



**THE INDONESIAN POLITICS OF
DEVELOPMENT, SETTLER
COLONIALISM AND THE DECOLONIAL
CHALLENGES IN WEST PAPUA**

Sharing data and perspective

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West Papua: An introduction

West Papua is the western half of the island of New Guinea, bordering the independent nation of Papua New Guinea. The land comprises a large mountainous interior, forest lowlands, large areas of coastal mangrove swamps and is surrounded by numerous small islands and coral reefs.

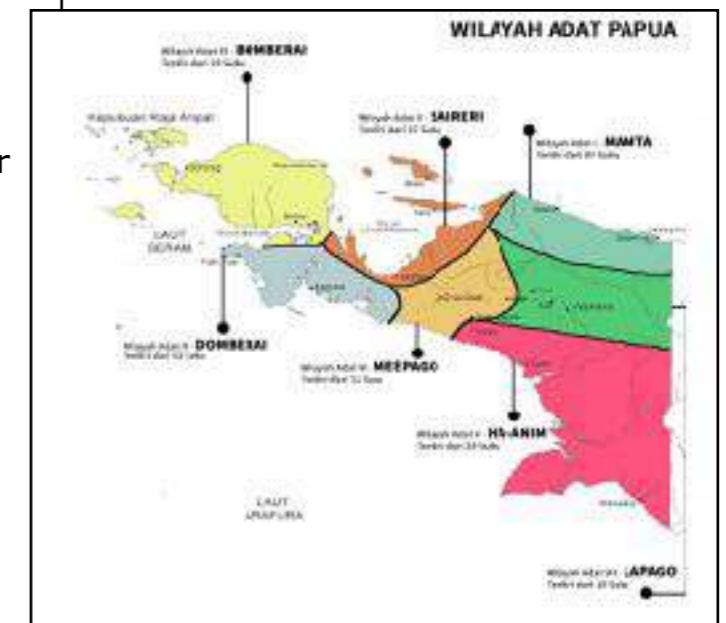
West Papua is home to over **264 diverse tribes**, all speaking their own unique languages with unique cultures. The majority of the indigenous population still live with their own lifestyles.

In 2001, Indonesia passed **a law on Special Autonomy (UU 21/2001)** which contained the promise of realizing social, economic and cultural rights of the Papuan peoples, as well as widening the space for more devolved governance. In 2021, Indonesian government continuing Special Autonomy with second version of Special Autonomy law. See article 1 (1) the Special Autonomy Law No. 2 2021: "Province of Papua are provinces that are located in the Papua region that was given special autonomy in the framework of the Republic of Indonesia" and article 1 (2) the Special Autonomy Law No. 2 2021: "Special Autonomy is a special authority that recognized and given to the province of Papua for organize and manage the interests of local society to own initiative based on aspirations and basic rights of the Papuan peoples."

In 2022, Indonesian government split West Papua to six provinces.

In recent years however, **population transfer, extractive industries (mining, palm oil, food security) and military operations** have increased instead of declined. Whilst the total population of the territory has continued to grow, largely due to the transmigration flow from other Indonesian islands, the Papuan population has decreased sharply.

This poses **a threat** to the Papuan peoples' existence and survival as a culture and ethnic entity.



PART I. NEW REGIME OF THE POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT: JOKOWI'S ADMINISTRATION

Indonesian self-deference on the question of West Papua at UN Forums: Development in West Papua

- UNGA 71, August 2016:
 - “Indonesia will continue to give appropriate focus to the development of Papua and West Papua provinces and to the best interest of all”
 - “They (the Pacific Countries) clearly reflect an unfortunate lack of understanding of the history, current situation, and **progressive developments** in Indonesia, including in the provinces of Papua and West Papua”
- 34th Regular Session Human Rights Council, Feb 2017:
 - “Indonesia is a multi-ethnic and pluralistic country where equality and non-discriminatory are key in our approach. Therefore hence the allegation of depopulation of Papuan community is simply baseless”
 - “the president Joko Widodo is a strong advocate of empowering Papuan population through his **development agenda** in the provinces. These include economic empowerment of Papuan, women entrepreneurs, building better infrastructures, and providing economic and social measures particularly the smart card, health card, and family prosperity card”
 - Just last week the Indonesian government officially handed over the customary land of more than 3,400 hectares of forest to the community in Sorong”
- 11th EMRIP, 12 July 2018
- Reaction of Indonesian government to the UN experts report (condemn racism, dan police violence against Papuans, 2019): Accelerating development project and welfare approach in West Papua.
- Reaction of Indonesian government to UN GA report about West Papua HRD: the report failed to highlight incidents of human rights violations in western countries, 24 November 21.
- Fourth cycle of the Indonesia UPR at the UN HRC, 7 November 2022: Government of Indonesia is not only taking a judicial approach, but also non judicial for human rights cases in West Papua.



JOKO WIDODO'S POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT

“Our politics in Papua is politics of development. Politics of Prosperity”.

(Joko Widodo, 9 May 2015)

This is in the context of equitable development. In order to facilitate the reach of services, new autonomous regions were built.

