

## The Growth Of Indonesian Nationalism Among Papuans After Integration In Merauke (1963-1969)

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### *Abstract*

Research on the growth of awareness of Indonesian nationalism among Papuans after the integration in Merauke 1963-1969 aims to answer several questions as follows: (1) who the actors involved in the growth process awareness of Indonesian Nationalism post-Integration among Papuans in Merauke 1963-1969? and (2) how growth process awareness of Post-Integration Indonesian Nationalism among Papuans in Merauke 1963-1969? Research objectives First, knowing the actors involved in the growth process awareness of Indonesian Nationalism after Integration among Papuans in Biak 1963-1969. Second, knowing the growth process awareness of Indonesian Nationalism after Integration among Papuans in Merauke 1963-1969. To obtain the results, the method used is hermeneutical historical reconstruction and a narrative approach and a heuristic process. The results showed that the actors tasked with cultivating Indonesian nationalism in the 1963-1969 period in Merauke were former Digul prisoners, the TNI, volunteers such as teachers, employees in various government agencies sent from Jakarta. Meanwhile, the process of growing Indonesian nationalism among Papuans in Merauke is through (1) educational pathways in schools, (2) the formation of political parties and social organizations..

Keywords: Merauke, Indonesian Nationalism, Parachutist, Military, Papuan People.

### **Introduction**

Indonesia as a nation-state whose society is very diverse and has a very wide geography has faced formidable challenges in instilling the seeds of Indonesian nationalism since the Proclamation of 17 August 1945. Various efforts have been

made to increase nationalism in Indonesian society, such as placing a hero's photo in almost every classroom in Indonesia. schools, singing songs of struggle and making visits to historical sites. But in reality, the awareness to build a shared awareness as an Indonesian nation is still problematic today. This condition had actually been put forward by Soekarno at the end of the struggle for independence. Soekarno stated that "it is important to note that the idea of Indonesia, with all its diversity.

Thus, Soekarno's statement above indicates that "becoming Indonesia in the context of the Indonesian nation-state, is actually not final" because the process of forming self-identity as an Indonesian is still in progress. However, the statement of the first President of the Republic of Indonesia, Soekarno was not widely understood, especially when Papua was hit by conflict, "the Indonesianness of the Papuan people, for example, is still often questioned." The LIPI team in 2007 still questioned why after 62 years of Indonesia's independence, Indonesian nationalism in Papua has begun to be questioned again? (Soewarsono, ed.: 2007). Meanwhile, according to Thung Julan (in Soewarsono et al, 2013), when talking about nationalism in Papua, we need to be careful because the understanding of "nationalism, in this area can have a different meaning than what we mean.

The above LIPI studies show more clearly that there is actually a fundamental problem regarding the emergence of conflict with the journey of two nationalisms, both Papuan and Indonesian, in Papua. According to Meteray (2011: X), so far, in overcoming the conflict in Papua, the issue of nationalism has tended to be ignored by many parties. In a study on the sowing of two nationalisms: Papua and Indonesia in the Netherlands New Guinea during the Dutch colonial period 1925-1962, Meteray (2011: 285) has described the journey of these two nationalisms. This was also emphasized by Muridan as stated in his preface to the book *Nationalism Fanda Orang Papua* that it was hoped that the Meteray study could be used to see one of the root causes of the conflict in Papua. Disciples too (in Meteray, 2012).

The existence of a relationship between Papua and other parts of Indonesia, as revealed by Prapanca in the *Negara kertagama* book, shows that Papua actually has an important role in Indonesian history. However, when alluding to the presence of Indonesian nationalism in Papua, Papuan experts tend to see that the process of Indonesianness only takes place in the northern part of Papua, namely, Jayapura, Biak and Serui. In research conducted in Jayapura by Meteray and Jamal (2018) on "The Growth of Awareness of Indonesian Nationalism Among Papuans in Jayapura 1945-1949" proved that the initial initiators

of Indonesianness in Jayapura were Soegoro Atmoprasodjo from Java and J. Gerungan a woman from Manado. Furthermore, the results of research by Meteray, Wabiser and Timisela (2018), shows that efforts to foster Indonesian nationalism among Papuans in Jayapura in the 1966-1969 period were played more by non-Papuan, namely government officials such as teachers and employees in other government agencies in order to win PEPERA 1969. Another study conducted by Meteray and Wabiser (2019) on the growth of Indonesian nationalism in Biak shows that the originators of Indonesianness in Biak also come from outside Papua. so that the various efforts made according to the contents of the New York Agreement, namely the Pepera must be won by Indonesia. The results of research on the growth of Indonesian nationalism in Kaimana 1946-1964 by Usmany, Meteray and Parera (2020), show that the actors Indonesianizing Papuans in Kaimana were sons of Kaimana, including King of the Commission Achmad Aitarau, Raja Namatota.

According to Soewarsono et al (2013: vii), the relationship between national movement figures such as Mohamad Hatta and Sutan Syahrir, Chalid Salim and local Papuans shows that there was interaction between political prisoners in Boven Digul and local residents. In another part, Harsja W. Bahctiar also stated that Tanah Merah had become a kind of certificate for the leaders of the struggle for Indonesian liberation from the Dutch government. However, in reality, the echoes of Digulis in Tanah Merah from 1927 to 1943 have not been able to strengthen the Indonesianness of Papuans in Merauke until today.

