

FOOD ESTATE'S BIOPOLITICS:  
FROM LETTING DIE TO MAKING DEATHS,  
FOR THE POWERFUL MAY LIVE EVER AFTER

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# PROBLEMS OF SETTLER COLONIALISM?

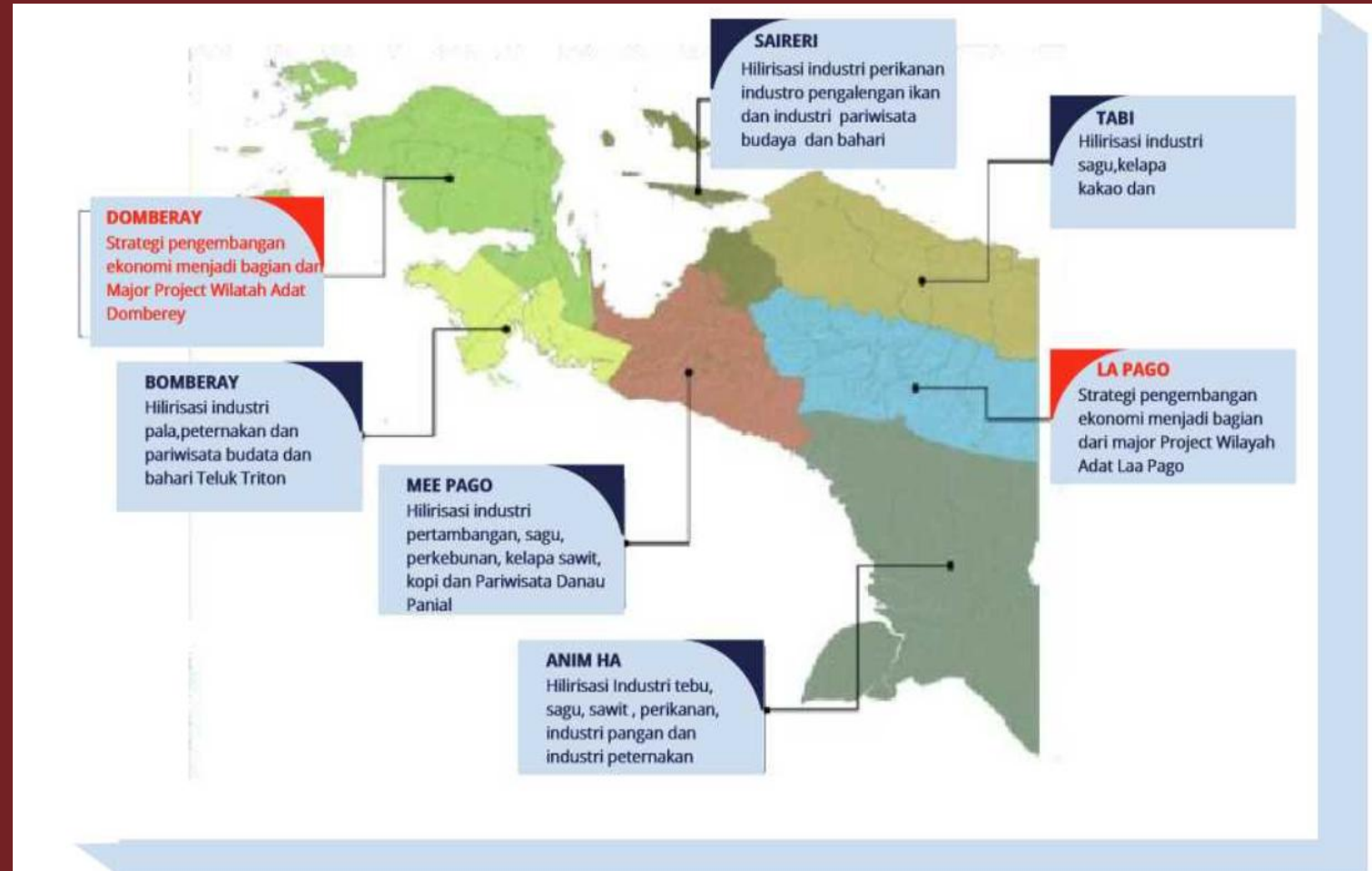
Site of ongoing occupation, extractive economy & elimination

✓ Land as the central focus:

- Large scale mining, plantation, logging & carbon trading (39% of forest)
- From 7 indigenous people's territories, claimed by 466 ethnic groups, only 3 received communal land title.