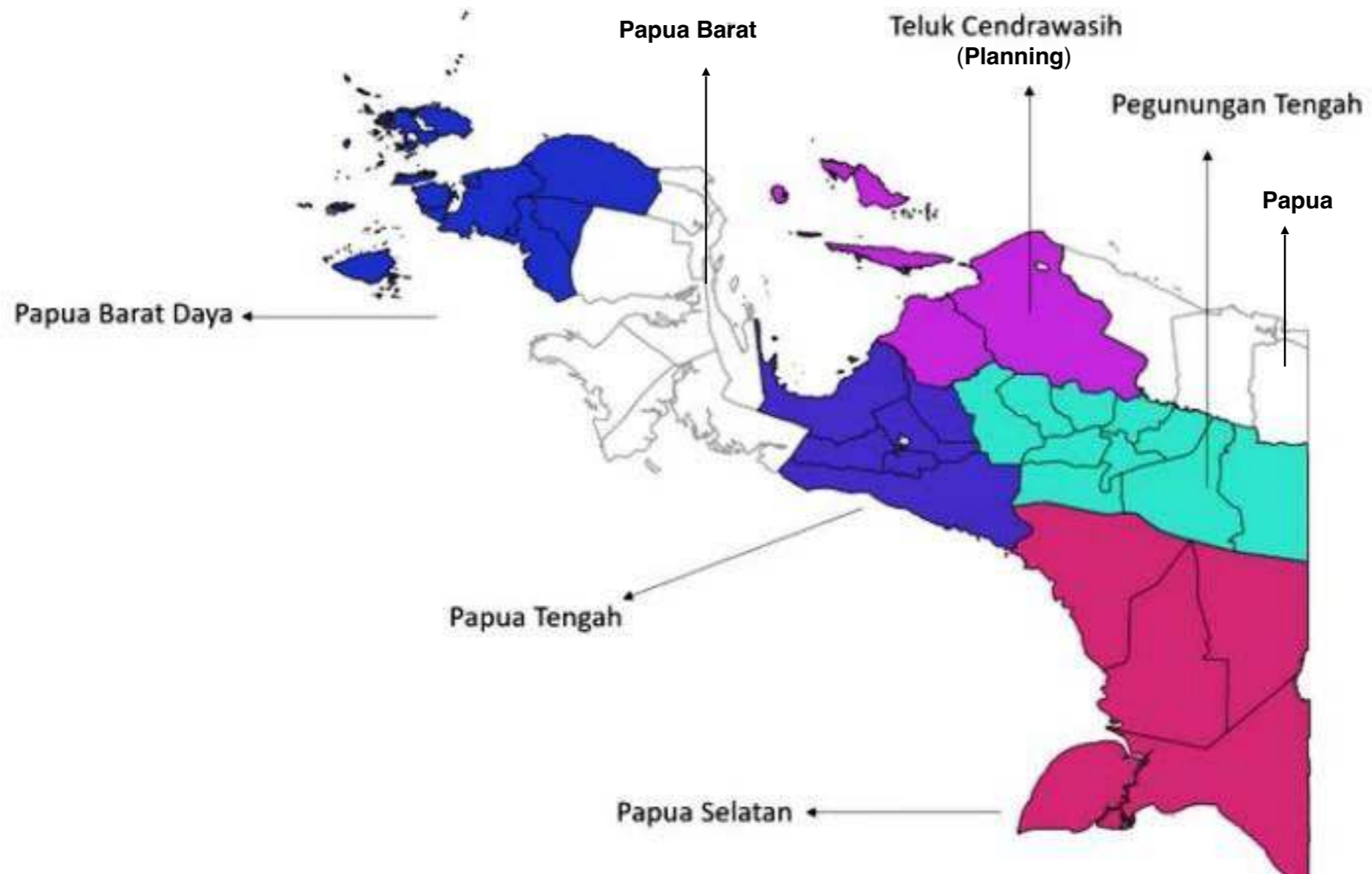
(Joko Widodo, 31 August 2022)



JOKOWI'S Grand Design In West Papua

- CREATING A NEW REGIONAL (PROVINCE) GOVERNMENT IN WEST PAPUA
- MASSIVE INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS - CONNECTIVITY:
 - “Sea Toll”
 - Trans-Papua Highway
 - Trans-Papua Railway
- NEW INDUSTRY ZONES: coastal and hinterlands
 - Mega-electricity Projects
 - Small and Large scale Dams
 - Actively Promote Papua as “Investment Zone” for Trans-National Companies and Government

New face of Indonesian local government in West Papua (Since 2022)





**RENCANA PEMBANGUNAN
SEKTOR TRANSPORTASI Mendukung PROGRAM TOL LAUT JOKOWI
MENUJU PAPUA BANGKIT MANDIRI DAN SEJAHTERA**



JARINGAN MULTI MODA



KETERANGAN :
 + MERAUKE – TANAH MERAH – OKSIBIL
 + TIMIKA – NDUGA – PUNCAK
 + AGATS – DEKAI – WAMENA

DATA SUB SEKTOR UDARA DAN SUB SEKTOR LAUT :

BANDAR UDARA/ AIR STRIP = 381
 A. UPBU (KEMETERIAN PERHUBUNGAN) SEBANYAK 35 BANDARA
 B. DIKELOLA PEMDA/ MISSI/ GEREJA SEBANYAK 348
 C. BANDARA YANG DILAYANI SUBSIDI ANGKUTAN UDARA PERINTIS 81 BANDARA/ AIR STRIP

