation to continue the struggle from inside (in the case of members of WPIA), might be understood in terms of Michel de Certeau's (1984) elaboration of 'tactic':

[a tactic] must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organised by the law of a foreign power. It does not have the means to *keep to itself*, at a distance, in a position of withdrawal, foresight, and self-collection: it is a manoeuvre "within the enemy's field of vision," ... and within enemy territory. It does not, therefore, have the options of planning a general strategy and viewing the adversary as a whole within a district, visible, and objectifiable space (1984:37).

De Certeau's interest is the difference or similarity between something's production and the "secondary production hidden in the process of its utilization" (1984:xiii), and how a society resists discipline by manipulating the mechanisms of discipline: "conforming to them only in order to evade them" (1984:xiv). The 'operational schema' of tactic is described as intervening in a regulatory field, for example, the application procedure and conditions of permissive residency and repatriation, and introducing a way of turning these regulations to their advantage.

The use of permissive residency to enable temporary protected return, or relocation to a place guaranteeing prosperity, and use of repatriation to allow

return in order to advance the political struggle from inside, demonstrate how West Papuan refugees at Iowara utilise the residency/repatriation laws imposed upon them. Drawing on de Certeau's thesis, West Papuan refugees use these laws in ways that the PNG and Indonesian states might not have imagined: "subverting them not by rejecting or altering them, but by using them with respect to ends and references foreign to the system they had no choice to accept" (1984:xiii). By using the status of permissive residency to return home temporarily, renewing relations with their own people and place, and/or using it to relocate closer to their own people and place, they have wielded space, evading the dominant hierarchy of both PNG and Indonesia without leaving either. Given that many refugees claimed their political exile as a tactical part of the struggle for nationhood, permissive residency enabled the continuation of this tactic and the possibility of eventual return with *hasil*. In contrast, members of WPIA claimed that the offer of repatriation allowed their passage home in order to continue a non-violent struggle for liberation from inside.

Timing of return conditional on development

Saul, a Muyu village elder at Iowara, identified the matter of development as central to Kombut villager's flight into PNG in 1984:

In 1962, the scattered, small villages of Yetemot, Yad, Kawangtet and Mokbiran were clustered to form a larger village of 300-500 people called Kombut. Kombut was established on either side of the Muyu river. People whose *dusun* lay to the west settled on the western bank and those with *dusun* to the east settled to the east. There was a five year plan [*Repelita*] that never eventuated. Although school classes were extended to Grade 6, still there was no road, health clinic or local economy. People still recall the 'promise' (*janji*) of the five year development plan. From 1962 until 1984 there was no change. No change whatsoever since 1962. The OPM's promise of change in 1983-84 captured people's attention.³⁹

Saul defined *merdeka* as 'development' (*pembangunan*), explaining the compulsion of flight and prolonged exile in terms of the theme of development.

³⁹ Aditjondro mentioned extremely low rubber prices controlled by the rubber monopoly IJ-JDF and its subsidiary P.T Jodefo as another cause of disenfranchisement among Muyu, Mandobo, Auyu and Mapi peoples in Irian Jaya (1987a:18).

We want to return home yet we are unwilling. Return or not? Still there is no development.⁴⁰ Still the OPM hold out on the border and do not want people to return.

Saul's attitude towards return was more pragmatic than teleological, but it was not without a sense of inevitability in ultimate return. In spite of living in the one village at Iowara for twelve years, Saul described the period since fleeing from his border village in 1984 with the word *berkeliaran* meaning wandering or roaming about. For Saul, not to be wandering was to have returned to his own place.

In 1999, Saul produced a development plan and sought co-operation for its implementation from neighbouring regional governments in Western Province, PNG, and Mindiptana in Irian Jaya. Saul's development plan consisted of four components. A map titled "Highway Development" (*Pembangunan Jalan Raya*) located his previous village between the Ok Tedi and Muyu Rivers, drawing proposed roadlinks west to Mindiptana and east to Kiunga. Saul negotiated with the regional government in PNG to build an asphalt road to the east of the Muyu river from Kombut to Dome, and the Indonesian government to build a road to the west of the Muyu river from Kombut to Mindiptana through Mokbiran (see figure 7).⁴¹ These roads and the bridges from Mindiptana to Kombut (across the Kopom, Mok, Muyu and Juruk rivers) would open the area of dense forest between the Muyu and Ok Tedi Rivers. According to Saul, the Indonesian military did not venture east of the Muyu River and the PNG military did not venture west of the Ok Tedi. The area to the east of the Muyu River was described as dark, allowing concealment, while the area to the west of the same river was described as 'clear/open' (*terang*). This latter region was also described as 'inside or

⁴⁰ It was reported in the Jayapura Catholic Office's returnee survey that in spite of national government-funded programs such as Village Aid (*Bantuan Desa*) and Village Program by Presidential Instruction (*Inpres Desa Tertinggal*), the programs were rendered ineffective by poor local administration, implementation and reporting systems. The report also noted little difference between the economic situation in the Muyu region before 1984 and 1998 except for the installation of electricity in and around Mindiptana. Since 1984, buildings had not been maintained and although repairs had been carried out, personnel and materials in health and education had not been funded (1998:14,17).

⁴¹ The proposal for a road link between Dome (approximately 15 km east of the border) and Mokbiran (approximately 20 km west of the border) has been the subject of joint border meetings in the past two years and was reportedly on the agenda again for the 2000 meeting backed by the North Fly Rubber Company (Solomon 2000). This road would allow access to several thousand hectares of Muyu-owned rubber plantations between the border and Mindiptana.

interior' (*dalam*) implying Saul's region as outside, a metaphor intimating the forested border as liminal space.



Figure 7. Saul's proposed map of highway development linking his border village with the regional towns of Kiunga (PNG) and Mindiptana (Irian Jaya).

The second component of the plan comprised a diagram of village layout specifying road width and distances between houses, between houses and roads, and between houses, cultivated gardens and forest. The third component was an inventory of services necessary to re-settle the village including electricity, water storage, health clinic with medicine supply, primary school, market facility, church building, and sawmill. Also listed in this inventory was border security indicating perceived vulnerability to OPM and ABRI incursion. The fourth component consisted of a 'human resources inventory' of the skills that villagers had acquired

since living in PNG including teaching, nursing, pastoral work, sawmilling, carpentry, water drilling, and sewing.⁴²

According to the logic of returning with result, Saul's *hasil* was the map, diagram and inventories of his development plan, and the two regional governments' commitment to its implementation. Return would be realised only in the development plan's materialisation. Underlining the historical and genealogical imagination of place, Saul proposed to rename the village Yetkom, recalling its origins Yetemot and Kombut. Significantly, the site of the village to which they would relocate was not Kombut, the site where the Indonesian government had relocated their parents in 1962 and from where they had fled in 1984. Rather, the proposed site was the village before Kombut, the 'original' village of Saul's grandparents. Restitution of a village previously eliminated through an Indonesian regional government policy stands as a powerful symbol of local liberation.

Return led by a prophet figure

At Iowara, songs composed in the Dani language and Bahasa Indonesia invoked the name Wamena or the Baliem Valley landscape. The songs intensified states of loss, absence and sorrow felt by Dani people outside of their place since 1977. These feeling states are central to song as evocation.⁴³ The songs below are categorised as 'songs of sadness' (*lagu kesedihan*) sung to invoke weeping, for example, during the period before the burial of a deceased person, and forty days after burial. The songs comprise a single line lyric or verse repeated over and over, the harmony changing very slightly with each repetition.

First song:

Pity, Wamena is already faraway / Children, don't cry.⁴⁴

Second song:

Bapa, Mama look over there / The clouds keep rolling in.⁴⁵

⁴² Another inventory related to genealogy rather than development listed the names, ages and causes of death of people from Kombut who had died since flight into PNG in 1984.

⁴³ Feld 1996:119.

⁴⁴ *Sayang, Wamena sudah jauh / Anak-anak jangan menangis* [Original in the Dani language].

⁴⁵ *Bapa, Mama lihat ke sana / Awan bergulung-gulung* [Original in the Dani language]. At Iowara, the vision of rolling white clouds to the west invoked their own highland place and villages and relatives left behind.

Third song:

O! Friends we feel hungry, our place is faraway / Friends can you give us food?⁴⁶

Fourth song:

How is Wamena: is it far or close? / The mountain and the cape are hidden.⁴⁷

Fifth song:

The children they question their father and mother / Is our village distant or closeby?⁴⁸

Sixth song:

When will we return to see our homeland? It is so long since we left our village.⁴⁹

Franciscus⁵⁰ explained that many Dani had perished in the flight from the Baliem Valley north to Mamberamo, and several years later, east to Bewani inside the PNG border. The occurrence of Dani death-in-flight meant that Dani survivors at Iowara could not return without *hasil*, as victim's relatives required this justification for the journey of flight and exile that had resulted in death. From the beginning of exile, Franciscus had practised an ascetism of sorts:

Since 1977, I have not worn shoes as a sign of grief for the victims but upon my return, my brother will take pity on me and buy a pair of shoes. Then in a feast ceremony, he will place my feet in those shoes. There are men who have not cut their beards since flight. Upon their return they will cut their beards ceremonially in public. There are men who fled leaving behind their wife and children. Some have not re-married, nor their wives there. There are children there who have delayed marriage in honour of their absent parents. I was offered work as a teacher here but I turned it down. I remembered my parents,

⁴⁶ (*Aduh! Kawan-kawan kami rasa lapar, daerah kami jauh / Kawan-kawan bagaimana bisa tolong kami makan.*) This song was composed in Bahasa Indonesia by the children of Dani people who fled from the Baliem Valley to Mamberamo in 1977. Many people died of starvation during this flight, eating only forest leaves (*genimo*) and the young tips of nibung palm leaf.

⁴⁷ *Bagaimana Wamena. Jauh atau dekat / Gunung dan tanjung sudah terpeleh* [Original in Bahasa Indonesia]. Dani children at Iowara do not know the location of Wamena or the beauty of the place; children only know of Wamena from the stories of their parents.

⁴⁸ *Anak-anak mereka tanya kepada bapa dan mama / Kampung kami jauhkah atau dekat* [Original in the Dani language].

⁴⁹ *Kapan kami pulang lihat kami punya tanah air / Sudah lama tinggalkan kampung* [Original in the Dani language].

⁵⁰ Franciscus was a trained teacher, lay pastor and Dani leader at Iowara.

brothers and sisters killed in 1977. If I wanted merely to work as a teacher I would have stayed in Irian Jaya. My refugee status 'remembers' my family.

Franciscus' resolve was steeled by the memory of kin whose lives had been sacrificed. To give in - usually imagined as returning to Irian Jaya before result or outcome had been achieved - was to betray their sacrifice, to extinguish its meaning. To endure exile was to repay their sacrifice, to uphold their honour. Speaking of the anticipated moment of return, Franciscus said that Dani people from his camp at Iowara had "waited for the right way and were now ready to return with the Indigenous People's Programme [WPIA]."⁵¹ Drawing on a discourse of autochthony, WPIA members claimed that the recognition of Papuan people's status as indigenous would privilege them in relation to newcomers.⁵² They defined indigenous as a 'native or original' person able to trace their descent in a particular place, and in categorical opposition to newcomers.⁵³

At Iowara, WPIA grew out of the 1993 United Nations Year of Indigenous People, a transnational alliance of indigenous people facilitated by a secretariat in

⁵¹ While this section focuses solely on Dani members, they comprised only part of the mixed membership of WPIA. My focus was the result of spending a significant amount of time with this Dani group over a period of two years. A second group of Dani at Iowara was not aligned with WPIA.

⁵² In an interview in Jayapura with a member of WPIA published in the Jayapura-based alternative tabloid called *Jubi: jujur bicara* (literally, speaking frankly or straight talking), a northerner explained WPIA return in terms of the interests of people who are indigenous to Irian Jaya and their protection by the UN: "We fled based on our demand to rights. We fled leaving behind our places of origin because here [Irian Jaya] people did not value our rights as indigenous citizens. Now we have returned and want to carry on the struggle for our rights which are directly protected by the UN. At that time [1984] we were scared by military actions which were very real, and many were murdered like Arnold Ap. Thus we were also scared and fled. It is already sixteen years since we left behind our region. And now we have returned to the land of our origin ... We have returned not out of hunger or thirst or difficulties of survival. But, now indeed is already the time for us to return. Why? We think for what [purpose] exist outside and demand our rights from outside. What we demand here is the fairness and honesty of the government in seeing to the interests of Papuan people. Not just as a demand for independence, but how Papuans are developed and assisted. This was our thinking and reason for our return ..." (Keagop et al. 2000).

⁵³ In the case of Indonesia, Franciscus defined 'indigenous people' as those who appeared least like 'Indonesians' (probably he meant Javanese or at least, non-Eastern Indonesians). According to Franciscus' schema, Dayak people of Kalimantan were not indigenous because their skin colour, hair, dance style, and customs and traditions resembled those of other Indonesians. In a later conversation in the context of a massacre of Madurese migrants by Dayak people in March 1999, Franciscus claimed that Dayak were indigenous people; unlike Madurese migrants, Dayak could trace their descent (*keturunan*) in that particular place.

Geneva.⁵⁴ WPIA members envisaged using their newly articulated indigenous identity to claim privileges as indigenous people in relation to migrants, especially in the matter of land rights, in the event of their return to Irian Jaya. Several members referred to two International Labor Organisation (ILO) Conventions relating particularly to themselves as indigenous people: the Indigenous and Tribal People's Conventions No. 107 and 169.⁵⁵ WPIA members claimed that the logos of the UN and International Year of Indigenous People worn stencilled on t-shirts and jerseys had inherent powers of protection. Similar millenarian stories circulated of WPIA members returning safely to Irian Jaya, shielded by these marked pieces of clothing. WPIA posters allegedly pasted across Irian Jaya also remained intact, as opponents were not courageous enough to tear them down. International connections bore witness and afforded protection. Franciscus grounded the power of these logos in the rationale of international politics: Indonesia did not want to damage its relationship with the US-dominated United Nations and its institutions.

WPIA use of flags demonstrates a strikingly international consciousness. In 1995, representatives of the UN, American⁵⁶ and Japanese embassies in Port

⁵⁴ West Papuan refugees' formulation of indigeneity may have been influenced by a National Human Rights Forum 'Re-constructing Papua' (Port Moresby, December 1994) which included twenty delegates from Iowara. Particularly striking in its relation to WPIA's platform, was the session on the UN and indigenous rights by Pat Walsh (Director, Australian Council for Overseas Aid's Human Rights Office): "Indigenous rights offers a basis to build a new relationship between West Papua and the UN. Indigenous rights can serve as a positive ideological, political and strategic framework to promote and protect the human rights of the West Papuan people, including their right of self-determination It also offers the possibility of greater solidarity with other indigenous peoples" (Walsh 1994).

