

A history of flight, repatriation and resettlement of West Papuans seeking political asylum in Papua New Guinea 1962-2000

An Annotated Bibliography by

Diana Glazebrook

(Last modified August, 2002)

Understanding the meanings that West Papua refugees give to their current exile in Papua New Guinea requires an outline of the recent political history of Indonesian rule in Irian Jaya, and events which led up to flight in the period 1984-85. This essay does not set out to provide new material or an original contribution to the history of West Papuan refugees in Papua New Guinea, rather it is a summary of events based on the published work of other researchers – principally, Beverley Blaskett, Rosemary Preston, Alan Smith, Ron May, Robin Osborne and Franco Zocca.

Indonesia's military actions and policies implemented to secure Irian Jaya as part of the Republic constitutes the material of *memoria passionis*¹ or a collective memory of suffering; impelling West Papuans to flee east into Papua New Guinea since 1962, seeking political asylum. Several monumental events of state need to be mentioned in any history of West Papuan flight into Papua New Guinea.² Three events occurring in the period 1961-1969 can be described as monumental, each leading to government and military policies deemed oppressive; inciting resistance,³ retaliation and flight to attain asylum. The three events are: Indonesian President Sukarno's declaration of TRIKORA (People's Triple Command for the Liberation of West Irian) on December 19, 1961 calling for a total mobilisation to destroy the intended independent West Papuan nation-state; the New York Agreement of August 15, 1962 when the Dutch ceded control of West New Guinea to Indonesia resulting in a UN transitional

1 This phrase is used by Franciscan brother Theo Van den Broek to mention "a complex of experience during the last decades, commonly referred to as the collective 'memoria Passionis' ". The sources of this suffering are listed as the state's development policies of the past thirty-eight years, common occurrence of human rights violations and the behaviour of the Indonesian military (Jayapura Catholic Diocese 2000b).

2 These events are differently contextualised in several political science monographs: Beverley Blaskett's (1989) account of the interstate relation since 1962 between the governments of Papua New Guinea and Indonesia, influenced by the West Papuan resistance movement as a third party; Alan Smith's (1991) account of the Papua New Guinea government's response to the influx of West Papuan refugees in 1984, influenced by the PNG-Indonesia Border Agreement; Terence Markin's (1996) study of the secession of Dutch West Irian to UNTEA status and later, Indonesian rule in 1962-6; John Saltford's (2000b) research into UN involvement in the implementation of the act of self determination in the period 1968-69, and Otto Ondawame's (2000) account of West Papuan nationalist activity as a reaction to Indonesian military rule in Irian Jaya.

West Papuan resistance is usually conflated as OPM (Operasi Papua Merdeka) or the Free Papua Movement, See Ondawame 2000.

authority (UNTEA) present until May 1, 1963 when Indonesia took full control of West Irian, and voting by eight assemblies in the Act of Free Choice (PEPERA) July 14-August 2 1969 resulting in the declaration of West Irian as Indonesia's seventeenth province.

Events of flight since 1962 cannot be isolated from the monumental historical events listed above. Collective flight to attain political asylum in Papua New Guinea occurred throughout the period of TRIKORA, UNTEA and PEPERA (1962-69), and in the following decade in reaction to local military activity. Events of flight in these periods are detailed in Blaskett (1989) and Smith (1991). This essay is concerned with the most recent period of flight occurring between 1984-86 as a background to the establishment of the refugee relocation camp Iowara, located at East Awini in Western Province, Papua New Guinea.

FLIGHT INTO PNG 1962-83

The following lists of events of flight and repatriation between 1963-83 are synthesised from Blaskett's chronology of events on the Indonesian-PNG border.⁴ These events allow the reader to put into historical context, the massive flight which occurred in 1984-85 and also puts into context, Australian and PNG administration and the Indonesian government's response to West Papuans crossing into PNG seeking political asylum.