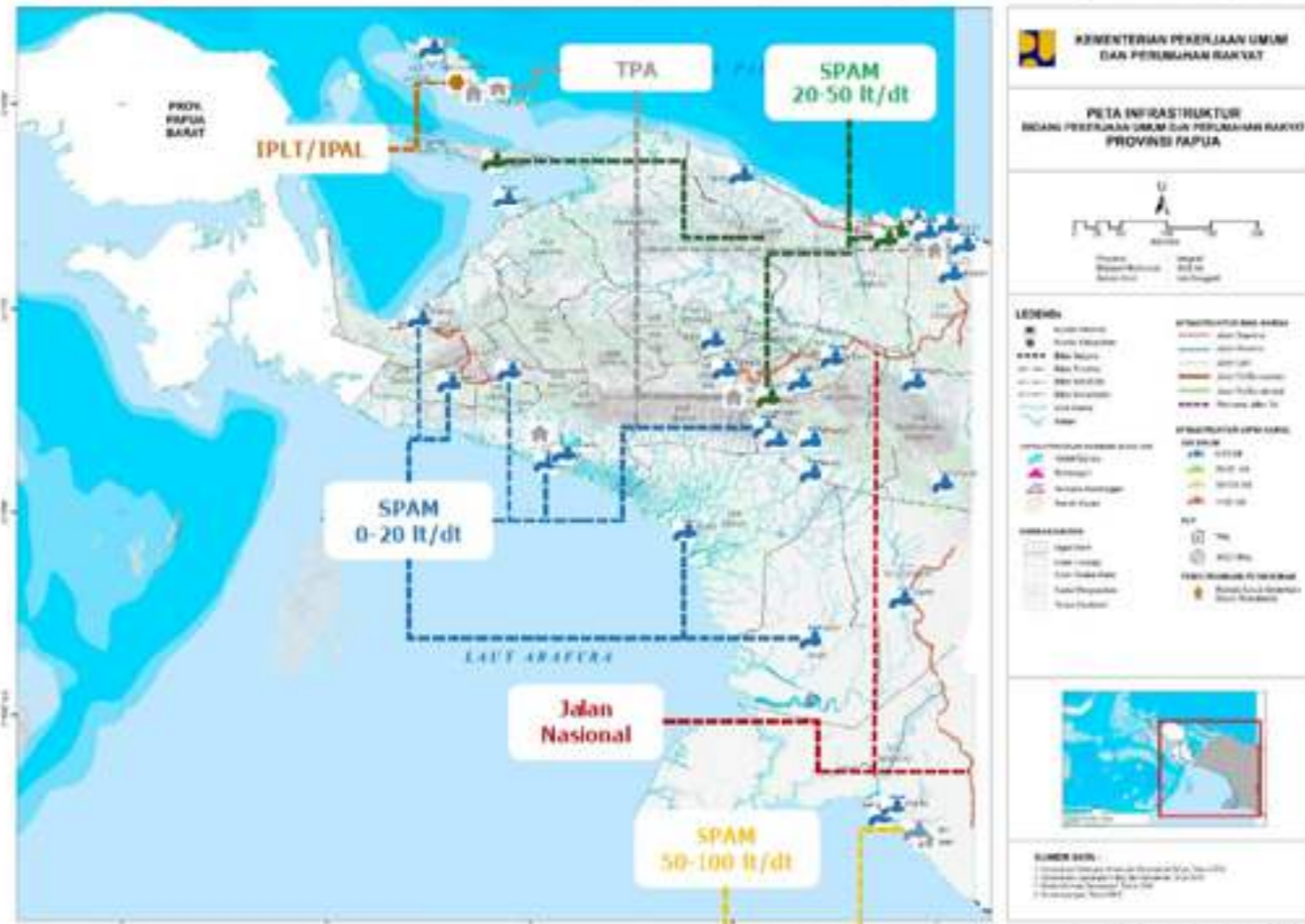
PELABUHAN LAUT/ PELRA = 96
 A. KSOP/ UPP (KEMENTERIAN PERHUBUNGAN) SEBANYAK 17 PELABUHAN
 B. PELABUHAN LOKAL/ RAKYAT SEBANYAK 79 PELRA
 C. 35 PELABUHAN SUDAH ADA EXSISTING

— TRANSPORTASI UDARA
 — TRANSPORTASI LUNDA
 — TRANSKONTINENTAL DAN PERALIHAN

KERJA KERJA KERJA AYO KERJA!!!

“Development Plan of Transportation Sector to Support Jokowi’s Sea Toll towards Papua Rise, Independent, and Prosperous” - a banner displayed during Jokowi’s visit in Jayapura - May 2016