⁵⁵ In Christopher Duncan's paper (n.d.) on the history of Indonesian state policy vis a vis 'indigeneity', he notes that the concept of indigeneity was legislated against in Presidential Decree No. 26/1998 "Stopping the use of the term Indigenous and Non-Indigenous in all formulations, policy implementations, program planning and activity implementation and government policy." Additionally, in Indonesia, claims to legal privilege based on indigeneity are vulnerable to labelling as SARA (acronym meaning matters pertaining to ethnic, religious and racial relations). Duncan analyses the implications of the state's reclassification - in 1999 - of 'isolated communities' (*masyarakat terasing*) as 'geographically isolated adat communities' (*komunitas adat terpencil*). For a discussion on the implications of Indonesia's non ratification of the Indigenous and Tribal People's Conventions see Etty 1996.

⁵⁶ The original date of WPIA repatriation (August 15, 1998) was chosen to commemorate US General Macarthur's Proclamation of World Peace from Jayapura (Hollandia) in 1945. According to Franciscus, the historical fact of West Papuans victimised as American allies during the Second World War meant that the US was obliged to honour the Proclamation of Peace by supporting West Papuan claims to independence. Franciscus alleged that other people at Iowara

Moresby were said to have submitted national flags to WPIA as a symbol of their support for the rights of West Papuans to independence, based on their indigeneity. In 1998, the event of repatriation by WPIA members was to be commemorated in a ceremony, raising the flags mentioned as well as the PNG and West Papuan flags. The flags were objectified as international witness to their repatriation and struggle. Several Dani people explained: "Others don't want to return home with us. They say they are afraid to die. If the Indonesians want to kill us while we are standing on top of these flags, so be it." Indonesia's President Habibie, PNG Prime Minister Skate and UN peacekeepers had been requested to attend the commemorative ceremony.

WPIA was led by a pastor from Serui hailed as a Moses figure.

In the story of Exodus, through the prophet Moses, God performed ten miracles of plagues and still Pharaoh was hard hearted, refusing to let the Israelis out of Egypt. The Israelis were slaves. Suharto was like Pharaoh. [WPIA leader] is a prophet and deliverer like Moses. As we have seen from the history of Israel, Moses led them home. Papuan people can similarly be saved (Franciscus).

WPIA members constructed a monument dedicated to Psalm 23 (1-6), reflecting a Christian teleology of return in the concept of deliverance.⁵⁷ The monument was also a sign of commitment by WPIA members to the principal of submitting ten percent of all state income to Christian churches upon independence, as it was believed that the realisation of *merdeka* would be due to divine intervention.⁵⁸ After thirty-five years of failed battle, military means was rejected by WPIA members who embraced peace as a 'new way' (*cara baru*) and they adopted the

derided this historical event, claiming it to be 'history that had decomposed' (*sejarah yang busuk*); history that had no basis as a contemporary political claim.

⁵⁷ The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want / He makes me lie down in green pastures; He leads me beside still waters; he restores my soul / He leads me 'n right paths for his name's sake / Even though I walk through the darkest valley, I fear no evil; for you are with me; your rod and your staff – they comfort me / You prepare a table before me in the presence of my enemies; you anoint my head with oil; my cup overflows / Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in the house of the Lord my whole life long.

⁵⁸ The concept of tithe enshrined in the 'charters' of the three main political alliances at Iowara is based on the assumption that *merdeka* will be achieved through God's intervention and will be rewarded by a tithe of 10% of state income to support the work of God in the new state. Reference to tithe is also found in the Bible in Leviticus (27:30-33).

slogan from the UN Year for Indigenous People “peace, human rights, democracy.”⁵⁹

WPIA members were also influenced by the writing of a Dutch Pastor called Leenhout whose sermon had been translated into Indonesian by a West Papuan living in exile in the Netherlands, and distributed to people living at Iowara and elsewhere in PNG since 1986.⁶⁰ Leenhout’s sermon made only occasional reference to West Papua, leading one to deduce that the translator – himself a pastor – and congregation leaders and followers at Iowara, have produced interpretations and analogies in light of their own theological and political needs. Leenhout rejects military retaliation, preaching repentance and surrender of the struggle into God’s hands. In a 1998 Christmas sermon posted to Iowara, Pastor Leenhout recounted the Government of Israel’s recent plea for descendants of the Jewish diaspora to return to Israel to help develop their nation. WPIA members interpreted this sermon analogously as a call for the West Papuan diaspora to return to Irian Jaya in the current period of political *reformasi*, in order to assist develop the nation-state, rather than return in its wake.⁶¹ Franciscus used a pig-hunting analogy to explain the imperative of return before *merdeka*.

⁵⁹ See Smith (1991:369-401) for a history of the emergence of a new discourse on the right to self-determination and sovereignty for minority groups such as indigenous peoples that provided a backdrop to a UN process, including the UN Year and Decade for Indigenous people 1993-2003. Congruous with the WPIA group’s claim to sovereignty as indigenous people, Smith concludes that negotiable (e.g., non-territorial) self-determination claims may enable the Indonesian state to explore a range of political forms through which West Papuan self-determination can be realised (1991:440).

⁶⁰ A history of Pastor Leenhout was narrated by a Tanahmerahan school teacher called Obeth: “In 1948, Pastor Leenhout received a ‘divine revelation’ (*wahyu*) about Romans 9 and 11 and Ephesians 2:11-22 in the New Testament. This *wahyu* occurred at the time of two significant events: the formation of the World Council of Churches’ (WCC) comprising churches that did not recognise Jesus as Messiah thereby rejecting God’s decree, and the formation of Israel as an ordinary state when it ought to have been proclaimed as Kingdom and promised land. Israel is a ‘window’ (*jendela*) through which God views the world, but while Israel remains a nation-state, peace will elude the world. God intentionally hardened the heart of Jewish people so that Christ’s teachings would be spread to other nations. The salvation of black, colonised nations – including that of West Papua’s - is contained or wrapped up (*selubung*) in Jewish renewal. These peoples must evangelise and inspire repentance in Israel.” Giay (1995:182-3) observed an evangelical approach in Irian Jaya identifying the fate of all Christians with the evangelisation of highlands people: “Preaching the gospel to the world was taken as the first priority of the Church to accelerate the return of Jesus Christ. Based on this idea the Highlands people of Irian Jaya were seen as the last tribes who had not heard the gospel.”

⁶¹ The notion of a privileged relation between Irian Jaya and Israel may have been influenced by the publication *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya* (Tucker 1983) advertised and reviewed in the Catholic weekly *Tifa Irian*, a newspaper that occasionally circulated at Iowara. While I knew of

A pig must be hunted, killed, cut up and then divided by the hunter - the person whose arrow killed the pig - with the other hunters who pursued the pig. It cannot be shared or divided before it has been caught. A person who reserves the pig's head for himself before the hard work of the hunt, is mistaken. It is Melanesian custom: don't divide first, kill the pig first then divide the meat.

In the analogy, the hunt is a metaphor for political struggle, and the catch is independence. WPIA members sought to participate in the hard work or process of the hunt, rather than pre-determine the hunt's outcome and expect part of the spoils.

WPIA members conducted their activities clandestinely, aware that their planned return prior to independence was considered premature by other refugees. To this end, Dani members usually moved between their own camp and Blackwara, the camp of the WPIA pastor-leader, under the cover of dawn or dusk. Other refugees knew of members' planned repatriation through events such as farewell gatherings, sale of cutlery and other small household items in the market place, and sale of houses. However, the actual date of repatriation was a matter of secrecy. Some spoke about the need to burn their houses in their wake, fearing that any trace may be used as the substance of sorcery.

In July 1998, Dani members of WPIA held a religious service of farewell or *bakhti pelepasan* in the Wamena Baptist Church. Two WPIA leaders, one Dani and the other from Serui began with testimonials of their involvement with the OPM since 1969, concluding that war had not produced results: "We have gained nothing." The Dani man spoke of the Israelis who had lived in the desert for forty years - the period of one generation - circling continuously when in fact the path home was short. He then posed the question to the congregation whether their fate would be the same. The farewell event and party had been mentioned for months as an opportunity to shake hands with Dani people who were not WPIA members and were remaining at Iowara. Inside the church, leaders of Dani factions expressed and sought forgiveness from each other for past words and actions stemming from their different political allegiances. In spite of this, repatriating Dani disclosed that their dogs left behind at Iowara would be re-named 'gone home' (*pulang*) or 'surrendered' (*menyerah*) by other Dani as a matter of

no copies of the book at Iowara, many people referred to the book's title. The construction of West Papuan and Jewish history as analogous suggests West Papuan responses to Leenhout to be not anti-semitic. It is a partial construction, however, never commenting on Indonesia's military relation to Israel, and on the resemblance of their strategies of state terror (see Aditjondro 2000a).

ridicule, and reminder that repatriation was viewed as yielding to and therefore colluding with, the Indonesian state.

Millennial return

Some people at Iowara claimed that the Year 2000 and entry into the third millennium marked Christ's return and liberation of the world's colonised peoples.⁶² The Bishop's letter to his Daru-Kiunga Diocese counselled against heeding false prophets.

Actually what will happen in the Year 2000? The sun will rise in the morning as usual and will set on dusk as usual. Everything will continue as today. People's lives will not change. Good people will continue to be good. Evil people will continue their habits, which are evil. The bells will continue to summon people to church to hear God's utterance. The government and businesses will continue to work for development. Rural congregations will continue to work in their gardens. The society will continue to experience various difficulties and problems, like now. But several people will discover new problems, that is, those who want to listen to false prophets. There are those who will stop work in their gardens, others will abandon their jobs. They will use up their food and money. There are people who will withdraw all of their money from the bank and waste it on food and drink for the final party. After that they will regret because they have spent all of their money. Other people will gather in the one place together and wait for judgement day. But judgement day will not come and they will have finished their food and anger will emerge among them. Many sorts of propaganda and crusades will end without fulfilling any promise or result whatsoever (Message to the Daru-Kiunga Diocese from Bishop Gilles Cotes, June 1999).

The Bishop's counsel reads as an inventory of millenarian manifestations and a warning against such thinking. In the case of Irian Jaya, millenarianism emerges due to development projects that do not fulfil their promises, persistent corruption in the bureaucracy, appropriation of land, involuntary re-settlement, and the state's treatment of Papuans as less than human beings (Giay and Godschalk 1993). Responses of disappointment, distrust and humiliation bring to the surface

⁶² Along with Catholic Diocese throughout the world, the Daru-Kiunga Diocese including Iowara and the border camps, also promoted the Year 2000 as a Jubilee year. The principle underlying Jubilee contained in Leviticus (25:17) is that God granted the land to peoples. Leviticus mentions a cyclical 50 year amnesty; people who had previously sold their land because of debt had their land returned and people who were slaves became liberated again (pers. comm. Jacques Gros 2000).

individuals who claim to have received revelations about the resolution of their economic and political discontent. The moment and place of liberation and abundance is part of the prophecy.

The decision made by Indonesia's President Wahid to spend December 31, 1999 - the eve of the new millennium - in Irian Jaya's capital, heightened speculation among some West Papuans as to the revelatory potential of the moment. One may also read into the time and place of Wahid's visit, a sign of the state's intransigence on the question of *merdeka*; that Indonesia's future in the new millennium rests on Irian Jaya's continued incorporation in the Republic. In December 1999, some 100 Marind people who had previously fled Irian Jaya, crossed back to the west, from their border camp at Suki. A Catholic priest who arrived at Suki to celebrate Christmas day recounted the event:

[The Suki people believed that] on January 1, 2000 *kemerdekaan* will be gifted to the Papuan nation. All Indonesians will vanish, returning to their own islands and there will be nice houses, cars and food in abundance. On December 1, 1999 armed men from Suki village crossed the border to join a demonstration in Merauke. They were not permitted to continue their trip but the Kopassus military commander praised them and suggested that they return to Suki and fetch their wives and children because *merdeka* was imminent. It seemed that Kopassus had already prepared a camp to accommodate them. In the past a Papuan refugee at Suki murdered a West Papuan near Suki inside Irian Jaya. That may have caused the relatives of the murdered person to join in snaring the refugees with a 'tale' (*dongeng*) about *merdeka* coming into being on January 1, 2000. Another root or foundation of the tale of *merdeka* involves the Archbishop of Merauke. He agreed to bless a large statue of Christ in a village located on the border on January 1, 2000. Immediately this was given the meaning: the purpose of the Archbishop's visit is to herald the new era of *merdeka* for West Papua.⁶³ People from Suki began to shift on December 20. They have surrendered or sold materials to the traditional landowners, some of whom joined their repatriation. Yet, at Suki they had been loaned land where they had abundant gardens, and a place that was good to hunt deer and cassowary and fish. An elementary school and primary school had been established. They have left all of that behind.⁶⁴ In the new

⁶³ Some people claimed that the heavy statue was brought into a vertical position through the practice of *adat* (described as songs and dances), and that it was a gift from the Pope in Rome and therefore sacred (pers. comm. Jacques Gros 2000).

⁶⁴ A state of prosperity may also be construed in eschatological terms as a reaction to abundance rather than reflex of catastrophe i.e., the promise has been partially fulfilled (Douglas 2001). Compare Jaap Timmer's comment on the Imyan that they view news of merciless killing of the sort that occurred to highlanders in the hostage aftermath in Mapnduma, signalling an impending millennium (2000:276).

camp they have nothing and are dependent on Kopassus to survive. So there is no other way except becoming the hands and feet of Kopassus. The children protested. They were born at Suki and don't know the Indonesian language (pers. comm. Jacques Gros 1999).

It is the millennial moment, the entry into what is perceived as a new era, that left the Marind people from Suki vulnerable to the rumour of *merdeka's* imminence; that West Papua had become a nation state and that those in exile had been summoned home. Like the repatriation of WPIA members led by their prophet-leader for whom the timing of return was necessarily a matter of (actual historical) revelation, Suki people judged their moment of return coinciding with the new millennium. It was the symbolism of the date January 1, 2000 held to be a date of profound Christian significance and revelation that transformed the Archbishop into a prophet, revealing a new era of *merdeka* in the eschatology of the Suki people.⁶⁵

Benny Giay (2000:9-10) has described West Papuan conceptions of Indonesian occupation as stages or *babakan* in a sequence of episodes, beginning with Papuans ruling their own land, followed by the arrival of missionaries from the West, and consecutive colonial occupations (Dutch, Japanese and Indonesian). The episode following Indonesian occupation will be *merdeka*, and the final episode – for Christians – is the arrival of Christ. Giay concludes that the incorporation of Irian Jaya into the Indonesian Republic is only 'provisional' (*sementara*). Giay's 'episodic' analysis of Papuan conceptions of time and change is evocative of the Suki case. Suki people saw political change and economic prosperity not as an evolutionary process but as a sudden transformation that would alter their fundamental relations with Indonesians. By returning to Irian Jaya, Suki people could take advantage of this transformation.