Flight 1962-69

In August 1962, one week after Dutch accession of control of West New Guinea to Indonesia through the New York Agreement, thousands of permissive residency requests were made by West New Guinea villagers to the Australian administration. In April, over 350 West Irianese arrived at Weam in Papua. From June 1963, West Papuans fled across the border seeking political asylum in a string of camps the length of the border, but mainly on the Jayapura-Vanimo north coast axis and in the Sepik District around Skotiau, Wari and Jafi. In the north Fly at Ningerum, Opka and Ingembit and further south in the Bensbach Census Division around Weam and Morehead (Verrier 1986:34-35). From 1963-69, four thousand official crossings were noted. In October 1968, patrols were sent by Territory of Papua New Guinea to clear squatters in border camps. In this same period, forty Irianese were relocated from Vanimo and Wewak to Manus. 6,000 troops were used in West Irian to suppress uprisings. In April 1969, 111

⁴ This introduction details events of flight by West Papuans into PNG and repatriation back to Irian Jaya in the period 1962 to the present. It draws most substantially from Beverley Blaskett's (1989) chronology of events relating to the Indonesian-Papua New Guinean border. Blaskett's PhD thesis 'Papua New Guinea relations: a new perspective on the border conflict' (1989) analysed the intergovernmental relationship between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea affected by the border activities or the resistance movement or OPM. Attached as an appendix to Blaskett's thesis is a meticulous chronology of events relating to the border from 1945-1988 (pp.256-309).

West Irianese crossed to Yako quarantine camp. In the same month, nine ground force task units were despatched to Irian Barat. In June 1969, the number of refugees in the various holding camps in PNG were: Yako 112; Morehead 280 and Manus 56. In October 1969, the Indonesian government offered amnesty until the end of 1969 for those who had fled into PNG to return to West Irian. Crossings occurring in the preparation period leading to the Act of Free Choice in the period of Operation Awareness Propaganda campaign in 1969 include: January: 51; February 77; March 25; April 196; May 402; June 188; July 140; August 616. In December 1969, 326 refugees from the southern border area accepted the offer of amnesty.

Flight 1970-83

Until 1975, the Australian administration repatriated West Papuans warning them of the consequences of illegal entry if they were unable to give adequate reasons to support an application for permissive residence. Conditions of permissive residency then remain current: settlement away from the border and abstention from political activity (Verrier 1986:43). Aditjondro (n.d) noted that after 1975 the PNG administration “playing carefully around Indonesian as well as Melanesian political sentiments.” West Papuans were detained on the grounds of illegal entry, and tried and sentenced to 2-6 months after which they were granted residential status or deported. May (1986:135) noted that between September 1975 and June 1977, 157 Irianese were granted citizenship. In November 1978 it was reported that the government was imposing a freeze on citizenship to Irianese. Before the processing of permissive residents at Iowara in 1998-9, it was estimated there were 217 West Papuans with PNG citizenship (May 1986:135). Only 500 were granted asylum and of these, 250 were granted PNG citizenship after 1975 (Aditjondro n.d).⁵ According to May (1986:91): “there were strong suggestions in 1972, 1973 and 1974 that the Somare government was taking a much tougher line on Irianese refugees than had the colonial administration before it ... Somare was quoted as saying that acceptance of Irianese refugees with OPM sympathies could affect relations with Indonesia.”⁶ The flow of refugees slowed in the 1970s.

Around May 1977, hundreds Irianese were reported to have crossed into Sandaun (West Sepik) and Western provinces at Suki reportedly associated with intensified conflict between OPM sympathisers and Indonesian military forces in the lead up to Indonesia’s national elections (May 1986:95). In August 1978, 50 Irianese crossed to Yako with at least 30 seeking asylum (Blaskett 1989:273). Two previous camps were established in PNG, one at Yako west of Vanimo

5 Rakova (1988) surveys the socio-economic position and citizenship aspirations of 248 West Papuan refugees living in Lae, Port Moresby, Madang and other towns in 1988. These West Papuans crossed into PNG mainly in the 1960s and 1970s with some also crossing after 1985 (and not settling at Blackwater).