✓ Marginalization & expulsion of the native Papuans

✓ Special autonomy = autonomy with [Jakarta-controlled] authority



Gambar 3. Pembagian Wilayah Adat Papua  
sumber : BPIW, 2020



THE WEST PAPUA  
FOOD ESTATE  
PROJECTS:  
NEW FRONTIER  
COMMODITIES,  
OLD EXTRACTIVE  
SITES

[OF PALM OIL PLANTATIONS]

*Kabupaten yang mengalami  
perluasan kebun sawit  
lebih dari 20 Ribu Ha,  
muncul angka kemiskinan  
& angka stunting  
di atas rata-rata nasional*

Saputra (2023)

PERLUASAN  
KEBUN SAWIT = BERTAMBAH  
= KEMISKINAN

Perluasan  
Kebun Sawit



23.113,93 Ha

23.275,18 Ha

Angka  
Kemiskinan



15,7%

20%

Angka  
Stunting

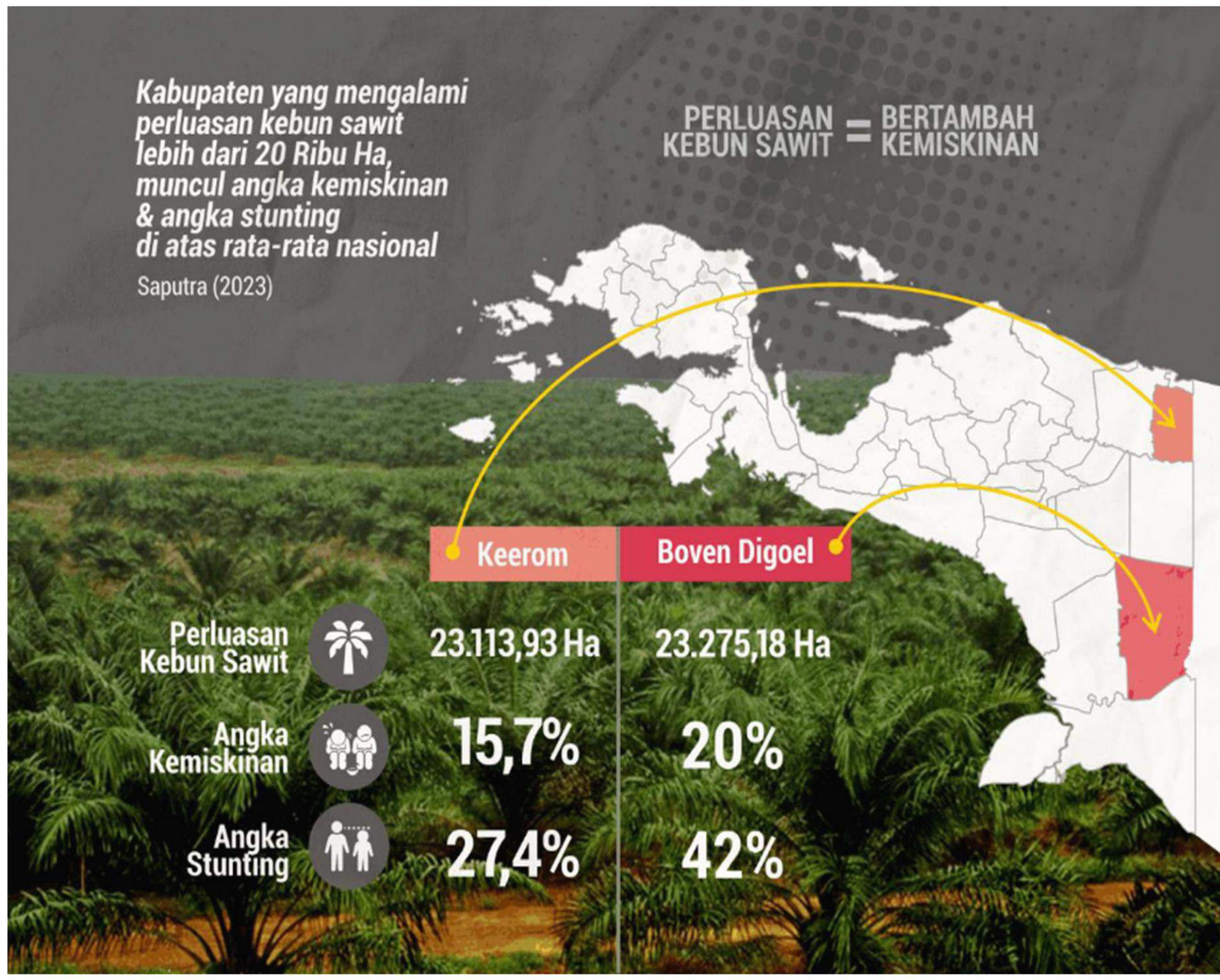


27,4%

42%

Keerom

Boven Digoel





# MERAUKE FOOD ESTATE PROJECT THE NATIONAL STRATEGIC PROJECT (PSN): THE 'RENEWABLE' FRONTIER

## PSN Merauke



### Proyek Perkebunan & Industri Tebu (Bioethanol)



Joko Widodo  
(Penggagas  
Proyek-  
Mantan  
Presiden RI)

Bahil Lahadalia  
(Penggagas  
Proyek-  
Menteri  
Investasi)

### HARVEST HAVEN GROUP



terdiri dari : PT Global Papua Abadi; PT Murni Nusantara Mandiri; PT Andalan Manis Nusantara; PT Semesta Gula Nusantara; PT Berkat Tebu Sejahtera; PT Agrindo Gula Nusantara; PT Global Papua Makmur; PT Dutamas Resources International; & PT Borneo Citra Persada.

dikuasai

dikendalikan

Luas konsesi untuk perkebunan & industri tebu (Bioethanol)



**541.094 Hektar**

Lebih dari 30% (173.785 Ha) areal perizinan perkebunan tebu GPA Group berlokasi pada kawasan hutan alam primer dan lahan gambut, yang jadi objek moratorium izin (Peta Indikatif Penghentian Pemberian Perizinan Berusaha (PIPPIB)) : PIPPIB Primer 149.016 Ha PIPPIB Gambut 24.768 Ha

Lokasi perizinan perusahaan GPA Group bertentangan dengan Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Kabupaten Merauke, dimana areal 44% areal 9 Perusahaan berada di Kawasan Lindung dan 56% berada di Kawasan Budidaya.

