

A HISTORIC CHOICE: WEST PAPUA, HUMAN RIGHTS AND PACIFIC DIPLOMACY AT THE PACIFIC ISLAND FORUM AND MELANESIAN SPEARHEAD GROUP

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#### **DISCLOSURE STATEMENTS**

Jason MacLeod has advised the ULMWP previously, in a voluntary capacity. He was not working in this capacity when this report was written. This report was not paid for or vetted by any organisation that would benefit from its findings. Dr Macleod is affiliated with the West Papua Project of the University of Sydney and with The University of Queensland and coordinates Pasifika.

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Cover: The five members of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua lead the march for full membership of the Melanesian Spearhead Group in Honiara, Solomon Islands, 2015. Photo: Pasifika collection.

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Demonstration, West Papua. Photo: WPM collection

#### Summary

The West Papuan movement for freedom is growing. And a wave of support is building across the Pacific. The human rights situation in West Papua, however, is deteriorating. Instead of embracing the United Liberation Movement for West Papua as a partner, the body that best represents the aspirations of the West Papuan people, Indonesian President Joko Widodo has criminalised the ULMWP, fomented nationalist militia groups and created conditions that encourage state violence against the Papuan people. The fact that the Papuans have been pursuing their aspirations through a combination of nonviolent action and domestic and international diplomacy further illustrates the total failure of the Indonesian government's willingness and ability to protect their citizens in West Papua. Pacific Island nations are ideally placed to address this situation. Individual Pacific leaders have already acted morally and courageously to help constrain Indonesian violence. In doing so they have compelled the Indonesian government to respond to persistent and serious concerns Pacific peoples have about West Papua and West Papuans, a people who are embraced as family members. An opportunity exists to elevate Pacific ways of resolving conflict and doing diplomacy and embed these in regional and sub-regional forum. By pursuing independent human rights missions, raising the issue of West Papua at the United Nations, formally including the ULMWP in the Pacific Island Forum, and granting full membership of the ULMWP in the Melanesian Spearhead Group, Pacific Island states can help constrain Indonesian state violence and create the conditions for the peaceful and dignified resolution of the conflict in West Papua. Geopolitical power and influence concerning West Papua has shifted from 'Western countries' to the Pacific. With that comes a unique historical choice for the members of the Pacific Island Forum and other sub-regional bodies, including the Melanesian Spearhead Group: to support the West Papuan aspirations to peacefully determine their own future or to side with the forces of empire. Pacific Island leaders can turn their backs or 'bring West Papua back to the family'.



Women's action, 2013, West Papua. Photo: WPM collection

#### Introduction

This report analyses political developments and human rights violations in West Papua by the Indonesian state in response to the West Papuan people's aspirations for self-determination. It covers the period between January 2014, when a delegation of Melanesian Spearhead Group Foreign Ministers' visited the territory, and 15 July 2016, the day after Melanesian Spearhead Group Special Leaders meet in Honiara and decided to defer a decision on the United Liberation Movement for West Papua's application for full membership. That decision will now be made by MSG leaders in Port Vila, Vanuatu before September.

The purpose of the report is to provide political decision makers in the Pacific - both at the Melanesian Spearhead Group and the Pacific Island Forum as well as civil society leaders in the Pacific, Non-Government Organisations, the Churches and solidarity groups in particular with accurate, detailed and timely information about political developments and the human rights situation inside the country, a region that few manage to visit, let alone for any extended period. The authors hope that this information will assist them in their deliberations over the ULMWP's application for full membership of the Melanesian Spearhead Group as well as the request before the Pacific Island Forum for an international human rights fact finding mission. In light of the worsening human rights situation, a rapidly approaching demographic catastrophe and the Indonesian government's failure to protect West Papuans this report underscores the need for international remedies. The most obvious and powerful is to take the issue to the United Nations, including to re-list West Papua on the United Nations Committee for Decolonisation and to formally include the ULMWP in regional and sub-regional fora. As a priority the ULMWP should be granted full membership of the Melanesian Spearhead Group. West Papuans need to have a seat at the table, to be the ones making decisions about their own future. Amongst other things, West Papuans need sub-regional and regional leaders to demand that the territory to be opened up to foreign media and international human rights observers.

What emerges from the findings is a detailed picture of human rights violations, carried out largely, but not exclusively, by the Indonesian police. Abuses are both systemic and systematic, routinely marked by violent and virulent racism. Human rights violations in West Papua, particularly denial of the West Papuans freedom of expression, has dramatically increased since the formation of the ULMWP in Vanuatu on the 6th of December 2014. The ULMWP and their supporters in particular are being targeted by the Indonesian state. In 2014, prior to the formation of the West Papuan umbrella group, 105 people were arrested for nonviolent political activity. In 2015, 710 people were arrested for unarmed political activity in support of West Papuans right to self-determination. According to data provided by the Papuan Coalition for Human Rights and the Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta, by July 2016, 4,198 West Papuans were arrested, an increase of more than 4000% since the MSG foreign minister mission in 2014. Disturbingly, that data is only for the first half of 2016. All of these arrests

were for nonviolent actions – handing out leaflets, public oration, displaying banners, and participating in public demonstrations – calling for the ULMWP to be granted full membership of the Melanesian Spearhead Group. Most of those arrested were young people, of high school or university age. Even primary school aged students as young as 11 years old were also arrested by the police for participating in nonviolent action. Many of those detained by the police were arrested using excessive forces and were tortured while in detention. In some cases, such as Yahukimo, Police acts of torture against ULMWP activists occurred in public using household instruments like hammers.

Acts of state violence occur all over West Papua and are carried out by all parts of the security forces: the military, and all levels of police including the mobile police brigade and Special Detachment 88. The human rights violations alleged in the report are serious. They include killing, torture, sexual assault and deprivation of liberty, the purpose of which appears to be a failed attempt to silence West Papuans nonviolently expressing a political opinion to be free. In more recent months, as the West Papua campaign gained strength internationally, the Indonesian police facilitated the mobilisation of demonstrations by nationalist militia groups, a pattern of conflict that echoes East Timor. Militias have been mobilised against West Papuans in displays of force across West Papua and in Java. In each case armed state actors – the police and the military – are in the background, ominously backing up militia mobilisations. In Yogyakarta in July 2016, for example, the police publicly beat and humiliated students while hundreds of militiamen armed with iron bars, clubs and knives intimidated West Papuans who were singing freedom songs in their dormitory.

The Indonesian government appears to be conducting a campaign to destroy the United Liberation Movement in West Papua (ULMWP) despite the fact that group is committed to nonviolently pursuing their right to self-determination and that West Papuans right to freedom of expression is meant to be guaranteed under the Indonesian constitution. Regardless of repeated reassurances from the Indonesian government that they would resolve human rights violations in West Papua the evidence clearly shows that the human rights situation is rapidly worsening under the leadership of Indonesian President Joko Widodo. The Indonesian state has failed to guarantee West Papuans right to safety and life as well as their right to freely and peacefully express a political opinion. Consequently, including the ULMWP in the Pacific Island Forum and granting the ULMWP full membership of the Melanesian Spearhead is needed not just because West Papuans are Pacific people and pursuing a decolonisation agenda, but as a remedy to help bring international pressure bear to peacefully resolve the Pacific's longest running and most violent conflict: the slow motion genocide in West Papua.

The data in the report comes from in country interviews and a meta-analysis of all human rights reports published during the reporting period, both in English and Indonesian. We particularly want to acknowledge Elsham for their assistance in preparing this report. Activist reports have only been used when they can be triangulated with at least two other sources.

Two of the report's three authors travelled clandestinely into conflict areas inside West Papua to conduct interviews with organisers of demonstrations, survivors of human rights violations, human rights lawyers and human rights defenders. In addition, the report is based on long-term participatory action research inside West Papua throughout the reporting period. Despite collecting data from across West Papua, this report is not a comprehensive forensic analysis of the human rights situation, and in many cases perpetrators have neither been successfully identified nor have violations been adequately investigated. Unfortunately the political situation is not conducive to such research being undertaken. This is why independent human rights investigation, monitoring and evaluation is desperately needed.

The report was written by independent researchers Dr Jason MacLeod, an academic working on civil resistance and West Papua, and Rosa Moiwend, a human rights defender and gender and critical development researcher. Additional assistance was provided by Jasmine Pilbrow who drew on detailed research provided by Elsham Papua, AJAR, the International Coalition for West Papua, Tapol, Papuans Behind Bars, Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta, Human Rights Watch, Gereja Kristen Injili – Tanah Papua, the Kingmi Church of Papua, as well as lawyers and activist groups. Publication and dissemination of the report is supported by the Pacific Association of Non-Government Organisations and the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace of the Archdiocese of Brisbane. Thank you to everyone who assisted.

The report summarises the conflict, mindful that many audiences of the Pacific are still not fully aware of what is driving conflict in West Papua. The political dynamics of the conflict are analysed paying particular attention to the period between January 2014, when the Melanesian Foreign Ministers mission briefly visited the territory and July 2016, when the majority of this report was written. The United Liberation Movement for West Papua, is also introduced, along with their plan for creating a just and sustainable peace in West Papua. In addition, the broader political dynamics of the West Papuan movement for freedom is also analysed. The Appendix of the report summarises human rights violations between January 2014 and July 2014. There is also a discussion of five patterns that have emerged from an analysis of the data. One case in particular, the killing of five school aged children in Enarotali by the Indonesian security forces, is discussed in more detail as exemplar of the Indonesian state's failure to resolve human rights violations. Next the emergence of nationalist militia groups backed up by the Indonesian state is documented, a troubling phenomenon echoing the history of East Timor, portending the willingness of the state to use extreme violence against Papuans. The report concludes by arguing that Pacific Island states are in an ideal position to contribute positively to resolving the conflict. Independent human rights missions by Pacific Island states, formal inclusion of the ULMWP in regional fora, such as granting full membership of the MSG, as well as addressing the question of West Papua at the United Nations, will help create conditions that constrain Indonesian state violence, compel the Indonesian government to formally address their failure to protect West Papuans, and create space for the Papuan people's deeply held aspirations to be taken seriously.



A young girl proudly displays Morning Star face paint, Wamena. Photo: WPM collection.

### Background: what is driving the conflict?

Despite the public attention the issue of West Papua is attracting across Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia it is clear there is still not a widespread and deep understanding of what is generating conflict and violence in West Papua. The causes of conflict in West Papua are multiple and interlinked. They include:

- 1. HISTORICAL GRIEVANCES. West Papua is part of the Pacific. During the Dutch period West Papuans were present at the formation of the South Pacific Commission, the forerunner to the Pacific Island Forum. West Papuans also founded the Pacific Conference of Churches in Malua, Western Samoa in 1961. By the late 1950s the Dutch were belatedly preparing the West Papuans for self-rule. West Papuans established their own parliament, flag, national anthem and a coat of arms. When the Dutch left, West Papuans were recolonised by the Indonesian state. Initially the Indonesian government administered West Papua on behalf of the United Nations on the understanding that there would be an act of self-determination supervised by the United Nations. In reality this was the beginning of the occupation. West Papuans expressing their aspirations to be free were violently repressed. When the so-called Act of Free Choice took place in 1969 less than 0.01% of the Papuan population (1022 people) participated. Those that did were coerced at gunpoint to do so. The 1969 Act of Free Choice is West Papua's founding human rights violation. The Act of Free Choice was fraudulent. It was neither free nor fair. Until there is a genuine referendum in West Papua, the Indonesian state cannot claim any political legitimacy.
- 2. STATE SANCTIONED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. West Papuan is illegally occupied by the Indonesian military. Amnesty International estimates that over 100,000 have been killed in the fifty year conflict. Many West Papuans believe that figure is much higher, around 500,000. Freedom of expression is not protected and West Papuans who peacefully express their desire to be free are violently repressed by the security forces. According to Indonesian academic Dr Budi Hernawan (2015) the Indonesian state uses torture as a tool of governance. Dr Jim Elmslie and Camellia Webb-Gannon (2013) argue that the Indonesian government is intentionally destroying West Papuans seeking independence as a group, in whole or in part, and that this action, endorsed by the state and repeated over decades, fulfils the criteria of 'genocide'.
- ECONOMIC INJUSTICE. West Papuans' land and resources are being exploited by destructive large-scale development projects, especially mines, oil and gas projects, logging, and palm oil plantations. Whole Indigenous nations have been forced off their

land and into poverty by multi-national and Indonesian timber, mining and gas companies. West Papuans land rights are not respected or protected by law.

- 4. MIGRATION. A 'slow-motion genocide' is taking place. In 1971 West Papuans were 96.09 per cent of the population of West Papua. By 2010 the percentage of Papuans living in West Papua was 48.73 per cent of the population. West Papuans are already a minority in their own land.
- 5. INSTITUTIONAL RACISM. Racism and indigenous disadvantage and marginalisation in the economy, education, health sector, security forces, and bureaucracy translates to a lack of will to address the root causes of the conflict. There is no affirmative action policy. In the remote areas instead of having access to schools and health clinics the population is subjected to increasing militarisation.

These grievances form a narrative of betrayal and suffering at the hands of the international community, the Indonesian State, and global capital, resulting in high levels of frustration and a near total distrust of the Indonesian Government.

West Papuans want to be free and to have their rights respected.

### Political dynamics between January 2014 and July 2016

Between January 2014 and July 2016, the political dynamics in West Papua have changed more than in the entire previous fifty years. The West Papuans have unified under the banner of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua. Through this process and the ULMWP's determination to seek membership of the Melanesian Spearhead Group, the issue of West Papua has been internationalised. At the same time the MSG's potential as a forum to promote peaceful political negotiations between West Papua and Indonesian has been revealed. However, the MSG's role as a potential peacemaker, and as a body that represents Melanesian interests, has not been straightforward. Nor is it inevitable.

#### THE UNITED LIBERATION MOVEMENT FOR WEST PAPUA

#### **PNWP**

National Parliament for West Papua (Parlamen Nasional West Papua). PNWP includes the West Papua National Committee (Komite Nasional Papua Barat or KNPB).

#### **ULMWP**

(5 elected executive members representing each coalition. Octovianus Mote, representing the NFRWP is the General Secreatary, Benny Wenda representating PNWP is the Spokesperson and Jacob Rumbiak (NFRWP), Rex Rumakiek (WPNCL) and Leonie Tanggahma (WPNCL) are executive members).

#### **WPNCL**

The West Papua National Coalition or WPNCL is a coalition that represents more than 19 resistance groups inside West Papua.