Perhaps the priest's re-telling of Suki people's repatriation will enter into the Iowara refugees' discourse of return, as a lesson of the risks of return before

⁶⁵ Kirsch describes millennialism as a globalising discourse, synchronising a people's fate to that of all Christians. Millennialism attributes the power to bring about change "to an abstract moment of time, which is by definition independent of place" rather than the prior location of power in the landscape and other beings inhabiting that place (in press:24). See also Van den Broek and Szalay's (2001) study of millennial expectation of West Papuan independence in the creation of a prayer house at Timika in December 1999.

merdeka; confirming people's suspicions of the trickery by the Indonesian military, and warning against naïvete.⁶⁶

Permissive residency allowing repatriation to the coast

In historical narratives recounted by northerners from Waraston at Iowara, two violent raids by PNG police are represented as evidence of the government's aim to compel northerner repatriation back to Irian Jaya. Eviction of northerners and the burning of their coast camp at Vanimo in 1989, and the detention and torture of several people from Waraston camp, Iowara, in 1998, affected northerners' resolve to endure exile at Iowara.

1. The forced eviction of northerners from Waraston coast camp, Vanimo, in 1989.

Below is a compilation narrative describing the circumstances of the eviction:

Between September and December 1989 we were watched by police. The police prohibited us associating with people outside of our camp. Around this time Bernard Narokobi advised the [local] Ninggra⁶⁷ that West Papuan people are a 'blessing' (*karunia*) but if neglected will leave this place and with them, their *karunia*.⁶⁸ In December the police brought dogs. They were

⁶⁶ During 2000, the Suki people crossed back into Papua New Guinea settling in another riverside camp but not at Suki (pers. comm. Jacques Gros 2001).

⁶⁷ Northerners at Waraston categorised as 'brothers and sisters' (*saudara*), people from around Vanimo, including Ninggra people. It was said that people to the east had originally come from the west. A man whose village was close to the Ifar mountain recounted its significance as the place of origin of West Papuan peoples who then dispersed across the north coast of the island of New Guinea as far east as Aitape: "An *Ondawafe* (Tanahmerahan tribal leader) called Dafonawai mistreated his people at Ifar and so they dispersed taking their riches with them. Some took nets and snares, some took spears and dogs, some took garden plants. Dafonawai remained behind and with the resources left to him he changed his form to become the Dafonsoro mountain range [today known as Cyclops]. Dafonawai's younger brother Kemanwai who returned late from hunting to find his people already scattered changed form to become the island of Kumamba. The dispersal can be seen in the 'sameness of culture' (*kebudayaan sama*) across the north coast: bridewealth objects, dances, decoration/ornamentation, canoe design and motifs, spears, sago leaf roofs." Northerners explained PNG Member of Parliament John Tekwie's support for an independent West Papua in terms of his Tabi region ethnicity extending from Tanahmerah (Irian Jaya) in the west, until Aitape (PNG) in the east.

⁶⁸ In the mid-1980s, as Chairman of the PNG political party Melanesian Alliance, Narokobi was outspoken against Papuan repatriation and deportation, and advocated PNG accession to the UN Refugee Convention. In 1985, Narokobi was reported to have filed an application with the

afraid we would resist. We already knew their plan. We had said to them: "We are not thieves, why are you forcing us to leave?" For two weeks there was no action. Those police who were Seventh Day Adventists opposed the Foreign Affairs command to burn our houses and retreated from duty. They had observed us gathering to pray each morning and feared for their own salvation if they harmed us. Finally in December, Foreign Affairs officials themselves lit the church. We were sitting inside the church praying at the time. A leader scooped soil from around the base of that foundation pillar and holding it skywards pronounced: "We have been evicted with violence. You must act upon this injustice." We abandoned the church. We did not wish to see it burn. Upon reaching Vanimo we turned to see the smoke. Later a nun fetched two charred pieces to form a cross for the new church. We were surprised when they burned our church; PNG considers itself a Christian country yet they burned down our church.

In this eviction narrative, northerners are related as victims mistreated as foreigners even thieves, and objects of surveillance by the PNG state. The policemen, represented as religious men, are conscious of the eviction order's injustice and retreat from the task. The incongruity of collective prayer enduring even as the church is burned down around worshippers, underlines their vulnerability, and the symbolic violence of the event. Finally, the formation of the cross from the physical material of the old church preserves historical memory of the northerner congregation's treatment by the PNG state, and evidences one other trial that they have endured in exile.

Northerners recalled the period between 1987-89 spent at Waraston coast camp as idyllic, in spite of its location in exile. Similar to Muyu people who projected their own place as utopic in light of the conditions at Iowara experienced as dystopic, northerners recalled their previous coast camp in terms of 'feeling at home' (*betah*). At night, car headlights could be traced winding slowly around the headland to Jayapura. The headlights guided northerners mnemonically to the place from where they had fled. The lights also enabled a certain panopticon: they could see their place in the distance from a position of darkened cover. At this camp, the condition of exile was unburdened by proximity to their own place and people, and the familiar coastal environment that allowed prosperity. Northerners practised commercial fishing, even purchasing outboard motors to assist their

Supreme Court on behalf of West Papuans who had crossed into PNG. He requested the court consider the constitutional, political, civil or legal rights of refugees in PNG in the absence of government policy (Smith 1991:238-239). Narokobi is author of the popular text *The Melanesian Way* (1980) mentioned by some people at Iowara as a significant text, substantiating Melanesianness.

catch. They played basketball and soccer with the locals, and attended each others church services. There was no desire to relocate to East Awin.

The event of eviction was not merely their forced removal from a familiar, prosperous coastal place, it was also their relocation to an uncleared forest place deep in the PNG interior. According to northerners from Waraston, the government wished to compel their voluntary repatriation by covert means. Violent eviction and banishment would cause them to lose hope and register for repatriation. Remaining in exile captured international attention on the matter of human rights abuses by the Indonesian government against West Papuans in Irian Jaya. Repatriation would remove dissenters from the public, silencing their public dissent.

2. The 'December incident' (*peristiwa Desember*), Iowara, 1998.

On December 19, 1998, a primary school headmaster and local policeman (PNG nationals from the same village) at Iowara refugee camp, Western Province, PNG, were overheard planning a 'retaliation' against some youth from Waraston camp. [There were several unresolved conflicts between the headmaster, his wife, and oldest son, and some people from Waraston camp]. On December 19, the policeman, the headmaster and his brother-in-law, carrying guns and apparently drunk, apprehended - at random - several people from Waraston camp. Those who resisted were pursued and beaten. When news of the beatings reached Waraston camp, women relatives began walking towards the main camp to confront the policeman and headmaster. They were forced to retreat by bullets fired by the policeman in the direction of their camp. Judging the situation to be getting out of control, a Waraston man requested that the Catholic Mission at Iowara radio for police assistance (mediation) from the nearest town, Kiunga. This request was not implemented. Later, several people witnessed the policeman vandalise his own station. Around this time, a brother of one of the men beaten earlier threatened the policeman with a weapon. At 5pm, the mission radio was used to summon the PNG *Brimob* (riot police), reportedly on the false information that Waraston refugees at Iowara had shot the PNG policeman and destroyed his station. On 20 December at 4pm, a helicopter dropped nine PNG police carrying MIG weapons. With this group was the Iowara Camp Administrator (a PNG national from the same village as the policeman and the headmaster). *Brimob* headed immediately in the direction of Waraston camp and began apprehending and beating people. There was no effort made to discuss the cause or result of the earlier conflict. One of the men beaten earlier, and the younger sister of another Waraston youth, were detained and beaten. Nine or ten Waraston men, including several frail, old men were summoned and

beaten with rifle butts and with pieces of 4 inch x 2 inch wood. Rifle butts were placed in people's mouth, nose and ears. These men were detained overnight in a police cell. Police threatened to burn the houses of Waraston village. Later, two houses were burned to the ground. The following day, a man was released to negotiate the surrender of youth allegedly involved in the original conflict, and in the previous two day's events. The terms of negotiation agreed to by the Camp Administrator and *Brimob* commander included: release of those detained, original conflict between the headmaster's family and other people at Waraston camp be investigated/resolved in court, and amnesty for the youth who surrendered. These conditions agreed to, the youth surrendered and were airlifted to Kiunga. On December 24, several of these men, now detained in Kiunga prison, were severely beaten by the local police, including the policeman from Iowara. Three months later, people are still suffering from the physical effects of the beatings sustained. Young men in jail have been faced with court and parole costs amounting to thousands of kina. The original conflict was neither addressed, nor a resolution attempted by the local policeman or *Brimob*. *Brimob* immediately sided with the local policeman and headmaster against the West Papuan refugees from Waraston camp at Iowara. Hopefully this testimony may be disseminated to uncover the abuse of human rights of West Papuan refugees at Waraston camp, Iowara, PNG.⁶⁹

Waraston people's commentaries about the raid focused on the moral character of the behaviour of the Papua New Guinean protagonists: removal of Bibles from houses before burning them; theft of sago from one of the burned houses, consumed feast-like with a pig they had purchased at Iowara; beating of old men and a woman; drunken condition of the protagonists who initiated the event; duplicity in the Iowara policeman's trashing of his own station; and the broken promise of amnesty in the event of surrender.

The December incident and narratives describing the event, demonstrate the construction of antagonistic categories. These categories are represented as 'Papua New Guineans' employed by the state as police and soldiers, and at Iowara, employed by the government,⁷⁰ UNHCR and the Catholic church. This category

⁶⁹ Responding to some Waraston people's urging that the 'world outside' be informed about the raid, I translated this single testimony-narrative from the field in March 1999, sending it from Iowara to a colleague in Canberra, requesting that it be posted onto the *Kabar Irian* newslister ("Abuse of Human Rights of West Papuan refugees" *Kabar Irian*, March 24, 1999). The testimony did not elaborate northerner's suspicions that the domestic dispute was fabricated to provoke a police raid in order to search for homemade weapons.

⁷⁰ Several people were considered exceptions to this categorisation, including the clerk at Iowara who was the sole representative of the PNG government. Of Awin origin, he was uniformly

is placed in opposition to 'the refugees' - or at least, those from Waraston as category. The use of the Indonesian term *Brimob* (meaning mobile police brigade) to label what was a PNG riot squad, suggests that the violent raid had historical resonances in Indonesian raids made against West Papuans in Irian Jaya. In the narratives of eviction and the December incident, good and evil, purity and corruption were attached to the categories of West Papuan and Papua New Guinean. While the contrast between 'West Papuan refugee' and 'Papua New Guinean' categories was secondary to the one between 'West Papuan' and 'Indonesian', moral categorical differences between the refugees and Papua New Guineans as the dominating 'Other' are illustrated in both narratives (see Malkki 1995a:145).

More than any other event occurring in the period of exile, the December incident was perceived by northerners at Waraston to signal the dangerous ambiguity of their status in an era where they were no longer refugees but permissive residents. The raid effected the most disillusioned nadir in northerners, altering their resolve to endure exile at Iowara. Northerners had previously spoken of Iowara in terms of political tactic; as an enclave drawing international attention to the struggle for *merdeka*. In 1999, they planned to utilise the condition of permissive residency that allowed relocation inside of PNG, to shift closer to the coastal region. The new status of permissive residency, while removing UNHCR-derived forms of material support and international legal protection, also enabled return home - not back to Irian Jaya, but to the coastal region of PNG where they had previously enjoyed prosperity.

Permissive residency enabled temporary return to the homeland. Each adult was issued with an identification form and passport photo known as 'permission letter' (*surat ijin*).⁷¹ People spoke about permissive residency allowing them to move outside of Iowara and closer to their own home, allowing regular entry and return. Particularly for women whose husbands were political activists and had rejected repatriation outright, permissive residency identification papers were like 'passports' allowing them to return to Irian Jaya to visit their relatives and family.

respected by refugees as non-aligned, trustworthy and efficient. He was on leave at the time of the December incident.

⁷¹ Permissive residency is different from the border pass system. People living in the border region on either side may apply for a red card (*kartu merah*) from the Indonesian consulate on the PNG side, or an entry visa (*visa masuk*) from the PNG embassy on the Indonesian side. People living outside of the border region who wish to cross the border must hold a national passport.

It was claimed that the papers identified them as provisional PNG citizens, as international subjects. Displayed in Irian Jaya, West Papuan's PNG permissive residency status was deemed protective, while in PNG it was perceived as discriminatory. People mentioned plans to return to their parents' or sibling's home for a limited period of time, before returning again to PNG. Such a temporary form of return is embraced in Casey's 'homecoming' where "the re-implacing may be momentary and need not include residing or re-residing. Indeed, homecoming may be followed by yet another journey, e.g., back to one's *contemporary* home ..." (1992:291; original emphasis).

The events of forced eviction and police raid were significant events that were explained in terms of allegory: treatment of northerners during the *Brimob* raid on Waraston camp was congruous with their previous experience of forced eviction by PNG police in 1989. The *Brimob* raid was allegorical in that it contained the same moral, didactic lessons (see Malkki 1995a:106) as the event of eviction in the more distant past. Both were interpreted as efforts by the Indonesian government working through the PNG government, to break the spirit of northerner dissidents, compelling their return to Irian Jaya.

Most refugees imagine return or repatriation to Irian Jaya in teleological terms. Faith that *merdeka* constitutes the ultimate *hasil* is inextricably tied to people's Christian religiosity and faith in God as witness to their struggle, and faith in their suffering ending in liberation. Relocation to the isolated East Awin site in 1987, and UNHCR's withdrawal from Iowara in the period 1996-2000, were both perceived as strategies orchestrated by Indonesia to compel repatriation. Significant contemporary events at Iowara became allegorical, containing similar moral and didactic lessons of the past. In spite of this, refugees planned to use their permissive residency status 'tactically', to extend the period of political exile in order to repatriate at a time when *hasil* had been achieved. Permissive residency also enabled temporary, protected return - a homecoming of sorts. Actual plans and events of repatriation reveal each particular event to possess its own historico-political complex. The planned repatriation of Muyu people from Yogi camp was an act of reclamation of their region driven by their own development plan, in the absence of any local progress from the Indonesian government's *Repelita* development program. Other events of return were premised on the realisation of nationhood. WPIA member's repatriation planned for September 2000 projected involvement in a process of West Papuan national development. Marind people's

repatriation from their border camp at Suki in December 1999 was based on expectation of *merdeka* being realised in the new millennium. Finally, northerners from Waraston planned to utilise the status of permissive residency in order to struggle for West Papuan nationhood through continued political exile in PNG.

