

THE RESISTANCE OF PEOPLE IN PAPUA (1945-1962)

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses a sequence of events showing the resistance of the people of Papua since 1945 until 1965. This resistance was conducted by the movement figures of Papua who were aggressively struggling for the independence of Indonesia or claiming the independence for the land of Papua. This Movement was conducted in various areas with different resistance targets and forms.

Key words: *Resistance of People, National Movement, Papua.*

Introduction

Even though the West New Guinea (Papua now) had officially been included under the power of the Dutch Indies (Netherlands Indië) starting from the 24th of August 1828; in reality it was on the 8th of October 1898 that the government of the Dutch colonial (later referred to as PKB) seriously upheld its power of that area by building its first governance post in Fak-Fak and Manokwari. Later, it was continued by the building of the governance post in Merauke on the 14th of February 1902, after the Den Haag Convention on May 16, 1895. There was an agreement in the Convention between the Netherland Kingdom and the United Kingdom concerning the division of their colonized area in New Guinea or Papua, namely starting from the south coast of the island in the centre of the estuary of Bens Bach, 1400 1' 47" BT, continuing to the north by following its stream as the natural boundary and reaching the north coast of that island at 1400 BT, (K.W mark in line W.C. Klein, 1953: 26-27); see also Paul W. van der Veur, 1966 : 108-111). Practically the Aborigine's part of that island in the west which was later referred to by the Netherlands - New Guinea (Papua now). During 70 years of there was no management at all, because New Guinea or West Papua at that time was assumed to give less advantage economically to the government of the Dutch colony.

Furthermore, PKB divided area of Papua into two shares, each ruled by the Dutch controller; it was named Upstate of Noord New Guinea *Afdeeling*. The south and the west parts were named New Guinea zuid en west afdeeling. Both of the *Afdeelingen* were made as the part of residency of Moluccas (Harsja W. Bactiar, 1963: 52).

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The controller power of the area in Noord New Guinea was located in Manokwari, while the controller power in the area of Western Zuid New Guinea was placed in Fak-Fak. In fact, the power of both controllers, as compared to that of PKB, was very limited. On that account from early of the 20th century till the coming of Japan to Papua, PKB almost only maintained the governance posts which have they built. Afterwards, Papua was famous in history because of the landings of the ally army under Commander General of Douglas Mc Arthur.

In an ally incursion of Jayapura, as many as 7200 people of Japan's armies were made step aside to the forest under General head of Inada and later, only 1000 people were safe. Wakde (Sarmi). (K.W. Galis En HJ. Van of Doornik, 1960 : 27-28).

After succeeding to occupy Jayapura and its surroundings, the next ally target was the Prolific Island; and it was conquered on June 20, 1944. After the proclamation of independence by Indonesia on the 17th of August 1945, Papua had in advance been freed by United States ally army. That Situation gave the better opportunity for the entry of Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA) which brought the ally army to Papua.

When the ally army was successful to subjugate the Japan's armies in Papua, civil business was delivered to the unities of NICA, to facilitate their relation with the local resident. Each unit of NICA consisted of 30-84 members under a leader of a Commandant Officer NICA or of Conica, with the offices in Hollandia (Jayapura now), Sentani, Wakde (Sarmi), Bosnek, Serui, Numfor, Sansapor and of Morotai. In general all Conica were Indonesian, for example Soedjono, Ruslan, Darmanto, Saleh Bratawijaya and Abdulkadir Wijoyoatmojo.

Furthermore, Sugoro, the former promoter of the prominent student garden also the former combatant of Digulis was appointed to be adviser of education director and religion. He was trusted to lead school of Bestuur (district public service) in the village that was initially the town of NICA. In reality, Sugoro exploited school of Bestuur to engraft Indonesian patriotism and independence to his students (Makkateru Syamsudin, 1975 : 23).

Senior of Officer NICA (Sonica) R. Abdulkadir Wijoyoatmojo drew up a celebration of Queen Dutch anniversary where people were commanded to raise the Dutch flag. However the people raised another flag reaching the top of the flag stick, whereas Dutch flag and America was raised only in a half (A. Ismail, 1971: 33).

The role of the school of Bestuur, besides as the target to yield educated human being, was also to represent discussion center for all the combatants of independence. The combatants who were active in discussion among others: Frans Kaisiepo, Lukas Rumkoren, Yan Waromi, Cornelis Krey, Marthen Indey, Silas Papare, G. Saweri, SD. Kawab (Makkateru Syamsudin, 1975 : 13-14).