#### **NFRWP**

The National Federal Republic of West Papua or NFRWP represents the West Papua National Authority (WPNA), the Dewan Adat Papua (DAP) or Papuan Custonary Council, and the former Presidium Dewan Papua (PDP). The first West Papuan group to apply for membership of the MSG was the West Papua National Coalition for Liberation. Their application was discussed at the Melanesian Spearhead Group meeting in Noumea 2013. However, MSG Leaders rejected WPNCL's application for membership, questioning the organisations representation. At the urging of FLNKS (Front de Libération Nationale Kanak et Socialiste) the Kanak and Socialist National Liberation Front who chaired the meeting, MSG leaders agreed to send a Foreign Minister delegation to determine how representative the West Papua National Coalition for Liberation was. The decision, which was in response to an invitation by the Indonesian Government and an agreement by Fiji to lead the delegation, was set down in Point 21(d) of the MSG leaders' communiqué dated 20 June 2013 (Melanesian Spearhead Group 2013; Tim Khusus, 2014).

When the report of the Melanesian Foreign Ministers Mission to West Papua was discussed at the Special MSG Leaders Meeting in Port Moresby in June 2014 the question of West Papuan unity again emerged. In Point 8, sub point (ii) of the Leaders Communique, dated 26 June 2014, the leaders "agreed to invite all [West Papuan resistance] groups to form an inclusive and united umbrella group ... [and] to work on submitting a fresh application" (Melanesian Spearhead Group 2014). At the request of Papua New Guinea and Fiji the communique used the words "in consultation with Indonesia" but for West Papua this is impossible. It would be like asking the FLNKS to reform in consultation with France. In clarifying discussions between West Papuan leaders and the former Prime Minister Joe Natuman and the late Edward Natepei, who had been appointed Special Envoy on West Papua, the Vanuatu government generously agreed to help finance a reconciliation and unification meeting. It was clear in these discussions that it was inappropriate to consult with Indonesia

That reconciliation and unification meeting eventually took place in Port Vila in November and December 2014. The meeting was organised by a tripartite committee made up of the Vanuatu Government, the Vanuatu Council of Churches, and the Malvatumauri National Council of Chiefs and facilitated by the Pacific Conference of Churches. However, it is worth stating emphatically that the process of unity formation amongst the West Papuans occurred not only at the behest of the Melanesian Spearhead Group. Separate to the diplomatic process young people inside West Papua, frustrated by the infighting of their elders, started meeting in secret. These mid-level leaders represented each of the three major alliances inside West Papua: the West Papua National Coalition for Liberation; The Federal State Republic of West Papua; and the National Parliament of West Papua. For more than 18 months they built relationships, clarified perceptions, analysed the movement's failures and hammered out the beginnings of shared agreements. Informal discussions were also supported by church leaders.

By the time their leaders met in Vanuatu in November/December 2014 the groundwork for unity had already been laid. On 6th December 2014 the United Liberation Movement for West Papua was formally launched. The agreement to form the ULMWP and a five person secretariat to coordinate international lobbying efforts, written down in the Saralana Declaration, was sealed in a traditional ceremony led by Paramount Chief of Malvatumauri National Council

of Chiefs, Chief Senimao Tirsupe Mol Torvakavat. The signing ceremony was witnessed by current and former Prime Ministers of Vanuatu, government dignitaries, and senior leaders from the Vanuatu Council of Churches and the Pacific Conference of Churches.

The honourable Barak Sope, former Vanuatu Prime Minister of Vanuatu, was among the witnesses of the Saralana Declaration (MacLeod 2015a). Exhibiting a nuanced understanding of the dynamics of political struggle and the vagaries of international relations, Sope remarked:

The struggle for independence needs to be a peaceful one. I say this because it will help the governments in the Melanesian Spearhead Groups help you. It may be a big ask for it to be a peaceful struggle but that is the way to bring the other governments on board so we can move forward. Many governments want to help you. From the MSG we can go all the way up to the United Nations. But becoming a member of the Melanesian Spearhead Group is the first step.

On the 4th of February 2015 representatives of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua converged again on Port Vila, to strategise then submit their application for full membership to the MSG. The delegation of leaders from inside and outside West Papua were formally received by MSG secretariat. One of the West Papuan leaders, Edison Waromi of the National Federal Republic of West Papua said 'we were welcomed not just as if we were already a member but as if we were already a state!'

In June 2015 the ULMWP was formally welcomed as a member of the MSG with the status of Observer. The decision was the culmination of an intense six month campaign across 4 countries (Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands) and two territories (West Papua and Kanaky) (MacLeod 2015b). Newfound unity, political clarity over what West Papuans want, and fearless unarmed civilian mobilisations by West Papuans inside the country ignited a wave of international support, particularly in the Pacific, straining Indonesian legitimacy in the troubled territory. At the same time that West Papua was accepted, the Republic of Indonesia's status as an Observer was elevated to that of Associate Member, represented by the Governors of Indonesia's five eastern most provinces: Nusa Tenggara Timur, Maluku Utara, Maluku Selatan, Papua Barat and Papua.

Interestingly, the proposal that the five governors of eastern Indonesia represent the Indonesian government was not even supported by the governors of Papua Barat and Papua provinces, Indonesia's only real Melanesian provinces. In a stunning act of non-cooperation, when President Widodo tried to meet with Lukas Enembe, the governor of Papua province, Enembe switched off his phone for three days. He told a trusted insider, who declined to be named, that "the MSG has nothing to do with me" (MacLeod 2015b). Both he and the Papua Barat Governor, Abraham Atururi refused to attend the MSG Leaders' Summit. The following year in July 2016 the West Papuan governors again failed to attend the Special Leaders Meeting of the MSG in Honiara in July 2016. Governor Enembe went further. He criticised Luhut Pandjaitan, the Indonesian Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and

Security Affairs, who proposed to resolve human rights through a new monitoring team and enforced reconciliation. Enembe argued that the teams would not be independent, would be restricted in what they could investigate and that compelling reconciliation in the absence of some kind of equalising power arrangement was inappropriate. It is not surprising therefore that the Papuan Governors are not trusted by the Indonesian State to represent their political interests.

Prior to the MSG meeting in Honiara to discuss the application for full membership by the ULMWP, MSG leaders and senior officials meet in Lautoka, Fiji on the 16th of June. At that meeting the MSG Sub-Committee on Legal and Institutional Issues agreed to prepare the criteria for membership. West Papuan leaders understand that the core criteria would be based on ethnicity – being Melanesian – and a commitment to decolonisation and self-determination. Indeed this was what was communicated to the West Papuan leadership. Unfortunately, by the time MSG Leaders came together in Honiara, the Sub-Committee had still not developed a criteria. With the failure of the governments of Papua New Guinea and Fiji to support the ULMWP's application for full membership the decision was deferred to a meeting in Port Vila, Vanuatu to be held before September 2016.

Encouraged by Melanesian leaders, West Papuans believe that the MSG leaders will welcome them as full members. The MSG is the paramount sub-regional body that speaks for the interests of Melanesians. The MSG was originally formed to champion self-determination and decolonisation of Melanesians. It is the place for upholding Melanesian cultures, traditions and values. The ULMWP is seeking MSG leaders support and assistance to support self-determination and uphold Melanesian cultures, traditions and values. The MSG is the most appropriate venue for addressing these vital interests.

The situation in West Papua requires Pacific leaders' urgent attention. West Papuans are facing a slow motion genocide. According to political demographer, Dr Jim Elmslie (2010), by 2020 Indigenous West Papuans will comprise 29% of the total population in West Papua. West Papuans human rights are not respected and the Indonesian government has failed to address the West Papuans political grievances. As this report illustrates there is no freedom of expression and that situation is steadily worsening. West Papuans are being jailed, tortured and killed for peacefully expressing their political opinion and desire for decolonisation and self-determination. Indigenous Melanesian culture and identity continues to be criminalised. West Papuans economic, social and cultural rights are also not respected. Customary land rights are not adequately enshrined in law. Land is forcibly seized for development projects. The Indonesian state has failed to protect West Papuans. Unless the political situation in West Papua is resolved regional stability in general, and in Papua New Guinea where there are tens of thousands of refugees, will remain elusive. Full membership is needed as a remedy, to equalise the power relations between Indonesian and West Papua, and to compel the Indonesian government to seriously and peacefully resolve the root causes of the conflict.

# Full membership of the MSG is an essential step in the West Papuan road map to peace

#### THE WEST PAPUAN ROAD MAP TO PEACE

- 1. Full membership of the MSG.
- 2. Independent international human rights monitoring
- 3. Re-listing West Papua on the United Nations Committee for Decolonisation
- 4. Political negotiations
- 5. An internationally supervised vote on West Papua.

West Papuans want to be free. They want to determine their own future peacefully without intimidation and violence. Becoming a full member of the MSG is an essential step in the West Papuan road map for peace.

Ever since the fall of Suharto in May 1998, the Indonesian government has persistently rebuffed West Papuan calls for dialogue. At the moment, and at no previous time in history, have there been any international forums or mechanisms that compel the Indonesian government to sit down with the West Papuans as equals and talk about the causes of the conflict. Becoming a full member of the MSG will change that. It will help compel the Indonesian government to address human rights violations. It will turn the MSG into a permanent forum for dialogue, enabling, for the first time, West Papuans to speak for themselves. As a full member of the MSG, the ULMWP will be in a better position to re-list West Papua on the United Nations Committee on Decolonisation. They will be in a position to propose and organise greater international involvement to resolve human rights violations.

In the 1960s Western interests – the United States, Netherlands, British and Australian governments – sold out West Papua. Firstly, they sacrificed the rights of West Papua because they wanted to prevent the Indonesian government led by Sukarno from moving closer to the Soviet Union. It was Cold War politics. In the eyes of Washington, London and Canberra, West Papuans were expendable. Later, when the pro-U.S dictator Suharto was in power, 'the West' sacrificed West Papua in order to access West Papua's massive mineral wealth, the massive gold and copper deposits of the Freeport-McMoRan-Rio Tinto mine. This time the motivation was economic gain.

Now, the geopolitical power in the region, particularly in relation to West Papua, is shifting to Melanesia. The FLNKS and the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu governments have already determined that their own political and economic interests lie with a close relationship with West Papua. This leaves the other two Melanesian nations, the governments of Fiji and Papua New Guinea, with a stark choice: to support West Papuan sovereignty or to sell out West Papua again. If they do so, it will not be some other foreign power, it will be Melanesian nations that are supporting colonialism. Accepting West Papua as a full member of the MSG does not mean sacrificing important bilateral relationships with Indonesia. It is about equalising the power relations between West Papua and Indonesia in order to create the conditions for stability. What will Papua New Guinea and Fiji do? Champion decolonisation and self-determination for all Melanesian people or back colonialism? The choice is as simple as that.

### The West Papuan movement for freedom

Since the fall of the former Indonesian dictator Suharto in 1998 resistance to Indonesian colonialism has transitioned from armed uprisings in the jungles and mountains to nonviolent rebellion in the cities in towns. In August 2016, when this report was written, unarmed, civilianled, insurrectionary forces, are far more numerous and widespread than armed resistance (which incidentally, is also backing the ULMWP). Nonviolent action also occurs more regularly than politically motivated violent action. Barely a week, or even a day, goes by without some kind of nonviolent protest in the cities and towns of West Papua, over violations of basic rights or demands for 'full freedom'. Ironically, the security forces are often more cognisant of the power of nonviolent resistance than many Papuans. For example, the top fifteen 'enemies of the state', writes the journalist Alan Nairn (2010) who cites leaked Indonesian Army documents, are all civilian leaders: church leaders, students, members of parliament, and leaders of the Papuan Customary Council. The Indonesian military considers nonviolent resistance 'much more dangerous' because they have 'reached the outside world' with their 'obsession' with 'merdeka' (independence/freedom) and persist in 'propagating the issue of severe human rights violations in Papua' ...'murders and abductions that are done by the security forces' (Nairn 2010). In the last decade that influence has become possible because the unarmed civilian movement has grown exponentially in strength, used mobile communication technologies to their advantage, and enacted better strategy, even as the movement faces considerable obstacles.

Papuans in 2016 also desire freedom just as much, if not more, than Papuans who desired freedom back in 1963, when the Indonesian government first took over administrative control of the country. This desire is not just held by independence activists but members of the political elite and Indonesian bureaucracy who even while being employed by the state hold little commitment to it (Braithwaite et al 2010, p. 133-4). For the overwhelming majority of Papuans, freedom means independence from Indonesia (Kirksey 2012; MacLeod 2015).

Evidence for the rise of the nonviolent movement and ordinary people's support for freedom can be seen by the rise in mass mobilisations. Participation and commitment to the goal of freedom can be measured by the number of Papuans arrested by the police in proindependence and pro-ULMWP demonstrations. In 2014, 370 activists were arrested for peacefully expressing a political opinion. By 2015 the number of arrests was 1,083. By July 2016 the number of people arrested in 2016 had jumped to a phenomenal 4,198. This is more than a 4000% increase in the numbers of arrests since 2014 even though the time period is only six months. Even primary school aged students and civil servants – in uniform – joined in these demonstrations. May 2016 represents the highest number of arrests for

political action in the history of Indonesia. This is a serious challenge to the Indonesian state's legitimacy in West Papua. It illustrates the movement's preparedness to raise the political costs of the occupation.

Not only has there been an increase in the numbers of people participating and their preparedness to risk arrest, beatings and torture at the hands of the Indonesian security forces, there has also been a dramatic increase in the kinds of social groups and the types of people willing to participate in nonviolent action. First of all new actors have appeared on the scene. The most important of these is the ULMWP. On 15 February 2016 the ULMWP opened their first office in Wamena, in the highlands of West Papua. Over 5000 people attended the opening. Church leaders blessed the gathering. Prominent migrants and even Indonesian policemen attended the event. This represents an overt institutional challenge to the Indonesian government's crumbling authority. Church leaders have also been much more active in human rights advocacy. Catholic clergy were arrested by Indonesian police for protesting the failure of the Indonesian state to hold the perpetrators – all members of the Indonesian security forces – to account for the murder of five school children on 8 December 2014 in Enarotali. Members of the GKI Church of Tanah Papua, Kingmi Church and the Baptist Church in West Papuan have also publicly affirmed their support for the ULMWP as the body representing West Papuans political aspirations.

Primary school students, individual church leaders, a handful of migrants and even the odd police officer participating in nonviolent action is manageable but when entire state institutions and state leaders refuse to cooperate the ability of the state to maintain order is severely constrained. In 2010, for instance, the *Majelis Rakyat Papua*, the Papuan People's Assembly, openly defied the state and even went as far as endorsing a two day occupation of the Papuan Provincial Parliament (MacLeod 2015).