PETA INFRASTRUKTUR PROVINSI PAPUA



LUAS WILAYAH ADMINISTRASI
309.934,4 km²

JUMLAH KAB/KOTA
27 KAB & 2 KOTA
IBU KOTA
JAYAPURA

JUMLAH PENDUDUK
2.833.381 jiwa

SDA

LUAS IRIGASI NASIONAL
14.600 ha
LUAS IRIGASI PROVINSI
12.885 ha
LUAS IRIGASI KAB/KOTA
15.544 ha

BM

PANJANG JALAN NASIONAL
2639,79 km
PANJANG JALAN PROVINSI
2.958 km
PANJANG JALAN KAB/KOTA
12.899,58 km

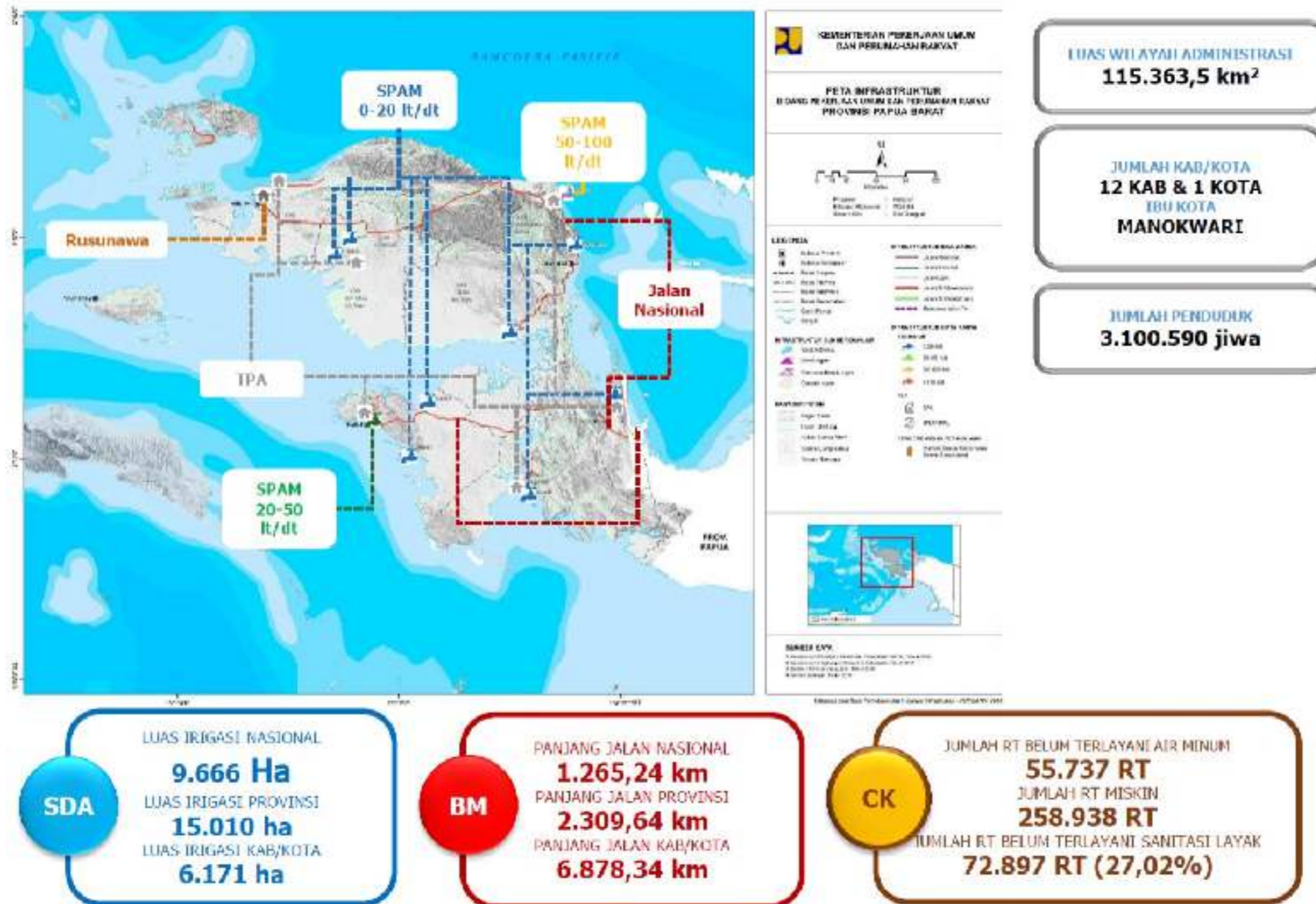
CK

JUMLAH RT BELUM TERLAYANI AIR MINUM
310.954 RT
JUMLAH RT MISKIN
864.200 RT
JUMLAH RT BELUM TERLAYANI SANITASI LAYAK
558.413 RT (86,37)



Infrastructure Projects in Papua Province - Data from the Ministry of Public Work and Housing, March 2017

PETA INFRASTRUKTUR PROVINSI PAPUA BARAT



Infrastructure Projects in Papua Province - Data from the Ministry of Public Work and Housing, March 2017

JALAN PERBATASAN 1.098,2 km

PENANGANAN TA 2016			PENANGANAN TA 2017		
PEMBANGUNAN JALAN BARU (KM)	TEMBUS (KM)	BELUM TEMBUS (KM)	PEMBANGUNAN JALAN BARU (KM)	TEMBUS (KM)	BELUM TEMBUS (KM)
-	884,3	213,9	8	892,3	205,9

2016



2017



Pembangunan Jalan Baru Tembus Belum Tembus



SEGMENT 1
Jayapura-Arso-
Wars-Yeti
128,18 Km

SEGMENT 2
Yeti - Ubrub -
Oksibil
301,74 Km

SEGMENT 3
Oksibil
Tanah Merah -
Muting -
Merauke
668,32 Km

Segmen 1 dan 3 paralel perbatasan Papua masuk penanganan Trans Papua

New Road along the border with PNG, Jayapura -Merauke, 1.098,2 km
Data from the Ministry of Public Work and Housing, March 2017



(Photos by Biro Komunikasi Publik Kementerian PUPR and <http://properti.kompas.com/read/2017/02/26/235303621/membumikan.harapan.lewat.trans-papua.sisi.selatan?page=all>)

Military and Infrastructure Projects

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PeQHEzWQljQ>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=37wbTSpxQp4>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4pt7LHbsIkE>



JARINGAN RUTE PERINTIS WILAYAH PAPUA DAN PAPUA BARAT TAHUN ANGGARAN 2016 DAN 2017

“Sky Toll” - Flight Connection Plans - Data from the Ministry of Transportation, March 2017