There have been several studies conducted on nationalism in Papua, especially regarding the Development of Indonesian Nationalism in Merauke 1963-1969. Drooglever (2010:107-108), for example, concluded that until World War II the development of Indonesian nationalism had not touched Papuans and after World War II there had been no Indonesian nationalist movements among Papuans who were anti-Dutch. Another western scholar, Chauvel (2005:1), asserts that Papuan nationalism today is stronger than in 1961. Chauvel's statement shows that Indonesian nationalism of Papuans is weak compared to Papuan nationalism which has strengthened within Papuans until after the 2000 Papuan People's Congress.

Meanwhile, Indonesian scholars who study nationalism in Papua are very limited, including Pigay and Antoh. Pigay emphasized that "Papuans have been fighting against foreigners since the beginning because they were driven by the ideology of Papuan nationalism. This spirit of nationalism has long been instilled by the socialized Dutch government from generation to

generation for more than a quarter of a century. The cultivation of the ideology of Papuan nationalism began in the early 1940s when Van Echoud founded a Civil Service School in Jayapura" (Pigay, 2000: 285). In relation to Indonesian nationalism, Pigay (2000: 372) says that the actions of the central government during political integration since 1963, the implementation of nation building and character building to indoctrinate Indonesian national symbols was very rigid. It is as if the people of Irian are in the middle of a colonial era; treatment is no different from the colonial system.

Antoh's study (2000: 67) acknowledges that there is Indonesian nationalism in Papua, namely Papuan and Indonesian nationalism. However, this study cannot provide a clear understanding of the differences between Papuan and Indonesian nationalism. Antoh tends to equate Papuan nationalism apart from being pro-Indonesian Papuan nationalism as well as pro-Dutch Papuan nationalism, so it is often difficult to understand the difference between the two nationalisms.

Meanwhile, Meteray (2012: 259:267) emphasized that there were fundamental differences regarding the processes and characteristics of Indonesian nationalism from 1945 to 1962. Papuan nationalism underwent a long process since 1925 through formal education with a boarding pattern which was carried out in a planned and coordinated manner until finally a party was formed. politics and the New Guinea Council. In contrast, the process of sowing Indonesian-ness in Papua only started in 1945 in a very short way without going through formal education and careful planning. From 1945 to 1961, the means used were physical struggles such as rebellions and appeals, meetings and the formation of political parties. According to Meteray (2012: 268), Indonesian nationalism that grew in Papua was only in the seeding stage in several areas, such as in Jayapura at the end of 1945, Serui 1946, Biak 1948, and Sorong 1950. Most areas in Papua, both on the coast and inland, have not been touched by Indonesianness. When Indonesian nationalism began to grow, unfortunately it did not get enough space so that the growth of nationalism in Papua experienced differences from one region to another. Meteray (2011: 283) even emphasized that from 1925 to 1962 Papuan nationalism was more dominant than Indonesia.

Another study on the growth of Indonesian nationalism in Papua, especially in Jayapura for the period 1945-1949 by Meteray and Jamal (2018: 42) shows that Soegoro Atmoprasodjo played the role of efforts to Indonesianize Papuans. Soegoro was the first Indonesian who played a major role in influencing Papuans against the Dutch after the

proclamation of August 17, 1945. The other actors were a woman from Manado, namely J. Gerungan and other main actors from Papua, namely Marthen Indey from Jayapura and Corinus Krey from Biak. This study shows that the various actions against the Dutch government were solely on Soegoro Atmoprasodjo's idea and not on the initiative of educated Papuans. To accelerate and gain sympathy from the Papuan people, the spread of Indonesian nationalism was carried out, even if it was only in the form of appeals, discussions, meetings and the formation of political parties.

Another study conducted by Lumintang and Meteray (2017: 45) on the growth of Indonesian nationalism in Jayapura from 1963 to 1965 shows that the process of growing Indonesian nationalism in Jayapura was dominated by approaches to security, education, and governance according to government policies. While the actors who play a role come from the military/security and officers in the world of education. Then, another study on the growth of post-integration Indonesian nationalism in Jayapura 1966-1969 was conducted by Meteray, Wabiser, and Timisela (2018: 38). The results of this study prove that efforts to win the Pepera in 1969 led to various preparations being made by the Central government in Jakarta so that Indonesia could win the Pepera that took place in Papua. So, efforts to foster Indonesian nationalism during the 1966-1969 period in Jayapura were carried out in a planned and well-prepared manner through educational institutions in formal and non-formal education, which included schools, meetings and appeals. Meanwhile, the actors involved in fostering Indonesian nationalism are the military and officers in the education sector.