By June 2015 the Governors of both provinces, Papua and Papua Barat, were refusing to support the Indonesian state. In an effort to oppose the growing support of the ULMWP the Indonesian state insisted that they were capable of representing their Melanesian citizens. Jakarta proposed that the Governors of the five most eastern provinces – Papua, Papua Barat, Maluku Utara, Maluku Selatan and Nusa Tenggara Timur – represent Indonesian at the Melanesian Spearhead Group. Of these five provinces only two, Papua and Papua Barat, self-identify as Melanesian. These two governors have refused to participate in the Indonesian government's attempts to exclude the ULMWP from the MSG. As well as growing opposition inside West Papua support within Indonesia is also slowly growing.

Unfortunately the Indonesian government is unwilling to abandon a realist security approach to dealing with Papuan grievances and defiance. Yet this is a double edged sword for the government. Repression by the security forces generates more Papuan grievances, resulting in greater numbers of movement participants. Simultaneously, the ability of the Papuan movement to communicate the violence of the occupation to a growing international audience via social media is both deepening and broadening transnational solidarity.

#### Human rights violations in West Papua between January 2014 and July 2016

The attached Appendix details *some* of the human rights violations perpetrated by the Indonesian state that have occurred in West Papua in the period between January 2014 and July 2016. This is complemented by additional data provided by Elsham, The Institute for the Study and Advocacy of Human Rights in West Papua (Elsham), Papuan lawyers and the Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta concerning freedom of expression. Unfortunately it is not safe to carry out a comprehensive and independent human rights investigation in West Papua. Moreover human rights organisations are not adequately resourced to do so.

Despite significant constraints human rights defenders, activists and lawyers have been able to collect a substantial amount of data. Much of this is in Bahasa Indonesia and remains unpublished. Combined with the failure of the Indonesian government to open up West Papua to independent media scrutiny this means the full picture of the human rights situation in West Papua is not known. It is one of the reasons why the ULMWP and Papuan human rights defenders have consistently asked for high level independent investigation, monitoring and evaluation of the human rights situation in West Papua.

Six patterns clearly emerge from an analysis of the data.

- HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN WEST PAPUA HAVE GOTTEN WORSE UNDER INDONESIAN PRESIDENT JOKO WIDODO. As indicated by the Appendix arrests of activists expressing political opinions, extra judicial killings, torture and the banning of mass organisations have continued under Widodo's leadership.
- 2. THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT IS TARGETING THE ULMWP. West Papuans expressing support for the ULMWP have been arrested and beaten for handing out leaflets and shot dead for organising a fundraiser in support of survivors of Tropical Cyclone Pam. Two of the leaders of the ULMWP inside West Papua are being threatened with treason by the Indonesian police simply for opening an office. The only thing constraining the Indonesian authorities is the international support the ULMWP is receiving from Pacific Island nations.
- 3. THE INDONESIAN STATE IS UNWILLING TO PROTECT FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN ITS EASTERN MOST COLONY. As stated above the number of people being arrested for peacefully expressing a political opinion has soared. Although the right to freedom of

expression is meant to be protected by the Indonesian constitution it is criminalised in West Papua. The Indonesian police should not deny permission to demonstrate. The state requests demonstrators to notify them in order to support the police to maintain public order and safety. Refusing demonstrations on these grounds is a pretence designed to constrain political opposition to the occupation. Papuans are no longer afraid of the police and demonstrate even if they are denied permission to do so and when the state seeks to declare their political organisations illegal. Far from guaranteeing Papuan safety, who despite their defiance remain Indonesian citizens, the Indonesian police are making West Papua unsafe for Papuans. The police have become the main actor perpetrating human rights violations against West Papuans.

- 4. A CULTURE OF IMPUNITY IS RAMPANT. Clear cases of murder with abundant witnesses such as the 8 December killings in Paniai remain unsolved. The perpetrators remain in office and victims and witnesses are harassed and intimidated. The state is unwilling to prosecute. Serious acts of state violence including massacres have not been subject to independent and impartial investigations. The Human Rights Court that was a critical part of the Special Autonomy package only sat once, collapsing when it failed to hold police officers responsible for the murder and torture of young people in Abepura in 2002. This is not a case of the failure of local authorities. The culture of state impunity in human rights violations in West Papua, and in other parts of Indonesia, is institutionalised throughout Indonesia. Jokowi has been unable or unwilling to break with the Indonesian state's violent past. The current Coordinating Minister for Politics, Security Affairs and Law, for instance, General Wiranto is a war criminal (Ball, 2006).
- 5. JOKOWI HAS FAILED TO DELIVER ON POLICY PROMISES MADE TO PACIFIC LEADERS. Indonesian President Joko Widodo (popularly known as Jokowi) and members of his Cabinet have gone to great lengths to reassure Pacific leaders that the situation is improving in West Papua, that economic development is the answer and that 'foreign intervention is not needed'. In particularly Jokowi promised to open up media access and that he would release all political prisoners. He has failed to do both these things despite promising MSG leaders he would do both, ostensibly to dilute the ULMWP's pacific diplomacy.
- 6. STATE VIOLENCE IS DRIVEN BY RACISM. Disturbingly, as we illustrate below, in the case of Indonesian police violence towards Papuan students in Yogyakarta, state violence appears driven by racism, and in many cases, hatred of Papuans and fear of their aspirations for freedom.

Under Jokowi's presidency, mobilisation and political organising has increased dramatically. Commitment to the cause of *merdeka* (freedom) is deepening and participation in the West Papuan movement for freedom is broadening. The formation of the ULMWP has accelerated this dynamic. The movement for freedom in West Papua is not going away. The failure of

Indonesian governance in West Papua has propelled West Papuans to seek redress in the Pacific. The Indonesian government looks to the actions, or inaction, of foreign governments in the Pacific, and that includes Australia and New Zealand, to calibrate their policies in West Papua in line with the Indonesian government's assertion of their sovereignty in West Papua. Failure to address human rights, and failure to support the diplomatic efforts of the ULMWP to address the conflict, sends the message that violent repression, including extra-judicial killing and torture, is an acceptable response to West Papuan's longing for fairness and to be treated with dignity.



Demonstration, West Papua. Photo: WPM collection

# Illustrating the failure of the Indonesian state to resolve human rights violations

One case that illustrates the failure of the Indonesian state to resolve human rights violations is the murder of five school children by the Indonesian security forces in Enarotali, a town in the Paniai highlands, on 8 December 2014. This failure is systemic and systematic. The Paniai killings is an exemplar of a much wider pattern.

Background. On the 7th December 2014 a group of children and young people were decorating a nativity scene at a small roadside chapel in Enarotali's Ipakiye neighbourhood (Human Rights and Peace for Papua 2014; Amnesty Australia 2015). Erecting these small chapels, and the practice of vigiling at them, has become a widespread custom in Paniai. Similar makeshift chapels, designed to represent the manger that sheltered baby Jesus, are dotted throughout Deyei, Dogiyai and other parts of the Paniai highlands. Vigiling throughout the night during Advent, the period before Christmas, is particularly popular among church youth groups.

Sometime in the evening of 7 December 2014 members of Special Team (*Tim Khusus*) from Battalion 753 of the Indonesian military drove past in a vehicle that did not have its headlights on. The young people yelled at the vehicle telling them their lights were off (Bachelard 2014). According to witnesses the vehicle briefly stopped, drove off then returned with a truck full of soldiers. The soldiers got out of the truck and chased the group of young people. The soldiers caught a young girl, Yuliana Yeimo (aged 12 years), and beat her with their rifles. This was witnessed by the young people who told others. A crowd of people gathered and began throwing stones at the military personnel who fled.

The following day, 8 December 2014, approximately 800 West Papuans gathered on the Karel Bonay football field, Enarotali, in the centre of town directly in front of the police station and military command (Human Rights and Peace for Papua 2014). They wanted an explanation for the attack on Yeimo (Bachelard 2014). Some people had hunting bows that are regularly carried by the Mee, the main Indigenous nation who live in the Paniai region. They performed a traditional Mee *waitai* dance to demonstrate their grievance (Human Rights and Peace for Papua 2014; Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization 2015). The waita dance involves shouting, running in circles and mimicking birdsong (Human Rights and Peace for Papua 2014). According to witnesses a vehicle that people believed was involved in the attack on Yeimo was repeatedly hit.

The police ordered everyone to leave, striking them with batons and sticks when they did not move. People at the scene then report that six or seven Indonesian officers chased the protesters into a nearby airfield (Human Rights and Peace for Papua 2014). Within a span of ten minutes witnesses heard gunshots and they saw members of the Indonesian security forces, including Brimob, the Indonesian mobile police brigade, with rifles (Human Rights and Peace for Papua 2014). Members of the Indonesian Airforce opened fire from a tower adjacent to the field. Police and military personnel fired live ammunition onto the crowd of 800 peaceful demonstrators, including women and children who were present (Human Rights and Peace for Papua 2014; Bachelard 2014). Five young people were killed in the attack: Simon Degei (18 years old), Otianus Gobai (18 years old), Alpius Youw (17 years old), Yulian Yeimo (17 years old) and Alpuis Gobay (Human Rights and Peace for Papua 2014; Bachelard 2014).

When the shooting stopped people called for medical assistance. At least 17 people were hospitalised from their wounds, five of whom were primary school children (Human Rights and Peace for Papua 2014; Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization 2015). Witnesses state that they did not see any police or military personnel provide medical assistance or help get people to hospital (Human Rights and Peace for Papua 2014).

Analysis. The Indonesian state has utterly failed to carry out an independent and impartial investigation into the murders. Initially the police and military said they would investigate the killings. This was vigorously rejected by the families of the victims, the survivors and civil society leaders. Instead Papuan human rights defenders conducted their own investigation. The team persuaded the Indonesian National Human Rights Commission (KomNasHAM) to take up the case. KomNasHAM formed an ad hoc team and requested resources and support from the Indonesian government to carry out an investigation. The Minister responsible, Luhut Pandjaitan, an ex-Special Forces General, who was then the Coordinating Minister for Politics, Security Affairs and Law, refused to provide the necessary assistance KomNasHAM required. After persistent delays prominent Papuan members of the ad hoc team resigned in protest. Nearly two years later there has been no investigation although the police did offer the families of the victims monetary compensation. This was rejected. As one family member told two of the authors of this report, 'no amount of money will bring back our young people who were shot'. The perpetrators remain free and the survivors and family members of the victims continue to be harassed by members of the security forces. Witnesses are too scared to talk. Material evidence, including bullet casings left at the scene, are being kept in safekeeping. When Papuan clergy in Jayapura protested the lack of inaction in Jayapura they were arrested by the Indonesian police. Papuans have no trust that the Indonesian police and judiciary will fairly and impartially resolve the case.

## The emergence of nationalist militia groups backed up by the Indonesian state

As the movement for freedom grows so too does the Indonesian government's investment in state militias. Like East Timor prior to independence, this dynamic has a long history in West Papua. It was not long after the fall of Suharto and the end of the feared 'military operations area' period (Daerah Operasi Militer) that nationalist militias started appearing in West Papua. The first was Laskar Jihad (Jihad Force) (Martinkus 2002), closely followed by Barisan Merah Putih (Red and White Defenders Front). Religious leaders successfully organised to limit the spread of these militia groups, clearly demonstrating that the norms of cooperation, inclusion, harmony and peace were shared by all religions and the people of West Papua (MacLeod 2015a). Although Papuan religious leaders hoped their 'Papua Land of Peace' campaign would lead to peaceful dialogue between West Papuans and the security forces, particularly the military command structure, and reduce conflict, these aspirations were continually frustrated. As violence from the security forces continued West Papuans spoke less about West Papua as a Land of Peace and more about West Papua as an Emergency Zone (Zona Darurat).

Since then several new militia groups have appeared, forming, disbanding and reforming, depending on the political dynamics. Without question, all of these groups have been guided and supported by the military, police and Indonesian government. One such group is *Lembaga Missi Reclassering Republik Indonesia* (The Institute with the Mission of Reeducation for the Republic of Indonesia), a militia and civilian based intelligence gathering network. For a while LMRRI held training adjacent to Tiki's (Enough is Enough, a women's human rights organisation), office in Waena, Jayapura. In April 2013 a senior West Papuan civil society leader observed the then Assistant Territorial Commander of the Indonesian Army demonstrate disassembling and reassembling semi-automatic weapons in front of Indonesian migrants and a handful of Papuans. Shortly after at least one Papuan human rights defender told us that she noticed migrants taking up residency close by, observing her activities. The newcomers stuck LMRRI stickers on their doors. The logo depicts an eye, ear, nose and mouth, exhorting members to mobilise all the sense to gather information to protect the state.

Since the formation of the ULMWP and the mass mobilisations and mass arrests in May 2015 – the largest mass arrests in Indonesia's history since the overthrow of Suharto in May 1998 – a new militia group, BARA NKRI (*Barisan Rakyat Pembela NKRI*, the Unitary Republic of Indonesia People's Defenders Front) has emerged. BARA NKRI mobilised

hundreds of Indonesian migrants on the 31st of May and again on the 2nd of June when citizens gathered at the Trikora Oval in Abepura before marching to the Provincial Parliament in Jayapura (*Tabloid Jubi, 2* June 2016a,b,c). BARA NKRI activists demanded the police to punish people who displayed pro-independence symbols. They urged the government and police to enforce a controversial law 77/2007 banning expressions of Papuan nationalism including the Morning Star Flag and demanded that ULMWP supporters should be pushed out of West Papua. Papuan journalists and human rights defenders observing the events told the authors of this report that they observed plain clothes police and military accompanying the demonstrators.

Militia activity became violent the following month on July 15 in Yogyakarta. Papuan students, members of the West Papuan University Student Alliance (*Aliansi Mahasiswa Papua*) organising under the name of Unified People for the Liberation of West Papua (*Persatuan Rakyat untuk Pembebasan Papua Barat*), notified the police that they intended to organise a long march on the 15th of July in support of the ULMWP's application for full membership of the Melanesian Spearhead Group and self-determination for the people of West Papua. Their application was rejected, despite the fact that Indonesian constitution supposedly guarantees its citizens the right to peacefully express a political opinion. Instead of publicly protesting, the students elected to stay in their dormitories and sing songs of praise and liberation. But the police considered even this too threatening.