Colonel R. Abdulkadir Wijoyoatmojo was changed by J.P.K van of Eechoud. In the area of Papua Van of Eechoud lead efforts to dissociate the area of Papua with other Indonesia areas. All fighters for the independence of Indonesia

persuaded to be in the side of PKB, yielding change of attitude of Lukas and of Nicolas Youwe. All combatants who could not be persuaded were arrested, such as Silas Papare, Lukas Rumkorem, Alwi Rachman, Marthen Indey, King of Al-Alam Fresh Ugar of Kokas on July, 1946.

The event clearly expresses liver distortion of the manifestation of Papua youths to breath in the independence air. Red Bunting Turn white which was performed in East Bosnik in the yard of Lukas Rumkorem's house was attended by Frans Kaisiepo, Corinus Krey, Markus Kaisiepo and Youwe. The bunting ceremony was warbled by Great Indonesia national anthem led by M. Rumkabu (Haryono Dkk, 1995 : 34). Similar activities had been carried out by all combatants in Jayapura, by taking place in Expectation kampong of Jayapura, three-day before the Proclamation of Independence that was on August 14, 1945.

From the activities conducted by all the combatants, it was the schoolboys of the Bestuur School under the head of Sugoro Atmoprasatmojo, a former Digulis, that had indicated themselves to be the militant combatant activists. Graduated pupils of that Bestuur School had been active because they had been forged to become top-drawer and literate and educated human beings that own the spirit to fight for independence. Those who were active conducted all the activities by spreading the spirit of independence. That way, the growth of Indonesian nationalism in Papua really emerged along with the arrival of NICA in Papua.

The Role of Digul in the National Movement

Digul or of Boven Digoel or also referred to Raddle is an area located in hinterland of Merauke. The name of Raddle is a translation of tribe of *Jair* resident of that area. It was taken from the word "Sokanggo or of soho kanggo", where the word *soko* means red hill of its land. Beginning from here, the name of Raddle was selected by PKB to be made as a place to exile all political figures who opposed the colonization of Dutch (Departmental [of] Social, 1977: 69).

The target of Dutch colonial was to throw away combatant figures in Digul and to destroy the struggle because the situation at that time was severe. All combatants that were assumed to be dangerous by the Dutch colonial, especially people who were involved indirectly or directly in the resistance to the Dutch colonial in Sumatra, Central Java, and East Java were exiled there. Also the combatants of independence like Moh. Hatta and Sutan. Syahrir.

In the middle of the 1926 Merauke sent an armed patrol up to the river of Digul to see the situation of the area of Digul. The Pursuits of the expedition reported to PKB that Raddle was an area chosen to be a place of exile, deportation or prisoner, because the nature had represented fortress which had been hedged. In this way, all prisoners could not run away. If there was a prisoner running away surely he/she would be lost or caught again, otherwise would die because eaten by crocodile, disease or murdered by local resident.

Ones who were thrown to Digul were Javanese and Minangkabaunese, and Sundanese which were different from one another in terms of religion, mores and also culture. But because there were in the same boat and in the same spirit they clearly showed cooperation and association among them. Above all, there were cooperation, tolerance, mutual assistance, reconciliation among them. If there was a quarrel, it was only due to personal matter. It was heard by the power that hence made a pit against among all the interning. Until 1929, the amount of people exiled to Digul more or less reached 1400 people, if summed up with their family it brought about 5000 souls. Some who were thought to be dangerous rebels were placed in dangerous places, in the so called dismissal of Highlands about 30 km of Raddle up at the river of Digul. Because of the existence of the exile place many people became unwilling to work for the Dutch. All the prisoners always opposed the Dutch with actions, outspokenly or stealthily, so that the development of the natural Raddle was failed. This failure was caused by all Digulis who did not want to be used as a tool and colonists of Digulis was a secondhand officer who had never conducted compulsory work. More than anything else, the prisoners were supported with food which is not nutritious and various diseases which continue to menace like: framboesia, malaria, black blood urine and fever.