### KELUARGA FANGIONO



Martias Fangiono

Wirastuti Fangiono  
(Anak  
Martias Fangiono)

Ciliandra Fangiono  
(Anak  
Martias Fangiono)



Martua Sitorus

### Proyek Cetak Sawah & Optimalisasi Lahan 1 Juta Hektar

Aparat militer & perusahaan, yang mendatangkan peralatan, membongkar dan mengusur tanah dan hutan adat milik masyarakat tanpa didahului proses musyawarah, izin dan mufakat secara bebas.



Prabowo Subianto  
(Penggagas  
Proyek-  
Mantan Menteri  
Pertahanan -  
Presiden RI)



Amran Sulaiman  
(Menteri  
Pertanian)



Andi Syamsuddin Arsyad /Haji Isam  
(Pendukung  
Proyek)



Ida Bagus Purwalaksana  
(Direktur Utama  
Agrinas)



Sudaryono  
(Komisaris Utama  
Agrinas)



Johannes Gluba Gebze  
(Komisaris Agrinas)



Tiba-tiba tanpa kajian apapun, Menteri KLHK, Siti Nurbaya, menerbitkan SK MenLHK No. 835 Tahun 2024 pada 12 Juli 2024, tentang Persetujuan Penggunaan Kawasan Hutan untuk Kegiatan Pembangunan Sarana & Prasarana Ketahanan Pangan dalam Rangka Pertahanan dan Keamanan Atas Nama Kemenhan seluas **13.540 hektar** pada Kawasan Hutan Lindung, Kawasan Hutan Produksi Tetap dan Kawasan Hutan Produksi yang Dapat Dikonversi di Kabupaten Merauke, Provinsi Papua Selatan.



138.971, -7.394

2023

0 2.5 km 5 km

BEFORE

2025

In August 2024, hundreds of excavators arrived in Wanam and Wogikel, two villages at the heart of the Food Estate expansion zone. Infrastructure plans include a logistics seaport and a 135 km Food Estate Road extending eastwards across Merauke, the southeasternmost regency of Indonesia. Between August 2024 and June 2025, the Jhonlin group helped by Indonesian army has bulldozed 6,431 hectares for Indonesian government – mostly Melaleuca swamp forests. As of June 2025, construction of the 135 km road has progressed approximately 40 km.