6 On responses to Irianese refugees by PNG House of Assembly before 1975, see May 1986.

which was later relocated to Wabo in Gulf Province (Mongi 1985).⁷ According to Aditjondro (n.d), the first camp was at Wutung which was relocated to Yako 22 miles from Jayapura and in 1978 relocated to Oksapmin in the West Sepik province and later to Wabo (Aditjondro n.d). These camps were closed in June 1981 due to pressure from local landowners and according to Mongi, those seeking asylum were granted permissive residency status, and flown to Port Moresby to be resettled with West Papuans who had taken up PNG citizenship.⁸ In May 1977, 400 Irianese were reported to have crossed the border, 290 at Kwari (north west of Daru) and 200 at Wawol in Western Province. This figure was subsequently adjusted to 218. Later in the same month, about 60 crossed to Bewani, West Sepik (Blaskett 1989:269). In June 1979, 145 West Papuan refugees transferred to Wabo camp from Yako, Oksapmin, Madang and Weam (Blaskett 1989:275). In December 1980, 120 Irianese crossed into Western Province at Morehead taking the figure of refugees at Morehead holding camp to 200 (Blaskett 1989:277). In December 1979, a border agreement signed between PNG and Indonesia included a border administration programme (police communications, quarantine, liaison procedures) and agreement to establish a joint border committee (May 1986:99). Mongi claimed that in 1982, 29 refugees from Yako were repatriated back to the border areas of Wutung and Bewani by the PNG Department of Foreign Affairs.

Repatriation, deportation, permissive residency 1963-1983

In July 1963 about 400 Irianese from Merauke crossed east to Bensbach and were granted permissive residence. On October 31, 1968 it was reported that patrols were sent out by the Territory of PNG to clear squatters from border camps. Later in the year, some 40 Irianese were relocated from away from Vanimo and Wewak on the border to Manus. In October 1969, Indonesian military Commander Sarwo Edhie offered amnesty to those who had fled to PNG if they returned to Irian Jaya before the end of 1969. In December 15, 1969 286 refugees from the southern border area accepted the offer of amnesty and were flown to Merauke, another 40 walked back across the border. (According to Osborne (1985:157), some returnees then established camps on the border which became catalyst for the first illegal crossing of the border by ABRI troops.) In July-August 1972, Eight West Papuans were deported by PNG. In March 1973, Somare answered a question in parliament referring to Irianese by stating that only two Irianese had been granted permissive residency in the previous year and

7 One hundred and forty five refugees were accommodated in the base camp of the (aborted) Purari River Scheme Project at Wabo supported by a UNHCR allocation of US\$10,000. According to Aditjondro (n.d), some PNG ministers called for Wabo's dismantling; demanding that the needs of Papua New Guineans be met before those of West Papuans.

8 Writing in 1985, Mongi listed the problems of this 1981 arrangement: "Some homes which took in refugees were already over-crowded and the addition of new refugees now under permissive residency status meant that families with 9/10 people now had 19 to 21 refugees under one roof. the extra mouths to feed and bodies to shelter impoverished the host families who could not pay public utility bills. Water and electricity supplies were cut by the city authorities. the host families never complained about the extra hardship. food, money, clothes, toiletries, living space, water and bathing facilities had to be shared. Housing remains a chronic problem. Some families have been without adequate water for the last 3 years, without electricity for the last 2 years ..." (Mongi 1985).