7. Exile, return, and a memory of collective suffering (*memoria passionis*)

Behind events of West Papuan flight to Papua New Guinea in the period 1984-86 lay a foment of personal and collective experiences of an Indonesian state considered to be malign, and an elaboration of narratives about the past in a West Papuan historical discourse. Taken together, West Papuan experiences and collective discursive practice produced an antagonistic opposition between West Papuan people and the Indonesian state. The Indonesian state treated West Papuans as traitors and dissidents, and West Papuans responded by defining their nationhood in opposition. A bounded cultural repertoire represented as West Papuan, and oriented to 'Melanesia' in the east, was depicted as undermined by the intrusion of 'Indonesian' cultural forms.

Among West Papuan refugees at Iowara, political exile in PNG is represented as assisting in reclaiming West Papuan nationhood 'realised' in 1961 and revoked in 1962. Their status as political refugees, living in an enclave of sorts in PNG, draws international attention to the illegitimate and violent Indonesian administration in Irian Jaya. Refugees imagine that *merdeka* will be brought into being, partly at least, by their political exile. While the state of *merdeka* is conceptualised in terms of 'independence', many people understood *merdeka* more broadly in terms of liberation: the freedom from arbitrary military surveillance and violence, the right to compensation for land appropriated by the state, the freedom to represent and express their cultural selves as 'West Papuan', and the right to restrict migration from Indonesia.

Exile in PNG is sustained by refugees' subjective understanding of their place or role in the enduring narrative of struggle for nationhood. The memory of martyrs also gives meaning to exile. Northerners commemorate martyrs including Arnold Ap and several other people imprisoned or killed in the period since flight. The evocative powers of refugees' soliloquy and songs of yearning for their own ocean, mountain or ancestral place, compounds their sense of exile as temporary. Their trajectory, when brought to its intended conclusion, will see them return to

their place of origin deemed their legitimate place among their own people, in accordance with their discourse of autochthony. In Saul's words, living at Iowara is like wandering or drifting about. Not to be wandering is to be in a place considered one's own.

Refugees' understanding of Iowara as a mid-journey location allow them to generate it as a dwelling place. There is no contradiction intended here. Through various practices, Iowara is cultivated as a dwelling place enabling refugees to endure exile in order to return to the homeland. Camps are configured to resemble the familiar residential arrangements of their previous border camps, and before that, their village of origin in Irian Jaya. Non-kin are adopted to represent deceased or absent parents or siblings, building social attachments that traverse the relocation site. Houses are built, renovated, bartered, and dismantled while gardens are cleared, fallowed, and re-planted. Each of these activities inscribe the landscape. Practices of selling or gifting houses and productive gardens, as well as proscription on trespassing, institutionalise refugee 'ownership' at Iowara. Incantations that read the landscape enhance production and pre-empt danger, and Christian prayer also brings solace. Many refugees extend agency to a God perceived to witness their struggle and possess powers of intervention. Deceased parents and children are laid to rest beside the family's house, on the perimeter of their church, or in the public cemetery at Iowara. Engendering a familiar place of sentimental attachment, these practices also make people's relationship to Iowara ambiguous; imbuing a necessarily temporary place with a sense of home.

West Papuan refugees do not look upon PNG as more than a temporary place of exile. The forced relocation of northerners from their original camps at Blackwater and Pasi beach near Vanimo, extinguished northerners' sources of livelihood. While most teachers at Iowara are northerners, the majority of northerners do not have employment and their sense of destitution is as abject as other refugees at Iowara. Experiences of exile and conditions differ from camp to camp depending on factors such as people's level of education which may enable their employment as teacher or nurse, whether they arrived with capital, whether they are beneficiaries of relatives in exile in the 'first world', and whether their family members enjoy good health sufficient to engender their participation in the labour-intensive, makeshift economy.

The extreme vulnerability of refugees at Iowara, a place without sago or water reserves, was 'brought home' painfully during the drought of 1997. The objective material conditions of the East Awin site are inescapable: the appalling

road and transport service, denuded and diminishing gardening land, absence of roofing material, and sheer isolation. Given the high rainfall, the absence of sago leaves for roofing material gravely affects people's everyday lives. East Awin exemplifies the risks of relocating a large refugee population to a restricted site, which, although considered 'vacant', has low soil fertility and cannot sustain food production. These material conditions - perceived as unsustainable - have also caused people to view Iowara as nothing more than a mid-journey place.

For Muyu people particularly, these material conditions combined with restrictions on hunting and diminished garden productivity, see them project their own place in utopic terms, further impelling their desire to return. A Muyu collective narrative of their region as utopic in opposition to East Awin as dystopic, articulates with a wider West Papuan historical narrative. This narrative uses the biblical analogy of a Garden of Eden to depict West Papua as a country of great wealth, and consequential vulnerability to colonisation. Muyu people wait in exile in spite of their land that lies in walking distance from the Indonesia-PNG border. Their purposeful waiting highlights their fear of persecution and incrimination on return. Without faith in particular leaders, Muyu people suffer extreme indecision about their fate as returnees. Return to Irian Jaya is perceived as risking punishment for humiliating the Indonesian state in the eyes of the world. Return also risks retribution by the OPM, for return before *merdeka* is perceived to be premature, undermining the project of collective exile.

Refugees at Iowara view their collective exile as a sign to the world of their rejection of Indonesian occupation and their assertion of nationhood. The relative safety of exile enabled the staging of the peace demonstration, its banners engaging discourses of difference, as well as subverting the state's dominant version of history. Refugee understandings of their common exile contributing to the wider West Papuan narrative of struggle for freedom, sustains their holding out in exile. The matter of return to the homeland is determined by what individuals and groups understand to be a satisfactory result or outcome (*hasil*) of their period of exile. The imperative to hold out in exile also implies shame at returning empty-handed. The deaths of West Papuans in the journey of flight and in the period of exile must also be justified. For many northerners, *hasil* is no less than political independence from Indonesia. For many Muyu, it is the installation of infrastructure and essential transport, education and health services in their border region. For Dani who repatriated to Irian Jaya in August 2000, *hasil* constituted international solidarity and recognition of their indigeneity, which they projected would privilege

them in relation to Indonesian migrants. Dani claimed this 'platform' of indigenous rights to be a successful outcome to their period of exile.

Refugees consider that PNG privileges its diplomatic relation with Indonesia above its ethnic-cultural obligation to West Papuans, breaching the obligation of solidarity between kin. PNG's mistreatment of West Papuan refugees is recalled in terms of the following events: incidences of deportation and the spectre of mass deportation in the period 1984-86, eviction from coastal camps including the burning of the Waraston coast settlement and church in 1989, relocation to an isolated site, the riot squad raid on Waraston camp in 1998, and perceived general neglect of services at Iowara. The PNG state's ambiguous policies and responses towards West Papuan refugees have caused the latter to be guarded and watchful.

Compared to the period of UNCHR withdrawal from Iowara (1996-2000), the period of UNHCR legal protection and provision of material services was recalled as a sort of halcyon phase. Withdrawal was viewed in terms of abandonment. Some refugees interpreted UNHCR withdrawal from Iowara in terms of an historical conjuncture of past and present: it was identified with the UN's earlier involvement in the ceding of West Irian to Indonesia in 1962-63 and 1969. This interpretation presents a precedent of UN complicity with the Indonesian state. Refugee perceptions of the UN were improved considerably however, by the UN's 'sponsorship' of the referendum in East Timor in 1999.

West Papuan refugees' claim to permissive residency in PNG was the subject of an international campaign from 1984. However, the conditions attached to the offer were perceived by refugees to be a ploy to remove their refugee status, and therefore their international protection under the UNHCR. Left to their own devices in a hostile economy they would be compelled to return to Irian Jaya out of their abject poverty. This would hail victory for the Indonesian state which desired the elimination or incarceration of all West Papuan dissidents. The realisation of assistance to northerners to relocate to the coast, fulfilling the original terms of the permissive residency offer and enabling their economic survival, would alter northerner perceptions of abandonment at least.

In spite of this perception of the offer as a scheme by the PNG and Indonesian governments, refugees understood their permissive residency status in tactical terms. Permissive residency would ensure protected political exile (albeit conditional and subject to renewal) in PNG in order to repatriate at a later time when *hasil* had been realised. Viewed from another angle, to choose repatriation according to the Indonesian and PNG governments' schedule, would not satisfy

the imperative to return with result. Permissive residency would allow refugees to register for repatriation later, in terms of their own timeframe, without compromising the object of exile as personal salvation, and in many cases, the desire for political salvation or liberation.

The desire for West Papuan liberation is compelled by the sorts of narratives elaborated in chapters two and three of this thesis. Most recently, several theologian scholars in Irian Jaya - Benny Giay (2000), J. Budi Hernawan and Theo Van den Broek (1999) - have conceptualised the historical narratives of West Papuans living in Irian Jaya in terms of a memory of collective suffering or *memoria passionis*.

A West Papuan *memoria passionis*

The second half of this conclusion examines the notion of a memory of collective suffering held by West Papuans in Irian Jaya, against the analysis in this thesis of the historical narratives of West Papuan refugees, influenced by Liisa Malkki's treatment of Hutu refugees' narratives. This section considers the potential of this analytical approach for politicising more profoundly, the effect of *memoria passionis* on West Papuan nationalist thinking in Irian Jaya.

Since 1999 the concept of *memoria passionis* has circulated in public discourse in Irian Jaya.¹ Hernawan and Van den Broek describe the effect of *memoria passionis* using an analogy of volcanic magma.

This *memoria passionis* is like magma which is concealed from normal view but stores latent energy which is terrifying and ready to turn the existing status quo upside down (1999).²

¹ Theologian scholar Johannes Baptist Metz (1980) uses *memoria passionis* in terms of an association of politics and morals, manifest in a political consciousness and political action in the memory of people's suffering. Metz proposes a history developed out of a memory of suffering: "an understanding of history in which the vanquished and destroyed alternatives would also be taken into account: an understanding of history *ex memoria passionis* as a history of the vanquished" (1980:111). For Metz, the essential dynamics of history consist of the memory of suffering which is a stimulus to overcome suffering within the framework of a future freedom (1980:108). According to Metz, it is in light of the crucifixion of Christ as a Christian *memoria passionis* that political life is liberated; protected from totalitarianism (1980:117). The Christian memory of suffering brings a "new moral imagination into political life, a new vision of others' suffering ... the ferment for that new political life we are seeking on behalf of our future" (1980:117-118).

Giay (2000:6-9) mentions events experienced by West Papuans across Irian Jaya: mass burial of live people, torture and murder of traditional tribal leaders, and the dismembering of bodies. These are some of the events which are stored and live on as a collective memory of suffering. While *memoria passionis* is premised on the idea of memory, its transmission from generation to generation presumes an oral narrative form. Hernawan and Van den Broek (1999) mention the substance of *memoria passionis* inscribed in the social memory, flowing incisively and clearly from the mouths of the ordinary people.

In this river our father was murdered; on the slope of that mountain there were many villages which were destroyed by ABRI; on that open field, our old men were forced to burn their *koteka* because they were considered primitive; in the past that mountain was ours, now people have destroyed our mother; before we easily hunted animals in the forest but now we are not permitted to enter and it is said the company is protected by state law; our children cannot advance because there are too few teachers in the school; medicine is too expensive (1999).

Clearly, violence and loss are also inscribed in the landscape in the passage above. Hernawan and Van den Broek propose that the substance of *memoria passionis* has not ever been disclosed in public,³ but rather, bequeathed from one generation to another as an inheritance of trauma. The authors propose national reconciliatory dialogue between West Papuan leaders and the Indonesian state as a peaceful way to expel the contents of people's hearts; releasing themselves from the concealed, heavy burden of memories of suffering (1999). The authors speak of the role of West Papuan and non-Papuan intellectuals to act as a bridge for and articulate Papuan *memoria passionis* in terms of a 'discourse of universal humanism' (*wacana kemanusiaan universal*). It is proposed that through the dissemination of a West Papuan history of collective suffering, the terms of the struggle can be taken beyond the bounds of the Indonesian state.

Only the Indonesian state's official version of the history of Irian Jaya is taught in the schools. The history of the West Papuan nation has never informed

² *Memoria passionis* ini bagaikan magma yang tersembunyi dari pandangan mata biasa tetapi menyimpan energi laten yang dahsyat dan siap menjungkir-balikkan status quo yang ada.

³ However, a precedent of disclosure was established by The Australian Council for Overseas Aid report (1995) and Jayapura Bishop Herman Munninghof's report (1995) on human rights abuses around the Freeport Mining site. Munninghof's report was the first in a series of reports on Human Rights violations compiled by the Office for Justice and Peace, Jayapura Diocese.

this teaching; it is a *sunyi* or silent history (Hernawan and Van den Broek 1999).⁴ Memory of events of brutality is a crucial source of data for the recent revisionist history project in Irian Jaya mentioned as “straightening out history” (*pelurusan sejarah*). Van den Broek observed that the shift to a straightening of history from an emphasis on the settlement of human rights violations in the first half of 2000, anticipated the opening up of discourse on violence in the period of *reformasi* (Jayapura Diocese 2000b).

A West Papuan *memoria passionis* is conceptualised as a collective, albeit hidden phenomenon of public importance, integral to any reconciliation effort. The operations and political effects of *memoria passionis* comprise the subject of this section, which proposes that several operations of West Papuan refugees’ historical narratives examined in this thesis may fruitfully extend an analysis of the political effects of narratives of collective suffering of West Papuans in Irian Jaya. These operations include: narratives that classify and explain current social and political order and establish antagonistic oppositions, narratives that nationalise, narratives that demythologise history, and narratives that function in conjunctural terms i.e., where narratives of the past structure social action in the present and inversely, narratives of the present recall experiences of the past.

A *memoria passionis* may give essential, constitutive characters to subjects as protagonists. Using Malkki’s approach, we may ask of a *memoria passionis* whether it describes the contemporary ‘order’ of West Papuans in relation to the Indonesian state and migrants, and whether it explains how and why the present order emerged. Indeed, Giay’s essay contains several vignettes sub-headed “Papuan-self understanding.” Represented in colloquial language as the thinking of ordinary people, these vignettes like the panels in chapter two, collapse concepts of race, culture and nation. Giay’s vignettes are titled: “We are Papuans, you are Indonesians,” “The colour of the West Papuan map (1965),” “The Papuan person is a Papuan person and the Javanese is Javanese,” and “Difficult to become an Indonesian” (2000:3-6).⁵

According to Malkki, historical narratives may isolate ‘Other’ from its ‘collective trajectory’, constructing an ‘imagined moral community’ (Malkki

⁴ The original phrase in Hernawan and Van den Broek (1999) quoted in Giay (2000:8-9) is: “Memoria Passionis: breaks through the silent history of the Papuan nation” (*Memoria passionis: menyelami sejarah sunyi bangsa Papua*).

⁵ The original titles in the same sequence are: *Kami orang Papua, kamu orang Indonesia*, *Warna peta Papua Barat (1965)*, *Orang Papua itu orang Papua dan Jawa itu Jawa (Agustus 1998)*, and *Susah menjadi orang Indonesia*.