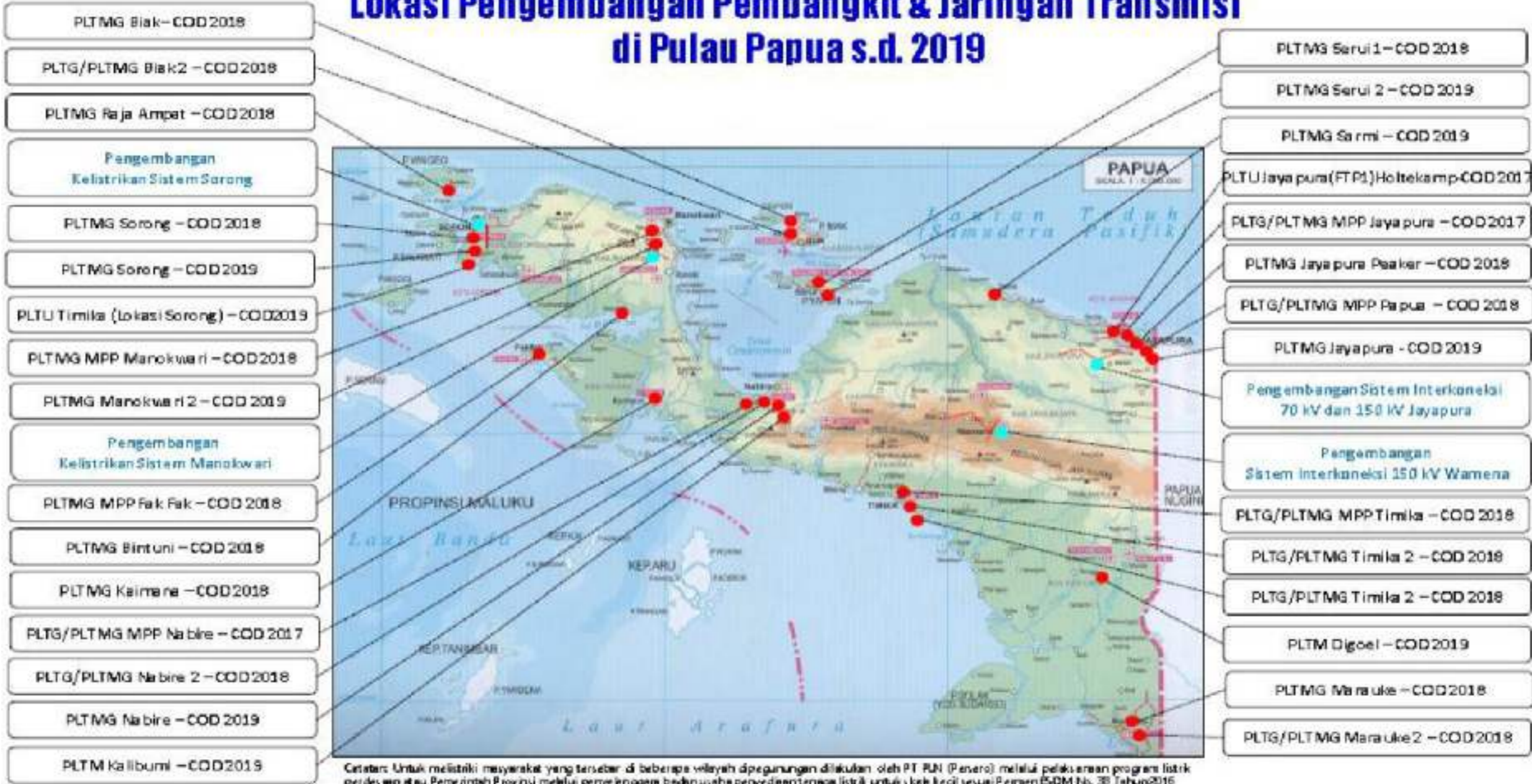


Wamena Airport 2016
<http://www.naworlano.red/2015/12/wow-ini-wajah-terbaru-bandara-wamena.html>)



Mega-Electricity Project

Lokasi Pengembangan Pembangkit & Jaringan Transmisi di Pulau Papua s.d. 2019



Industrial agriculture



“This morning I decided that we should start this year. I’ve given a target of 1.2 million hectares that must be operational within three years.”

“It would be impossible to work this land by hand, even if we worked until judgement day. Modern machines much be used. Merauke will be the first place to use these modern machines, as yet there are none in Indonesia”

source:

[https://
awasmiffee.potager.org/?
p=1210](https://awasmiffee.potager.org/?p=1210)

New epicenters of development



OFFICIAL DISCOURSE

- “Open the Isolation of central highlands”, “total connectivity”,
- “Reduce the Price of goods”, “improve the economy of the Papuans”
- “progress”
- “national economy”
- “Great Indonesia” - “the 4th largest world economy by 2019”
- “Papua Rise, Self-sufficient, and Prosperous”
- “Create equitable development”

PART II. CRITICAL ANALYSIS on Indigenous Papuan recognize

The development projects in the Indigenous Papuan territories without consultation of the Indigenous Papuan.

The indigenous Papuan are facing difficulties and are systematically discriminated by the Indonesian government.

A. The discrimination concept from the state to the indigenous Papuan:

1. Isolation as a problem, and infrastructure as a solution.
2. Behind the idea of development, co-exist with the will to control and to govern, a soft form of governmentally and hegemonic power.