When referring to the studies of Lumintang and Meteray (2017), Meteray and Jamal (2018), Meteray, and Wabiser (2018), Kuruwaib (1989) and Patiara and Renwarin et al (1983/1994 as well as the records of the West Irian Pioneer Large Family Contact Agency Foundation (1995) shows that the military approach together with the Trikora troops took place in Papua from 1962 to 1969 and was applied in all areas in Papua regardless of whether the people understood Indonesia or not, it is very interesting to study. Therefore, this research is expected to complement the study -previous studies so that a deconstruction of the history of Papua can be carried out, especially regarding the awareness of Indonesianness in Papua from 1963-1969.

### **Methodology**

Research that focuses on the period 1963-1969 is centered on Merauke as one of the southern regions which later understood Indonesianness after Jayapura, Serui and Biak. To find out the growth of Indonesian nationalism in Merauke, a narrative

approach is used. The narrative approach, according to Lemon, is an approach that describes what happened and is understood as a series. In fact, the narrative is structured in terms of what happens next. In other words, the reports generated are based on something that really happened, not fiction. According to Lemon, there are three things that are important in using a narrative approach, namely: first, this approach gives input about what happened. This approach does not focus on describing objects, circumstances or problems or also not only in the analysis of object circumstances and problems. The narrative is structured based on what happened. Second, the narrative approach does not deal with only one event but relates to more than two other events which are then formulated sequentially. Third, the narrative approach brings together everything that is technically called narrative identity or becomes the target of the story/event. This story is not just a sequence of events but a correct order that can be understood about something that happened out there (Lemon, 2003). Thus, through this narrative approach, we can finally find out the process of the two nationalisms growing in Papua during the period 1925 to 1962. The narrative approach does not deal with only one event but relates to more than two other events which are then formulated sequentially. Third, the narrative approach brings together everything that is technically called narrative identity or becomes the target of the story/event. This story is not just a sequence of events but a correct order that can be understood about something that happened out there (Lemon, 2003). Thus, through this narrative approach, we can finally find out the process of the two nationalisms growing in Papua during the period 1925 to 1962. The narrative approach does not deal with only one event but relates to more than two other events which are then formulated sequentially. Third, the narrative approach brings together everything that is technically called narrative identity or becomes the target of the story/event. This story is not just a sequence of events but a correct order that can be understood about something that happened out there (Lemon, 2003). Thus, through this narrative approach, we can finally find out the process of the two nationalisms growing in Papua during the period 1925 to 1962. The narrative approach brings together everything that is technically called narrative identity or becomes the target of the story/event. This story is not just a sequence of events but a correct order that can be understood about something that happened out there (Lemon, 2003). Thus, through this narrative approach, we can finally find out the process of the two nationalisms growing in Papua during the period 1925 to 1962. The narrative approach brings together everything that is technically called narrative identity or becomes the target of the story/event. This story is not just a sequence of events but a correct order that can be understood

about something that happened out there (Lemon, 2003). Thus, through this narrative approach, we can finally find out the process of the two nationalisms growing in Papua during the period 1925 to 1962. This approach will use the historical method through a heuristic process which is carried out in two ways, namely the use of written sources and interviews which will be conducted involving historical actors who are still alive, including traditional, religious and government leaders, both those who played a role in the period under study and those they know. This interview will be conducted in Merauke.

Historical Method it includes four (4) stages. In the first stage, heuristics are an important part where at this stage the researcher collects sources relevant to the research, both primary and secondary sources. This stage is a very important initial work as a researcher to collect the best data to solve problems by using primary sources. Primary sources are the best source of evidence. This is because data on past events were obtained from eyewitnesses or earwitnesses. Eyewitnesses can come from ordinary people, the government or other parties that are not directly related to the incident. So that at this stage the researcher made use of various reports from the Indonesian government which contained libraries in Jayapura and Merauke.

Second stage is criticism, where researchers investigate whether the data is good according to its form and content and whether these sources can be trusted or not. This stage is also very important because historical researchers must have the ability to detect the truth of a document so that both internal and external criticism is needed. no. For example, who created the document? When and where the document was made and the purpose of the document was made. So that researchers in obtaining data use various sources to compare so that they can assist in conducting external criticism. Then after obtaining the data and being criticized externally, the researcher will assess whether the existing document or source is suitable for use or not. Meanwhile, to do internal criticism is to check the meaning and appropriateness of a document. There are a number of things that researchers must do, namely: include understanding the words and validity of what is done by the author including the author's statement. Another thing is to pay attention to factors such as the ability, honesty, circumstances and prejudices of the writer.

Third phase is interpretation obtained from facts. In this stage the data that has been criticized is interpreted as it is in order to give the reader an idea of the results being studied. In this third stage, the researchers conducted an analysis which of course considered various aspects of human life and the geographical conditions of historical actors. The interpretation made by the

researcher is what determines the actual situation that occurred in the period under study so that it can be understood properly. Fourth stage is synthesis namely the last activity where the researcher will convey the synthesis obtained in the form of historical writing. Even this stage is not an easy job because the interpretation carried out by the researcher will be understood by the reader depending on the results of the writing. Wrong interpretations can formulate wrong writing so that this stage will show the usefulness and benefits of a research, especially historical research.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **1. Seeding Indonesian Nationalism in Digul, Tanah Merah**