no applications had been received in the previous 6 months. In the following month, five West Papuans were sentenced by Vanimo Court to 2-6 months imprisonment for illegal entry. In September-October 1975 it was reported that two Irianese students who had crossed the border were handed back to Indonesian forces by PNG forces and subsequently shot. On February 20, 1976 Somare claimed the PNG government was determined to prosecute and deport Irianese sympathisers of the OPM in PNG. In July 1976, Sir Maori Kiki PNG Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade undertook to investigate the matter of Irianese citizenship by a Citizenship Advisory Committee. On December 14, Kiki announced citizenship to 157 Irianese, advised by this Committee. In December and January 1977 there were rumours that Somare and Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister Malik were collaborating to repatriate 500 Irianese. In March, 160 Irianese were granted citizenship. On May 31, 1977, the National Border Committee met to discuss Irianese refugees and on the following day Somare held a press conference to announce the voluntary repatriation of some 218 Irianese from Suki and Bensbach. Later, UNHCR claimed that the 204 Irianese from Suki did not wish to be repatriated. On June 3, 1977 about 60 Irianese received PNG citizenship. On June 7, 1977 Kiki sought a guarantee that Indonesia would not punish Irianese if repatriated and a week later told Kiki that Indonesia would not tolerate the exploitation of tribal clashes for political purposes. Several days later, Malik stated that Irianese would not be harmed if they had not committed crimes. In October 1977, seven Irianese were repatriated. In September 1977, a PNG-Indonesia Jayapura conference in Jayapura reached agreement on the use of border passes. Two months later PNG Defence Minister Louis Mona told parliament that Irianese crossing into PNG illegally would be jailed and deported. In January 1978, six Irianese young men were sentenced to 6 months jail for illegal entry. On November 12, 1978, PNG Foreign Minister Olewale suspended citizenship applications claiming Irianese were abusing this status. In March 1979, it was reported that UNHCR were seeking refuge for 103 other refugees. On April 9, 1979 Vanimo District Court sentenced 2 Irianese to 4 months jail for illegal entry. In June 4-6 1979, President Soeharto visited PNG and a second border treaty was signed. Second and third rounds of talks took place in Jakarta on July 28, and again in October. Later in the month, 145 refugees were relocated to Wabo camp from Yako, Oksapmin, Madang and Weam. In late November 1979, 18 Irianese youths were deported after it was found they were not genuine refugees. On December 13, 1979 6 Irianese were deported following a fight at Wabo camp. On December 17, 1979, a new border agreement was signed between Indonesia and PNG in Jakarta on the return of border crossers illegally crossing into PNG for economic reasons. On December 21, 1980 PNG Foreign Affairs Secretary Matane announced that 103 Irianese would return to Indonesia as they had crossed only for medical attention and to get food. In the following month he announced that all future border crossers would be repatriated. On January 20, 1981 it was announced that Yako and Wabo camps were to be closed and this occurred on June 1, 1981. In January 27-29 1981, preliminary talks were held in Jakarta on the subject of an extradition treaty between PNG and Indonesia. On February 17, 1981 19 Irianese men were to be sent back from Morehead but escaped; 16 were repatriated and 3 charged with illegal entry. On July 27, 1981 3 Irianese who had lived in PNG for over 10 years were deported because they took part in armed faction fights. On July 29, 1981 PNG PM Chan announced that there would be no more forced repatriations of Irianese. A year later on July 3 10 Irianese were given deportation orders and a fortnight later a Catholic was alleged to have helped them avoid deportation. In early May 1983, 32 Irianese including 2 OPM leaders were jailed in Vanimo for

illegal entry. In July 25-27 1983 at a Second Joint Border Committee meeting in Port Moresby the decision was made to monitor all border crossers by setting up checkpoints and traditional crossers were to be allowed free movement.

FLIGHT INTO PNG 1984-85

Military operations and government policy in Irian Jaya 1983-4

On February 5, 1984 the West Papuan flag was raised on the provincial assembly building in Jayapura resulting in the shooting of at least one West Papuan (Blaskett 1989:283). A general uprising “in part the consequence of a new solidarity within the [resistance] movement” (May 1986: 113) had been planned and in early February 1984, one hundred West Papuans (seventy later surrendered) from the ABRI Battalion 752 deserted, breaking into their Battalion’s arms depot to take weapons and ammunition. This group then launched a series of small scale attacks on Indonesian detachments around Jayapura and sabotage of airports, strategic facilities and communications (Osborne 1985:98-99). These resulted in heavy reprisal and preventative detentions by the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) of those suspected as disloyal. ABRI launched an operation searching houses in Jayapura and Sentani (Osborne 1985:179). Arnold Ap, popular leader of a West Papuan cultural performance movement, was arrested on November 30, 1983 and subsequently killed by Indonesian soldiers on April 26, 1984 (Ruhukail 1985). Indonesian military activity extended from Jayapura, sweeping inland to the south and east to the border (Hewison and Smith 1986:204).⁹ OPM activity in the border region was countered by