AFTER

1. Ground Zero: Merauke Food Estate Ex...

140.328, -8.249

2023



Between January 2024 and June 2025, the Indonesian government has cleared 2,721 ha of land – comprising a mix of grassland and wooded savanna, with tree cover ranging from open grasslands to denser patches approaching 50% canopy cover – for rice cultivation in the sub districts of Semangga and Kurik, areas inhabited by a large transmigrant population. According to Pusaka, Indigenous communities – including Yei, Malind, Maklew, and Khimaima – have protested forced land clearing in Semangga and Kurik, demanding Free, Prior, and Informed Consent. Some operations were accompanied by military oversight.

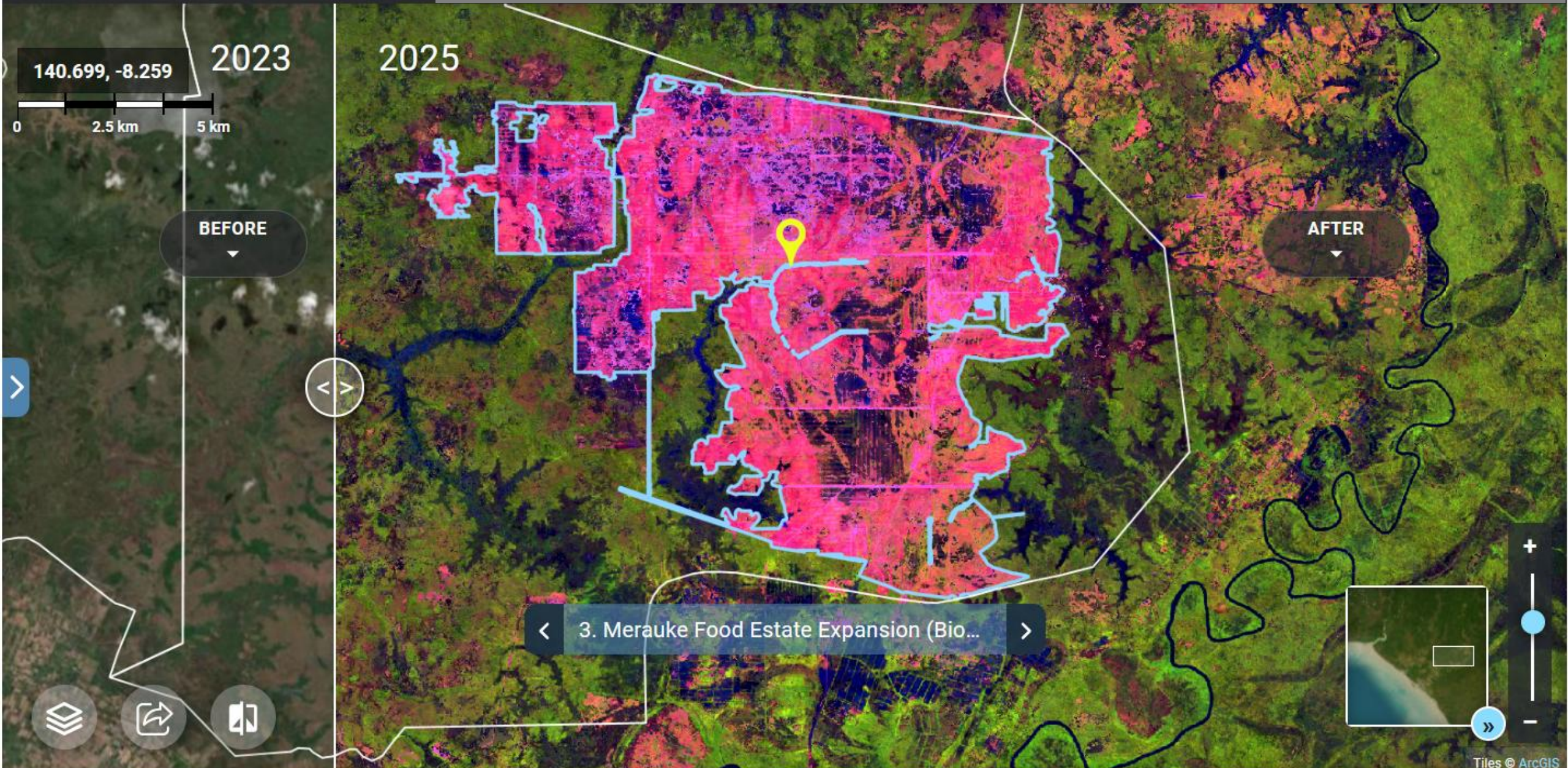
BEFORE

AFTER

< 2. Merauke Food Estate Expansion (Rice) >



From Jan 2024 to June 2025, the Merauke PSN cleared 22,272 ha of natural ecosystems, including forest (9,835 ha), Melaleuca swamp, savanna, and grassland, still far below the 3million ha target.



< 3. Merauke Food Estate Expansion (Bio... >

# BIOPOLITICS: 'TO LET DIE'

- 2012-2013: third year of MEDCO's HTI concession operations in Merauke
  - *Water pollution, damaged sago and scarce game: 15 children malnourished – 5 children died*
  - *Prostitution and alcohol: 3 mothers with HIV/AIDS Tobacco consumption: many women and children suffer from respiratory infections and tuberculosis*
  - *Women as informal contract workers (Rp 100,000/hectare)*
  - *Men as casual daily workers (Rp 50,000/hour)*
- 2014: MEDCO closes operations, LG purchases shares
  - *Massive layoffs*
  - *Women and children become contract labourers searching for gambier (7 days a week, 15-20 hours per day, £2.50/kg)*
  - *Leaving home and school*
  - *Dependence on cash economy*
  - *2018-2020: 20 people (including children) died from various diseases*
- 2024: FE expands to Keerom and Boven Digul
  - *Women work precarious jobs, burdened with domestic work and domestic violence*
  - *Forests lost, sources of nutritious food lost, everything must be purchased*
  - *Stunting rates increase*