Digul got a special place in the Indonesian national movement when the Digul area was chosen by the Dutch colonial government under Governor General ACD de Graeff as a place of exile for people who were considered to be endangering the position of the Dutch colonialists.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, political awareness among the Indonesian people has expanded. In various places where there have been increasing numbers of years, political units have formed which have participated in the movement against foreign colonialism. They have fought for independence so that they can determine Indonesia's development according to the aspirations of its people. They are trying to free themselves from the oppression of foreign invaders. In Jakarta, in the sessions of the People's Council (Volksraad), Indonesian leaders raised criticisms of the attitudes of the colonial government and demanded wider rights for the people than the Dutch recognized. In various congresses, meetings, gatherings, magazines, newspapers and distribution letters, you can see the vibrations of the soul of this struggle for independence, the vibrations of the soul which are getting stronger and stronger, getting firmer and firmer.

In 1926 a rebellion broke out against the Dutch colonial power: first in Jakarta, then spreading to a number of other areas in Java and then also spreading to West Sumatra. This great uprising led by the Indonesian Communist Party was put down by the tools of the Dutch colonial government. The condition of the Indonesian people at the time the rebellion broke out did not yet allow an uprising to be successful, so not all the people took part in it. The leaders of the uprising were caught and sentenced to death or imprisonment.

Even though the people involved in the 1926 and 1927 uprisings are people who can be prosecuted under the laws that are considered to be valid. been hanged or imprisoned, the Dutch colonial government did not feel safe. To prevent new uprisings



from arising, Governor General de Graeff ordered the massive exile of those who were considered to be endangering the position of the Dutch colonizers in the Indonesian archipelago. A total of 1,038 people were arrested and placed in exile. They were not tried beforehand because they had not committed acts that were contrary to the law. They were exiled because they were considered a danger to the Dutch colonialists.

The opening of Boven Digul with its capital Tanah Merah is intended for (Purnama Suwardi, 2003:69):

1. Hiding and isolating the fighters so that they no longer voice their ideas of resistance
2. Keep the influence of the fighters against the people away
3. Breaking the political contacts of the fighters, both domestic and foreign political contacts
4. Breaking the spirit of resistance to the Dutch colonialism through total isolation which undermined the morale of the fighters.

The first group was people who were involved in the PKI rebellion in Banten 1926/1927. Of the Indonesian fighters who were exiled, 823 people were sent to Tanah Merah, a place in the interior of West Irian which was very isolated. Tanah Merah is located approximately 500 km from the south coast area on the headwaters of the Digul river. Traveling by motor boat from the mouth of the Digul river to Tanah Merah takes 3 days. Along the way, you will only find dense and gloomy jungle trees, inundated with swamp water where malaria mosquitoes live. Here and there are the huts of the indigenous people known as Orang Kaya-Kaya. The native people in the Digul area during the Tanah Merah period used as a place of exile, still carrying out headhunting attacks to obtain human heads which are considered to contain supernatural powers. Before the boat carrying the first group of exiles arrived at the Tanah Merah jungle area, the ground surface of an area with steep slopes, approximately above the river water level, was cleared of densely growing trees by 100 soldiers and 600 prisoners so that there was an empty land  $\frac{1}{3}$  km wide. and  $\frac{1}{2}$  km long. According to the plan, the land to be provided will cover an area of 1 km<sup>2</sup>. The prepared area was surrounded by barbed wire. The living quarters of the "outcasts" were separated by a ravine from the place where the military units were assigned as guards. For the "outcasts" 5 wards made of wood were provided.

Because those who were exiled were not considered ordinary prisoners, they were allowed to bring their wives and children. There were a total of 473 family members living in Tanah Merah. The exile of the freedom fighters by the Dutch colonial

government resulted in protests from various parties. The actions of the Dutch colonial government considered not based on the law and not in accordance with humanity.

But on the other hand, for political figures who were exiled to Digul, the period of exile can be said to be a period of contemplation and floating in terms of learning and self-enlightenment towards a sharper and braver struggle, in the future. Many of them have actually grown smarter and enlightened through peer-to-peer learning in Boven Digul. The political and language courses that they carry out increasingly equip them with knowledge about the importance of independence (Purnama Sueardi, 2003:83).

In recounting his experience when he arrived at Tanah Merah in 1935, Mohamad Bondan stated that: among us who came that day, only Bung Hatta had been provided with a house. Bung Hatta occupied a former Chinese shop house. The house was not too far from the village headman's house, so a village head standing in front of his house would be able to monitor anyone who went in and out of Bung Hatta's house. While those who later followed were Sutan Syarir, Suka Sumitro and Mohamad Bondan who stayed at Abdul Hamid Lubis' house (Purnama Sueardi, 2003:83).

According to Bondan, when they arrived at Tanah Merah there were 900 people not including their children and wives. Another activity is holding a friendly football match. Bondan also said that in 1939 there was a former student of Mohamad Jufri and some of his friends who founded Scouts and had the opportunity to raise the white collar but then the teachers were arrested. According to Bondan, this proves that the spirit of nationalism can penetrate the exile area, even though the flag has been flown once (Purnama Sueardi, 2003:83).