Messages circulated quickly through social media in Yogyakarta urging the Muslim community to 'rise up and unite' against the 'anarchists', 'communists' and 'Godless' who desire to 'rebel' and 'separate from Indonesia'. In response to calls for the 'lovers of Indonesia to rise up' over a 100 militia men led by Indra Tatto, armed with sharp implements, clubs and iron bars, and backed up by the Indonesian police, gathered outside the student dormitory, Asrama Mahasiswa Papua Kamasan I, located on Jalan Kusumanegara, Yogyakarta. The militia were wearing uniforms associated with the Sultans Palace (*Kraton*), Yogya Force (*Laskar Yogya*), Pancasila Youth (*Pemuda Pancasila*), Forum Komunikasi Putra Putri Purnawirawan dan Putra Indonesia (Communication Forum of the Sons and Daughters of Indonesia). The police and militia taunted students with racist jibes, calling them monyet (monkey) and babi (pig), telling them they were anjing (dogs), kafir (infidels/Godless), bodoh (stupid), bau (stunk), kotor (dirty), and that they should pulang ke Papua (go back to Papua). Messages shared on social media are same kinds of phrases coming from the same kinds of political actors (like Pemuda Pancasila) that were used in Yogyakarta and other parts of Indonesia to mobilise militia to slaughter a million Indonesians in 1965.

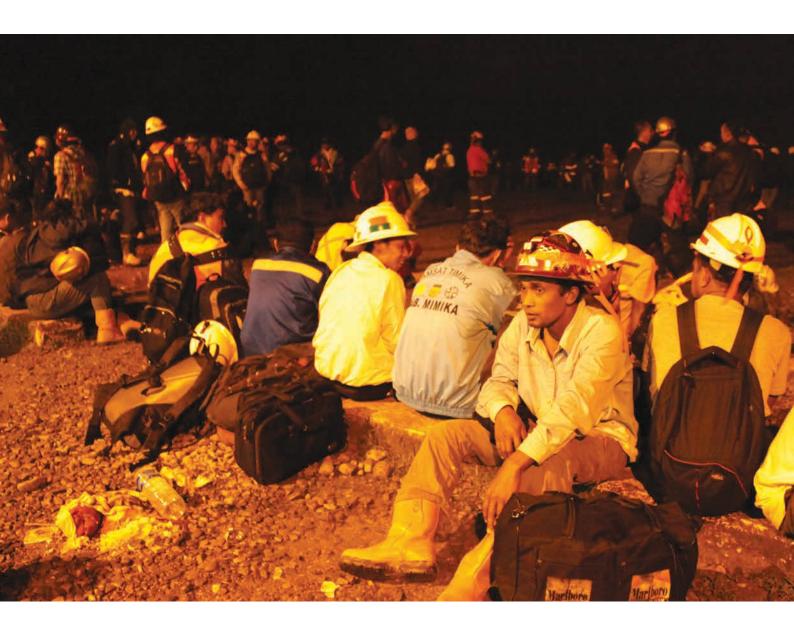
When some of the students arrived at the dormitory with food for their friends the police and militia attacked them, savagely beating them in public while continuing to taunt them. After being physically beaten and verbally abused seven students were arrested. Several student's motorbikes were also seized by police. At this point the situation turned into a momentary siege with students inside the dormitory too fearful to leave. Fortunately there were also

expressions of solidarity from other Indonesians. In the late evening around 5:30pm according to witnesses Red Cross Indonesia arrived with an ambulance and food stuffs but they were prevented from distributing humanitarian aid to the students by the police. When the students continued to sing indigenous Papuan songs the police dispersed them with tear gas.

In the midst of these kinds of militia mobilisations there have been a number of mysterious killings. Rev. Dr Benny Giay reports that Nelson Tabuni, the younger brother of the late Mako Tabuni, a popular West Papua National Committee activist, was found dead in a ditch in Tanah Hitam, Abepura on the 8th of July 2016. Nelson was not the only victim. Rev Giay reports similar incidents in Jayapura, Nabire and districts and Timika since last June. "In short" writes Rev Giay via WhatsApp, these kinds of incidents "particularly Nelson Tabuni's death is leading so many Papuan to live in an atmosphere of fear being next victim".

The conditions for this kind of violence has been created by statements from people like Luhut Pandjaitan, the Coordinating Minister for Political Affairs, Security and Law, an ex-Kopassus officer who has issued a number of provocative statements. On 20 February 2016 Pandjaitan said the ULMWP and KNPB should leave West Papua (Wenda 2016). Pandjaitan is not the only public official who has made such comments. The Sultan of Yogyakarta, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwana X, who rather than criticise the racism and violence of the police and the public lynch mob, launched a scathing rebuff of West Papuan students, justifying militia and police violence and racism, and insisting that Papuan separatists are not welcome in Yogyakarta.

In response to the Sultan and in the face of daily racism West Papuan students seriously considered organising a mass 'exodus', withdrawing from their university studies and returning to West Papua. Back in West Papua Rev. Dr Benny Giay issued a pastoral letter to all parishioners of the Kingmi Church, urging people to be indoors before nightfall and requesting that no church activities be conducted in the evenings. "West Papua is no longer safe" he tells us. He wants the wider church – both the World Council of Churches and Pope Francis – to "make West Papua a new project of the global community to uphold global ethics".



Freeport long night march. Photo: WPM collection

# Conclusion: The Pacific's 'Responsibility to Protect' and intervention by Pacific Island States as a remedy for a failure of governance

The political science literature is clear that what is happening in West Papua portends looming large scale state orchestrated violence against West Papuans in general and, pro-independence activists, in particular. What is particularly concerning in this situation is that a particular ethnic group (Papuans), and especially those who express a political opinion to separate from Indonesia, are increasingly being dehumanised by another ethnic group (Indonesians). Most worryingly, the state (the police, military and government) not only justify violence, they are the perpetrators, framing violence in ways that resonate with previous acts of state sanctioned genocide in Indonesia including the 1965 mass killings and massacres in East Timor.

After the violence of the Balkans and Rwanda the international community coined the phrase 'responsibility to protect' (R2P). R2P is an emerging global norm. In summary R2P proposes that in situations where the state is unwilling or unable to protect its citizens from mass violence, sovereignty is no barrier for humanitarian intervention. Announcements by senior Ministers that Papuans desiring to separate from the Indonesian state are not considered worthy of state protection, militia violence, torture as a tool of governance by the police, ongoing military operations, criminalisation of West Papuans right to freedom of expression, attacks against the ULMWP, worsening human rights under an allegedly reformist government, and failure to open up West Papua to the foreign press, are all 'early warning signs' that conditions are ripening for mass violence. This pattern is consistent with historical dynamics in which the Indonesian state has intentionally set out to destroy pro-independence activists in Acheh, East Timor and West Papua. Political scientists James Elmslie and Camelia Webb-Gannon (2013) argue that the Indonesian state is guilty of presiding over a 'slow motion genocide' and that the state's efforts to 'destroy pro-independence groups in West Papua, in whole or in part', will continue.

One of the only things preventing full scale violence is in fact the West Papuans commitment to nonviolent struggle and their willingness to maintain discipline in the face of intense provocation. Within Indonesia, the Indonesian government's desire to preserve its reputation

as emerging democracy and its growing influence regional economic power also acts as a constraint on further violence.

Sadly, commitments to dialogue and nonviolence has been unilateral. The Indonesian government has continually rebuffed all Papuan-led initiatives for talks. Rev. Dr Benny Giay likens the situation to boiling a stone that will never cook (MacLeod 2015a). The international community is under an obligation to take into consideration these 'early warning signs' when considering their responsibility to protect West Papuans.

The part of the international community in the best position to act is the Melanesian Spearhead Group and the Pacific Island Forum. The ULMWP must be supported by Pacific leaders as a remedy to the Indonesian government's failure to protect West Papuans. Full membership of the MSG and intervention by Pacific Island states can be framed in ways that do not threaten Indonesian sovereignty. Instead, full membership can be granted to equalise the power relationship between the ULMWP and the Indonesian state. As a remedy full membership can help create the conditions for political negotiations. West Papuans are not arguing for military intervention, they are simply asking for support so they can speak for themselves. Intervention by the PIF and full membership for the ULMWP would turn those important fora into a permanent international forums for dialogue. In context of the the 'early warning signs' listed above, the PIF and MSG need to discuss what signal they want to send to the Indonesian state and West Papuans.

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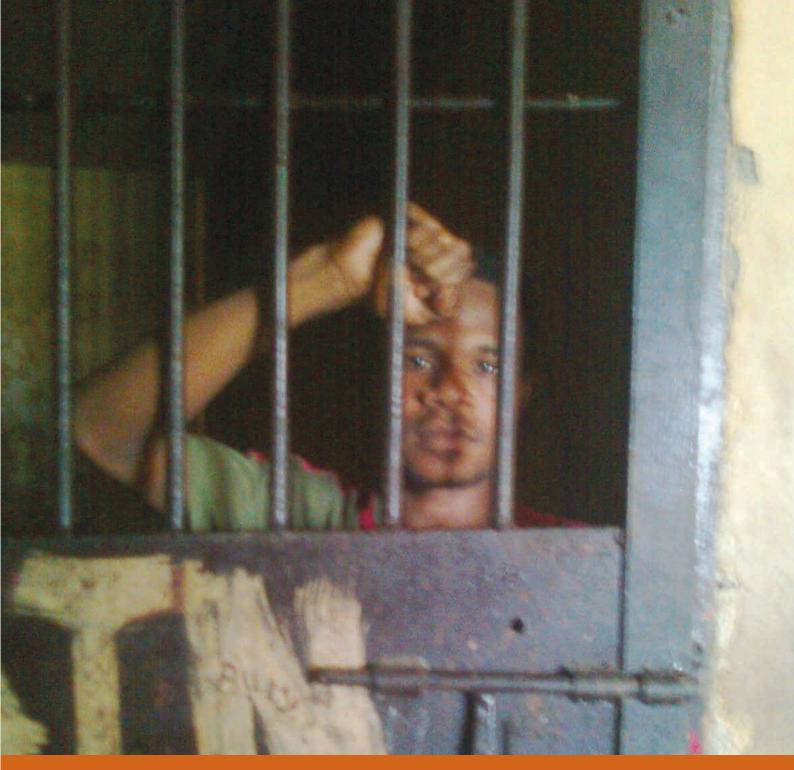
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HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS
COMMITTED BY THE INDONESIAN
SECURITY FORCES IN WEST PAPUA
(PAPUA AND PAPUA BARAT PROVINCES)
BETWEEN JANUARY 2014 AND JULY 2016



Mako Tabuni, 2012, prior to being shot dead by the Indonesian Police. Photo: WPM collection.

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   primary source
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- Lembaga Bantuan Hukum, Legal Aid Institute, Jakarta http://bantuanhukum.or.id/
- Legal Aid Institute (LP3BH Manokwari)
- Tabloid Jubi, <a href="http://tabloidjubi.com/">http://tabloidjubi.com/</a>
- Suara Papua, <a href="http://suarapapua.com/">http://suarapapua.com/</a>
- Jakarta Post, http://www.thejakartapost.com/
- International Coalition for West Papua, <a href="http://humanrightspapua.org/">http://humanrightspapua.org/</a>
- United Nations, http://www.ohchr.org/en/hrbodies/hrc/pages/aboutcouncil.aspx
- Franciscans International <a href="http://www.franciscansinternational.org/home/">http://www.franciscansinternational.org/home/</a>
- Tapol, <a href="http://www.tapol.org/">http://www.tapol.org/</a>
- ETAN (East Timor Action Network), <a href="http://www.etan.org/">http://www.etan.org/</a>
- Human Rights Watch, <a href="https://www.hrw.org/asia/indonesia">https://www.hrw.org/asia/indonesia</a>
- Australia West Papua Association, <a href="http://awpasydneynews.blogspot.com.au/">http://awpasydneynews.blogspot.com.au/</a>
- Free West Papua Campaign, <a href="https://www.freewestpapua.org/">https://www.freewestpapua.org/</a>

### Glossary

- BRIMOB Mobile Brigade
- **D88** Detachment 88
- GIDI Gereja Injili di Indonesia / national church in Papua
- TPN/OPM Organisasi Papua Merdeka/Free Papua Movement
- TNPB National Army of West Papua
- ULMWP United Liberation Movement for West Papua
- MSG Melanesian Spearhead Group



### **APPENDIX 1: HUMAN RIGHTS MATRIX**

Asmat Dancer. Photo: Pasifika collection.