1995a:243). For example, in the historical narratives of West Papuan refugees elaborated in chapter two, a West Papuan nation as a 'moral community' is represented as corrupted and largely decimated in the recent Indonesian period of colonisation where violence has been normalised. Malkki describes the way that state-sponsored violence establishes the boundaries of a moral community: such violence 'canonises' the inhuman 'Other', purging them from the moral community (1995a:244).

Memoria passionis as a foundation for nationalist thought is contained in Hernawan and Van den Broek's description of *memoria passionis* as a "memory of a nation's suffering"⁶ and a "collective memory of the Papuan nation" (1999).⁷ Giay proposes that a process of nationalism has been driven by individual and collective memories of suffering since the period of Indonesian colonisation.

... here it needs to be understood that the idea of a New Papua like the case of an independent Papua, was born in the life experience of a group. It has not fallen from the sky. It is born: a) out of historical experience: the event of integration with the Republic of Indonesia which was forced upon Papuans by Indonesians began in the beginning of the 1960s while they were preparing to form a free and sovereign West Papua; b) interaction with Indonesian people, both government officials and business, who in the experience and understanding of the [West Papuan] people only come to seize the rights of Papuans and destroy them in the name of development; and c) the idea of a New Papua in the same manner as has been clarified above is not separate from *memoria passionis*: the experience of suffering of Papuans, both individually and collectively connected with the violation of human rights in the form of murder that has occurred for more than thirty years [and] has not ever been discharged/settled thoroughly (2000:31).⁸

⁶ Kisah ingatan penderitaan sebangsa.

⁷ Ingatan kolektif bangsa Papua.

⁸ ... di sini kiranya perlu dipahami bahwa ide Papua Baru seperti halnya Papua merdeka, lahir di dalam pengalaman hidup bermasyarakat. Ia tidak turun dari langit. Ia lahir a) karena pengalaman sejarah: peristiwa integrasi dengan Republik Indonesia yang dipaksakan oleh orang Indonesia ke atas orang Papua, yang pada awal tahun 1960an sedang mempersiapkan diri untuk membentuk Papua Barat yang merdeka dan berdaulat; b) interaksi dengan orang Indonesia baik pejabat pemerintah maupun swasta yang dalam pengalaman dan pemahaman masyarakat hanya datang untuk merampas hak-hak orang Papua dan membunuh atas nama pembangunan; dan c) Ide Papua Baru sebagaimana yang dijelaskan di atas, tidak terlepas dari *memoria passionis*: pengalaman penderitaan orang Papua, baik pribadi maupun kolektif sehubungan dengan pelanggaran hak-hak asasi manusia dalam bentuk Pembunuhan selama 30 tahun lebih yang tidak pernah diselesaikan secara tuntas.

A revisionist West Papuan history such as that proposed by Giay (as well as the Merauke Central Committee discussed in Chapter 2) where Papuans become subjects and authors of their own history, would restore to West Papuans their acting in the world as 'categorical protagonists', existing as a 'collectivity' in the face of opposition (Malkki 1995a:245). Being a historical subject is being a subject with a 'national past'. Whereas, denying the nation-ness of an 'Other' denies its subjectivity, even its human-ness (Malkki 1995a:257), and makes silent (*sumyi*) a people's history. By way of inversion, acknowledging a people's historical subjectivity restores to them their humanity and 'national past'.

While the themes of *memoria passionis* (murder, torture, rape, detention without trial, surveillance, appropriation and theft, marginalisation and discrimination) have been theorised as remembered and produced, Malkki also draws attention to the way that themes of collective suffering may be consolidated and transformed (1995a:105). Continued political conditions of repression provide a collective history with a "meaningful, signifying use in the present" (Malkki 1995a:241-2). Malkki observes historical consciousness to be lodged within processes which may even be accidental, situated in the "lived events and local processes of the everyday" (1995a:241). She draws our attention to the way an experience in the present evokes the memory of an event experienced in the past that, in turn, may function as a 'paradigmatic model' by structuring that person's reaction. Events occurring in present day Irian Jaya - disappearances, arbitrary arrests, torture in detention, shootings - reactivate a *memoria passionis*. An historical memory of collective suffering leaves people who are the repositories of that memory, vulnerable to feeling terrorised by rumours in the present. Their terror in the face of rumour is based on their actual experiences of the past.

An experience in the present may also further elaborate or objectify an experience of the past contained within a collective narrative (Malkki 1995a:105-106). This operation was the subject of discussion in Chapter 6 in the context of UNHCR withdrawal from Iowara perceived as abandonment, and explained by some refugees in terms of an historical conjuncture of the present and the past, namely, the UN's ceding of West Irian to Indonesia in 1962-63 and 1969. This operation is deployed here in order to examine the political effects of a West Papuan *memoria passionis* in Irian Jaya. Malkki theorises historical consciousness as a process of transformation, where events, processes, and relations are grasped and ingested and subverted and made into something new. She describes the way historical narratives construct something in opposition to other versions of "what

was ostensibly the same world, or the same past” as an oppositional process, and a process of ‘world making’ (1995a:55). Malkki’s approach enables us to ask of the effect of West Papuan *memoria passionis* in the context of Irian Jaya: what sort of world-making has been produced by the West Papuan *memoria passionis*? How might a memory of a nation’s suffering be reconciled in order to unmake this fearful world?

Memoria passionis has the potential to entrench categorical social orders, positioning West Papuans in opposition to Indonesians. “Annulment of the other” also occurs in military manifestations of resistance (Malkki 1995a:257). Benedict Anderson distinguishes between nationalism and racism, proposing that nationalism “thinks in terms of historical destinies, while racism dreams of eternal contaminations” (1983:136). Indeed, most West Papuans in Irian Jaya are focused on their sense of their own historical destiny; the matter of restoring their nation. But Malkki’s reminder that processes of nationalism and racism are forms of categorical thought, and therefore “parallel constructions capable of interpermutations” (1995a:257) is something to be heeded. Will migrants or non-Papuans be constructed as ‘eternal contamination’ in a West Papuan nation-state? The *memoria passionis* of West Papuans in Irian Jaya like the historical narratives of West Papuan refugees, elaborates the Indonesian state’s denial of the humanness and subjectivity of West Papuans. These narratives depict the annulment of the West Papuan category by the Indonesian state, and “canonise the inhumanity” (Malkki 1995a:258) of the Indonesian category.

How does a *memoria passionis* of West Papuans in Irian Jaya as elaborated by Giay and others articulate with the historical narratives of West Papuan refugees at Iowara? What are the effects of time and place, namely, the circumstances of exile, on the operation of historical narratives for West Papuans living in exile compared with those of West Papuans living in Irian Jaya? Given the fact of exile since 1984, children of West Papuan refugees have grown up in an enclave of relative refuge, in the company of people identified as ‘us’. Yet, Michael Taussig’s ‘culture of terror’ (1987) - a milieu of fear that is constantly reproduced - is not entirely absent at Iowara. The responses of the students at Iowara to the picture of the Indonesia soldier at the Bus stop (Chapter 1) would suggest that a ‘culture of terror’ is reproduced at Iowara in spite of being located physically outside of the Indonesian state. How might a ‘culture of terror’ be reproduced at Iowara in the absence of what Taussig conceives as a ‘space of

death' or landscape that evokes memories of acts of violence carried out in that same space?

Many West Papuans in Irian Jaya live their everyday lives in the midst of violence, located in a space or landscape that evokes memories of collective suffering of the sort mentioned by Benny Giay in the passage above. Writing particularly of violence, memory and landscape at Freeport, Ballard describes sites of arrest, torture, murder and the disposal of bodies that form a "topographic grid or layer" comprised of the memories of violent events in those places (in press:b). Events of death, torture or arrest are inscribed on places inhabited by people. This space of death in Irian Jaya reproduces a culture of terror which constantly augments an historical memory of collective suffering.⁹ By way of contrast, locations at Iowara are not "endowed with [such] a terrifying significance" (Ballard:in press b).¹⁰ While Iowara is a place of collective material suffering, refugees generally acknowledge it as a place of refuge where military activity is proscribed but political activity is tolerated.

At Iowara, other elements become mnemotichical devices retaining historical memories of suffering in the present. The opening passage of Chapter 3, set during a Yospan practice at Iowara, recounted how a young woman related various performers and members of the audience in terms of their personal experiences of suffering: one woman was the wife of a man imprisoned on Java for the term of his natural life, another was the widow of an OPM fighter who had been shot and then burned to death by Indonesian soldiers on the border, and the music accompanying the Yospan dancing was a song composed in prison by Arnold Ap in the days before his execution. The young woman represented these traumatic experiences of individuals as the material of a memory of collective suffering. It was in the presence of the widows of freedom fighters and the lyrics

⁹ At Iowara, refugees were barely aware of several critical political events that had occurred in Irian Jaya since their time of exile in PNG beginning in 1984. For example, Thomas Wanggai's flag raising on December 14, 1988, in the Mandala stadium, Jayapura, and the return of Wanggai's corpse from a Jakartan jail and the planned procession from Sentani to Jayapura on March 18, 1996, resulting in a riot at Abepura. Neither were people aware of the detail of events of the massacre following the flag raising that occurred on Biak in July 1998. These events did not constitute part of people's historical memory at Iowara.

¹⁰The raid by PNG riot squad police on Waraston camp, Iowara, in December 1998 is an important exception here. The following incidences occurred in particular places at Waraston and Station camps: burning of two houses, trashing of other houses and two kiosks, torture of male relatives in a building at Station camp, hiding of household items in the forest, and concealment of women and children in Church buildings. These incidences would have endowed these places at Iowara, for northerners at least, with a terrifying significance.

of Ap's composition that historical memories of collective suffering were invoked in this particular setting at Iowara.

A *memoria passionis* held by West Papuans in Irian Jaya and at Iowara converges on the subject of the murder of Arnold Ap. Many prominent members of Mambesak and peers of Ap's, fled into Vanimo in 1984 and subsequently relocated to Iowara. Living at Iowara were several former members of Mambesak, a recording technician and cassette distributor, as well as students, colleagues and friends of Ap. These people constitute repositories of memory from a place of exile. At Iowara, and in Australia and the Netherlands, performance of the Mambesak repertoire, exhibitions and publications,¹¹ commemorate the history of a West Papuan cultural performance movement in Irian Jaya in the period 1975-84. Memory of the suffering of Arnold Ap remains central to a *memoria passionis* of northerners at Iowara.

Repatriation and *memoria passionis*

The final section explores an event of repatriation in terms of *memoria passionis*' operation of historical conjuncture. Between August 31 and September 5, 2000, eighty-six Dani people at Iowara were repatriated to Wamena,¹² leaving about one hundred other Dani at Iowara. This instance of Dani return must be considered against the particular experiences of Dani people at Iowara. Pursued by the Indonesian military in 1977, they fled by foot from the Baliem Valley to Mamberamo and onto Bewani on the PNG border in 1979.

Two themes noted in discussion in 1998 and 1999 with Franciscus, a Dani leader, are worth recounting here. First, Dani refugees at Iowara felt unable to return to Wamena without outcome or success that would enable symbolic

¹¹ See for example, George Aditjondro's 2000 publication *Cahaya Bintang Kejora* which contains three essays on Arnold Ap in the section headed "Cultural and human rights issues." These essays are titled: "Indigenisation and Westernisation: the echo of Mambesak binding the cultural identity of the Cassowary Land," "The overlapping of individual and collective human rights in West Papua: taking as a starting point the case of Arnold Ap and Mambesak" and "Notes on the vastness of the domain of human rights violations in the Cassowary Land." However, while the text *Cahaya Bintang Kejora* was readily available in Jakarta and Jogjakarta in 2000, this was not the case in Irian Jaya.

¹² At this time, members of the West Papuan Indigenous Association (WPIA) were repatriated to Irian Jaya in accordance with the offer made by the Indonesian and PNG government to West Papuan refugees in 1996. Of the 632 people that were repatriated, 56 returned to Oksibil, 137 to Kiwirok, 352 to Jayapura and 86 to Wamena (pers. comm. Chris Kati 2000).

compensation to relatives of those who had died in the journey of flight, and period of exile. Second, Dani people had waited for *hasil* that would vindicate their exile, allowing repatriation finally. The 'Indigenous People's Program' was considered such an outcome; claiming international recognition of West Papuan people's privileged status as indigenous people, and promoting a non-military means to achieving *merdeka*. The group's leader - revered as a Moses figure - invested an element of teleology or destiny in the repatriation plan. In what can be described as ill-fated, a month after their return a riot occurred in Wamena that evoked the brutal violence of 1977 - from which they had initially fled - as a terrifying allegory.

Dani members of the WPIA group at Iowara planned their repatriation to Irian Jaya during 1998-2000, a period promoted as *reformasi* by the post-Suharto administrations in Jakarta.¹³ However, in the period immediately preceding their repatriation, political developments in Irian Jaya took an ominous turn. In September 2000, domestic political responsibilities devolved to Vice President Megawati Soekarnoputri. Subsequently, Cabinet prohibited the flying of the Morning Star flag and the national police chief threatened that all flags would be forcibly removed if not taken down voluntarily by October 19, 2000. Thousands of security forces had been mobilised since August 2000, including Brimob, Kostrad, Kopassus and airborne troops. In addition, three US-built Skyhawk A-4 had been based in Biak since October 5, from where they have made intimidatory flights over various parts of Papua. ELS-HAM commented that the sight of these planes was traumatic for peoples of the Baliem Valley and Central Highlands who recalled the strafing by OV-10 Broncos in 1977 (ELS-HAM 2000).¹⁴

In the month following their return to Wamena, Dani refugees would have observed Morning Star flags on almost every corner of Wamena town and in villages also (Radio National Asia Pacific 2000). On October 7, 2000, following the military order to lower Papuan flags flying in the township of Wamena, four flags were lowered and their flagpoles chopped down. At the fifth flag, soldiers

¹³ See Van den Broek and Szalay (2001) for a detailed report of political developments in Irian Jaya in the six month period December 1999 - June 2000 described as a 'Papuan spring'. After June 2001, policy changes within the Indonesian parliament and military saw Jakarta's approach to Irian Jaya revert to a repressive order comparable to that of the previous government regime under Suharto.