While in Digul, Mohamad Hatta was known to be rich in ideas and diligent in writing, giving lessons to fellow exiles on political, philosophical and economic issues. While in Digul, Mohamad Hatta wrote a book "Greek Mind" (Purnama Sueardi, 2003:98).

When Mohamad Bondan arrived in Tanah Merah in early 1943, his first impression was of the existence of a school.

Another experience, when Bondan was moved from Tanah Merah to Watanka, on the banks of the Bian river and planned to escape, explained that in Watanka, there were six barracks adjacent to the river, and most of them had families. It is said that the previous occupants of the barracks told that the association of life in the barracks had taken its toll. An exile from Sumatra was beheaded by a Sumatran too. Whatever the

reason, this was all the result of displacement which is difficult to justify. the results of farming activities in Tanah Merah were told to be left just like that, even though they were almost harvesting their work. Now in Watanka they are forced to start again with their farming business, but the situation is more difficult because this area is in the form of islands surrounded by swamps.

Bodan and some of his friends attempted to escape from Tanah Merah and eventually reached Okabba. According to Bondan, Okaba was previously used as a place for political exiles but was abandoned after Tanah Merah finally became a place for political exiles. In Okaba, the population is Muslim and from Java with their businesses in plantations, sea fishing and making shrimp paste and copra. In an attempt to escape, the next day they arrived in Merauke.

## **2. Papuan Response to Indonesian Nationalists in Digul.**

Before Tanah Merah was made a dumping ground, this area was known as the Sokanggo hamlet. Initially Sokanggo was a place to stop over to get food. Later, this place was used as a strategic and safe place from the pursuit of enemies who often carried out headhunting and wars between tribes. The tribe that occupies Tanah Merah to the south of the Digul river is the Auwyu tribe. This tribe does not like war because the location is close to the Jahrai or Jagai tribes. Most of the people are gatherers. Gardening and fishing (Yonggom, 2016:19-21).

According to Takashi in Apolonia (320, the residents around Tana Merah still practice wooing.

In 1934 when Hatta arrived in Tanah Merah, local residents were already able to use money as compensation for services by lifting 14 crates which were transported from the port to the village a distance of 1 kilometer. In communicating, initially using sign language. And in later plantations, according to Yonggom (2013: 52), the initial communication between local residents and camp residents used sign language and gradually the two groups of people with different cultures and backgrounds understood each other and understood sign language so they began to use words. and short language.

According to Soewarsono et al, (2013: VII), the relationship between national movement figures such as Mohamad Hatta and Sutan Syahrir, Chalid Salim and local Papuans shows that there was interaction between political prisoners in Boven Digul and local residents.

The relationship started when local residents, especially men and then women, visited the camp. The natives had to travel 30-40 kilometers. The contact started when they noticed life in the

camp gradually and then they agreed to work for some of the families of the prisoners.

In another part Bondan recounts his experience regarding the presence of indigenous Papuans: The refugees have walked since landing in Omba through the thicket of the forest only with the escort of several policemen assisted by native Papuans as handlers of goods without being paid anything. Apparently they were obliged to bring their own provisions for eating and drinking and when the work was finished as a reward, the authorities only said "you are now allowed to hunt pigs in the forest".

### **3. The Process of Growth of Indonesian Nationalism in Merauke**

Resistance in Merauke against the Dutch government was carried out secretly. In 1955 UPI (For the liberation of Indonesia) was formed which was driven by former digulis chaired by Benyamin Felubun with the support of AJ Dimara (Patiara and Renwarin et al (1983/1994: 66). Since 1954, JA Dimara was exiled to Digul from Ambon because he was accused of committing an offense of entering Dutch territory in Papua. Dimara occupied the detention room that had been occupied by Hatta (Sukamawati:2000: 102-107).

In several places, UPI branches were later established, including in Okaba, chaired by C. Tamnge and Muting, chaired by Jan Kameubun. Para head UPI members have always been instilled with a sense of Indonesian nationality and are willing and ready to help infiltrators, both Indonesian intelligence and future invading troops. In further developments, in February 1960 UPI changed its name to PSP-45 with General Chairman Benyamin Felubun. The involvement of the Maluku people in this organization was inseparable from the contact experience of several youths who had previously worked at NNGPM (Nederland Nieuw Guinea Petroleum Matschapy) in Sorong.

One of the members of this organization was Jan Kameubun who in his notes (10 April 1983) stated that: in 1954 for the first time he began to become a member of the Organization of the underground movement for the liberation of West Irian under the name of the UPI 1945 organization (Special Work Affairs 1945) under leadership of Sudiro from Java. Sudiro was an NNGPM administrative officer when Jan Kameubun attended NNGPM (technical school) majoring in car mechanics for 3 years in Sorong in October 1953.