Appendix 1: Human Rights violations committed by the Indonesian security forces in West Papua (Papua and Papua Barat Provinces) between January 2014 and July 2016

Dondobaga church, Kurilik, Puncak Jaya Kulirik, Dolugowa, Yambidugun, Kalome, Yalinggua and Talilome and Talilome Yapen Island	WHEN	WHERE	PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)	PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)	VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	BACKGROUND	SOURCE
Kulirik, Dolugowa, Yambidugun, Kalome, Yalinggua and Talilome Sasawa village, Yapen Island	2014.01.26	Dondobaga church, Kurilik,		Brimob and D88	Yenite Morib, 18 years old, unemployed	A raid took place at Dondobaga church, Kurilik where Yenite and	Violence broke out between security forces and armed	Papuans Behind Bars 2014, Papuans Behind
Kulirik, Dolugowa, Yambidugun, Kalome, Yalinggua and Talilome Sasawa village, Yapen Island		Puncak Jaya		Security forces	Tiragud Enumby, 19 years	Tiragud were. The police suspected that they were members of	members of the TPN/OPM in	Bars: January, 2014Accessed on 10 <sup>th</sup> July
Yambidugun, Kalome, Yalinggua and Talilome Sasawa village, Yapen Island		Kulirik, Dolugowa,			Yukiler Enumbi,	TPN/OPM. They were severely		2016, Available at:
Kalome, Yalinggua and Talilome Sasawa village, Yapen Island		Yambidugun,			Oktavianus Tabuni, 15	tortured on arrest and denied food in	Note: Oktovianus Tabuni is not	http://www.papuansbehi
Sasawa village,		Kalome, Yalinggua			years old, from Pirime	police detention for at least two	able to return home to Pirime	ndbars.org/?p=2546
Sasawa village, Yapen Island		and Talilome			Tigabur Tabuni, 15 years old	days. Pastor Pamit Wonda and	and is believe to be hiding in	ICP 2015 Human Rights
Sasawa village, Yapen Island					Caban Tabuni, 29 years old	were bayoneted by security forces.	information received states	Papua 2015, Viewed 11 <sup>th</sup>
Sasawa village, Yapen Island							that he has not yet received	July 2016, Available at:
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						A GIDI church was burned to the	the medical treatment he	http://humanrightspapua.
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						ground and Yukiler was shot and	needs.	org/images/docs/HumanR
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						killed during the sweep as he tried to		ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						escape. The three Tabuni men were		
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						arrested and tortured by security		AJAR, ELSHAM & TAPOL
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						forces at Puncak Jaya district police.		n.d., The Practice of
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						They were taken from the police		Torture: Business As Usual
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						station to an unknown location.		in Papua , Accessed on
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						Tigabur Tubani was shot and killed.		13 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						Oktavianus was shot in the left knee		at:
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						and in the lower abdomen in order to		http://www.tapol.org/site
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						force him to confess to theft of		s/default/files/sites/defau
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						firearms. Caban was shot in both		It/files/pdfs/Torture%20re
Sasawa village, Yapen Island						knees and chest. Caban died on 29 <sup>m</sup>		port%20English.pdf
Yapen Island	2014.02.01	Sasawa village.		Joint military and	Jemi Yermias Kapanai	17 people, including children, were		AJAR. ELSHAM & TAPOL
		Yapen Island		police raid	Septinus Wonawoai	arrested during a large-scale joint		n.d., The Practice of
					Rudi Otis Barangkea	police-military raid. The police and		Torture: Business As Usual
					Kornelius Woniana	military officers tortured the seven		in Papua , Accessed on
					Peneas Reri	men. Security forces chained the		13 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available
					Salmon Windesi	men together and forced them to		at:
					Obeth Kayoi	crawl on the ground. They were		http://www.tapol.org/site
						kicked, hit with pistols, electrocuted,		s/default/files/sites/defau
						and beaten.		It/files/pdfs/Torture%20re
								port%20english.pdt

WHEN	WHERE	PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)	PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)	VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	BACKGROUND	SOURCE Papuans Behind Bars
							2014, Sasawa military raid arrests. Accessed on 15 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://www.papuansbehindbars.org/?case=sasawa-military-raid-arrests
2014.03.01/02	At 3:15pm, Kontiunai Vilalge, Yapan Island		Five Brimob personnel	Agus Wondowoy-Nuba, 22 years old	Five Brimob officers tortured Agus in his home. The police officers dragged him out to his yard where neighbours were able to witness the violence.  The Brimob personnel punched him, kicked him in the face and stomped on his back and head. 54 neighbouring families fled to the jungle for fear of becoming the next victims. Agus was arrested and taken to Yapen police detention.		ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 11 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf Papuans Behind Bars 2014, February 2014, Accessed on 15 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, p. 6, Available at: http://actnowpng.org/site s/default/files/Papuans%2 0Behind%20Bars%20Febr uary%202014.pdf
2014.03.20	Senior High School complex Yapis, Nabire		Brimob and Nabire District Police	Siluwanus Nagapapa Paulus Kobogau	Siluwanus Nagapapa was trying to stop violence by ten members of Brimob. The Brimob personnel were offended by this and attacked Nagapapa by slashing and stabbing him about the head and back.  Nagapapa fled to a friend's house, Paulus Kobogau. Paulus tried to prevent the police from getting into his house by standing in the front door. The Brimob personnel then attacked Paulus stabbing him about the head with a knife. They kicked him, pelted him with stones and struck him with a wooden stick as well as rifles. Siluwanus and Paulus were later arrested and detained at the Nabire District Police Station.  After two hours Paulus was taken to Siriwini Nabire Hosptial because he had lost a great deal of blood and		Asian Human Rights Commission 2014, Indonesia: Two Papuans assaulted for preventing police brutality, Accessed on 16 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://www.humanrights. asia/news/urgent- appeals/AHRC-UAC-064- 2014 Papuans Behind Bars 2014, April 2014: Torture of detainees remains rife in Papua, Accessed 16 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://www.papuansbehi ndbars.org/?p=2895

SOURCE		ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 11 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.org/images/docs/HumanRightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf KontraS 2014, The Stagnation of Human Rights Situation in Papua: The ongoing Human Rights Violations in Papua: The ongoing Human Rights Violations in Papua, Accessed on 15 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, p 2, available at: http://kontras.org/data/The%205tagnation%200f% 2014man%20Rights%205ituation%20Im%20Papua.pdf	ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 11 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf Tapol 2015, Torture Report English, Accessed on 16 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, p 21, Available at: http://www.tapol.org/site s/default/files/sites/defau lt/files/pdfs/Torture%20re port%20Fnglish.pdf	ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 5 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf
BACKGROUND		Brimob unit conducted sweeping operations in the homes of residents in Konti village seeking alleged member of TNPB, Zaine Sineri.		This nonviolent demonstration was taking place to call for the release of West Papuan political prisoners.
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	fainted. Slluwanus was taken to the same hospital the next day, after he collapsed. A week later the two men were released.	At 7pm on the 22 March 2014 members of Brimob swept into Konti village. Brimob unit was looking for TNPB member Zaine Sineri but he was not at home. His mother was home. Police dragged Ms Anatje Aurai from her house and interrogated her. An officer hit her in the head with the muzzle of his rifle, instantly killing her.	Joint security forces attempted to disperse a gathering of the armed resistance movement. 17 men, women and children were arrested. The seven names in the column to the left are the names of those tortured. They were chained together and forced to crawl, beaten with pistols, kicked, stomped on and electrocuted. Two civilians were shot. One, Joshua Arumpayai, was killed. Hundreds of residents were displaced from Sasawa, Kiminawa, Kawanda, Wartanen, Tindarek, Saubeba and Yobi villages.	The Jayapura City Police arrested two students, Alfares Kapisa and Yali Wenda at a peaceful demonstration. They were detained at Jayapura Police Station for over 24hours. The two men were tortured in the police
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS		Ms Anatje Aurai, 68 years old, Konti Village.	Jemi Yermias Kapanal Septinus Wonawoal Rudi Otis Barangkea Kornelius Wonlana Peneas Rerl Salmon Windesi Obeth Kayol	Alfares Kapisa 24 years old, Medical Student at Cenderawasih University Yali Wenda 21 years old, Social and political sciences
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)		Brimob	Yapen Police & Serui Military Command 1709	
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)				Chief of Jayapura Alfred Papare
WHERE		At 7pm, Konti village, Yapen	Sasawa village, Yapen Island	Cenderawasih University, Jayapura
WHEN		2014.03.22	2014.04.01	2014.04.02

SOURCE	(Page 15)	Tapol 2014, Urgent	Appeal: 2 Papuans	calling for release of	political prisoners, Viewed	5 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at:	http://www.tapol.org/brie	fings/urgent-appeal-2-	papuans-arrested- tort urad-calling-release-	political-prisoners		New Matilda 2014, 'The	Indonesian System Is Used	To Destroy Papuans',	New Matilda, [Online],	Viewed 5 <sup>th</sup> July 2016,	Available at:	https://newmatilda.com/2	014/04/10/indonesian-	system-used-destroy-	bapuans/	ETAN 2014, 'Urgent	Appeal: 2 Papuans	arrested & tortured for	calling for release of	political prisoners,'	Accessed on 10 <sup>th</sup> July	2016, Available at:	http://etan.org/news/201	AJAR, ELSHAM & TAPOL	n.d., The Practice of	Torture: Business As Usual	in Papua , Accessed on	13 July 2010, Available at:	http://www.tapol.org/site	s/default/files/sites/defau lt/files/pdfs/Torture%20re
BACKGROUND	2 people arrested – Alfares Kapisa and Yali Wenda																																			
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	van and at the police station. For around 1.5 hours they were held	in the police truck while being	beaten with rifle butts, kicked with	sticks and punched. During the	journey they were forced to lie	face down in the truck while police	put their riot shields on top of the	two men and trampled on them.	After this the police administered	using electric stun batons, until	their arrival at the police station.	Lawyers made three attempts to get	access to these two students, but	each time access was denied by	Alfred Papare, Chief of Police. Alfares	and Yali were forced to sign a	document saying they were treated	well. The police forbade their doctors	reports to be released.																	
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	student at Cenderawasih University.																																			
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)																																				
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)																																				
WHERE																																				
WHEN																																				

SOURCE	port%20English.pdf	ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 11 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf IPAHR 2014, West Papua- Blody Moanemani incident: Teenagers are run-over and killed,, then indonesia Police machine gun three relatives, 7 <sup>th</sup> May 2014, Accessed on 16 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: https://jpahr.files.wordpr ess.com/2014/05/bloody moanemani incident wes t papual.pdf	ICP 2015, Human Rights West Papua 2015, Viewed 11 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.org/images/docs/HumanRightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf Cenderawasih Pos 2014, Tim Gabungan Tembak Mati Pimpinan KKB di Yapen, June 11, Accessed 16 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://www.cenderawasihpos.com/index.php?mib=berita.detail&id=6771	ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 5 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.
BACKGROUND		Jhon Anouw, 18 years old, and Yunsen Kegakoto, 25 years old were struck by a truck and killed in Epeida Village at 6am on the 6 <sup>th</sup> May 2014.	At 4:15pm police burned down the house of Mr Orarie's father in law, Obet Worembai, in Kainui Village.	On the 2 <sup>nd</sup> July 2014 police officer Asriadi was killed and police officer Samsul Huda was heavily injured when trying to
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED		A crowd of relatives and tribesmen of the victims gathered in front of the headquarters, demanding to speak with the driver involved with a hit and run incident that killed Jhon Anouw and Yunsen Kegakoto. After being turned away by police the group began to throw stones at the building. In response the police opened fired on the crowd with live ammunition, shooting three people. These three men who were shot were not involved in the violence but were trying to calm the crowd down.	On the 10 <sup>th</sup> June 2014 policemen from Yapen headquarters shot and killed Rudi Orarie. He was a member of an armed separatist group but he was unarmed at the time of the shooting and offered no resistance. The autopsy revealed that Mr Orarie was shot five times and that there were three wounds caused by sharp implements, suggesting that he was tortured by police prior to his execution.	At 3pm police open fired on a public bus in Yotefa Market. Abis was dragged from the bus and beaten by police. The police pushed Abis into a
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS		Yulius Anouw, 27 years old Gayus Auwe, 32 years old Anton Edoway, 28 years old plus two others.	Rudi Orarie, 40 years old	Abis Kabak, 20 years old Meki Pahabol, 14 years old, Sabusek Kabak, 24 years old, Yenias Wanimbo, 20
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)		Police from the Epeida headquarters	Police from Yapen headquarters	Jayapura police
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)				
WHERE		Police Brigade Headquarters Epeida village	Yapen Island	Central Yotefa Market, Abepura, Jayapura
WHEN		2014.05.06	2014.06.10	2014.07.02

WHEN	WHERE	PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)	PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)	VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	BACKGROUND	SOURCE
				years old.	crowd of migrants, who started to beat Abis with their bare hands, hammers, wooden sticks and sharp weapons until he lost consciousness. Mek tried to escape but was caught and beaten by the crown with clubs and a hammer until he also lost consciousness. The two boys were admitted to Bayangkara police hospital, where they were tortured by police. Abis was beaten in the head with heavy boots in the back of the head. He was held in custody until 11th July 2014. Meki was released on the 7th July 2014.	break up a dice game in Central Yotefa Market, Abepura. His death resulted in a sweeping operation in several neighbourhoods inhabited by indigenous Papuans from the central highlands. Sabusek Kabak, Yenias Wanimbo and Demy Kepno were killed by unknown perpetrators.	org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf  AJAR, ELSHAM & TAPOL n.d., The Practice of Torture: Business As Usual in Papua , Accessed on 13th July 2016, Available at: http://www.tapol.org/site s/default/files/sites/defau lt/files/pdfs/Torture%20re port%20English.pdf
2014.07.03	Kilo 9 (Koya) (Jayapura)		Local police officers	Urbanus Pahabol, 35 years old and Asman Pahabol, 17 years old	On the 3 <sup>rd</sup> of July 2014 11 police officers abducted Urbanus and Asman from Kilo 9 (Koya). They were told they would be executed. They were beaten whilst being questioned about a firearm that disappeared the previous day. Asman was hit on the wrist and elbow. Urbanus was tortured with a knife, hit on the leg, left eye and back with a wooden club, kicked with heavy boots and struck on the head with a hammer. Urbanus was forced to stay in a cold cell for 5 hours. He was hospitalised at Bhayangkara police hospital. At 3pm they were both taken to Jayapura District Police Headquarters. They were whipped with electricity cables on the way there. They were both released on the 7 <sup>th</sup> July 2014.	In response to the 2 <sup>nd</sup> July 2014. See note directly above. This case was forwarded to the Jakarta Ombudsman, the Papuan Ombudsman, KOMNAS HAM, ProPam, KOMPOLNAS and POLRI for investigation.	ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 5 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.org/images/docs/HumanRightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf AJAR, ELSHAM & TAPOL n.d., The Practice of Torture: Business As Usual in Papua , Accessed on in Papua , Accessed on at: http://www.tapol.org/site/default/files/sites/default/files/sites/default/files/pdfs/Torture%20re port%20English.pdf
2014.07.9/12	Wamena	Alex Sianturi, Yeskel F.M. and others.	Jayawijaya Regional Police and local military personnel.	18 people were arrested after a joint military and police task force raided Wara village in Pisugi district, Jayawijaya. The following five men were detained: Yosep Siep,	18 people were arrested in Wamena for their involvement in distributing flyers calling for an election boycott. They were chained together with rope and dragged along a ditch. Their necks and hands were tied with nylon twine. They were reportedly	Papuan activists called for an election boycott of the Indonesian presidential elections.	ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 5 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf (Page 16)