¹⁴ A comprehensive background to the incident is detailed in the investigation report titled "The incident of human tragedy at Wamena October 6, 2000 before and afterwards" (Tim Kemanusiaan Wamena 2001) carried out by a working group comprising the Catholic Diocese of Jayapura and several human rights bodies (Kontras Papua, Els-Ham Papua and LBH Jayapura) formed by leaders of the five principal churches in Irian Jaya.

were met by Dani resistance and a physical clash and riot ensued, resulting in the death of thirty people including six Dani and twenty-four Indonesian migrants. Forty-five people were injured.¹⁵ Media reports estimated losses valued at Rupiah 3.6 billion (US\$405,000); ninety-one houses were either torched, vandalised or looted, and five kiosks and several vehicles were burned in the incident (Jakarta Post.com 2000). Following the riot, up to 10,000 non-Dani sought shelter in military and police complexes in Wamena, and at least 13,500 were reported as displaced either within the Valley, or had fled to Jayapura (*Tim Kemanusiaan Wamena 2001*). The exodus of civil servants and teachers - particularly from the western sub-districts of Tiom, Bokindini and Pirime - brought medical services and education to a halt.¹⁶ In January 2001, over 200 schoolteachers had applied for transfer outside of the Baliem Valley region (*Tim Kemanusiaan Wamena 2001*). Non-Baliem West Papuans also left the region, reportedly obtaining documents from the government permitting them to work in other regions (Indonesian Observer 2000b). As many as two hundred people were arbitrarily detained in police custody, some were subjected to torture. All except seventeen were released, one of these was reportedly tortured to death (ELS-HAM 2000). A civilian curfew was imposed and people were unable to leave town to access their gardens. The arrival of troop reinforcements caused disquiet and people feared leaving their homes (TAPOL 2000a).

The instance of Dani repatriation from PNG to Wamena took place in spite of a memory of collective Dani suffering relating to the events of 1977, and earlier. Following their return in 2000, these Dani would have been confronted with their township and valley overrun by Indonesian soldiers, conceivably demonstrating an even more deeply rooted antagonism caused by the intervening years of military occupation and unrestricted migration of Indonesians. Should remaining Dani at Iowara learn of the riot - via newsbroadcast or visitors to Iowara from Irian Jaya - it is feasible that they will retell the instance of Dani repatriation in allegorical terms.¹⁷ It carries the same didactic lessons as 1977: Dani (and other Baliem

¹⁵ See also the testimony of Aaron Maness posted on Kabar Irian (Maness 2000). A tourist in Wamena at the time of the riot, Maness was subsequently arrested and deported.

¹⁶ The Indonesian Observer (2000a) reported that all of the 2,234 teachers at government-run schools in Jayawijaya were either non-Baliem Papuans or Indonesians.

¹⁷ I seriously doubt whether Dani returnees were involved in the October 7, 2000, riot in Wamena given the WPIA group's platform of non-violence and rejection of military means to achieving *merdeka*. Whether the state treated as coincidence the event of Dani return coinciding with the riot, or whether they were recalled as dissidents, is less certain.

peoples') resistance to the Indonesian state will be met by punitive retaliation and increased militarisation of the Baliem valley. The aphorism: "If you move or act, you die" (*Bergerak, mati*) remains valid for any political activity deemed subversive by the state. Doubtless, this instance will re-activate in Dani people remaining at Iowara, the memory of their collective suffering, steeling their resolve to hold out in exile.¹⁸ The case of Dani repatriation may be read by Dani and other West Papuan refugees at Iowara in terms of prematurity: in the event of return, the state of *merdeka* is the only *hasil* that will deliver liberation.

The political nature of exile in PNG and the imperative of homecoming to Irian Jaya are recurrent themes in this thesis. Refugees' generation of Iowara to become a dwelling place, as well as their registering for permissive residency, suggests an intention to settle - perhaps even ending their journey. However, West Papuan refugees have made Iowara into a place of refuge, and identified themselves as permissive residents or temporary PNG citizens, in order that they may hold out in exile until the moment that makes purposeful their prolonged absence, and in order to vindicate the death of others in the period of flight and exile. Other refugees have registered for repatriation but this does not necessarily signal their acquiescence to the Indonesian state either. While plans and events of repatriation possess their own historico-political complex, each is underpinned by a desire for liberation as well as an historical memory of collective suffering in Irian Jaya.

The reproduction of a *memoria passionis* that manifests as a perspective onto the present, undermines the potential of a state politics of reformation. In PNG, West Papuan refugees' historical memory of collective suffering has in part at least, prolonged their exile and prevented them from returning to the place from where *memoria passionis* emanates. At Iowara, all groups spoke of the outcome of exile in terms of *merdeka*, imagined as eliminating terror from their everyday lives by restoring their political subjectivity. A *memoria passionis* comprising such events as the murder of Arnold Ap in 1984, and Indonesian military raids on border villages in the Waropko-Mindiptana region throughout 1984-85, and the

¹⁸ A second incident further augments a memory of collective Dani suffering. Following an attack on a police post at Abepura on December 7, 2000, resulting in the death of two policemen and a security guard, a retaliatory raid was carried out on several student hostels at Abepura and housing settlements where Dani lived (and other people from the Jayawijaya region). Two Dani students and two other Dani died in police custody (TAPOL 2000c, Tim Kemanusiaan Wamena 2001).

Sota-Erambu region in 1992, triggered events of flight into PNG seeking political asylum.

It is this memory of collective suffering at the hands of the Indonesian state that vivifies the struggle for West Papuan nationhood, and continues to impel West Papuans to flee into PNG seeking political asylum.¹⁹ It is also the escalation of suffering in Irian Jaya in the present that reproduces a 'culture of terror' among West Papuans at Iowara – to hear of torture even from a place of exile is perhaps to be tortured, to be threatened is threatening.²⁰ In this 'culture of terror' there is no possibility of success in return. To return to Irian Jaya into a 'culture of terror' mirroring the conditions that impelled flight in 1984, is to dispense with the object of exile: to live outside of that state of terror and, for some, to struggle for the elimination of terror in a state of *merdeka*.

¹⁹ In the period of December-January 2001, reports in the Indonesian and PNG press claimed that between 288 and up to 500 mainly Dani 'border crossers' had crossed over to Vanimo, PNG seeking political asylum (e.g., Jakarta Post.com 2001). At the time of writing, detail of this group's political alignment or background to their flight was unavailable. Several recent incidences of violence involving Dani people suggests the victimisation of Dani by the Indonesian military. In a Catholic priest's report of a patrol trip in the southern area of the Fly River in December-January 2001, 42 refugees from Merauke were listed as camped on the beach near Bula to the west of Daru, having fled violence in Merauke on December 2, 2000. Another 131 people crossed the border at Weam near Sota on December 8, 2000, camping at Wereave and later moving to the Middle Fly. The priest also met 52 youth (10 girls and 42 boys) who had fled from Kimam Island (south-west of Merauke), arriving near Wereave on June 9, 2000 (Gros 2001).

²⁰ Antonella Fabri writes in the context of Guatemala: "The sight of torture is itself a torture, and so are threats" (1995:150).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: EVENTS OF FLIGHT INTO PNG AND DEPORTATION AND REPATRIATION TO IRIAN JAYA DURING THE PERIOD 1984-86²¹

Flight into PNG from Irian Jaya 1984-86

1984

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| February 10 | About 95 West Papuans fled to Wutung following fighting with Indonesian troops. By the end of February approximately 250 people from Jayapura had crossed into Vanimo, squatting in camps on the outskirts of Vanimo. |
| March 23 | 100 villagers from Woro and Kwana crossed to Vanimo. |
| March 27-28 | Another 270 people crossed to Vanimo fleeing fighting. |
| April 7 | 250 people arrived at Kamberatoro. |
| mid April - May 1 | Approximately 2,500 people crossed into Western Province, north of Kiunga, following an OPM raid in early April on the town of Waropko. |
| May 28 | 600 people were reported as entering PNG near Wasengla mission. |
| September 13 | About 500 people arrived at Kugol west of Tabubil. |
| November 27 | 650 more people crossed into Sandaun province. |

1985

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| June 1985 | 1,500 Min-speaking people arrived from Yapsie west of Telefolmin. |
|-----------|---|

²¹ Synthesised from the published research of Blaskett (1989), Hewison and Smith (1986), May (1986) and Hastings (1986).

June 27 Five West Papuans from Merauke arrived on Thursday Island from PNG.

July Between 300-400 people were reported at border camps in Sandaun province at Old Skotiau, Yapsie and Wasengla.

late August 26 people from Fak Fak were reported to have crossed at Yapsie.

October Three West Papuans arrived on Boigu Island, Torres Strait seeking refugee status. Also in this month, 350 people crossed into PNG at Bewani and were moved to Blackwater.

1986

January-February 44 people crossed at Kuiu and Ningerum.

February Seven more West Papuans arrived in the Torres Strait.

April 58 villagers sought refuge at Yapsie near Telefolmin.

August 31 446 people arrived at Yapsie seeking refuge including 117 men, 122 women and 207 children.

September 3 747 people arrived from Kiwirok following an attack on their area by Indonesian soldiers in March.

Deportation and repatriation to Irian Jaya from PNG 1984-86

1984

February 24 Following the flight of 95 northerners to Vanimo, 80 people were tried for illegal entry.

March 5 The total number of refugees at Vanimo had reached 283 with all adult males charged with illegal entry.

March 15 The Chairman of the Citizenship Advisory Committee suspended PNG citizenship applications from West Papuans, calling for stricter criteria in assessing applications. Following a Special border liaison meeting held in Jayapura to discuss the uprising of February, the Indonesian newspaper *Antara* reported the planned repatriation of 300 Irianese. In the following month Namaliu announced that an agreement about repatriation had not been reached.

March 21 73 West Papuans were convicted of illegal entry and sentenced to 6 weeks imprisonment, a further 38 were found guilty but no

convictions were recorded. Namaliu announced that 'OPM rebels' and army defectors would be sent to a third country.

March 24 Following 420 crossings for the month, Namaliu announced that none of the most recent 100 crossers would be charged with illegal entry.

April 13-17 Namaliu held discussions in Jakarta with the Indonesian government to talk about border, ground, and sky incursions. It was resolved that although PNG wanted UNHCR involvement, repatriation would be arranged without the UNHCR because Indonesia claimed this would complicate repatriation.

April 29 Mochtar announced that 1,140 Irianese would be repatriated in early May.

May 25 Following cancellation of a joint meeting on repatriation at Vanimo, PNG suspended repatriation indefinitely.

May 27 *Antara* reported that Indonesia and PNG had agreed to repatriate 5,521 Irianese in the 'near future' to be preceded by a 'public relations program' to inform refugees.

June 11 Mochtar said Indonesia required the names of 60 dissidents (army deserters and 'OPM sympathisers') before repatriation could begin.

June 20 *Antara* reported that hundreds of Irianese had voluntarily repatriated.

June 24 An Australian opposition MP touring the border camps claimed that none of the refugees sought repatriation and called on the Australian government to press for UNHCR involvement.

July 23-27 At a joint border committee meeting in Surabaya, a repatriation agreement was drafted. Matane then announced that the PNG Defence Force would escort 9,000 Irianese back to Indonesia without UNHCR involvement and those 'active in the OPM' were to be given the choice of permissive residency or third country re-settlement to be arranged by UNHCR.

August A team representing church groups interviewed West Papuans in the border camps and found that 'many, if not all' genuinely feared persecution if repatriated. In the same month, Indonesia provided written assurance of the safety of returnees, and

- Indonesian General Murdani claimed that 2000 Irianese had repatriated.
- August 3 A PNG Department of Foreign Affairs official reported that Indonesian officials were to visit Irianese in camps to reassure them of their safety after returning to Indonesia.
- August 8 About 100 UPNG students marched to the Indonesian embassy in Port Moresby demanding UNHCR involvement in repatriation. After the death of 51 refugees at Komokpin camp from starvation, the PNG government denied it had tried to starve refugees back to Irian Jaya.
- August 31 A repatriation agreement between Indonesia and PNG was approved to begin on September 17. A sequence of reply and counter-reply reported in the press between Namaliu and Indonesia, on the safety of returnees to be guaranteed prior to repatriation, ended in Namaliu cancelling the repatriation on September 10.
- October 15 Acting Foreign Minister Siagaru stated that PNG had received guarantees of returnees' safety, and repatriation would begin following a joint verification exercise of border camps. At Blackwater camp, the Indonesian delegation was attacked and nine West Papuans were charged with assault.
- November 18 Indonesia postponed repatriation until the security verification tour could be guaranteed.
- December 12 The Indonesian government agreed to monitoring of repatriation by UNHCR. On the day Giheno replaced Namaliu as Foreign Affairs Minister on December 21, about 100 refugees were repatriated from the Blackwater camp without monitoring by the UNHCR or PNG government.
- 1985**
- March 23 Several outspoken West Papuans and their families were re-located from Blackwater to Telefolmin camp [in the highland interior].
- April 13-25 The Refugee Council of Australia interviewed West Papuans at Kamberatoro camp and found that none wanted to be repatriated.

early May	A border liaison meeting was held in Port Moresby and both parties agreed not to involve UNHCR in repatriation.
May 13	Between 36-50 West Papuans were repatriated, escorted by ten PNG officials without UNHCR accompaniment.
May 18	Indonesia denied that any of those Irianese repatriated on December 22, 1984 had been killed or arrested and labelled a <i>Niugini Nius</i> report as slander.
June 10	66 West Papuans were voluntarily repatriated at night, escorted by PNG and UNHCR officials. Between June 1985 and September 1986, approximately 500 refugees from Senggi returned to Irian Jaya.
August 2	<i>Antara</i> reported that 700 Irianese had repatriated voluntarily because they had not been adequately fed in PNG.
late August	Somare indicated that Irianese did not intend staying permanently in PNG but that those requesting permissive residency would be considered.
September 23-26	During a joint border committee meeting at Rabaul that called for closer trade relations, Somare reiterated that PNG had no intention of resettling Irianese.
Early October	PNG Deputy PM Father John Momis claimed that all 10,000 refugees could be accommodated in PNG.
October 11	Deportation of 12 Irianese from Vanimo resulted in a riot. 115 others were charged (and subsequent acquitted) with rioting and damaging government buildings in Vanimo.
October 25	PNG cabinet approved the 'Momis/Bais refugee policy': Irianese who were 'not refugees' were to be deported, those determined to 'be refugees' were to be offered resettlement in PNG or in a third country, deportation was to cease, and camps were to be relocated away from the border.
December 18	PNG Cabinet rejected a Foreign Affairs submission that sought to resettle 'some refugees' in PNG, and a decision was postponed again until 1986.
1986	
January 16	PM Wingti announced that approval had been granted to screen refugees. Those deemed genuine were to be granted permissive

- residency and moved from the border area prior to resettlement in PNG or a third country, others would be repatriated.
- January 21 PNG Cabinet acceded to the 1951 United Nations Convention and Protocol (1967) relating to refugees.
- February 2 Vagi, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, announced that PNG and Indonesia would sign a treaty of friendship. Three days later, Vagi proposed that most Irianese would be sent back as few were expected to be refugees, and the rest would be resettled in third countries, not PNG.
- February and March Some 300 refugees were repatriated from Blackwater, Kiunga, Kamberatoro and Amanab.
- July 19 129 West Papuans from Atkamba camp were repatriated and UNHCR claimed that up to a third would repatriate voluntarily.
- September 3 Arrival of 747 people from near Kiwirok.