To be able to eliminate the association among all Digulis all Digulis were divided into two factions. First, the *Werkwilligen* faction, it was for prisoners who were cooperative with the Dutch. Second, the *lijken onverzoen de* faction, it was for prisoners who did not want to cooperate with the Dutch. The First Faction was still divided into three categories (Social Department, 1977: 94). Workers of the farm received wage equal to 0, 40 shillings. Stream trekkers got rice aid as much as 18 pounds per 3 months. Disabled person were subsidized.

To second faction that did not want to cooperate was given ransom in the form of raw material. On the score of this faction was also referred to by clan as *Naturalisten*. In 1935, the clan of *Naturalisten* was given by ransom in the form of rice as much as 16 pounds, briny fish 2 pounds, sugar 1 pound, green peanut 1 pound, salt 1 package, palm oil and briquette ½ pound. If all the ransom is changed into money, then it equaled to F.2, 50.-, one people per one month. This matter could be seen as the cause of the lack of their healthy food so that they became weak, in the mind and in the body.

With the division of the two factions, the power strengthened the politics of *divide et impera* to all Digulis. Both of the factions were pitted against each other with various efforts. The faction of *Werkwilligen* was given all kinds of facility and aids and also peripatetic diffuseness. The faction of *Naturalisten* were not given anything, they even felt depressed and concreted by the excommunication. As a result, the relation between both of these factions became strained, the pacification of life was annoyed; one blamed each other. Others, on the contrary, alleged or libeled to the other side. Even pros and contras of the resistance in 1926 were designed by the Dutch. In a state of this pit, especially in 1929, many Digulis were running away from Digul. In February 1929, Mustakim and Sinduatmo

ran away to go through the south, going to the downstream river of Digul. Those who were thrown in Digul were often propagandized by the Communist Dutch. This matter was not true, Communist was only about 2%, others were Moslem, Christian, national figures like those of PNI, PSII, and others.

Life in Digul was very suffering; this matter was as a result of the existence of comments from various sides. This began from an article of the so called Digulis of Central Javanese, Marko. His Article hit cruelty and badness that happened in Digul which later this article was disapproved by the mother of Mad Asri when returning from Raddle, 1929. The article was finally known by PPPKI and Indonesia Unity (PI) which then took the situation of Digul seriously in every meeting of the International Conference (Social Department, 1978:100). Because of the number of Digulis making a break to protest from various parties, PKB immediately formed a commission to perform an investigation about situation in Digul. The results of this investigation were sent to PKB that in fact all power in Java (in this case PKB) was too easy in deciding a deportation. Thereby, commissioned Hillin investigating Digul suggested that immediately hundreds of Digulis be returned to their birth place.

Referring to the suggestion, since 1930 the prisoners in Digul gradually were freed, so that in the year of 1933 people of Digulis remained only hundreds; still though, Digul was made a place of exile by PKB. This was proven in March 1935 when the Hatta and Sutan Syahrir were sent to Digul (I.F.M. Chalid Salim, 1977: 505). Some others were also sent to Digul in the year of 1937, which was later confronted by the group headed by Hatta. It was true at that moment that Digul had experience dissolution in prison. But blessing attitude of Hatta' calmness and charms brought back the association among Digulis. So that feel being in the same boat and in the same condition and even the feel of being in the same nation and the fatherland sprout fertility return among all Digulis.

After Papua had been occupied by Japan, the southland army of Merauke and its surroundings were still under the power of PKB. PKB held a party for Japan's arrival in the area. Besides that, to maintain its authority the Dutch tried to fight against Japan propaganda to all Digulis expressing that its arrival was as a benefactor and an emancipator of Indonesian people by sending all the captives to Australia. That Idea emerged from famous colonialist figure, who was Van of der Plaas. For the purpose, in May 1943, the first entourage arrived on Thursday in the Island. Later, about 500 people of Digulis including their family also arrived. After arriving at Brisbane, all these Digulis were brought to CWRA, a place in the hinterland of the state part of South Wales representing captive camp to, for example Japan, Germany Italian and all combatants of Indonesian independence.

After the occupation of Papua by Japan, the southland army of Merauke and its surroundings were still under the power of CWRA. An issue by the parliament of Australia affected the news appeared on newspaper concerning the chances all Digulis. In that issue, Australian parliament questioned why Indonesian people who were the combatants of independence as well as famous fighters of

Fascism were placed in Ally prisoners of war in Australia. They were clearly not the enemies of the Ally. Under this hence treatment to the captives of ex good Digulis progressively and even immediately left the captive camp.