SOURCE	Papuans Behind Bars 2014, 'Election arrests signal lack of democratic rights in Papua', Scoop NZ, Viewed 6th July 2016, Available at: http://www.scoop.co.nz/s tories/W01408/S00154/el ection-arrests-signal-lack- of-democratic-rights-in- papua.htm AJAR, ELSHAM & TAPOL n.d., The Practice of Torture: Business As Usual in Papua , Accessed on 13th July 2016, Available at: http://www.tapol.org/site s/default/files/pdfs/Torture%20re port%20English.pdf port%20English.pdf	ICP 2015, Human Rights
BACKGROUND		
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	beaten with rifle butts, resulting in one of the 18 fainting and another losing hearing in one ear.  Villagers were threatened that they would be bayoneted. A wife of one of these 18 people was beaten, also losing hearing in one ear.  Yosep, Jhoni, Marthen, Yali and Ibrahim were charged under Articles 187 and 164 of the Indonesian Criminal Code for allegedly making Molotov bombs, something the five have denied. During the court hearings, four of the five testified that they were forced to confess to the charges under torture. Jhoni testified that during his interrogation he was repeatedly beaten and electrocuted by police officers and confessed to the charges, fearing that they police would kill him.  Marthen stated that a police officer forced him to remove his clothes and slashed him in the arm with a machete. He was also stabbed and beaten with arrows. Ibrahim stated that a police officer, Alex Sianturi punched him with knuckleduster gloves on, resulting in broken teeth and crushed his fingers under chair legs. He was beaten on the head with hammers and was told he would be killed if he did not admit to the charges against him.  Yali stated that Police officer Yeskel F.M. beat him with wooden beams and rifle butts, and that police officers stomped on. Yosep was hospitalised for chest and ear pains endured as a result of being tortured in detention. He was declared unfit	to stand trial. Joint security forces carried out a
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	Jhoni Marian, Marian  Brahim Marian	Yulius Tarkuo
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)		Joint security forces-
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)		
WHERE		Berap Village
WHEN		2014.07.31

WHEN	WHERE	PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)	PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION) 30 men-including	VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED sweeping operation in Berap Village.	BACKGROUND	SOURCE Papua 2015, Viewed 12 <sup>th</sup>
			888 880		Sweeping bycastor in course, single- 30 men in black clothing with red cloth on their heads and the emblem of an owl on their chests, the uniform worn by D88, raided the village. Yulius was asked at gunpoint to direct the officers to the OPM base camp. He stated that he did not know its location. He was then forced into the jungle and was repeatedly beaten with machine guns until he collapsed. D88 officers told him that they would execute him.		July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf
2014.08.07	1pm, Yotefa Market, Abepura	Robby Fingkrew, Abepura District Police	Migrant community & Robby Fingkrew	Daniel Bolepa, 23 years old, student, David Bolepa, 29 years old, employee	At 1pm on the 7th August 2014 a group of migrant residents heavily maltreated Daniel and killed his elder brother David at the old Yotefa Market in Abepura. Daniel was stabbed and shot but was able to escape. He sought medical care at Bhayangkara Police Hospital, but doctors refused to remove the bullet or close his wounds. His brother, David, was killed in the attack after being chased and beaten with sticks and sharp objects. Officer Robby Fingkrew was involved in the beatings. It is not clear whether he fired the shots, but it is known that he did not intervene to prevent the attacks.		ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 11 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf West Papua Media 2014, Papuan Man Killed by a group of migrants at pasar lama Yotefa, Abepura, Accessed on 16 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: https://westpapuamediaal erts.files.wordpress.com/ 2014/11/report_pasar- lama_english.pdf
2014.08.10	Worambain and Berap junction, Berap Village				21 villagers, including a number of elderly people, women and children, were arbitrarily arrested at the junction of Berap and Worambin villages. After being interrogated nine people were released while the other 12 remained in detention. All 12 were tortured whilst being interrogated by police. They were forced to wear camouflage clothing for a photograph which was sent to local media as evidence of their participation in violence. None of the		ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 12 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf

SOURCE		ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 11 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf  New Matilda 2014, West Papuan Independence Leader Found Floating In Sack at Sea, September 1, Accessed 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: https://newmatilda.com/2 014/09/01/west-papuan- independence-leader- found-floating-sack-sea/	ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 12 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf	ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 11 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: <a href="http://humanrightspapua.">http://humanrightspapua.</a> org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf	ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 12 <sup>th</sup>
BACKGROUND		Martinus had been missing since the 20th August 2014. On the 19th August 2014 he had made a statement at a press conference regarding the visit of president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono to Papua and made an appointment with a woman claiming to be a member of KOMNAS HAM, the National Commission for Human Rights, the following day. KNPB is a political organisation advocating for independence through		Agapa was a pig farmer and one of his pigs had been killed by a passing car. In the absence of reliable legal mechanisms to settle such disputes he had set up a road block to stop passing motorists to ask for a compensation toll fee for the pig. Two soldiers approached the road block following complaints from motorists. Vehicles prevented them from reaching the road block by car.	
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	detainees were permitted to access legal representation.	On the 26 <sup>th</sup> August 2014 the body of Martinus Yohame was discovered in a gunny sack close to Nana Island. His hands and feet were tied and the body showed signs of torture, including a 1x1cm hole in the left side of his chest, a 2xcm hole in the right side of his abdomen and evidence of severe beating to the face.	At 4pm at Perumnas III, three unidentified soldiers attacked Rigo and Digi Wenda. They were beaten and tried to fight back but they were stabbed by the soldiers with bayonets. Rigo was stabbed in the thigh, knee, chest and stomach. Digi was stabbed in the left leg. Rigo was admitted to Dian Harapan Hospital.	On the 18 <sup>th</sup> September 2014 plain clothed military personnel in Nabire shot Videlis John Agapa.  Two soldiers opened fire on Agapa and his friends from a distance. He was shot in the back and died immediately.	On the 18 <sup>th</sup> September 2014 police attended an internal tribal conflict
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS		Martinus Yohame, KNPB leader.	Rigo Wenda Digi Wenda	Videlis John Agapa, 36 years old	Kukes Wandikbo, 18 years old
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)			3 unidentified soldiers from Abe 1701/Jayapura subdistrict military command	Military personnel	
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)					
WHERE		Nana Island (near Sorong)	Perumnas III, Waena	Nabire	Jayawijaya
WHEN		2014.08.26	2014.09.02	2014.09.18	2014.09.18

WHEN	WHERE	PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)	PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)	VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	BACKGROUND	SOURCE
					regarding the theft of a motorbike. Police opened fire on the crowd, shooting 18 year old Kukes in the left shoulder. Doctors at the hospital insisted that his wound had been caused by an arrow, traditional weapons possessed by local tribes. Human rights defenders who visited Wandikbo confirmed that the wound was caused by a bullet. He had been shot by a police officer at a distance of 20metres away and could identify the perpetrator.		http://humanrights.papua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf Papuans Behind Bars 2014, September 2014: Culture of impunity in Papua threatens human rights and democracy, Accessed on L <sup>2</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://www.papuansbehi ndbars.org/?p=3044
2014.09.29	Sugapa		Local police officers, Paniai regency	Seprianus Japagau, 23 years old, Benyami Agimbau, 26 years old	At 2pm 40 police officers attended the central soccer pitch in Sugapa and opened fire on civilians. Seprianus was shot in the left abdomen and Benyamin was beaten in the head with rifle butts. Both men were taken to the local clinic in Sugapa for treatment, but the next day Seprianus had to be evacuated to Siriwini Puublic Hospital in Nabire for emergency surgery.	The attack was in retaliation for the beating of a Brimob officer by local residents. The Brimob officer referred to the Papuans as 'apes'.	ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 13 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf
2014.10.10	Jayapura	Martinus Manfanu	Police	Fendi Rakmeni	On 10 October 2014, Fendi Rakmeni of Top TV in Jayapura was stabbed by Martinus Manfandu, a police officer. Mr Rakmeni was attempting to report on an accident on the Entrop Highway when the officer, who was under the influence of alcohol, obstructed him. The two men argued and Mr Manufandu stabbed Mr Rakmeni.		ICP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 5 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf
2014.12.03	Kago district, Mimika		Joint military and police task force	Pai Murib, Baitem Murib, Rekules Murib, Patung Kulua, Munius Tabuni, Pliton Murib, Wisisi Murib, Elison Murib, Yomis Murib, Ketamius Telenggen, Daud Murib, Penggeri Murib, Tipen Tabuni, Kitenius Murib, Matius Murib,	A joint military and police task force conducted a search operation in Kago district, burning down 15 homes. 24 people were arrested and were ill-treatd and tortured by the police and military. One of those arrested, Pai Murib was released in a critical condition following heavy beatings to his stomach. It took him	On the 3 <sup>rd</sup> December 2014 two Brimob officers were shot in front of the offices of the Papuan Legislative Council in Kago district, Mimika. TPNPB claimed responsibility.	Papuans Behind Bars, Briefing Paper: Political arrests in West Papua from 2012- 2014, Accessed on 10 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at; http://www.papuansbehi ndbars.org/?s=2014⊂

WHEN	WHERE	PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)	PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)	VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	BACKGROUND	SOURCE
				Malukni Murib, Delpi Kulua, Agus Magai, Isak Tabuni, Manus Wker, Yonar Telenggen, Donar Telenggen, and Yum Mom.	two days to be able to speak and eat again.		
2014.12.07	Enarotali district, Paniai	Tim Khusus 753 (attached to the Nabire-based Army Battalion 753)		Yulianus Yeimo 12/13 years old	A group of young people, including children, shouted at a Tim Khusus 753 vehicle to turn its headlights on as it passed the group. The vehicle soon returned with another truck filled with Indonesian soldiers, who chased the group and caught and beat up Yeimo with their rifle butts. The others altered adults who began throwing stones at the military personnel, prompting them to flee.		Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization, West Papua: Lack of Basic Protection from Indonesian Security Forces, Accessed on 10 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://unpo.org/article/17850  The International Coalition for Papua 2014, HRW: Security forces kill five in Papua, Accessed on 11 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://www.humanrightsp.
2014.12.08	Enarotali, Paniai.		Indonesian Security Forces	Five teenagers, aged 16 and 17 years old, were killed by Indonesian Security Forces: Simon Degei (18 years old), Otianus Gobai (18 years old), Alpius Youw (17 years old), Yulian Yeimo (17 years old) and Alpuis Gobay.	Military and police officers shot dead four, possibly five Papuan teenagers. At least 17 others suffered injuries. The violence followed a peaceful protest in the form of a traditional indigenous waiti dance. The demonstration involved around 800 people, who had gathered outside the Enarotali district police station and the Military Command (Komando Rayon Militer, Koramii) to demand an explanation for the events of the previous night. The demonstrators performed their traditional dance, whereupon military and police officers responded by indiscriminately shooting live ammunition into the crowd. The youngest among those to suffer injuries was an eight-year old elementary school student who was shot in the hand.	The protest took place as a response to the torture and ill-treatment experienced from military officers the previous day (see above).	CP 2015, Human Rights Papua 2015, Viewed 5 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/docs/HumanR ightsPapua2015-ICP.pdf Papuans Behind Bars 2014, Viewed 6 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: s http://www.papuansbehi ndbars.org/?p=3393 McQuire, A 2014, 'Five Civilians Killed By Indonesian Security Forces in West Papua, New Matilda, Viewed 6 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: https://newmatilda.com/2 014/12/10/five-civilians- killed-indonesian-security-

WHEN	WHERE	PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)	PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)	VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	BACKGROUND	SOURCE
							forces-west-papua/ Kingmi reports.
2014.12.09	Outside Pirime District Police Station (On way to Wamena)		Five Brimob officers	Kamori Murib	Kamori Murib was heading towards Wamena to hand over a pistol he had found that belonged to a deceased relative. Kamori came across a police roadblock just outside the Pirime District police station. Fearing that he would look suspicious carrying a pistol, Kamori raised his hands and told the police officers he had a pistol. The officers immediately started beating him and dragged him into the police station. Brimob officers proceeded to torture him for several hours. After shaving his hair off with a bayonet blade, Brimob officers slashed his head and rubbed the bleeding wound with chilli paste. Scalding water was then splashed onto the wound five times. His thighs were slashed four times with bayonet blades. The tip of his left toe, and parts of both his ears were sliced off. He was doused with scalding water resulting in serious burn injuries. He was beaten in the back and ribs with rifle guns. Kamori was then taken to Bhayangkara Hospital in Jayapura, where he stayed for two months. He was forced to stay naked for his duration in hospital, and his hands were cuffed the whole time. While in hospital he was tortured more. He was force-fed fish bones and chicken bones, and was doused in scalding water on three occasions.	Kelpis found the pistol in a cupboard at a honai (traditional hut).	AJAR, ELSHAM & TAPOL  n.d., The Practice of  Torture: Business As Usual in Papua , Accessed on  13th July 2016, Available at: http://www.tapol.org/site s/default/files/sites/defau it/files/pdfs/Torture%20re port%20English.pdf  Papuans Behind Bars 2014, Kamori Murib, Accessed on 13th July 2016, Available at: http://www.papuansbehi ndbars.org/?prisoner_prof ile=kamori-murib
2015.02				Kelpis Wenda	Kelpis attempted to find Murib as police hadn't informed Kamori's family of his arrest. Kelpis was arrested in February. He was dragged along the ground and beaten with	See the note above.	AJAR, ELSHAM & TAPOL n.d., The Practice of Torture: Business As Usual in Papua , Accessed on 13 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available

SOURCE	at: http://www.tapol.org/site s/default/files/sites/defau It/files/pdfs/Torture%20re port%20English.pdf Papuans Behind Bars 2014, Kelpis Wenda, Accessed on 13th July 2016, Available at: http://www.papuansbehi idbars.org/?prisoner_prof ile=kelpis-wenda	Papuans Behind Bars 2015, Rising voices; rising arrests: A look at West Papua in 2015, Accessed on 13th July 2016, Available at: http://www.tapol.org/site s/default/files/sites/defau it/files/pdfs/2015%20Risin g%20Voices%20Rising%20 Arrests.EN .pdf International Coalition for Papua 2016, Oral Statement for the 31st Session of the UN Human Rights Council, Accessed on 13th July 2016, Available at: http://franciscansinternati onal.org/fileadmin/media/ 2016/Asia-Pacific/31st- HRC-ID-SRs-Freedom- Assembly-Summary- Execution-joint- statement-Franciscans-
BACKGROUND		
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	rifle butts on his upper abdomen. In detention seven centrimetre nails were hammered into his left forearms with wooden planks until they reached the bone. Kelpis lost two teeth and suffered facial wounds as a result of being beaten on the face with rifle butts. His left big toe was broken and he was beaten on the back with a chair. He was also beaten with wooden planks. Wenda was then taken to Papuan Police Headquarters in Jayapura for further interrogation. He was released but later rearrested. Kamori and Kelpis are currently on trial under charges of Emergency Law 12/1951 and remain in Wamena prison.	Deni was kidnapped, tortured and murdered. His body was then dumped in a river in Yahukimo.
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS		Deni Pahabol, 17 years old, high school student
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)		Suspected: Special Forces Command
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)		
WHERE		Yahukimo regency
WHEN		2015.03.06

VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED BACKGROUND SOURCE DETAILS	International pdf International pdf International pdf International Coalition for Papua 2015, Oral Statement for the 30 <sup>th</sup> anwhile three Cyclone Pam in Vanuatu and in Silver Support of the ULMWP. 21 people were arbitrarily detained, one person was fatally shot and six others injured when the Yahukimo police and Brimob officers intervened.  International Coalition for Papua 2015, Oral Statement for the 30 <sup>th</sup> Session of the UN Human Rights Council, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://franciscansinternati onal.org/fileadmin/media/ Asia-Pacific 2015/30th- HRC-Item-3-Oral- Statement-ID-with-WGAD- Arbitrary-Detention- Papua.pdf	rrested 264 people were arrested when protesting the 52" anniversary of the protesting the 52" anniversary of the administrative transfer of Papua to Indonesia administrative transfer of Papua to Indonesia. A demonstration led by 1963.  Indonesia. A demonstration led by 1963.  Manokwari-based groups was forcibly dispersed by Manokwari police and heavily armed Brimob.  Deaten on arrest. The majority of the cetained were detained and beavile where detained were university students.  The demonstrators were also expressing their support for the expression and expressing their support for the expression and expression ex	01/2/2/10/10/10/10/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2/2
DETAILS	Obangma Giban (32) was killed and Intel Senegil, 16, was wounded by the shooting. Meanwhile three young men, Elkius Kobak, 23, Putih Bahabol, 28, and Era Kobak, 26, were arrested and detained by the police. 21 people detained.	264 people arrested 264 perotes admin Indone the KN Comm Manol forcibl police 126 pe beater those studer The de express ULM MULM MANOL MAN	
PERPETRATOR (BY PERPETRATOR (BY NAME) INSTITUTION)	Yahukimo police and Brimob	Police and Brimob	
WHERE	2015.03.20 Yahukimo police	Manokwari Jayapura Merauke Kaimana	

SOURCE	Papua 2015, Oral Statement for the 29 <sup>th</sup> Session of the UN Human Rights Council, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://franciscansinternati onal.org/fileadmin/media/ Asia-Pacific_2015/Item-3- Oral-statement-General- Debate-Freedom-of- Expression-and-Assembly- in-West-Papua.pdf Free West Papua Campaign 2015, Local Papuan Media, Free West Papua Campaign, 21 May, Viewed July 16 <sup>th</sup> 2016, Available at: https://www.facebook.co m/freewestpapua/photos /a.310692780009.322467.	Free West Papua  Campaign 2015, Local  Papuan Media, Free West Papua Campaign, 21 May, Viewed July 16 <sup>th</sup> 2016, Available at: https://www.facebook.co m/freewestpapua/photos /a.310692780009.322467. 53611440009/101556267 16430010/?type=1&theat	Papuans Behind Bars 2015, Rising voices; rising arrests: A look at West Papua in 2015, Accessed on 13 <sup>th</sup> July 2016,
BACKGROUND			
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	the morning to support the ULMWP bid for MSG membership. They were hindered from carrying out this demonstration by a joint task force comprised of military and police. During the arrests tear gas was used, people were beaten, and protestors were subjected to racist taunts.	West Papuans were demonstrating in support of West Papua joining the Melanesian Spearhead Group.	Yoteni was shot dead by Brimob officers after an argument broke out between himself and them.
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS		Three arrested in Biak Six arrested in Sentani.	Yoteni Agapa, 19 years old
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)	police and military		Brimob
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)			
WHERE		Biak and Sentani	Dogiyai
WHEN		2015.06.21	2015.06.25

SOURCE	http://www.tapol.org/site s/default/files/sites/defau lt/files/pdfs/2015%20Risin g%20Voices%20Rising%20 Arrests.ENpdf	International Coalition for Papua 2016, Oral Statement for the 31st Session of the UN Human Rights Council, Accessed on 13th July 2016, Available at:  http://franciscansinternational.org/fileadmin/media/2016/Asia-Pacific/31st-HRC-ID-SRs-Freedom-Assembly-Summary-Execution-joint-statement-Franciscans-International.pdf		'We Will Lose Everything" report of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, https://cjpcbrisbane.files.wordpress.com/2016/05/we-will-lose-everything-may-2016.pdf, accessed 22 July, 2016.	Papuans Behind Bars 2015, Rising voices; rising arrests: A look at West Papua in 2015, p 22, Accessed on 13 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://www.tapol.org/site s/default/files/sites/defau it/files/pdfs/2015%20Risin g%20Voices%20Rising%20
BACKGROUND			The shootings were in response to a protest.		
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED			12 Papuans were shot by security personnel in Karubaga, the capital of Tolikara regency, in the central highland.	The three victims were abducted and severely tortured by police in Jayapura, the capital of Papua province.	Two 23 year old men were fatally shot in Timika by Indonesian soldiers under the influence of alcohol.  This was one of the rare cases in which Indonesian security forces members were held accountable for their violent actions. The Catholic Bishop of Timika, Mgr. John Philip Sakiil and his staff were
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS			Endi Wanimbo, 15 (killed) 11 others were injured	Wilhelmus Awom, 26, Soleman Yom, 27, and Yafet Awom, 19	Yulianus Okoare, 18, and Imanuel Marimau, 23 were killed. The shooting injured Thomas Apoka, 16, and three others in their early 20s - Moses Umapi, Marinus Apokapo and Moses Imipu.
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)				Polri (Indonesian police)	Military soldiers
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)					
WHERE			Tolikara	Jayapura	Timika
WHEN			2015.07.17	2015.08.27	2015.08.28

SOURCE	Arrests.EN .pdf International Coalition for Papua 2016, Oral Statement for the 31* Session of the UN Human Rights Council, Accessed on 13** July 2016, Available at: http://franciscansinternational.org/fileadmin/media/ 2016/Asia-Pacific/31st-HRC-ID-SRs-Freedom-Assembly-Summary-Execution-joint-statement-Franciscans-International.pdf	'We Will Lose Everything" report of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, https://cijccbrisbane.files.wordpress.com/2016/05/we-will-lose-everything-may-2016.pdf, accessed 22 July, 2016.	Papuans Behind Bars 2015, Rising voices; rising arrests: A look at West Papua in 2015, Accessed on 13 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://www.tapol.org/site s/default/files/sites/defau lt/files/pdfs/2015%20Risin g%20Voices%20Rising%20 Arrests.ENpdf Franciscans International 2015, West Papua: Targeted Killing of Indigenous Papuan Youth Needs To Stop, Accessed
BACKGROUND			Kalep's father is Pastor Daniel Ogau, a member of the KNPB in Timika. Kalep's family think this was a political assassination.
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	instrumental in securing this outcome. Three soldiers were sentenced to imprisonment, with another awaiting verdict, over the killing of two Papuan men by Military District Command 1710 soldiers in Koperapoka, Mimika on 28 August 2015.		At around 7pm the two students were sitting in a tower in Biak Residential Housing Complex. Ten minutes later more police arrived on 15 motorbikes and in three police cars- they surrounded the housing complex. Kalep and Efrando ran away from the complex. They ran into police on the street. Kalep was shot in the chest, reportedly because he was suspected of committing an act of vandalism. He died shortly after. Efrando was shot in the leg and chest, and left in critical condition at the Regional Public Hospital in Mimika.
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS			Kalep Bagau, 18 years old, 3 <sup>rd</sup> year Senior High School student at SMK Petra, Timika District, lived in Bendugan Jalan Sosial, Timika District.  Efrando Sobarek, 17 years old, 3 <sup>rd</sup> year High School Student at SMK Petra, Timika District, lives in Timika District.
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)			Three members of the Indonesian Police Force from Mimika Baru sector, Timika District
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)			× .
WHERE			Biak Residential Housing Complex, Gorong-Gorong traditional Market, Mimika, Timika District
WHEN			2015.09.28

PERPETRATOR (BY VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED BACKGROUND SOURCE INSTITUTION)	A demonstration calling for http://www.papuansbehi democracy and media ndbars.org/?P=5587, freedom was forcibly accessed 22 July 2016. dispersed by Wamena police. The demonstration was led by five ex-political prisoners who were released in May 2015.	Adembo Kobak (24 years)  The West Papua National Committee and Yanus Giban (27 years).  (KNPB) accused the Yahukimo Police of physically abusing two of its members, Adembo Kobak (24 years) and Yanus Giban (27 years). They had saked a group of 20 people, including police officers, to stop gambling on cock fights. Both were hospitalised as a recult of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, https://cjpcbrisbane.files. wordpress.com/2016/05/ we-will-lose-everything.	and eight hv miltarv
PERPETRATOR (BY PERPINATION (BY INSTITUTE)			
WHEN WHERE	<b>2015.11.16</b> Wamena	<b>2015.10.25</b> Yahukimo	2015.12.01 Wanampompi

SOURCE	Papua in 2015, Accessed on 13th July 2016, Available at: http://www.tapol.org/site s/default/files/sites/defau lt/files/pdfs/2015%20Risin g%20Voices%20Rising%20 Arrests.EN . pdf International Coalition for Papua 2016, Oral Statement for the 31st Session of the UN Human Rights Council, Accessed on 13th July 2016, Available at: http://franciscansinternational.org/fileadmin/media/ 2016/Asia-Pacific/31st- HRC-ID-SRs-Freedom- Assembly-Summary- Execution-joint- statement-Franciscans- International.pdf	Papuans Behind Bars 2015, Rising voices; rising arrests: A look at West Papua in 2015, Accessed on 13 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://www.tapol.org/site_s/default/files/sites/default/files/pdfs/2015%20Rising%20_Arrests FN_noff_Arrests FN_noff_Arrests FN_noff_EN_Arrests FN_NO	Papuans Behind Bars, http://www.papuansbehindbars.org/?p=3589, accessed 22 July 2016.
BACKGROUND			Commemorating the 1st of December
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	security patrol in Wanampompi village. Yonas and Darius died on the spot after being shot. Herik and Yulianus were tortured to death after suffering initial gunshot wounds. Eight other villagers also suffered serious injuries as a result of security officers opening fire. Villagers had held a prayer session and a flagraising ceremony where the Morning Star flag was flown to commemorate 1 December.	32 people were arrested as they held a commemorative prayer session. Police officers forcibly dispersed the crowd, reportedly beating people with rifle butts and wooden beams. Those arrested were interrogated for several hours before being released without charge. At least four people sustained injuries due to police beatings.	In Jakarta, at least 306 people were arrested and at least 133 suffered serious injuries due to police brutality. Two female Papuan protestors faced sexual abuse by Jakarta Metro police officers (Polda Metro Jaya) and two foreign journalists who attempted to report on the event faced police
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	Yulianus Robaha		306 Arrested 145 injured due to excessive force from the police.
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)			POLDA Jakarta. Tito Karnavian, former head of D88 and now Chief of Police, Jakarta.
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)			
WHERE	Island	Bunga Bangsa Papua Field, Nabire	Jakarta
WHEN		2015.12.01	2015.12.01

WHEN	WHERE	PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)	PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)	VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	BACKGROUND	SOURCE
					intimidation.		
2016.05.02	Jayapura		Indonesian police	1,449 people arrested in	Indonesian security forces and police		Asia Pacific Report 2016,
	Merauke			Jayapura, 45 people	arrested hundreds of Papuan		Hundreds of Papuans
	Semarang			arrested in Semerang, 42	demonstrators during rallies today.		arrested in mass
	Makassar			people arrested in	People were rallying in support of the		Indonesian crackdown,
	FakFak			Makassar, 29 people	United Liberation movement for		say reports, May 2 2016,
	Sorong			arrested in Fakfak, 27	West Papua and its effort to reach		Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July
	Wamena			people arrested in Sorong	full member status of the regional		2016, Available at:
				14 people arrested in	MSG. Six people were admitted to		http://asiapacificreport.nz
				Wamena, 200 people	hospital. In FakFak least 19 people		/2016/05/02/hundreds-
				arrested in Merauke.	arrested were children. Many claim		of-papuans-arrested-in-
					to have been assaulted. Those in		mass-indonesian-
				(See LBH Jakarta for a full	Jayapura were held in an outdoor jail		crackdown/
				list of those arrested.)	at the police headquarters for eight		
					hours.		FBC News 2016, Almost
							1700 arrests in West
							Papua demos, May 4,
							Accessed 16 <sup>th</sup> July 2016,
							Available at:
							http://www.fbc.com.fi/wo
							rld/39984/almost-1700-
							arrests-in-west-papila-
							מיינים איניים איניים מיינים מי
							dell'OS
							Aliazeera 2016. Mass
							princets reported in
							Indonesia's restive Danua
							illuollesia s lestive rapua,
							May 4, Accessed 16 July
							2016, Available at:
							http://www.aljazeera.com
							/news/2016/05/mass-
							arrests-reported-
							indonesia-restive-papua-
							160503085332325,html
							SBS 2016. Assault claims
							during mass arrests over
							West Papua
							יייי ליייל האטלימיטייייייייייייייייייייייייייייייייי
							Accessed on 16th Lily
							2016 Audilahi at
							ZOID, Avallable at:
							http://www.sbs.com.au/n
							ews/article/2016/05/03/a
							ssault-claims-during-mass-

WHEN	WHERE	PERPETRATOR (BY	PERPETRATOR (BY	VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S	SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	BACKGROUND	SOURCE
		NAME)	INSTITUTION)	DETAILS			orroct over work pour
							independence-push
							Amnesty 2016, Indonesia:
							End mass arrests and
							crackdowns on peaceful
							procests, May 3, Accessed on 16th July 2016.
							Available at:
							http://www.amnesty.org.
							au/news/comments/4172 0/
2016.05.28	Papuan		Jayapura district	26 KNPB members were	Officers arrested 26 KNPB members		International Coalition for
	Governor's Office		police	arrested	while they were distributing leaflets		Papua 2016, Unlawful
	at Dok 2, Jayapura				for the May 31 demonstration. They		Mass Arrests of 326 West
	city				were brought to the local police		Papuans between May 28
					station where they were interrogated		and May 31, 2016,
					and detained until they were later		Accessed on 16 <sup>th</sup> July
					released that day.		2016, Available at:
							http://humanrightspapua.
							org/news/197-unlawful- mass-arrests-of-376-west-
							mass antests of see west
							papuans-perween-may- 28-and-may-31-2016
2016.05.28	Sentani New		Jayapura district	24 members of KNPB were	Officers arrested 24 KNPB members		International Coalition for
	Market, Sentani		police	arrested	as they were distributing leaflets for		Papua 2016, Unlawful
					the demonstration on May 31. They		Mass Arrests of 326 West
					were also interrogated at the local		Papuans between May 28
					police station and later released that		and May 31, 2016,
					day.		Accessed on 16 <sup>th</sup> July
							2016, Available at:
							http://humanrightspapua.
							org/news/197-unlawful-
							mass-arrests-of-326-west-
							papuans-between-may-
							28-and-may-31-2016