In August 1960 PSP-45 in Merauke planned a rebellion against the Dutch colonial government, but before this organization moved, the Dutch had caught wind of PSP-45's plan. Because of this, the Dutch Colonial government immediately made arrests

of PSP-45 members. Around 19 PSP-45 members were arrested and jailed. They included the General Chairperson of PSP-45 himself B. Felubun (sentenced to 6 years), Harry Suwarno (Secretary I, sentenced to 5 years), Karel Labetubun (Secretary II, sentenced to 3 1/2 years), Carolus Tamnge Treasurer, sentenced to 4 year). Board members who received sentences ranging from 3 1/2 years to 6 years were imprisoned in Merauke, then transferred to Digul and finally to Biak prison. Only on October 15, 1962, namely during the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) period, they were released witnessed by the Indonesian Representative in Biak Drs. Nawawi and Dutch representative Van Aght.

In the struggle of a nation, the plans that have been drawn up often fail to be implemented. This can happen because of the intelligence sharpness of the enemy or because of the collaboration between the fighters themselves and the colonialists. Because of different principles or different perceptions of struggle, sometimes fellow fighters have to face each other.

Meanwhile, at the end of 1947, due to differences in understanding with Markus Kaisiepo and Nicolas Youwe, Silas Papare, chairman of the PKII, left Irian for Java to continue his struggle from there. When the dispute over Papua became increasingly heated between Indonesia and the Netherlands, Silas Papare saw the need to establish a fighting body that would assist the Indonesian government's efforts to return Papua to the bosom of Mother Earth. Therefore on October 12, 1949 he founded the Irian Struggle Agency (BPI) domiciled in Bintaran Tengah 9 Yogyakarta. After the government of the Republic of Indonesia returned to Jakarta, BPI then moved along to the capital city of Jakarta. BPI's main obligation is to advance the Papuan people and bring them to the same level as other Indonesians. BPI organizations are not only in the capital city of Jakarta, but also in almost all provincial capitals. This proves how much solidarity and a sense of national unity the Indonesian people have towards the fate of their brothers and sisters in Papua who are still in the grip of the power of the Dutch Colonial government, even the Papuan People's Struggle Congress which was held in Ujung Pandang from 7 - 10 February 1952 was realized. by BPI delegates from all provinces.

In the Merauke area, the guerrillas who were captured by the Dutch were then imprisoned in Digul. Then from this place in July 1962 together with the Papuan fighters they were transferred to Biak, Manokwari and to the island of Undi. Meanwhile the guerrillas who landed in Kuprik were luckier because they did not have to go to Digul. In fact, on October 18, 1962, ex-Digulis Papuan fighters who were members of PSP-45

staged a ambush against the guerrillas who were in Kuprik. In addition, even though the infiltration of the guerrillas had been completed, PSP-45 members were active in distributing the Red and White flags, distributing the text of the Indonesia Raya anthem and teaching the national anthem Indonesia Raya to the youth. Furthermore, in the excitement of welcoming TRIKORA, those who are members of the PSP-45 in Merauke.

From the experience of the infiltration of the guerrillas it appears that there are not only a few patriots, because on the other hand collaborators of course there are also collaborations with enemies due to promises and wrong perceptions of the nation's struggle to realize the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

Long before the independence pioneers were exiled to Tanah Merah, Digul, history has shown that West Irian through the sailors of the Majapahit kingdom had a close and clear relationship with the Majapahit king. So, it is appropriate and at the right time if Papua is fought for its liberation from the clutches of the Dutch government. In Merauke itself, the struggle for liberation actually began after the exile of the pioneers of independence in Tanah Merah was completed in 1943 and the return of several ex-Digul exiles to Merauke from 1944 to 1949. In 1944 Indonesian workers held a strike and don't want to work anymore as laborers on ships. So, the workers who work in Australia including the Digulis are returned to their place of origin.

Thus the Digulis who chose to live in Merauke were returned to Merauke. After the Digulis returned to Merauke, they succeeded in forming a body or organization called "GERAKAN - 45" chaired by Mr. Mohamad Joni and established an organization called the General Misery Helper Association, abbreviated as PPKO.

This organization moved on with several other similar organizations that appeared later. In 1961, Lugiman Mangunroto was rejected from the organization, because he was suspected of siding with the Dutch. Before this organization was formed, in Merauke there were already small associations whose members generally consisted of members of a certain ethnic group and had limited mobility, but all of these organizations had the same goal, namely to try to return Merauke to the Republic of Indonesia. Indonesia. The political activities of these organizations are covered with social activities. For example, the football social organization "Yong Kei" which was founded in 1948 by a kei figure from Southeast Maluku in Merauke.

#### **4. The Presence of Indonesian Paratroopers in Merauke**

On December 1, 1961 a celebration took place in front of the Jayapura New Guinea Council (now DPR) building. At exactly 08.00 the name New Guinea was changed to West Papua and the Papuan flag was raised for the first time alongside the Dutch flag and the Papuan national anthem was also sung.

As a follow-up to the implementation of TRIKORA, the main implementing command was formed by Decree of the President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia/Panglima Besar of the Supreme Command for the Liberation of Papua Number 01/Kpts./1962 dated January 2, 1962. This mandala command is joint in nature and covers the eastern part of Indonesia, namely the Kodam XIII/Merdeka, Kodam XIV/Hasanuddin, Kodam XV/Pattimura, Kodam XVI/Udayana, Kodam V, Kodam VI, Korud II and Korud IV, Mandala Command Headquarters in Makassar (Ujung Pandang). On January 11, 1962, Brigadier General Suharto was appointed as the Commander in Chief.