B. Law or Regulation in Indonesia:

1. The Law of Republic Indonesia No 41 the Year of 1999 regarding Forestry, article 4: "Forest control by the state shall respect customary laws, as long as it exists and its existence is recognised and not contradicting national interests".
2. The Law of Republic Indonesia No 18, 2004
3. The Law of Republic Indonesia No 32, 2009
3. The Special Autonomy law no. 21 2001 (also see: second version of the Special Autonomy Law no. 2 2021)
4. Policy on Customary Forest Management After Constitutional Justice DecreeNo. 35/PUU-X/2012

Papuan Critical Discursive Response

1: Papuan Church Leaders



- “Joko Daendels”; compare Joko Widodo with Herman Willem Daendels, Dutch Governor General of the Dutch East Indies between 1808 and 1811. Daendels develops the Anyer-Panurukan road in Java for colonial interests.
- Criticised Jokowi’s infrastructure projects as serving Indonesia’s colonial interests:
 - targeting natural resources
 - control local population/pacification
 - bringin in more migrants
 - establish more military posts

Papuan Critical Discursive Response 2: Filep Karma

- “For Whom and for What is Development in West Papua?”



Papuan Critical Discursive Response 3: Catholic church (Fr. John Djonga)

- Criticises Jokowi's development as Gagala Fokus (fail to focus on the priorities of the people of Papua)
- Sending a letter to the President in June 2016, asking the president to 'stop the massive infrastructure projects' and focus more on Education, Health, and Local Economy.



Papuan Critical Discursive Response 4: Local Government (Mr. Lukas Enembe, Governor of Papua province)

- Illegal login, illegal mining, and illegal business in Papua is not allowed. (<https://papua.go.id/view-detail-berita-5905/lukas-enembe-pastikan-segala-aktivitas-ilegal-bakal-diberantas.html>)
- Indonesian military and police don't kill Papuan. If they kill Papuan, I will report to the UN. (<https://www.cenderawasih-pos.com/2018/09/gubernur-papua-tidak-boleh-lagi-ada-oap-yang-mati-kalau-tidak-saya-langsung-lapor-pbb.html?m=1>)
- The Papuan Peoples Council have received the UN recommendation on human right situation in West Papua, include some UN letters to the Indonesian government. (<https://papua.go.id/view-detail-berita-5905/lukas-enembe-pastikan-segala-aktivitas-ilegal-bakal-diberantas.html>)

Papuan Critical Discursive Response 4: The Papuan People Council (MRP)

- Save Papuan and forest in West Papua: Declaration on save Papuan and Forest 2015
- The special autonomy law must ensure protection of indigenous rights and meaningful involvement of Papuan people, but not fully implementing since the implementation of the Special Autonomy Law since 2002.
- The second proposed amendment to Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for the Province of Papua Number: R- 47/Pres/12/2020 dated 4 December 2020 was apparently carried out unilaterally by the Central Government without following legal procedures in accordance with Law a quo.
- The second proposed amendment to Law Number 21 of 2001 Number: R-47/Pres/12/2020 dated 4 December 2020 was carried out against the law against the provisions of Article 18B of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.
- The second proposed amendment to Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for the Province of Papua Number: R- 47/Pres/12/2020 dated 4 December 2020 which was carried out by the Government has caused a social reaction within the Indigenous Papuan community.

Papuan Critical Discursive Response 4: Political Activists



Papuan Critical Discursive Response 4: NGOs

- “Save People and Forest of Papua”

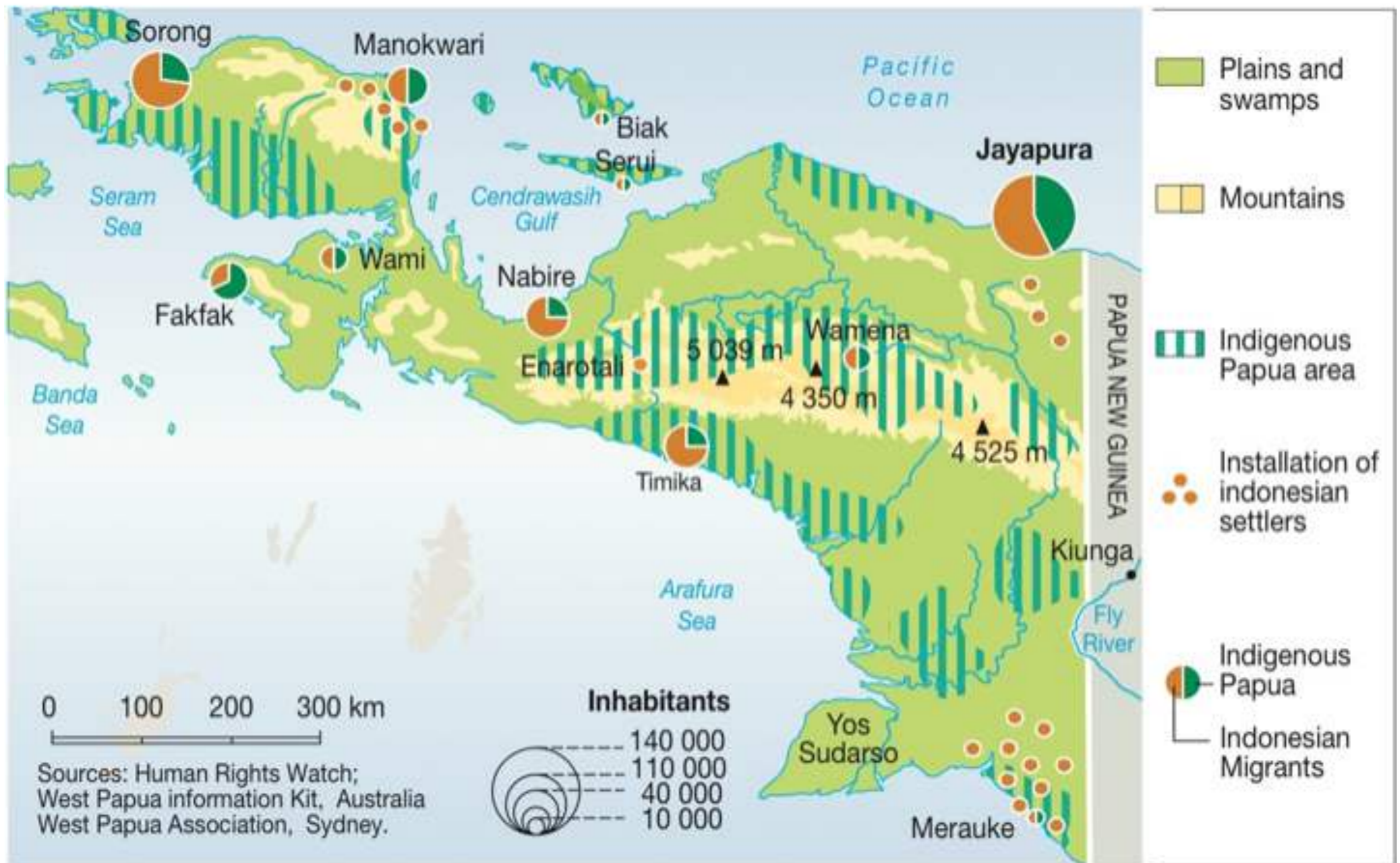
CRITICAL ANALYSIS 1: CAPITALIST EXPANSION - Political Economy Analysis