Arriving in Australia, all Digulis were also placed apart. They were placed in towns, places where their energy were needed. Some of them were placed in Melbourne and were employed in the Department of Dutch Information which was at that momet famous by the name of Netherland Indies Government Information Service (NIGIS) (Departmental of Social, 1977: 100). One became the newspaper head, the other became an editor, for example in the Extension magazine, a magazine published by NIGIS.

Around 1944, some Indonesian people became the government officer of the Dutch following the evacuation to Australia. Together with some people of Digulis they found the New Federal Indonesia (SIBAR) in Melbourne. SIBAR had programs which were equal to GAPI that claimed Indonesia to have a parliament. But there was also a group which disagreed with program. This group wished to be out to always reach Indonesian independence and sovereignty.

The involvement of Digulis in this SIBAR, in the end, was only a tactic to reach one of the targets, which was Indonesia independence. Although there were various differences but these were merely tactics. Because what was important is that it could braid each other relation so that it could always incite and develop independence aspirations. With the tactics, all Digulis earned freedom from the Dutch to deal with Indonesia nation becoming the officers of the Dutch, crew and others. In line with this movement of independence of ex-Indonesian of the Digul, the officers spread nationality and the awareness of Indonesia as a nation to all Dutch Indonesian crew man, who were previously did not know anything about the movement of independence of Indonesia.

News of the surrender of Japan was discussed, but Indonesia proclaimed its independence in the 17th of August 1945, in the knowing of some functionary people and some Indonesian people in Australia related to friends in Indonesia in the West Australian. One of the Indonesian monitors in that Broom is RM. Sunarto. The news of Proclamation was concealed by the Dutch, so that this proclamation was just known by Indonesian people in Australia after the end of August 1945, particularly after it was published and propagated through pamphlet by the Political Exile Association (Confederation of people who were deported by the politics of Indonesia, IPEA). That pamphlet was signed by Ahmad Sumadi, the official member of SIBAR in the branch of Makay (Mohammad Bondan, 1971: 1). The pamphlet of the Proclamation independence of Indonesia propagated, for example, to Brisbane, Casino, Sidney, Melbourne, and even to Balikpapan in Kalimantan.

After several times, in September 20, 1945 in Melbourne, it was found by The Committee of Indonesia that was shortened by KIM. This Kim was under the authority of Zakaria, Maskum, Marja, Like, Bambang Shindu. That Event was followed by the formation of Australian Indonesia Association (AIA) which was a

confederation of Australia and Indonesia which consisted of all official members of KIM of Australian people which sympathize with the struggle of Indonesian independence. The Dutch immediately delivered its officers from Brisbane to manage the problem of repatriation (repatriating of Indonesian people to the motherland). KIM applied to the Australia Minister of Immigration in order to be repatriated to be Indonesian people and be sent back to the government of Indonesia. They would be transported with Australian ships and also be guaranteed its safety by the Australian government against the possibility of the arbitrary treatments of the Dutch. If the request was not granted, then Indonesian people lingered in Australia until peaceful situation. The request of this KIM was granted by the Australian government with the first consideration so that Indonesian people separated from the Dutchman.

Meanwhile, in September 1945, Dr. van of Mook gave a speech in the Australian radio. In his oration, he attacked and defamed the leaders and magnifiers of the Republic of Indonesia. He libeled that the Republic of Indonesia was the doll state made by Japan. The magnifiers of Indonesia ought to fall by penalization. Indonesian people who were still in Australia answered to Van's oration by released a statement. This Statement was released by the officers of the film unit of the Indonesian people in Melbourne which contained inveigh oration and also the action of Mook. Furthermore, the statement explained that the Dutch alone delivered the Indonesian people in a state of which over a barrel to Japan. Surprisingly, after Indonesian people disentangled themselves from Japan, the Dutchman also attacked the Indonesia nation. The action of officers of laboring Indonesia in a film unit of Melbourne that put down its position and stood up rear the Republic of Indonesia, which was the proclamation of the 17th of August 1945. This Statement was signed by Maskum and his friends. Almost in the same time, Indonesian people walked out from all the government institutions of Dutch in Melbourne.