According to Leirisa (1990, 38), the main strategy of the Mandala Command to seize Papua, which was carried out through the infiltration of troops into Papua and general attacks based on President Soekarno's wishes, was that before 1963 Papua had entered the hands of the Republic of Indonesia. TemporaryDrooglever (2010: 560) states that since the early fifties infiltrators have infiltrated Papua, including in the Etna bay, old oil workers have regularly been found.

In the book (Catur Windu Kemengan Perjuangan Trikora, (1995: 73) it is explained that the Mandala Liberation Command of Papua with all its components in the shortest possible time must gradually occupy certain parts of the Papua region, which will allow the regional government of the Republic of Indonesia to run. Therefore, in order to realize the Trikora campaign, the campaign phases were arranged in three stages, namely: first, the infiltration stage, the second stage, the destruction (exploitation) and the consolidation stage. Details of these stages were drawn up and signed by the Commander of the Mandala Command Major General TNI Suharto on February 6, 1962 at 10.00 (Adirian, 2014: 30).

The stages of infiltration in Papua had actually been carried out on a limited basis since the late 1950s and early 1960s. Leirissa (1992: 26) explained that Lt. A Special Operations Team was formed with three operations plans. Operation A led by Col. Magenda which consisted of RPKAD units and Papuan men was assigned to carry out infiltration into Papua via North Maluku. Meanwhile, Operation B was to train Papuan men. C was carried out by Uyeng Suwargana to approach important groups in the Netherlands so that they would influence the government so that they would change their stance on Papua.

At the Infiltration stage it was planned that by the end of 1962, there would already be 10 core companies of APRI (Indonesian Armed Forces) in the pockets of free areas in Papua. While the Destruction Stage, no later than the beginning of 1963 if the diplomatic struggle wants. The aim was to paralyze the Dutch military power, so that the entire territory of Papua could be returned to Indonesian rule. If the second phase is successful, the consolidation phase is only the completion phase, where the Mandala Command will consolidate all APRI forces throughout West Irian (Adrian, 20-21).

Operation Dragon which was carried out in Merauke was an implementation of PO04 dated 4 June 1962 with the target of Merauke and was deployed on 26 June 1962. Using 3 Hercules aircraft carrying 215 troops consisting of 55 special troops from the RPKAD unit and 160 members of the 530/Berawijaya Battalion under the leadership of Benny Murdani. The target areas were Kuprik village, Yanggandur village, Wasur village and Wendu village.

After the jump, each commander gathers members in a certain place. Troops under the command of Major Benny made a defense base in the Bethlehem field (SP7 transmigration location). To carry out the next operation, the Indonesian troops had to cross the Kumbe and Maro rivers which were guarded by the Dutch. However, thanks to the help of Merauke's native son, Benni Gebze, the operation was able to enter the city of Merauke.

A large number of residents sided with the Indonesian government through organizations that had been formed such as PSP 45 and Gerakan 45 as well as TTT and assistance also came from the Chinese community. The presence of the Indonesian parachutists did not receive any retaliatory attacks, but small-scale gunfights occurred which resulted in casualties for both the paratroopers and the rebels.

### **5. Merauke Integration Period**

The issue of the status of Papua has created a dispute that took a long time between the Indonesian and Dutch governments for approximately 14 years since the Round Table Conference (KMB) was held from 1949 to 1963. One of the causes of the dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands was that both parties put forward conflicting arguments. one another. Another cause was that the views of the Dutch government on Papua were also inconsistent from one period to another. This inconsistency led to a prolonged conflict between the Netherlands and Indonesia.

However, the central government continued to carry out various strategies to win the struggle for Papua, so the



Indonesian government in Jakarta formed the province of West Irian on January 1, 1962 based on Presidential Decree No. covering the "Residentie Nieuw Guinea" area which was previously constructed according to Van Mook's construction. The structure of the New Form of Irian government is under the leadership of a Governor who is native to West Irian and is equipped with a Regional People's Legislative Council and a daily Government Agency. As governor of West Irian New Form is EJ. The provincial capital is Kotabaru (Jayapura) (Catur Windu Kemengan Perjuangan Trikora, (1995: 65).

On May 3, 1963 at 12.30 in Kota Baru (now Jayapura) Papua was officially handed over from UNTEA (*United Nations Temporary Executive Authority*) namely Dr. Djalal Abdoh to the Indonesian government in Irian, namely Sudjarwo Tjondronegoro and witnessed by CV. Narashimhan whose status is representative of the UN Secretary General. With the handover of the administration of the Papua region to the Republic of Indonesia, the Papua region since then has been part of the unitary state, both de jure and de facto, included in the sphere of jurisdiction to determine laws and regulations.

Indeed, May 1, 1963 was not the integration of the sovereignty of the Irian region into Indonesia, but on that date was the day of handing over of government administration from UNTEA to Indonesia. Meanwhile, the handover of sovereignty over this territory would be granted after 1969 by looking at the results of determining the opinion of the people, and even then if the people wanted to participate in integrating with the Republic of Indonesia.