⁹ Based on a report by the Catholic Pastoral team at Mindiptana (September 28, 1986), the Jayapura Catholic Secretariat documented the period of mass flight of Muyu people in April-May 1984: April 9: the body of a girl raped by a security officer was found in Waropko; April 11: an army man attacked by 400 OPM-people at Kanggewot; April 12: an army group attacked by OPM-people at Kakuna; April 13: additional army troops flown in from Merauke; April 14: troops moved from Mindiptana to Waropko; clashed with OPM-group; the first villages reported empty (Kanggewot and Upyeteko; people of the Kakuna village followed suit); April 15: three local catholic leaders arrested in Mindiptana, although they hadn’t been involved in anything; Waropko village reported empty; April 16: more arrests; more people leaving; April 16-18: villages Ninati and Timka already empty; troops destroy properties in these villages; April 19: troops clash with OPM; April 25: Sesnukt village reported empty; May 2: Angkamburan village reported empty; people refusing to leave were reported tortured by the OPM; June 10: many people left Mindiptana; OPM prepared an attack on the main centre Mindiptana; more people fled; June, 11: OPM group moves into Mindiptana; some of them were killed (according to a reliable report 3 people were killed); people still living around Mindiptana looked for security in the centre; October: some 20 people from the Kakuna village who had been hiding in the forest came back to Mindiptana; 1985 July 25: Wangkatkibi and Awayanka that had remained populated during the April-June ; troubles were abandoned; August, 4: an OPM group enters the Womsim village in the North Mandobo area: Muyu-people fled the village.

three thousand additional Indonesian troops using Bronco counter-insurgency planes, helicopters and jetfighters (Osborne 1985:100).

According to the International Commission of Jurists, West Papuan refugees interviewed in the border camps in 1986 claimed the issue of acquisition of their land as the major reason for their resistance to Indonesia rule and struggle for independence (ICJ 1986). In 1984, the Indonesian government's transmigration program projected an increase to approximately 138,000 families or 700,000 persons for the *Repelita*¹⁰ IV 1985-1989 period (Manning and Rumbiak 1989:46).¹¹ Note that in 1980 in Irian Jaya, the population census recorded a population of 1,173,000 including 93,000 migrants (Manning and Rumbiak 1989:24). On the basis of 3,000 hectares required for every 500 people, between 1.5 to 3.2 million hectares would need to be alienated without compensation (Hastings 1986:229). Of the thirty-nine proposed sites, twelve were within thirty kilometres of the border (Blaskett 1989:163).¹²

Events of West Papuan flight and repatriation 1984-86

An inventory of events of flight¹³ provides a sense of the steady flight of West Papuans into Papua New Guinea throughout 1984-86. Preston estimated the number of West Papuans living in border camps in West Sepik and Western Provinces in 1986 to be 10,000.¹⁴ Generally, flight of northerners east to Vanimo commenced in February 1984 and ceased mid-year, while Muyu flight commenced in April 1984, but continued until September 1985 by which time the Muyu region - from where people had fled - was reported as deserted (Jayapura Diocese 1998).

On February 10, 1984 about 95 West Papuans fled to Wutung following fighting with Indonesian troops. By the end of February approximately 250 people from Jayapura had crossed into Vanimo, squatting in camps on the outskirts of Vanimo. On March 23, 1984 it was reported that 100 villagers from Woro and Kwana crossed to Vanimo. On March 27-28, another 270 people crossed fleeing fighting. On April 7, 1984 250 people arrived at Kamberatoro. Between mid April and May 1 1984, approximately 2,500 people crossed into Western Province, north of Kiunga following an OPM raid in early April on the

10 Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun or Five Year Development Plan. See Manning and Rumbiak (1989:45-60) for a history of transmigration in Irian Jaya.