On the 1st October 1945, in Melbourne, by taking place in Savoy theatre, a meeting with the public was held. This meeting was an answer to Van Mook's oration. The first speaker was Sudihiat, explaining that the resistance of Indonesian nation to the colonization of Dutch had been done for tens even hundreds of year. The Movement of Independence of Indonesia that had dreamed of Indonesia state which was independent and sovereign had been started since the early of the 20th century. He together with his father was thrown and detached to Digul for the sake of independence of his nation, His father namely Karta Atmojo died in the dismissal of Digul. The Republic of Indonesia was not created by Japan but by the Indonesian people who were tirelessly pouring their efforts to gain independence. The second Speaker was Maskum, explaining Indonesia nationality and the nation. Before colonized, Indonesia had had a national state covering all regions of Nusantara. It was because the colonization that Indonesia was unknown to external world. Nowadays, Indonesian nation had been matured enough to gain independence. The state of the Republic of Indonesia wished to continue to execute

and secure the world peace according to the Atlantic Charter. The third speaker was the mother of Suwanti, inviting young men of Indonesia who still worked for the Dutch to leave, stand up and assist the state of The Republic of Indonesia that had been independent. These orations were then published in the Grandstand newspaper in Australia. Meanwhile, KIM was successful to buy a machine of video in Melbourne so that it could publish handouts and pamphlets according to needs. The pamphlet which was English-speaking was propagated by the Ally nation's ambassador. To the Australian society, the state sympathized and made friends with Indonesia. The target was for the aid of moral. The Indonesian Pamphlets were distributed to the Indonesian people resided in Australian and Merauke. By the aids of all crewman and their assistants, that pamphlets could survive despite the barricade and sabotage by the Dutch.

Thereby, the role of all Digulis was very big in inculcating the spirit of national struggle among the people in Papua. Raddle or Digul, became a kind of diploma to all leaders of the struggle for the liberation of Indonesia in releasing from the foreign colonial. Digul represented the retreat leaders of the national movement of Indonesia resulting in the emerging bond between the area of Papua and other Indonesia islands.

The Emergence of the Organizational Movement of the Supporters of Proclamation 1945-1949

The occupation of Papua by Japan only made the life of the society get worse. In addition to conscripting *romusha* (slavery) outside Papua, Japan also exploit the natives. In Prolific for example, Japan announced that the people were free, but altogether had to assist Japan and they would become Japan's children. "Japan is older than you, Indonesian people are its brothers, and Tenno Heika is the father (Mansoben, 1980:87).

During Japanese occupancy of Papua, practically this area was in the atmosphere of war, so that joints of life in the society with all its aspects did not support that area. The growth of the difficult socio-economic situation at that time was increasing, and it was true, there was no clear report released by Japan especially about the increasing number of the population. The indigenous residents' mobilization for the sake of Japan was the sector life of society. In Holandia (now Jayapura), the indigenous residents lost most the cultivation results of its garden, even concubine chicken and pig were bought by Japan soldier at a very cheap price and by force.

The reactions from the Papua's people were not really, even there was people of Papua labored was equal to Japan soldiers, like Yohan Ariks, Nicolas Youwe and of Markus labored Kaisepo at kempetai, but there was also many performed a resistance to power of Japan under head of Silas Papare (Harsja W. Bachtiar, 1963:7). According to its personal note of activitied of guerrilla fight against power of Japan

have been started since year 1944 covered area of Yapen Waropen, Manokwari until Babo, Teminabuan and of Inanwatan. Action Guerrilla head of Silas this Papare cause military support of Ally which have landed in Papua and succeed to insist on Japan army to forest (Silas Papare, 1956). Because its leadership for the movement of people guerrilla of Papua during occupied of Japan and assist people go out from forest in area of Yapen waropen, Manokwari and is Prolific, hence Dutch queen of Wilhelmina present bronze star (kruis bronzen) While Mayjen C.A Willoughby on behalf of American army present appreciation charter.

The other young man from Papua, Marthen Indey also did a guerrilla war to Japan soldiers. Particularly, he got a parachute jump practice in Brisbane, Australia. With the ally army, he had conducted a guerrilla to fight against the Japan army, starting from Raddle bay, Wakdel (Prolific Sarmi), the bitter end in Sausapor in July 30, 1944. To obtain funds for this guerrilla he came in contact with Silas Papare, Corinus Krey, and SD. Kawab (Marthen Indey, 1976).

The resistance of other people of Papua was often done in the form of movement of Cargo cults (Harsja W. Bachtiar, 1963:361-362).