- 240 Mining Permits, 79 Timber Permits, 85 palm oil plantations
- Mifee Project

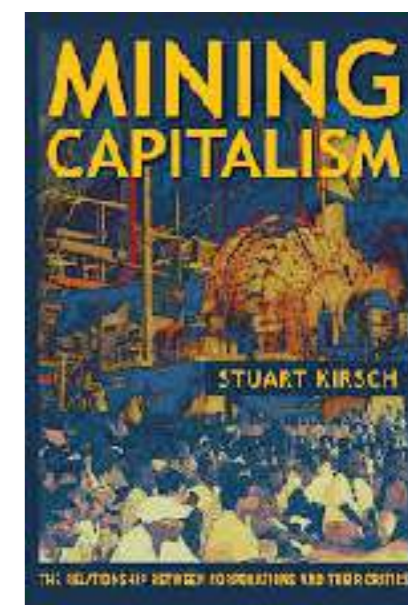
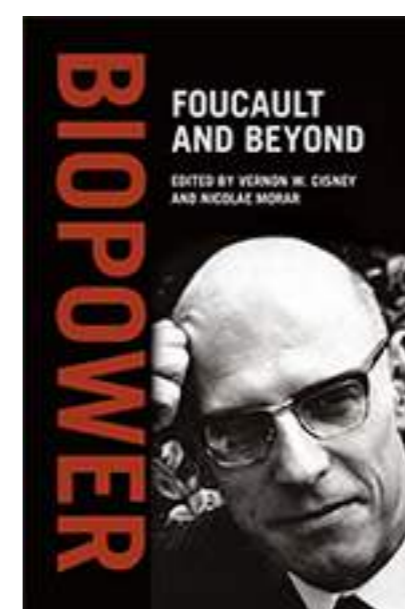
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- According to data from Forest Watch Indonesia, between 2000 and 2009, the deforestation rate in Papua was around 60,300 hectares per year. Between 2013 and 2017, the rate had more than tripled to 189,300 hectares per year.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS 2: SETTLER COLONIALISM - analysis of demographic transitions and resources appropriation, including land.



CRITICAL ANALYSIS 3: The Will to Improve

- “The Will to Improve” (Tania Li, 2007) co-exist with the will to control and to govern, a soft form of governmentality and hegemonic power.
- “Bio-Power”: total control over the population and social realities, and their lives, for subjugation
- Rendering Technical”: isolation as problem, and infrastructure as solution
- “State’s Socio-Political Technologies”
- The Power of Exclusion — regulation, the market, force and legitimation— leading to marginalisation, domination, violence, control



CRITICAL ANALYSIS 4: URBAN BIASED AND MIGRANT CAPTURED DEVELOPMENT



CIPTA KARYA

KOTA TANPA KUMUH (KOTAKU)

Program pencegahan dan peningkatan kualitas permukaan kumuh dengan meningkatkan peran masyarakat dan Pemerintah Daerah

- Kota Jayapura (11 Kel di Kec. Abepura, 5 Kel di Kec. Heram, 7 Kel di Kec. Jayapura Selatan, 8 Kel di Kec. Jayapura Utara, 8 Kel di Kec. Muara Tamu)

BIAYA RP
3
Miliar

39 Kelurahan

5 KOMPONEN KEGIATAN

1. Perbaikan saluran
2. Pembangunan tempat penampungan sementara (TPS)
3. Pembangunan jalan lingkungan
4. Peningkatan lobakam (Jalur olokasi)
5. Ruang Terbatas Hijau (RTH)

- Catatan: *Teras seluas 10 meter 1-3 ha:
- Dicalurkan melalui BKM (Badan Keswadayaan Masyarakat) yang memiliki ekto notaris
 - BKM didampingi oleh fasilitator pemerintah