11 However, mid way through Repelita IV, less than 3% of the original target had been resettled in Irian Jaya due to cutback in the national budget, and conflicts with indigenous people over matters of compensation, and criticism of the potential demographic social and economic impact (Manning and Rumbiak 1989:48).

12 On discussion of these sites as defense strategies see Blaskett (1989:159-161).

13 Synthesised from the published research of Blaskett (1989), Hewison and Smith (1986), May (1986) and Hastings (1986).

14 Preston (1989) estimated 3,075 in camps in West Sepik (Saudaun) province in the camps Blackwater, Kamberatoro, Amanab, Wassengla, Green River and Yapsiei and 6,838 in the Western Province camps of Kuiu, Niogamban, Dome, Iogi, Kungim, Tarakbits, Timkwe, Atkamba, Komokpin and Telefomin.

Indonesian administrative centre at Waropko. On May 28, 600 people were reported as entering PNG near Wasengla mission. On September 13 about 500 people arrived at Kugol west of Tabubil. On November 27, 650 more people crossed into Sandaun province. By April the figure had increased to 1000 which was reported as increasing to 5,600 by May 11 and 7,400 by the end of that month, 9,000 by the end of June and 11,000 by October 1984. In June 1985 1,500 Min-speaking people arrived from Yapsie west of Telefolmin. In late June 1985, it was reported that another 2000 people had entered PNG. On June 27, five West Papuans from Merauke arrived on Thursday Island from Papua New Guinea. In July 1984, between 300-400 people were reported at border camps in Sandaun province Old Sotiau, Yapsie and Wasengla. In late August 1985, 26 people from Fak Fak were reported to have crossed at Yapsie. In October 1985, three West Papuans arrived on Boigu Island, Torres Strait seeking refugee status and a further 350 people crossed into PNG at Bewani and were moved to Blackwater. In January-February 1986, forty-four people crossed at Kuiu and Ningerum. In February 1986, seven more West Papuans arrived in the Torres Strait. In April 1986, 58 villagers sought refuge at Yapsie near Telefolmin. On August 31, 1986, 446 people arrived at Yapsei seeking refuge including 117 men, 122 women and 207 children. On September 3, 1986 747 people arrived from Kiwirok following an attack on their area by Indonesian soldiers in March.

A second inventory of events and rumours of repatriation¹⁵ provides a mirror to the one previous; revealing the desperately uncertain state of West Papuans seeking political asylum in Papua New Guinea from 1984 until the Government's recognition of them as (*prima facie*) refugees in 1986. During this period, Preston observed: "The situation that prevails is a product of the shift in government attitude to refugee seekers, from refusal to acknowledged responsibility to willingness under international pressure to accede to minimal international requirements ... " (1992:870). The inventory also provides an historical background to the joint UNHCR and PNG government program of repatriation or permissive residency offered in 1996 and processed in 1998-99.¹⁶

A list of incidences of deportation and repatriation from PNG 1984-86 follows:

1984 In February 24, 1984 following the flight of 95 northerners to Vanimo, 80 people were tried for illegal entry. On March 5, 1984 the total number of refugees at Vanimo had reached 283 and all adult males were charged with illegal entry. On March 15, 1984 the Chairman of the Citizenship Advisory Committee suspended PNG citizenship applications from Irianese, calling for stricter criteria in assessing applications. Following a Special border liaison meeting held in Jayapura to discuss the uprising of February, Indonesian newspaper *Antara* reported the planned repatriation of the 300 Irianese who had crossed. In the following month Namaliu announced that an agreement about repatriation had not been reached. On March 21, 1983 73 Irianese were convicted of illegal entry and sentenced to 6 weeks imprisonment, a further 38

15 The inventory is based on data which I have synthesised from Blaskett's 'Chronology of Events relating to the Border' (1989:256-309).