The existence of the resistances of goodness in the form of movement and also the guerrilla of Cargo cults showed a start to awake the feeling of nationality among people of Papua. This matter became progressively spread among the people of Papua at the time when hearing the news of the independence proclamation of Indonesia saying that Indonesian had become an independent nation, releasing itself from the power of the colonial.

Papua had been colonized by Japan earlier than other Indonesia regions. The colonization was marked with the last of the arrival of the Ally under the General commandant of Douglas Mc Arthur who broke the defense of the last Japan army in Sausapur (area lead bird of West papua) on, 30 July 1944 (Harsja W. Bachtiar, 1963:361-362, also Mansoben, 1980:82-89).

Because the Ally target was the country of Sakura, hence the management of Papua was later delivered to the side of the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA) that was true since the early Ally hitchhiking. Thereby, before the proclamation of Indonesian independence, Papua had been re-colonized by the Dutch (NICA).

Meanwhile, the arrival of NICA in Papua involved Indonesia people which initially were under evacuation to Australia by PKB. Indonesian people that were "re-evacuated" to Papua among others were Sugoro (former Digulis) and a Papua's young man, Marthen Indey. The return of Sugoro to Jayapura took NICA as the adviser and gave some courses in some parts of the District, where people of Papua gathered in the town of NICA (now Expectation village), Jayapura. Among the people of Papua who became the students at the courses were the sisters of Markus and Frans Kaisiepo, Nicolas Youwe and Lukas Rumkorem. Meanwhile, being ill at home, Marthen Indey was also in village Expectation of NICA. The arrival of Sugoro in the village of Expectation in reality had brought about new nuances, the national feeling of Indonesia. Through discussions by Sugoro and

the people of Papua, secret meetings discussing about the struggle of Indonesian nation were held. That way, the so called village Expectation of NICA in reality held a meeting among combatants of Papua dreaming of the independence of Indonesia could change the town of NICA to become the village of Expectation; it was conducted in 1963, after Papua returned to native country lap (Soedarto, and friends, 1993:36-37).

In fact, the deportation of Papua people by the government of the Dutch colonial to Australia would be used as a tool by the Dutch; however the Dutch in reality could not fully show its willingness to Indonesia people. A group of former Digulis under the leader of A.J Patty established a national party of Indonesia before proclamation. News about the independence proclamation of 17 August 1945 was received by all Indonesian activists in Australia after two or three-days later. This news was greeted happily by them, even in Camp Casino (New South Wales); all soldiers of KNIL ran to walk out and would return to Indonesia. In Brisbane, on 21 September 1945 it was founded the Central Committee Indonesia Independence (Cenkim). This Committee was established to give political support and guide to Indonesia (Martin O'Hare and of Anthony Reid, 1995:12-13). Before the Proclamation, in fact Indonesian people who were already in Brisbane have been merged into an Indonesia organization of Political Exile Association (IPEA).

News on the Proclamation by IPEA and Cenkim propagated an Australian exit through members of Sarikat Sea Transport of Indonesia (Sarpelindo). It was true that overdue Proclamation news was received in Papua; that was through the service member of Sarpelindo who became an Australian crew man and also the Dutch. Therefore, the Proclamation news reached Jayapura and resulted in the formation of the Committee Indonesia Independence (KIM) in Abepura in October 1946. As the chief (First KIM) was Dr. J.A Gerungan, a woman doctor who at that time led a hospital in Abepura-Jayapura. In December 1946, the management of KIM Jayapura changed to become the following:

Chief: Marthen Indey

Vice Chairman: Corinus Krey

Secretary: Petrus Watilebong (Soedharto, 1993:38-39).

KIM represented the first organization which held Indonesian nuances. The establishment of KIM could not be escaped from the influence of Sugoro who had succeeded to trigger the spirit of all Indonesian activists in Papua. It could be said that this matter represented the early movement of the nation of Indonesia in Papua. Even even though in general, the national movement in Indonesia started in the early of the 20th century, in reality, the area of Papua had not yet been touched by Indonesia nationalism. This could be understood because the government of PKB of the new Dutch colonial started to inculcate its colonial administration in Glorious Irian in the 19th century and in the early of the 20th century.