APPENDIX 2: EVENTS OF FLIGHT INTO PNG AND DEPORTATION AND REPATRIATION TO IRIAN JAYA DURING THE PERIOD 1962-83

The two inventories below detail events of West Papuan flight into PNG and repatriation back to Irian Jaya in the period 1962-83. The first and third lists are synthesised from Blaskett's meticulous chronology of events relating to the border in the period 1945-88 (1989:256-309). The second list quotes from sources, mainly Blaskett, May, Aditjondro and Verrier.

During the period of Indonesian annexation of West Irian (1962-69) four thousand official crossings were noted. The Australian administration deported West Papuans, warning them of the consequences of illegal entry if they were unable to give adequate reasons to support an application for permissive residence. Conditions of permissive residency included settlement away from the border and abstention from political activity (Verrier 1986:43). Throughout 1972-74 the Somare government appeared to be taking a much tougher line on Irianese refugees than had the Australian administration, fearing that acceptance of Irianese refugees with OPM sympathies could compromise diplomatic relations with Indonesia (May 1986:91). After 1975 the PNG administration "playing carefully around Indonesian as well as Melanesian political sentiments" detained West Papuans on the grounds of illegal entry, and tried and sentenced them to two to six months after which they were granted residential status or deported (Aditjondro n.d.). Between September 1975 and June 1977, 157 Irianese were granted citizenship. In November 1978 it was reported that the government was imposing a freeze on the granting of citizenship to Irianese.

Flight into PNG from Irian Jaya 1962-69

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| August 1962 | One week after Dutch accession of control of Netherlands New Guinea to Indonesia through the New York Agreement, thousands of West Papuan villagers made requests to the Australian administration. |
| April 1962 | Over 350 West Papuans arrived at Weam in Papua. |

- June 1963 West Papuans fled across the border seeking political asylum in a string of camps the length of the border, but mainly on the Jayapura-Vanimo north coast axis and in the Sepik District around Skotiau, Wari and Jafi. In the north Fly at Ningerum, Opka and Ingembit and further south in the Bensbach Census Division around Weam and Morehead (Verrier 1986:34-35).
- October 1968 Patrols were sent by the Territory of Papua New Guinea to clear squatters in border camps. In this same period, 40 West Papuans were relocated from Vanimo and Wewak to Manus. 6,000 troops were used in West Irian to suppress uprisings.
- April 1969 111 West Papuans crossed to Yako quarantine camp. In the same month, nine ground force task units were despatched to West Irian.
- June 1969 Numbers of refugees in the various holding camps in PNG were: Yako 112, Morehead 280 and Manus 56.
- October 1969 The Indonesian government offered amnesty until the end of 1969 for those who had fled into PNG to return to West Irian. Crossings that occurred in the preparation period leading to the Act of Free Choice in the period of Operation Awareness Propaganda campaign in 1969 included: January 51; February 77; March 25; April 196; May 402; June 188; July 140; August 616. In December 1969, 326 refugees from the southern border area accepted the offer of amnesty.

Flight into PNG from Irian Jaya 1970-83²²

- May 1977 490 West Papuans were reported to have crossed the border, 290 at Kwari (north-west of Daru) and 200 at Wawol in Western Province. This figure was subsequently adjusted to 218. Later in the same month, about 60 crossed to Bewani, West Sepik (Blaskett 1989:269).
- August 1978 50 West Papuans crossed to Yako with at least 30 seeking asylum (Blaskett 1989:273). Two previous camps were established in PNG, one at Yako west of Vanimo, which was later relocated to

²² May commented that there was little movement across the border in the early and mid 1970s (1986).

	Wabo in Gulf Province (Mongi 1985). ²³ The first camp was at Wutung which was relocated to Yako 22 miles from Jayapura, and in 1978, relocated to Oksapmin in the West Sepik province and later to Wabo (Aditjondro n.d.). These camps were closed in June 1981 due to pressure from local landowners. According to Mongi, those seeking asylum were granted permissive residency status, and flown to Port Moresby to be resettled with West Papuans who had take up PNG citizenship. ²⁴
June 1979	145 West Papuan refugees were transferred to Wabo camp from Yako, Oksapmin, Madang and Weam (Blaskett 1989:275).
December 1980	120 West Papuans crossed into Western Province at Morehead taking the figure of refugees at Morehead holding camp to 200 (Blaskett 1989:277).
1982	Mongi claimed that 29 refugees from Yako were repatriated back to the border areas of Wutung and Bewani by the PNG Department of Foreign Affairs (1985).

Repatriation and deportation from PNG to Irian Jaya 1963-83

July 1963	About 400 West Papuans from Merauke crossed east to Bensbach and were granted permissive residence.
October 31, 1968	Patrols had been sent out by the Territory of PNG to clear squatters from border camps. Later in the year, some 40 West

²³ In the base camp of the (later defunct) Purari River Scheme Project at Wabo, 145 refugees were accommodated, supported by a UNHCR allocation of US\$10,000. According to Aditjondro (n.d.), some PNG ministers called for Wabo's dismantling, demanding that the needs of Papua New Guineans be met before those of West Papuans.

²⁴ Writing in 1985, Mongi listed the problems of this 1981 arrangement: "Some homes which took in refugees were already over-crowded and the addition of new refugees now under permissive residency status meant that families with 9/10 people now had 19 to 21 refugees under one roof. The extra mouths to feed and bodies to shelter impoverished the host families who could not pay public utility bills. Water and electricity supplies were cut by the city authorities. The host families never complained about the extra hardship. Food, money, clothes, toiletries, living space, water and bathing facilities had to be shared. Housing remains a chronic problem. Some families have been without adequate water for the last 3 years, without electricity for the last 2 years ..." (1985).

	Papuans were relocated from Vanimo and Wewak on the border to Manus.
October 1969	Indonesian military Commander Sarwo Edhie offered amnesty to those who had fled to PNG if they returned to Irian Jaya before the end of 1969.
December 15, 1969	286 refugees from the southern border area accepted the offer of amnesty and were flown to Merauke, another 40 walked back across the border. Some returnees then established camps on the border which became a catalyst for the first illegal crossing of the border by ABRI troops (Osborne 1985:157).
July-August 1972	Eight West Papuans were deported by PNG.
March 1973	Somare answered a question in parliament referring to Irianese by stating that only two Irianese had been granted permissive residency in the previous year and no applications had been received in the previous 6 months. In the following month, Vanimo Court sentenced five West Papuans to 2-6 months imprisonment for illegal entry.
September-Oct 1975	Two West Papuan students who had crossed the border were handed back to Indonesian forces by PNG forces and allegedly executed.
February 20, 1976	Somare claimed the PNG government was determined to prosecute and deport Irianese sympathisers of the OPM in PNG.
July 1976	Sir Maori Kiki, PNG Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, undertook to investigate the matter of Irianese citizenship by a Citizenship Advisory Committee.
December 14, 1976	Kiki announced citizenship to 157 Irianese.
December - Jan 1977	Rumours were reported that Somare and Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister Malik were collaborating to repatriate 500 Irianese.
May 31, 1977	The National Border Committee met to discuss Irianese refugees and on the following day Somare held a press conference to announce the voluntary repatriation of some 218 Irianese from Suki and Bensbach. Later, UNHCR claimed that the 204 Irianese from Suki did not wish to be repatriated.
June 3, 1977	About 60 Irianese received PNG citizenship.

June 7, 1977	Kiki sought a guarantee that Indonesia would not punish Irianese if repatriated. Malik stated that Irianese would not be harmed if they had not committed crimes.
September 1977	A PNG-Indonesia Jayapura conference in Jayapura reached agreement on the use of border passes. Two months later PNG Defence Minister Louis Mona told parliament that Irianese crossing into PNG illegally would be jailed and deported.
October 1977	Seven West Papuans were repatriated.
January 1978	Six West Papuan youths were sentenced to 6 months jail for illegal entry.
March 1978	160 Irianese were granted citizenship.
November 12, 1978	PNG Foreign Minister Olewale suspended citizenship applications claiming Irianese were abusing this status.
March 1979	UNHCR sought refuge for 103 West Papuan refugees.
April 9, 1979	Vanimo District Court sentenced 2 Irianese to 4 months jail for illegal entry.
June 4-6 1979	President Suharto visited PNG and a second border treaty was signed. Second and third rounds of talks took place in Jakarta on July 28, and again in October. Later in the month, 145 refugees were relocated to Wabo camp from Yako, Oksapmin, Madang and Weam.
late November 1979	18 West Papuan youths were deported after it was found they were not genuine refugees.
December 13, 1979	6 West Papuans were deported following a fight at Wabo camp.
December 17, 1979	A new border agreement was signed between Indonesia and PNG in Jakarta on the return of border crossers illegally crossing into PNG for economic reasons.
December 21, 1980	PNG Foreign Affairs Secretary Matane announced that 103 Irianese would return to Indonesia as they had crossed only for medical attention and to get food. In the following month he announced that all future border crossers would be repatriated.
January 20, 1981	An announcement was made that Yako and Wabo camps were to be closed on June 1, 1981.
January 27-29, 1981	Preliminary talks were held in Jakarta on the subject of an extradition treaty between PNG and Indonesia.

February 17, 1981	Nineteen West Papuan men were to be sent back from Morehead but escaped; 16 were repatriated and 3 charged with illegal entry.
July 27, 1981	Three West Papuans who had lived in PNG for over 10 years were deported because they took part in armed faction fights.
July 29, 1981	PNG PM Chan announced that there would be no more forced repatriations of Irianese.
July 3, 1982	10 West Papuans were given deportation orders. It was alleged that a Catholic leader had conspired to help them avoid deportation.
early May 1983	32 West Papuans including 2 OPM leaders were jailed in Vanimo for illegal entry.
July 25-27, 1983	At a Second Joint Border Committee meeting in Port Moresby the decision was made to monitor all border crossers by setting up checkpoints. Traditional crossers were to be allowed free movement.

APPENDIX 3: MAMA PASKALINA'S NARRATIVE OF FLIGHT FROM THE BALIEM VALLEY, IRIAN JAYA TO PNG 1977-79

I transcribed the narrative below in note form during a single interview at Iowara in mid 1998. The narrator was a Dani woman called Paskalina whose husband John was an OPM leader.²⁵ The written version below does not adequately animate Paskalina's oral narrative, her style of reiteration, or her posing of rhetorical questions and didacticism. Nor does it impress upon the reader, the fear invoked by the retelling. Several times in the course of the narrative, Paskalina stopped speaking. Shaking her head and biting her clenched hand, she explained: "I am scared all over again" (*Saya takut lagi*). This expression of fear can also be understood in the context of imminent return of some Dani people to Irian Jaya at the time of the interview. I have retained the structure of Paskalina's original narrative but have added some description from a second interview undertaken with another Dani woman whose path of flight was the same as Paskalina's.

On May 2, 1977, at Karubaga, the OPM closed ABRI's airfield by laying tree trunks end to end. Aeroplanes could not enter. They wanted to be the only ones there. Drums were beaten. There was a pilot who usually supplied rice to civil servants. He began his descent through a thick cloud. The pilot was asked: "Do you work for Indonesia or alone?" Raising his hands, the pilot replied, "O, I work for myself, I am bringing rice." People took the rice. The pilot was taken to the [Dutch] pastor who released him. The airfield was still shut. A helicopter landed on the site of the hospital to airlift the pilot. Houses and kiosks were ransacked. The army could not land. Helicopters airlifted foreigners including people from other places in Irian. I ran to my parents' village. An ABRI helicopter from Wamena arrived. We thought a bomb would be dropped. We entered the jungle wearing black. A last meal of potatoes was eaten. All of the children were gathered together. The helicopter dropped a letter. It read: "OPM is

²⁵ Two Dani men requested that I record their narratives of flight and provide them with a written record in English. These men recounted the flight from the Baliem Valley to PNG in terms of a meticulously dated chronology of events, namely, battles, departures and arrivals. Matters of fear, physical exhaustion and hunger that were so prominent in Paskalina's narrative, were absent. Of particular note in these men's narratives was the matter of non-burial of corpses, instances of drowning in the event of crossing flooded rivers during flight, and their capture and murder of Dani spies working for Indonesia.

prohibited. All must come in and surrender" (*Tidak boleh bikin OPM. Semua masuk menyerah.*) The pastor sent a letter to us. It read: "Local people of this place, listen to your father: white-skinned people have cleared the field. Listen to your father. In twelve nights we will meet" (*Anak asli di sini, bapa kau dengar: kulit putih buka lapangan. Dengar Bapa. 12 malam kita ketemu.*) People were scared the pastor was colluding with ABRI. They slept outside. Five times the letter came and people did not go, fearing deception. Then the pastor came to the village church one Sunday. During the announcements, a member of the congregation proposed that the Pastor had been deceived. The Pastor replied: "Don't join the OPM, it is satanic. You are not permitted to join. You cannot be independent. Irian is already independent" (*Jangan ikut OPM - Iblis itu. Tidak boleh ikut. Kamu tidak bisa merdeka. Irian sudah merdeka.*) The congregation sat and listened patiently for 3 hours. John [Paskalina's husband] responded: "Why do you say I am Satan? I am an original person. I am the one who is a landowner. I have black skin. I am an original child. Every country is already independent why can't I be?" (*Mengapa kau kasih tahu saya Iblis? Saya orang asli. Saya yang tuan tanah - saya punya kulit hitam. Saya anak asli. Semua negara sudah merdeka. Kenapa saya tidak bisa.*) The Pastor then told us that independence would come in 1982. People laughed: "See, see the white-skinned person tricking" (*Lihat, lihat kulit putih tipu tipu*). People felt he was deceiving us because he was playing with words (*mau putar bahasa*). After praying, the Pastor rubbed a handful of earth into a marble shape and upon placing it in the palm of John's hand, said: "If you want freedom, if you are indigenous to this place, hold onto this earth." We took this dirt ball and carried it on the journey to Mamberamo but the rain caused it to disintegrate. The soldiers were looking for us. There was a saying: "If you move, you die" (*Bergerak, mati*). People's dreams (*mimpi*), visions (*penglihatan*) and signs (*tanda*) governed the direction of our movement. John had a nightmare: we went to John's uncle's village pursued by [Indonesian] soldiers. His uncle told the soldiers they had gone elsewhere. The soldiers then asked a child standing nearby who pointed to the roof. We were forced to descend where we were beaten, including the women, for deceiving the soldiers. Rape. It is not like in PNG. Indonesia rapes. Five soldiers were chasing me. Chasing, chasing, chasing (*kejar, kejar, kejar*). I ran wearing only my underwear. I ran naked through the day. The houses were burned. I slept alongside pigs in a stable for one month living off the food they threw to the pigs in the stable. Open places would reveal me. We had secret gardens and secret houses. We cooked at night to conceal smoke. We concealed our footprints. The army burned honai and they dug out gardens; bananas plants and pandanus fruit. Operation trash truly truly destroyed (*rusak betul betul*). Everything was chopped down,

everything was dug out. After three weeks in the forest we came down [to the valley]. My skin was yellow from lack of food. My parents had been told: "You have a daughter living in the forest; her body is small now." They had already prepared to send a pig to me in the forest. Shooting, shooting, shooting (*tembak, tembak, tembak*). Banyan vines were used to scale trees and cross ravines. Houses were burned. A river was crossed. Walking, walking, walking (*jalan, jalan, jalan*). We came across a garden and took cucumbers. Concealed in the forest. Concealed by relatives beneath other things in their houses. A child revealed my hiding place to the soldiers. They returned to the house. They considered: "Women don't know politics. Leave her. She means nothing. Detain the men."²⁶ I slept in the forest. I was sixteen years old. I had been married just one day. Six stables of pigs were destroyed and the pigs shot. The soldiers ate the pigs. No one slept. They went into the forest. The mayor (*camat*) was from Biak and was an Indonesian spy. The mayor said: "You cannot stay here." Like a football field with spectators all around, I sat in the middle with my parents and husband's parents. Like watching soccer. We were told that we could not live here anymore. Expelled. The other villagers agreed to expel us.²⁷ They clapped their hands and chased us out. We slept on the roadside. There was a large battle at Bokindini. One helicopter and four fighter planes. They offloaded bombs but they did not make their targets. Those bombs that did not reach their target were in the hands of God (*Bom yang tangan Tuhan tidak pitar*). Non-Christian villages were not protected by God and were bombed. Indonesia, they bombed and bombed. The bombs made large craters in the ground and split trees into two. Many people died. This was Indonesia's work. We could not fetch food; the gardens were in open fields. We could not wear red or white, only black. We used leaves and stood like trees and fetched food quickly. People were killed.²⁸