PEREMAJAAN



PEMUGARAN



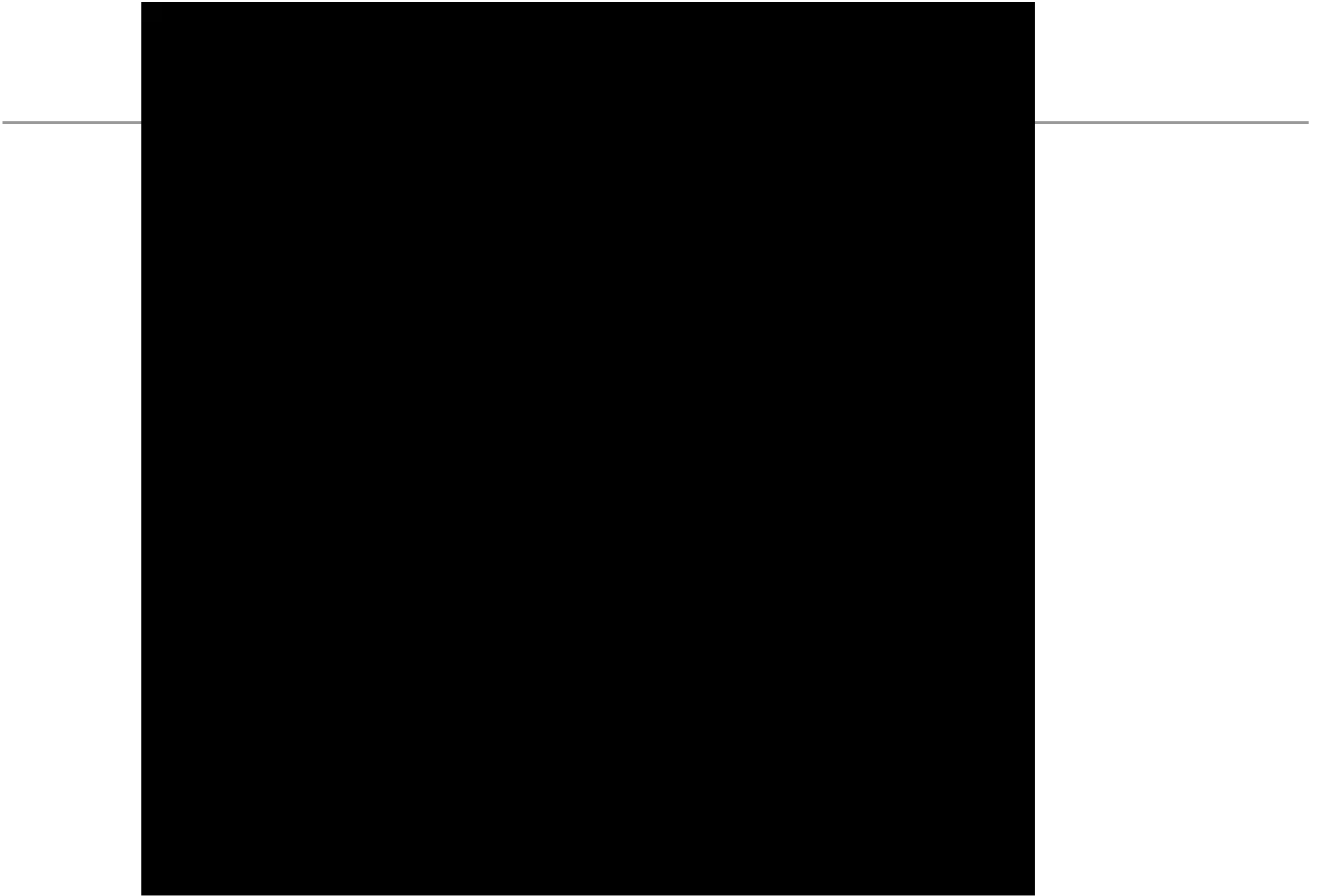
CRITICAL ANALYSIS 5: The state of exception is the legal dispositive (means) used by the Indonesian government to exercise absolute power in West Papua. (More issues: state of confusion; sovereign rights)



Reflection: Coloniality in and through Development

- Development is central to Indonesian nation building in West Papua.
- Development is also a pivotal to maintain Papuans pacification, coloniality, and subjugation
- Development maintains matrix relation of Power in which indigenous Papuans remains at the bottom.





PART IV. THE CHALLENGES OF DECOLONIAL STRUGGLES IN WEST PAPUA

Challenges

- Key Concerns from Papuans lived experiences: survival, well-being, dignity & protecting indigenous Papuan rights.
- Is there any future with and within Indonesia?
 - for survival
 - for well-being
 - for dignity
 - for protecting indigenous Papuan rights

-
- Key Strategic Questions:
 - How to address “Colonialism/coloniality in and through development?”
 - Is the human rights framework still an adequate tools for emancipation?
 - What are the alternatives for indigenous development?

Challenges

- Critical voices are silenced: not only the political groups, but also those who have different visions of development, and those who resist.
- Certain elites are co-opted in “Bio-Power”, become parts of State’s Political Technologies
- Racial/ethnic and religious divide and tensions: Papua - Non Papua; Islam - Christian; Papua Christian and Non-Papua Christians, etc.
- Churches and NGOs = partner in development and nation building
- Political activists tend to be ideological, which to certain extent, prevent them to explore multiple strategies against capitalist expansion, colonialism through development
- Political groups do not consolidated the resistance against developmental exploitation into their political agenda and strategies; colonialism in and through development is not addressed adequately.

Conclusion: Using media platform and tools with two survival strategies

- 1. Resist: “only one word: Lawan!” Work for Alternatives!





STRATEGY 2. CONSOLIDATE SOLIDARITY: IN PACIFIC, IN INDONESIA, AND BEYOND