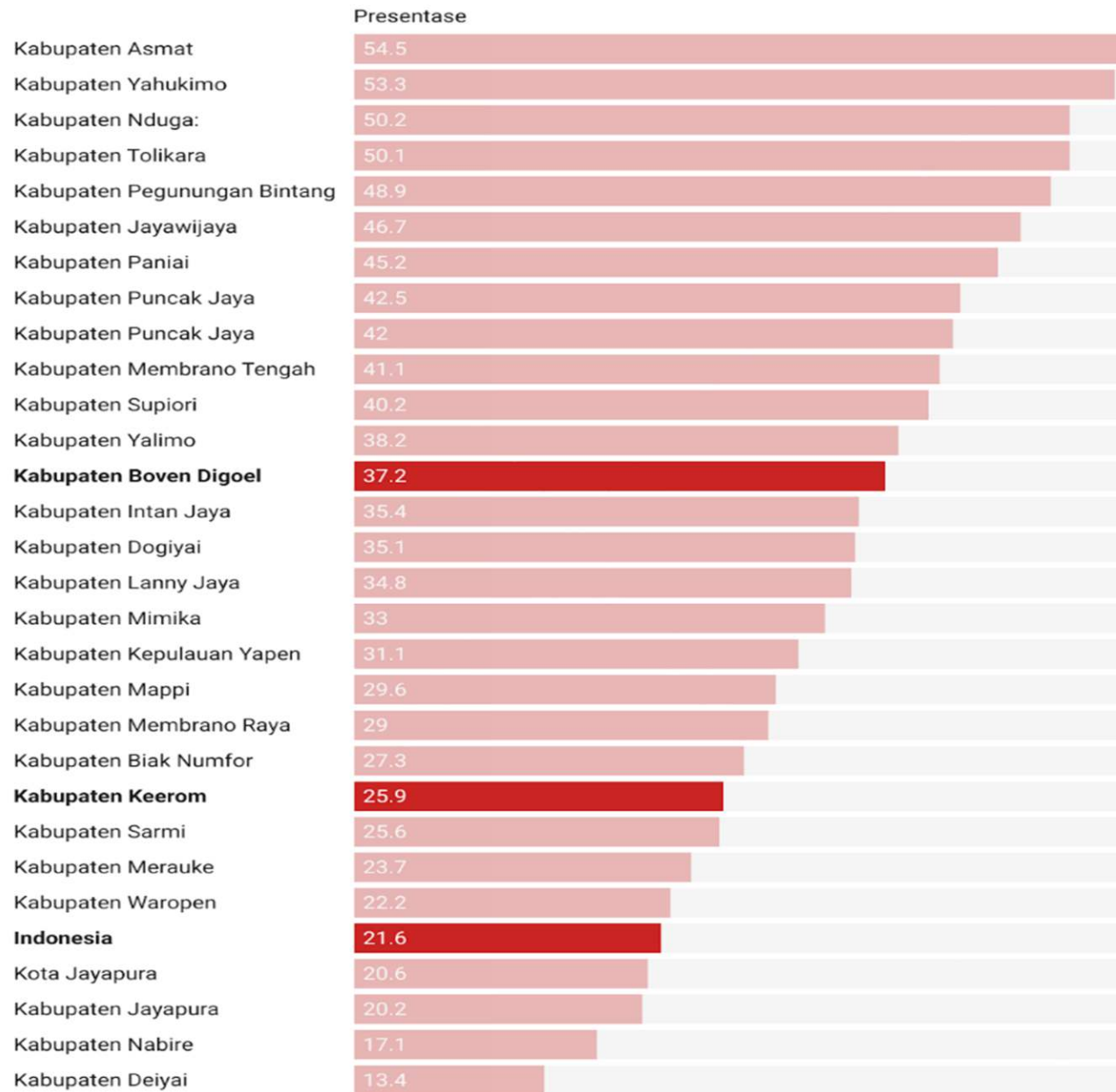
# SHIFT TO INSTANT FOOD

## Papua Province Statistics 2022:

- Consumption of artificial flavouring (vetsin): 55,78 gram per prs/month.
- Consumption of instant noodle is 4 pack/prs/month or Rp18.528,80 per prs/month



## Prevalensi Balita Stunting di Provinsi Papua 2022



Created with Datawrapper

## Metabolic Disorders

- A. Stunting as a condition where children <2 years are below average height.
- ✓ Long-term nutritional intake that is inadequate for their needs.
  - ✓ Potential to slow brain development.
  - ✓ Long-term effects: Mental retardation, low learning ability, and risk of chronic diseases (e.g. diabetes, hypertension, obesity)
  - ✓ Stunting rate 2022:
    - Boven Digoel 37,2%
    - Keerom 25,9%
    - Merauke 23,7%
    - Indonesia 21%
- B. The infant mortality rate (IMR) 38.17 per 1,000 live births, making it the province with the highest IMR in Indonesia that year. This figure is well above the national average of only 19 per 1,000 live births.

# FROM: "TO LET DIE", TO: "TO MAKE DEATH": THE WORKINGS OF MILITARIZATION

Provinsi	Komando Militer Sekarang	Rencana Komando Militer Baru
Sumatra	Korem 043 / <i>Garuda Hitam</i> in Kodam II /Sriwijaya	Kodam XX