²⁶ Another Dani woman composed a song implying the exclusion of women. She paraphrased the song as follows: They see in the [OPM] barracks there is a feast (*Mereka lihat bahwa di tempat markas ada pesta*) / The women thought it had not yet begun, whereas it had already finished (*Memurut ibu-ibu acara belum mereka jalan*) / After it had finished, they went there (too late) *Sudah habis, terlambat. Mereka jalan ke sana*) / Only the voice of the bird of paradise (*Ketemu suara cenderawasih*) / For the women [or possibly, 'women are'] leftover scraps (*Perempuan ampas saja*).

²⁷ Another Dani man explained that ABRI targeted the parents and other family members of suspected OPM sympathisers. These victims then sought 'reciprocal murder' (*baku bunuh*) of OPM sympathisers who had survived. According to the speaker, these people did not understand, conceiving their loss at the level of the family, rather than in terms of a wider political struggle.

²⁸ A song recalls this period of slaying: Bullets slayed fathers mothers children (*Peluru menewaskan bapa, mama, anak*) / Who will look after them? (*Siapa memperhatikan mereka*). The paraphrased account of the song reveals more: "People ventured outside to cut bananas. They re-entered their honai. Some had eaten, others were still eating. Our parents did not recognise the

We were like a school of fish swimming around and the soldiers used poison. Like the masses of dead fish that surface when fishing bomb is used, we also had many victims. A child's head was cut off and thrown into a fire. Witnesses were killed. Peoples limbs were cut off. All of the houses and even churches were burned. People praying in church were shot. Small children were caught like chickens and swung by the ankles into a fire. People were killed left and right. All the children were killed. A beautiful girl asked a Dani spy to be spared and he killed her directly. Babies were placed on top of their dead mothers. Drinking milk, drinking blood; later they died in that place. We hid ourselves, were pursued and hid again (*sembunyi, kejar, sembunyi lagi*). We circled continuously in the forest. A child of seven months died in my stomach. My body was already destroyed (*rusak*). There was no medicine. We slept on the paths. There were many women. The women decided to surrender. Two men accompanied our return. We could see our valley from afar. But we were afraid to enter; afraid to enter the Indonesian region (*masuk sama Indonesia*). We feared surrender so we returned to the men in the forest. My husband asked me: "Why have you returned?" I replied: "We were scared to surrender. It is our region but we were scared. My fate is the same if we surrender or I flee. You have already paid [bridewealth]. I will follow you. If I return and marry someone else I will feel remorse. Where the men die, let their wives die with them." There is a bird, a small bat that is the friend of Wamena people. Its shrieks in the night brought news of ABRI spies advancing. A woman shrieked also, she had been arrowed. They were closing in. An ice mountain was climbed. We could not move for the cold. Our bodies were cramped; we could not open our hands. Death. They began shooting, shooting, shooting (*tembak, tembak, tembak*). A Dani spy was captured [by us]. His arms and legs and nose were chopped off and his heart removed. A bible was placed on top of his body. Walking, walking, walking, walking (*jalan, jalan, jalan, jalan, jalan*). We were given a Makassarese bayonet and carried cassowary bones as knives. We passed a dog that is a landlord (*tuan tanah*), a sort of human being diseased by *kaskado*.²⁹ Helicopters circled above villages. We crossed a river at Kobakma. We had eaten nothing, only a single cassava and grass. People died little by little. In the morning someone died. In the afternoon someone died. In the night someone died. We did not know how to eat sago. Its leaves and tree, we did not know. We began to bake sago and

war planes. They thought it was assistance promised by the OPM. They were like pigs who did not know the noise of dogs. They stood in the clearings. The plane dived like an eagle. Some died in their houses. Others died in the places where they stood. Others were wounded. Others hid in their houses and burned to death. It was an air attack by three fighter planes."

²⁹ A skin disease in humans.

share it around. What was this stuff? We could not eat it dry. Three weeks passed and we did not know how to eat it. It smelled like *kaskado*. Mamberamo people also had *kaskado* in the shape of eights and nines on their skin. We had not seen mosquitoes before. Many people died. Mamberamo has swamps, you must use a canoe, there is no path to walk. It is a sort of sea. There were many crocodiles. You must not fall asleep in a canoe; many crocodiles. Crocodile meat is a sort of pig meat; tasty and with fat. A crocodile can swallow a person. When the rivers recede, the fish are in layers. Lift them, lift them into the canoe (*kasih naik, kasih naik*). Many fish. The Mamberamo region is not suitable for mountain people unless you know how to eat sago. But our bodies became emaciated. We did not know how to eat sago. What could we eat? Our parents died and they rotted on the ground: who had the strength to bury them? Mamberamo people gave us canoes. "What are these?" we asked. They taught us to use a canoe with a paddle. We came from the west of the Baliem Valley. We did not know how to swim and feared drowning. We stood on the bank and cried. Then we prayed and sang hymns and God opened the path. We were in the hands of God. Those who forgot God died there in the jungle. Those who believed and prayed got through (*lolos*). They prepared seven canoes and accompanied us to the mouth of the river. In a sago dusun, a Mamberamo woman and man felled the tree and hacked at the sago pith, flushing it with water. We thought that was the food. Everyone laughed. I gathered some in my hands. An old woman said to me: "Eh! Child, you must not take it like that, it is not right." That day I first saw sago mattocked "Mama, what are you making?" I asked. The water ran down. They sang and I sat and watched. Mama taught me how to harvest sago: harvest like this, flush it like this, mattock like this. These Mamberamo people did not know Malay. We asked them many questions but they did not know Malay. We gestured with our hands instead. At Mamberamo we wrapped corpses in banana palm leaves. We did not cremate or bury corpses. Many people died. We opened a village on the edge of a large river and made shelters. We ate large leaves and sukun (breadfruit) nuts. There was no food. What could we eat? Mamberamo people did not make gardens, they lived from the forest. We ate raw genimo leaves and palm leaf tips. Where could we find meat? Nothing. There were no dogs either. We could not yet harvest sago. One month passed. We ate dried sukun nuts (*gomo*) and boiled forest leaves. When hungry, families went out onto the path and foraged for sukun nuts and picked leaves, walking until they were tired and their feet hurt. We fanned ourselves continuously with bundles of leaves. It was a hot region. Leeches and mosquitoes entered people's noses, genitals, ears and small wounds. Mosquitoes swarmed like a sort of mist. Mosquitos entered pawpaw and bananas. We just let them

be. We slept on the sand. We saw cassava - it had no flesh. We picked cassava leaves and boiled them. We were very happy and rushed over to pick them. We vomited continuously, the leaves were toxic. We prayed over and over. We must not forget prayer. The rocks were slippery. We kept walking, walking, walking (*jalan, jalan, jalan*). There were no people at Mamberamo; no government. We were happy to see canoes. Our clothes were tattered. They gave us cooked sago. Our stomachs were small, our throats dry. We could only drink. We could not eat sukun nuts or cooked sago. "You must buy food, you have beads," they explained. We gave them beads and some items of clothing and they gave us cassava and sago. We exchanged whatever we had on our bodies. Forest [swamp] people cannot give without something in return. Mamberamo people are good people. [However] if you steal from their gardens, they use magic and make your feet swell immediately. They place signs in their gardens and if you go beyond that point you will fall sick. One year passed. In 1978, the landowners agreed to us living there. We explained to the village leader that there was nothing for us to eat. "You eat sago," he told us. We asked him what he was asking us to eat and he explained that in his language, sago was 'si'. We learned to process sago and learned to cook papeda by heating stones and placing them in a container made from palm bark to boil the water. We used goggles and caught fish. Our appetites had diminished and we would vomit on eating sago. After one year our bodies became healthy once more. We hunted pigs and the local people gave us land to make gardens. We collected soil and made heaps and grew bananas, potatoes and cassava. In December 1978, the question was asked: "Raise your hand if you wish to journey to the east." Five families chose to stay in Mamberamo. The rest raised their hands to go to East Irian. We did not know it as PNG; we did not know its people. Only upon reaching the border did we know. We travelled to the east. We grated cassava for the journey. We found our direction by climbing tall trees to find the position of the sun. The forest was dense, there was no path. We did not know the way. We only knew east and west from the rising and setting of the sun. Leeches were in layers on the path. Our breath was short. One person was pulled along by another. People thought they would die tomorrow. I said "If I die, place me on top of a tree." My legs were cramped. I said "*Selamat jalan* (safe travel); I am staying here." They called me, I could not speak to answer. I would remain behind and die. Someone carried me. It was already dark. I thought I had already died and my corpse was being carried. We did not know coconut palms. What was it on top? We picked one. We did not know its taste. We said to the garden's owner: "We would like very much to eat this tree's fruit." We gave him a few items of clothing and the owner opened it with a machete; just like that. He then scooped

out the contents. We gathered in a circle and tasted it. We used plant roots (*akar tumpah*) to kill fish and ate with a reddish-green leafed vegetable called *gede*. God helped us. We were joyous. We stayed like that, just fetching and eating fish for a whole week. We climbed mountains, meeting giant snakes (*ular naga*) in our path. Upon passing *ular naga* we uttered *selamat tinggal* [greeting for those left behind in response to their well wishes for the journey]. You must not kill [an animal spirit] landlord, you must greet it; it is human and can cause ill effects. We descended and climbed hills over and over (*turun naik, turun naik, turun naik*). We entered a village. They could not give us food – bananas, meat or sago. We asked: “Is there anything to eat?” We stayed and watched the villagers continue eating. They did not give food to us until it was dark. We gave large beads and each person offered a piece of clothing. We said: “We are hungry and we ask for sago and meat. We can buy with our own goods.” We gave them a little cash, clothes and beads. In the sago swamps our feet were spiked by thorns. We met an *ular naga*, an ancestor (*nenek moyang*) so large it was coiled five times. We used plant root poison and killed the fish called *ikan sembilan* as big as a person. We carried fish in our string bags and on our heads for two weeks. Other fish we left behind to rot. We made a raft to cross a river. Cassowaries were abundant. Our joy returned; before we could have perished on the path unnoticed, now villages were spaced closer together. There was an *ular naga* on the path ahead eating the eggs of the forest hen. Two people walking in front killed the snake and became paralysed themselves and died. To kill an *ular naga* is prohibited. In a large village we were given rolled tobacco [cigarette] as long as your arm. We did not know how to smoke them. We thought: “If we do not accept them, they may not give us food later.” Then they gave us a lot of food. We stayed for one month. They gave us food and we gave beads and articles of clothing. We thought: “These people have religion” (*Orang ini punya agama*). At a cemetery, we gathered saucepans and plates that had been left on graves. We used these to cook food. We were close to a military post; we could hear the noise of gunfire. We knew we were drawing close to the border. We met a hunter on the road. He said that we were heading to ‘PNG’. We did not know PNG. At the end of 1979, we reached the border. We opened a barracks (*markas*) and made a garden. There were no local people living nearby; no houses. We raised pigs. We kidnapped a Filipino; he was concealed in my house. I was later arrested for this. Our leader – who was already married – took another woman whose husband then revealed our position to ABRI. We fled into PNG. In 1983 we went down to Vanimo from Bewani. PNG [police] had dug up our gardens and chopped down our plants. We feared imprisonment. Eight people were sent back to Jayapura. All the plants were cut. We were chased left and right and

climbed trees. We ate only leaves; the gardens had been destroyed. There were no refugees yet. We were chased, we would enter gardens to fetch food and be chased again. Local people beckoned us: come, come. We ran and they chased us. We fled into the forest but were arrested and taken to Vanimo. A nun said to us: "You have different hair, different skin. People here have *kaskado* on their bodies. Where are you from?". She gave us medicine and food and spoke pidgin to us. She said: "*Yupela bilong we?*" We replied: "We are from the West; the part where the sun sets" (*Kami orang Barat, bagian matahari turun*). In 1984, other refugees arrived. We lived at Blackwater. [Northerner] people arrived by canoe or foot from Jayapura: only one night's journey. Those of us from Wamena walked on foot for two years. At Blackwater we ate like civil servants, selling taro and greens in the Vanimo market and wearing good clothes. My husband was imprisoned at Rabaul for one and a half years. I protested: "Who am I to live with? I am scared to live in town. Have you arrested my husband so that he dies in prison?" He was released after that. My mother held a forty day ceremony³⁰ in her village [in Wamena] and chopped off her finger. [But] I was okay; I was in PNG. Our bodies became healthy again. But we were no longer permitted to live at Blackwater. We were scared living so close to the border; scared that Indonesia would arrive again. I only remember my parents names, not the names of my siblings. I don't know how many were born after me. We do not know Indonesian currency; we have already forgotten. Wamena women make string bags and sell them to raise money. I want my story written down. [WPIA leader] has already recorded it. All the stories of suffering have been collected and sent to Geneva.

³⁰ Part of a funeral ritual where the deceased is commemorated forty days after burial.

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