SOURCE	International Coalition for Papua 2016, Unlawful Mass Arrests of 326 West Papuans between May 28 and May 31, 2016, Accessed on 16 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.org/news/197-unlawfulmass-arrests-of-326-westpapuans-between-may-28-and-may-31-2016	International Coalition for Papua 2016, Unlawful Mass Arrests of 326 West Papuans between May 28 and May 31, 2016, Accessed on 16 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.org/news/197-unlawful-mass-arrests-of-326-westpapuans-between-may-28-and-may-31-2016	The International Coalition for Papua 2016, Report on the unlawful arrests of 648 West Papuans between 28 – 31 May 2016, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.org/news/200-report-onthe-unlawful-arrests-of-648-west-papuans-between-28-31-may-2016
BACKGROUND			
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	Joint security forces rushed to the KNPB office with 7 trucks and 4 cars, where they arbitrarily arrested 51 KNPB members and subsequently detained them in the Wamena district Police station. Three of those arrested were women. Some of the Brimob officers wore balaclavas to cover their faces. On the first day of detention police officers only provided 19 portions of rice to the 51 people detained. All 51 people were interrogated with no clear accusation. Police seized two mobile phones, one digital camera, one motorcycle and one laptop. They also made Asa Asso, 27 years old, to take off his shirt as it had the Morning Star Flag on it.	More than hundreds of police and intelligence officers came to the KNPB office and questioned the KNPB coordinator and secretary Ms Pangkrasia Yem and Petrus Tiniyap Katem about the May 31 demonstration.	At 10:30am three KNPB activists were arrested and taken to Yahukimo police station. They were arrested when distributing leaflets supporting the ULMWP to be recognised as a full member of MSG, and calling on the release of all West Papuan political prisoners. They were beaten in the police truck on the way to the station.
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	51 KNPB members arrested		Darpinus Bayage Ison Bahabol Amiter Bahabol
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)	Jayawaijaya district police, Brimob, Korem 756 military command	Intelligence officers and police officers	
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)			
WHERE	Patimura Street, Wamena	KNPB office, Merauke	Yahukimo
WHEN	2016.05.30	2016.05.30	2016.05.30

SOURCE	West Papua Media 2016, Indon police begin another crackdown on KNPB activists ahead of May 31 mobilisations, May 30 2016, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at:  https://westpapuamedia.i https://westpapuamedia.i nfo/2016/05/30/indon-police-begin-another-crackdown-on-knpb-activists-ahead-of-may-31-mobilisations/	West Papua Media 2016, Indon police begin another crackdown on KNPB activists ahead of May 31 mobilisations, May 30 2016, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at:  https://westpapuamedia.i https://westpapuamedia.i nfo/2016/05/30/indonpolice-begin-another-crackdown-on-knpb-activists-ahead-of-may-at-instins/	The International Coalition for Papua 2016, Report on the unlawful arrests of 648 West Papuans between 28 – 31 May 2016, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.org/news/200-report-onthe-unlawful-arrests-of-648-west-papuans-between-28-31-may-2016  The International Coalition for Papua 2016, Unlawful
BACKGROUND			
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED		Several KNPB activists were chased, arrested and beaten by Indonesian police for handing out flyers outside the KNPB Baliem office. Brimob police swooped in and captured 21 of the KNPB activists.	At 5:10am police came to the KNPB secretariat. Police asked protestors to gather protest properties. At 6:20am police called military offices to come over. When they arrived the police and military entered the secretariat and took a computer, printer, three megaphones, two mobile phones and some clothing. Some people were taken to Doyo police station. Military also raided the secretariat surrounding areas and took some Morning Star nokens (traditional sting bags) from Papuan women. At 8am people started to
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S S DETAILS		Warpo Sampari Wetipo, S Hasan Kogoya, Marta a Haluk, Mardi Heluka, Hery Kosay, Firdaus Hilapok, tt Paska Iyaba, Marsel Marian p Melianus Kosay, Hiron Hiluka, Yufry Kogoya, Pilemon Meaga, Domy Meaga, Manu Wuka, Martinus Wamu, Deminus Qantik, Ardis Willi, Nuber Surabut, Mely Wantik, Asa Asso, Yulius Towolom.	455 people arrested 8 s to
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)		Brimob	Regional police and military officers
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)			
WHERE		KNPB Baliem office, Wamena	Sentani
WHEN		2016.05.30	2016.05.31

SOURCE	Mass Arrests of 326 West Papuans between May 28 and May 31, 2016, Accessed on 16 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.org/news/197-unlawfulmass-arrests-of-326-westpapuans-between-may-28-and-may-31-2016.	The International Coalition for Papua 2016, Report on the unlawful arrests of 648 West Papuans between 28 – 31 May 2016, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.org/news/200-report-onthe-unlawful-arrests-of-648-west-papuans-between-28-31-may-2016	The International Coalition for Papua 2016, Report on the unlawful arrests of 648 West Papuans between 28 – 31 May 2016, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.
BACKGROUND			
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	march. Some people were arrested at the beginning while others were arrested later in the day at 3pm. A total of 455 people were arrested.	Police officers conducted a sweeping operation early in the morning in several areas, prior to the demonstration. 16 young Papuans were arrested, most of whom were university students. Police officers were stopping public transport and checking passengers' identity cards. According to local informants the arrests were carried out based on tribal origin, because most KNPB supporters originate from the Central Highlands. Police also arrested hundreds of KNPB supporters at the local KNPB office, at Pos 7.  In total 203 people were arrested and detained at Jayapura district police station in Doyo Baru. Police did not provide food and drinks to the arrestees during custody. They were released later that day.  Several police officers made humiliating statements about the protests' tribal origin during custody.	Joint security forces arrested 12 demonstrators from where the demonstrators planned to walk towards the local parliament building. One of the demonstrators was injured during arrest as a Brimob officer kicked him. Some people were beaten with batons by the police
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS		In total 203 people were arrested.	12 people arrested
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)		Indonesian police	Brimob, Jayawijaya and Batalyon 756 Wim Ani Sili Wamena
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)			
WHERE		Sentani Sentani	Wamena
WHEN		2016.05.31	2016.05.31

SOURCE SOURCE	org/news/200-report-on- the-unlawful-arrests-of- 648-west-papuans- de between-28-31-may-2016	The International Coalition for Papua 2016, Report on the unlawful arrests of 648 West Papuans between 28 – 31 May 2016, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/news/200-report-on- the-unlawful-arrests-of- 648-west-papuans- between-28-31-may-2016	The International Coalition for Papua 2016, Unlawful Mass Arrests of 326 West Papuans between May 28 and May 31, 2016, Accessed 16 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.org/news/197-unlawfulmass-arrests-of-326-westpapuans-between-may-28-and-may-31-2016	
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	officers. They were detained over night in the corridor of the police station, next to the toilets and trash area. Police officers did not provide food or drink for a day and a half.	At around 9 am people started to walk to the local parliament from Papuan students' boarding house. People were tear-gassed and one person was shot with a rubber bullet. The seven people arrested were taken to Manado police station. They were released the next day.		On June 10 <sup>th</sup> 31 KNPB activists were arrested and taken to Jayapura Police station for handing out leaflets in support of the ULMWP.
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS		Hiskia Maege Emanuel Ukago Laos Alua Arni Wetipo Andreas Dabla Sony Liwiya Agus Tabuni		31 people were arrested. All members of KNPB: Kalvin Wenda, 33 years old Jimy Borowai, 35 years old Regina Wenda 29 years old Resman Wenda, 28 years old Kesman Wenda, 28 years old, Anis Kogoya, 30 years old, Anis Kogoya, 30 years old, Hosea Yeimo, 20 years
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)				
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)				
WHERE		Manado		Jayapura
WHEN		2016.05.31		2016.06.10

SOURCE	2016, Available at: http://pacific.scoop.co.nz/ 2016/06/intimidation-of- knpb-and-student- activists-increases/	Human Rights and Peace for Papua 2016, Report on the unlawful arrests of 1,269 West Papuans between 10-15 <sup>th</sup> June 2016, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.org/news/203-report-on-the-unlawful-arrests-of-1-269-west-papuans-between-10-15-june-2016  Scoop 2016, Intimidation of KNPB and student activists increases, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://pacific.scoop.co.nz/2016/of/intmidation-of-knpb-and-student-activists-increases/
BACKGROUND		
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED		Police officers from the Jayapura district came with five motorcycles, three Kijang Avanza, a Military Police patrol and two trucks of fully armed soldiers. The activists and students were handing out flyers when they were arrested. They were taken to Dalmas Doyo police station where they were all held for a few hours before being released. They were threatened with jail by Commissioner Arnold Tata. They were dragged on the asphalt and were hit in the head with a cane. Edo Bahabol and Naila Kossay were slapped by police.
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	Balingga, 22 years old Yason Bahabol, 22 years old Alex Pigai, 21 years old Abet Yeimo, 24 years old Samuel Madai, 23 years old Novi Wenda, 23 years old Cpince Yeimo, 24 years old Frengki Pigai, 26 years old Cominikus Dimi, 20 years old, Semi Molama, 25 years old, Laska Sama, 26 years old, Kobabe Wanimbo, 27 years old, Yabbe Wanimbo, 22 years old, Prengki Pigai, 24 years old, Walo Wanimbo, 23 years old, Walo Wanimbo, 23 years old, Dogomo, 26 years old Bernat Haeo, 23 years old ticka Komba, 27 years old teka Komba, 27 years old teka Komba, 27 years old	, w
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)		Jayapura district police
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)		Commissioner Arnold Tata
WHERE		Hotel Ratna, Jalan Raya Sentani region
WHEN		2016.06.13

WHERE	PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)	PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)	VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS	SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	BACKGROUND	SOURCE Jakarta Legal Aid Institute 2016. I BH Renort Pania
						Accessed on 14th July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/images/lbh_report_pa
Between Jalan Trikora and Jalan Irian Wamena, Wamena		20 police officers from regional units	Marthen Asso	Marthen Asso was selling KNPB and Morning Star shirts when 20 police officers came and took him in a police truck at about 7:45am. He was beaten and kicked during interrogation at Jayawijaya police station. He was released at 11am.		Jakarta Legal Aid Institute 2016, LBH Report Papua, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.org/images/lbh_report_papua_15_june.pdf
						Belau A 2016, Sell Clothing, Jual Baju, Satu Orang Ditangkap Polisi di Wamena, Accessed 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://suarapapua.com/2016/06/14/jual-baju-satu-orang-ditangkap-polisi-wamena/
Jayapura, Sentani, Wamena, Manokwari, Merauke, Sorong, Fakfak, Yalimo, Paniai, Nabire, Yahukimo Malang		Civil militia	Approximnately 1400 people arrested. Full a full list of names see http://humanrightspapua.org/images/lbh_report_papua_15_june.pdf_and LBH_Jakarta. Those arrested include children.	Peaceful protests were being held across West Papua in support the ULMWP to be recognised as a full member of MSG.  Most of those arrested were released, but some were tortured while in detention. In Fak Fak police allegedly sexually assaulted demonstrators.	Mass arrests occurred in April, May and June 2016. Between May and June alone 3,000 people were allegedly arrested during peaceful protests in major Papuan cities- Jayapura, Merauke, Fakfak, Sorong and Wamena. These protests were held in support of the United Liberation Movement of West Papua (ULMWP) to be recognised as a full member of the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG).	Franciscans International 22 <sup>nd</sup> June 2016, Oral Statement of the 32 <sup>nd</sup> Session of the UN Human Rights Council, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at: http://franciscansinternational.org/fileadmin/media/2016/Asia-Pacific/Joint Statement at the UN on Human Rights in Papua .pdf Minority Rights Group International 2016, Joint Statement on Human Rights in West Papua, Accessed on 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016, Available at:

SOURCE	http://minorityrights.org/ advocacy- statements/joint- statement-on-human- rights-in-west-papua/ Human Rights and Peace for Papua 2016, Report on the unlawful arrests of 1,269 West Papuans between 10-15** June 2016, Accessed on 14** July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua. org/news/203-report-on- the-unlawful-arrests-of-1- 269-west-papuans- between-10-15-june-2016 Jakarta Legal Aid Institute 2016, LBH Report Papua, Accessed on 14** July 2016, Available at: http://humanrightspapua.	http://www.thejakartapos t.com/news/2016/07/15/ police-arrest-seven- papuan-students-prevent- demo.html, accessed 22 July 2016 https://wpan.wordpress.c om/2016/07/18/papuan- students-in-yogyakarta- endure-racist-insults- multiple-arrests-in-two- day-siege/, accessed 22 July 2016 http://www.cnnindonesia. com/nasional/201607170 64356-20-145189/kisah-
BACKGROUND		Students were preparing a nonviolent demonstration. When the police refused permission, they decided to sing songs of liberation and praise in their domitory. This was when the police and militia raided. The PRPPB event was in support of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua's (ULMWP) bid to become a full member of the Melanesia Spearhead Group (MSG).
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED		Police attack students in their dormitory in Yogya. Seven arrested. Police fired warning shots, used tear gas, physically assaulted students, denied humanitarian aid and used racial slurs against the students. Police backed up by Indonesian militia: The Communication Forum of the Sons and Daughters of Indonesia (FKPPI), the Pancasila Youth (PP), the Paksi Katon [which sees itself as a guardian of Javanese culture and the Yogyakarta sultanate] and the Yogyakarta Militia (Laskar Jogja). In total they numbered around 100 or more people and were armed with
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS		
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)		
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)		Police (Yogya)
WHERE		Yogyakarta
WHEN		2016.06.15

SOURCE	mahasiswa-papua-di-	yogya-dua-hari-terkurung-	di-asrama/, accessed 22	July 2016	http://www.pireport.org/	articles/2016/07/20/indon	esian-police-criticized-	racism-excessive-force-	against-west-papuan-	students, accessed 22 July	2016
SS	ш	yc	di	ηſ	ht	ar	es	ra	ge	st	20
BACKGROUND											
SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED	"wooden [clubs], crowbars and other	sharp objects".									
VICTIM/SURVIVOR'S DETAILS											
PERPETRATOR (BY INSTITUTION)											
PERPETRATOR (BY NAME)											
WHERE											
WHEN											



Back Cover: Imbi Square, Jayapura/Port Numbay, West Papua, June 2000 Photo: Andrew Kilvert



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