	Korem 031 / <i>Wira Bima</i> in Kodam I /Bukit Barisan	Kodam XIX
Kalimantan Tengah dan Selatan	Korem 102 / <i>Panju Panjung</i> in Palangka Raya; Korem 101 / <i>Antasari</i> (Banjarmasin)	Kodam XXI /Tambun Bungai
Sulawesi Tengah	Korem 132 / <i>Tadulako</i> in Kodam XIII /Merdeka	Kodam XXII /Tadulako
Papua Selatan	Korem 174 / <i>Anim Ti Waninggap</i> (Merauke)	Kodam XXIII

Sumber: Made Supriatma (2025)



2000 new troops

President Regulation No. 84/2025 on the Indonesia's Military Organization Structure:

- 3 new battalions in Wanam, Merauke
- 1 new Military Territorial Command (KODAM) for South Papua
- 200+ Food Brigade in Merauke
- 24,000 newly recruited troops for 21 KODAM in Indonesia

Revised military law 2025 → Military Operations Other than War (MOOW):

- Military-controlled/'owned' corporation (AGRINAS)

# FEAR & TERROR: MECHANISMS OF LAND & RESOURCE GRAB

- Manipulation to grab land from West Papuan owners for military-operated rice farming projects
- Unpaid local labour worked in military grabbed land rice project
- 'Facilitate' transfer ownership from indigenous land owners to the migrant cultivators
- Direct intimidations & threats