Nationalism in Papua grew after the Governor Sulawesi' arrival at Serui, Dr. G.S.S.J Ratulangie, along with his six staff by NICA on 5 July 1946 (Pondaag,

Page;Yard : 97). Even people of Serui were prohibited by the Dutch to deal with the entourage of Dr. Sam Ratulangi. However, the prohibition was not bothered at all. For the people of Serui, the entourage of Dr. G.S.S.J Ratulangi which by the Dutch called "seven dangerous *oknum*", but people of Serui called them as "gentlemen of independence". The influence of the coming of Dr. G.S.S.J Ratulangi in Serui actually because of his tuition with the entourage on November 29, 1946 in Serui held an organization Independence of Indonesia of Irian (PKII) with the following official member formation: Chief: Silas Papare, Chief II: Alwi Rahman, Secretary I: Ari Kamaena, Secretary II: Andreas Samberi, Bursar: Thung Tjieng Ek added with a number of sections. The target of this party was to fight for independence in the entire Indonesian nation from Sabang until Merauke. The password of PKII land (Papua) was Indonesia land. People of the Glorious Irian were Indonesian by the use of Indonesian language as the unitary language.

The influence of KIM and PKII later was disseminated of all area (Papua), for example, in Manokwari later stood up the Red Movement Turn White (GMP), which was motorized by Petrus Walebong and Samuel D. Kawab. In Shoving, Sangaji Malan also found Pioneers of Independence Organization in 1946. Meanwhile, the branch of KIM in the Prolific Town was then transformed into the Party of Indonesian Independence (PIN) under the head of Lukas Rumkorem. The effect of the activities of PIM in the Prolific Town was that Lukas Rumkorem got arrested by the government of the Dutch and was carried over by Jayapura. The imposed accusation to Lukas Rumkorem was that he instigated people to perform hardness. Still, Prolific Town people were not discouraged with the existence of that arrest. Even a young man named Stevanus Yoseph together with Petro Jandi, Terianus Simbiak, Honokh Rambrar, Petrus Kaiwai and Hermanus Rumere on 19 March 1948 triggered the resistance of Prolific Town people to oppose the government of the Dutch. Even this resistance was only taking place one day, but the Dutch had to deliver reinforcements of Jayapura. This resistance to the Dutch was quite strong that gave the Dutch "therapy shock". The Government of the Dutch brought to justice all the perpetrators, among others a capital punishment was given to Petro Jandi, and a life sentence to Stevanus Yoseph. Meanwhile, in town Shove, besides pioneers of independence organization and the branch of PKII, also stood up an organization of the Association of Young Men of Indonesia (PPI) on the 17th of August 1947 under the leadership of Abraham Koromath. One of the targets of this organization was to look for and increase the degree of Indonesian nationality as a condition to obtain strong and healthy society.

In the area of Fak-Fak that is in Kokas, Indonesian nationalism emerged under the head of King M. Rumagesang Fresh Al-Alam Ugar. On the 1st March of 1948, he commanded that all the Dutch's flags in Kokas be changed into Indonesian flag. This event was the early resistance of the people to the power of the Dutch. The power of the Dutch later aided the troop incoming from Shoving to arrest the King M. Rumagesang. Therefore, in Kaimana, Muhamad Akhmad King of Kaimana found an organization of MBKIB (Independence for Kaimana,

West Irian). In the year of 1946, the people of Kaimana saw that the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence had given expectation. Therefore, through MBKIB, people boycotted the celebration of the Queen the Dutch anniversary every August 31. The effects of this activity led the head of MBKIB, Muhammad Akhmad, to be arrested by the Dutch and he was exiled to Ayamaru for 10 years in 1948. As ready as he will the Digulis but people menace will take to forest so that that governmental plan discomfited.

Even though the organizational movements which grew in Papua in the early of independence were still very simple that represented the seedbed of the spirit of Indonesian nationality. Through organizations like KIM, PKII, GMP, PP and other organizations under the sun, this bird of paradise had grown patriotism seeds. Patriotism seeds which had sprung in chest of all combatants of this independence would manifest in the tendency of gaining independence; getting out of the shackle of the foreign colonists in the nation.

Solving of the Problem of Papua

Whereas Indonesia conducted confrontation to Dutch, Elsworth Bunker, a United States diplomat had raised a suggestion formulated by secret consultation between the Dutch and Indonesia. In that suggestion it was mentioned for example, that Papua during one year entrusted below observation of The United Nations and later would be returned to Indonesia until the opinion of the people of Papua had been decided. Answering to the suggestion, a support to the idea of forming a state of Papua continued to rise.