In connection with the administration of government in West Irian, DPRD-GR members were appointed by the President of the Republic of Indonesia in accordance with article 2 of the Presidential Decree 1963/1. Most of the 41 members of the DPRD-GR are former members of the New Guinea Raad. One of the members from Kaimana who became a member of the Nieuw Guinea Raad was Achmad Mohamad Aitarau.

The Indonesian government is also trying to instill new life values that are not yet known to the Papuan people through various approaches. The most important agenda of "winning the people's heart" began to be activated during the transitional period (1963-1969) in Papua to facilitate the implementation of the People's Consultation (Pepera) in 1969 (1969-1969). 2018. Esther, 90).

In line with the ban on political activities in West Irian, the government also regulates the movement of people in and out of West Irian in order to maintain political calm and economic and monetary stability. KOTI stipulates that apart from local

people, everyone who enters West Irian is required to obtain permission from KOTI. Then to facilitate and expedite the administration of West Irian to the Indonesian government in the future, Indonesian officials assisted each department and division as deputy director and deputy resident. Thus, gradually, in March 1963, almost all government positions at UNTEA were in the hands of the Indonesian people (Djopari, 1993: 57). According to UNTEA data for 30 April 1963 the total number of civil servants including the police in West Irian was as follows: 7625 people came from West Irian while 1564 people came from outside West Irian (Djopari: 1993: 58). In line with the various preparations the government continues to make efforts to build the trust of the Papuan people towards implementing the Pepera, one of the efforts is to improve relations between Papua and Jakarta.

In Merauke, on 15 November 1962 the OKE (Security Organization) organization was formed. This organization was formed from the cooperation of TNI members Jon 530 with PSP-45 and TTT. On January 16, 1963 PSP-45 mobilized its members to participate in demonstrations along the Mandala highway asking for the UNTEA to be shortened. This demonstration was led by FX Dumatubun and Marten Indey from Jayapura. Another activity was maintaining security during President Soekarno's arrival in Merauke on May 5, 1963. a women's organization was also formed, namely G/SW45 chaired by Elisabeth Kado from the Marind tribe with 124 women as members.

The presence of these paratroopers also made changes in Merauke, such as Major Benny deploying paratroopers to occupy the army housing at the Merauke Polder. Besides that, there are several important events in Merauke, namely:

1. Consolidating the PSP-45 organization and working together with the TNI. Yon 530 under the leadership of Mayoe Benny Moerdani
2. Riots at the Moppah Airport, when several Jakarta artists such as Rita Sahara and comedians arrived. At that time there was an attack on the Hercules plane by supporters of the RI contra. During the riots, artist Titipuspa fainted and was treated by doctor Ben Mboy. While in the evening a show is held at the Polder TNI complex.

Thus, gradually the arrival of Trikora officers in Merauke, namely volunteers who will work in Merauke.

Based on the descriptions above concerning the role of the exiles in Tanah Merah Digul and the historical process of Papua's integration into Indonesian territory, below we will discuss who the actors played and how the Indonesian process went post-integration 1963-1969.

With reference to the conditions in Merauke after the 1962 New York agreement, where the Indonesian government's efforts to liberate Papua from the Dutch government were carried out by former Digul Tanah Merah prisoners, the military and government officials such as teachers including volunteers in the form of employees in various agencies sent from outside Papua.

Even though Merauke was a Regency City during the Dutch government, efforts to instill Indonesian-ness were not simple. Attempts to introduce Indonesian-ness through the presence of former Digul prisoners who fled from Digul prison to Merauke. The presence of those who are generally of Javanese origin can establish contact with residents of Maluku origin in Merauke.

Maluku people from both Kei and Tanimbar have been involved in efforts to oppose the Dutch government by establishing political organizations. They were influenced after previously working outside Merauke, especially at the NNGPM company in Sorong. Efforts to introduce Indonesianness in Merauke were further strengthened by the presence of TNI parachutists led by Major Benny Murdani.

The process of Indonesianizing the Papuan people, as was done in previous years, was carried out through the world of formal and non-formal education. Based on the description above, the process of Indonesianizing Papuans in Merauke is mostly played by Javanese and Moluccans who work as political party activists as well as government and private employees. Through the formation of political organizations, Indonesian issues are propagated in society, apart from the presence of the military. With the presence of Trikora volunteers in Papua including Merauke at various levels of institutions, it is a means to introduce Indonesia to Merauke.

### **Conclusion**

Various efforts were made by the central government in Papua, including Merauke, for the sake of liberating Papua from the Dutch government and to win the Pepera in 1969:

1. Efforts were made to introduce Indonesian nationalism in Merauke through the presence of former Tawan Digul together with Maluku and Papuan residents in Merauke. The presence of the TNI parachutists and volunteers further emphasized the presence of the NRI in Merauke.
2. Due to the process of Indonesianizing the Papuan people at that time to win the Pepera, in addition to the educational aspect, it continued to be encouraged and through the role of political parties and to accelerate it, it was possible to get sympathy and support from the Papuan people.

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