**IMPACT:  
GENERATION LOSS**  
(‘bio-cultural GENOCIDE’)



· Cosmological  
ruination  
· Corporeal  
sufferings  
*“living dead” in  
“the death world”*



DRASTIC LANDSCAPE CHANGE



DEEP INTERNAL CONFLICT



UNPAID CHILD LABOUR



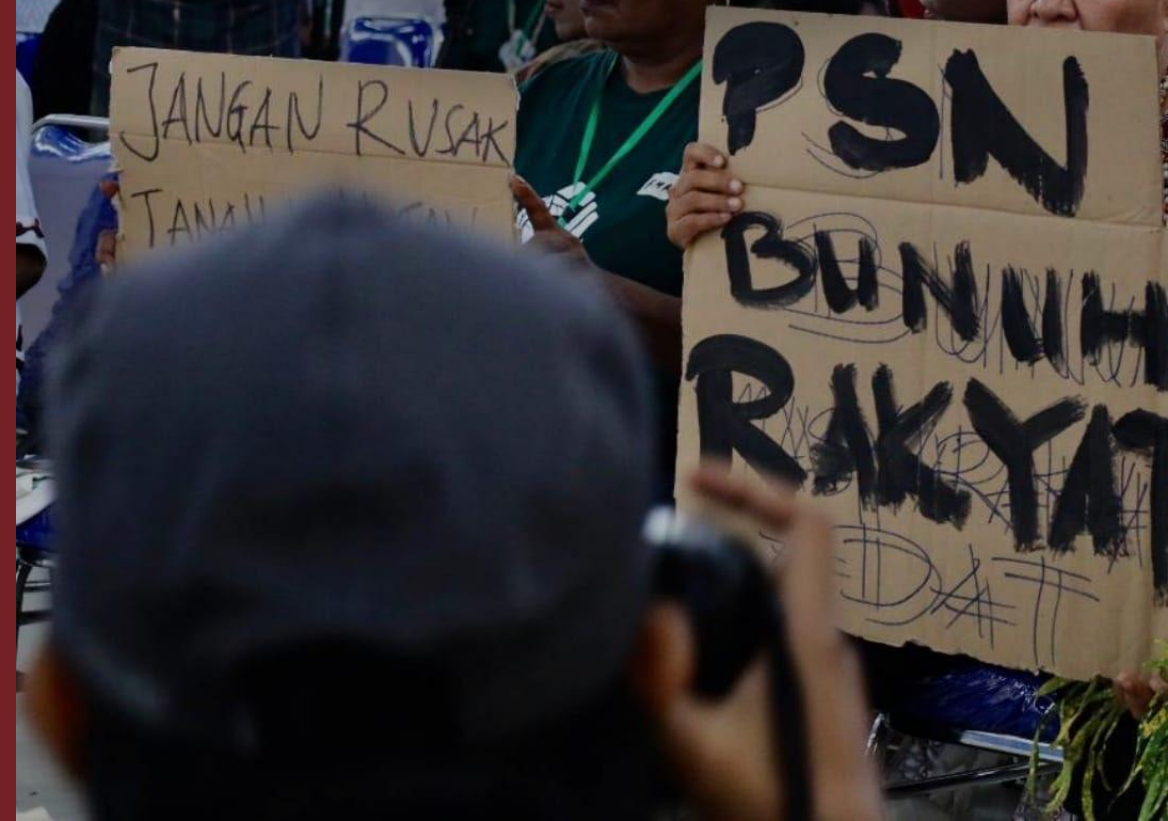
MALNUTRITION & ‘NEW’ DISEASES (acute  
respiratory infections, TBC, HIV/AIDS)





Organic and organized resistance continue to grow at various scales

“PSN harus dihentikan, supaya generasi penerus tidak kehilangan warisan. Kalau tidak berhenti, anak cucu kami tidak akan ada lagi, tidak tau akan tau akan dikemanakan. Kami sudah bikin ritual adat seperti sasi, demo, tetapi perusahaan terus bongkar sampai hari ini. Kami seperti mau mati sudah.”



AIWAA...SAYANG DORANG...

WEST PAPUA'S SURVIVAL IS  
OUR SURVIVAL..  
ITS DEATH, OUR OWN..

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