In Jayapura, February 1962, the member of New Guinea of Raad met and talked about the time for the execution of self-determination. In that conference, Bonay stated that relation between Dutch and Indonesia there ought to be good first.

After that, a support to the idea of forming of the State of Papua was also seen from the telegraph sent by the Front Association of West Papua Independence in Manokwari to the General Secretariat of the United Nation and the Prime Minister of the Dutch, De Quay, in June 1962. In that telegraph, it was mentioned also that West Papua was the Nation inherited the land of Papua. It was an open property of Indonesia as well as non property of the Dutch (De Tifa19 June 1962:5).

In the beginning of July 1962, the members of New Guinea of Raad held a conference again studying about Bunker plan and the current situation of Papua. Hence, the right was determined not to be guaranteed by Indonesia.

In the end of July 1962, the members of New Guinea of Raad hel a conference again where in that conference, Marcus Kaisiepo raised a notion supported by Nicolaas Jouwe, Arfan and of Gosewisch. The contents of the notion are: (1) to guarantee the rights to vote for the Nation of West Papua, hence the governance in Papua had to be fixed by The United Nations; (2) after some years of governance by the UN in West Papua, the vote for the Nation of Papua could be conducted.

August 10, 1962, the Front National of Papua in Jayapura was sent a letter by the Secretary of the UN, the Government of the Dutch, the Government of Indonesia, the Dutch and Indonesian Ambassadors in New York, the representative of West Papua in New York, the Governor of the Dutch in West Papua and the Chief of the New Guinea of Raad. The Contents of the Resolution are; (1) asking for full guarantee by the UN for the rights of self-determination for the Nation of Papua; (2) asking for an order during the switchover of the Governance of Netherland to the UN in West Papua as soon as possible to be performed through self-determination of the Nation of Papua; (3) asking the Government of Indonesia and the Dutch to recognize the Nation of Papua, they are: Nicolaas Jouwe, Nicolaas Tanggahma and of Herman Womsiwor. These people were to join in consultation of the opening between the Dutch and Indonesia; (4) if the consultation met a deadlock, the Nation of Papua requested to the Un to protect the Nation and the land of Papua.

In the early year of 1961, John F. Kennedy became the President of the United States and after having kept Papua he realized that if war between Indonesia and the Dutch broke, the United States would stay in a tight spot where the United States had to stand up in the State Colonist party. Therefore, President Kennedy set a different tune of the United States from passive to neutral below Eisenhower, becoming active mediator under his leadership.

In September 1961, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dutch, Joseph Luns, raised a plan concerning the problem of Papua to the public Ceremony of the UN. Indonesia opposed the plan of Luns that pursued the consideration of that the problem in allowing the release of the area was not to be determined by the people alone, but by the United Nations. Accepting the principle of determining alone would bring serious effect to the existence of the State of Indonesia, multifarious causes of the strength which centered like the difference of the ethnical elements and the language, representing the facts in Indonesia (Hilman Adil, 1993:204).

After Trikora, triggered by President Soekarno on the 19th of December 1961, the United States took a consideration towards the growth and Washington realized that the United States had to take initiative to reach a solution, before a dispute of Papua burst to become a local war. As a consequence, the United States set mind to play a more active role.

August 15, 1962 in the head quarter of the UN in New York "The Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands kingdom concerning Papua" was signed. The agreement was later known as the Approval of New York.

Conclusion

The growth of nationalism in Papua has started since 1945 along with the arrival of NICA. In the early proclamation, nationalism in Papua was already signaling Indonesian nationality.

Since 1949, the Dutch had made efforts to dissociate Indonesian Papua. The identity of Papua had not yet been revealed when the Dutch admitted the sovereignty of Indonesia in 1949.

Various diplomacy politics had been done by Indonesia to include Papua into its nation. Through United States pressure, finally the conflict between Indonesia and the Dutch could be solved in the New York Agreement in August 15, 1962. The agreement between the Dutch and Indonesia over the endless conflict in Papua had slackened nationalism in Papua because among figures of Papua there were pros-cons that finally resulted in Trikora. The seeds of dissatisfaction with the Government of Indonesia then triggered again nationalism in Papua. The events that happened after Trikora showed the tendency of nationalism birth in Papua.

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