16 Between 1986-1988 official repatriations totalled 197 from West Sepik and 1297 from Western Province (Preston 1989).

were found guilty but no convictions were recorded. Namaliu also announced that OPM rebels and army defectors would be sent to a third country. On March 24, 1984 following 420 crossings for the month, Namaliu announced that none of the most recent 100 crossers would be charged with illegal entry. In Jakarta April 13-17, 1984 Namaliu held discussions with the Indonesian government to talk about border ground and sky incursions and it was resolved that repatriation would be arranged without UNHCR although PNG wanted involvement because Indonesia said this would complicate repatriation. On April 29, Mochtar announced that 1140 Irianese would be repatriated in early May. Following the cancellation of a joint meeting in Vanimo on May 25 about repatriation, PNG suspended repatriation indefinitely. On May 27, 1984 *Antara* reported that Indonesia and PNG had agreed to repatriate 5521 refugees in the 'near future' to be preceded by a 'public relations program' to inform refugees. On June 11, 1984 Mochtar said Indonesian required the names of 60 dissidents – namely, army deserters and OPM sympathisers - before repatriation could begin. On June 20, 1984 *Antara* reported that hundreds of Irianese had voluntarily repatriated. On June 24, 1984 an Australian opposition MP toured the border camps claiming none of the refugees sought repatriation and called on the Australian government to press for UNHCR involvement. On July 23-27, 1984 at a joint border committee meeting in Surabaya a repatriation agreement was drafted and in the following week Matane announced that the PNG Defence Force would escort 9,000 Irianese back to Indonesia in the coming weeks without UNHCR involvement; those active in the OPM were to be given the choice of permissive residency or third country re-settlement to be arranged by UNHCR. In August 1984, a team representing church groups interviewed Irianese in the border camps and found that 'many, if not all' genuinely feared persecution if repatriated. Indonesia provided written assurance of the safety of returnees and Indonesian General Murdani claimed that 2000 Irianese had repatriated. On August 3, 1984 a PNG Department of Foreign Affairs official reported that Indonesian officials were to visit refugees in camps to reassure them of their safety after returning to Indonesia. On August 8, 1984 about 100 UPNG students marched to the Indonesian embassy in Port Moresby demanding UNHCR involvement in repatriations. After the death by starvation of 51 refugees at Komokpin camp, the PNG government denied it had tried to starve refugees back to Irian Jaya. On August 31, 1984 a repatriation agreement between Indonesia and PNG was approved to begin on September 17. A series of reply and counter-reply reported in the press between Namaliu and Indonesia on the safety of returnees to be guaranteed prior to repatriation, ending in Namaliu cancelling the repatriation on September 10. On October 15, 1984 Siagaru Acting Foreign Minister stated that PNG had received guarantees of returnees' safety and repatriation would begin following a joint verification exercise of border camps. At Blackwater camp, the Indonesian delegation was attacked and 9 Irianese were charged with assault. On November 18, 1984 Indonesia postponed repatriation until the verification tour could be completely with security. On December 12, 1984 the Indonesian government agreed to UNHCR monitoring of repatriation. On the day after Namaliu was replaced as Foreign Affairs Minister by Giheno on December 21, about 100 refugees were repatriated from the Blackwater camp without UNHCR or PNG government monitoring.

1985 On March 23, 1985 several outspoken Irianese refugees and their families were re-located from Blackwater to Telefolmin camp [in the highland interior]. On April 13-25, 1984 the Refugee Council of Australia interviewed Irianese at Kamberatoro camp and found that none wanted to be repatriated. In early May

1985 a border liaison meeting was held in Port Moresby and both parties agreed not to involve UNHCR in repatriations. On May 13, 1985 between 36-50 Irianese were repatriated escorted by 10 PNG officials without UNHCR accompaniment. On May 18, 1985 Indonesia denied that any of those Irianese repatriated on December 22, 1984 were killed or arrested and labelled a *Niugini Nius* report as slander. On June 10, 1985 66 Irianese were voluntarily repatriated at night escorted by PNG and UNHCR officials. Between June 1985 and September 1986, approximately 500 refugees from Senggi returned. On August 2, 1985 *Antara* reported that 700 Irianese had repatriated voluntarily because in PNG they were not adequately fed. In late August 1985 Somare indicated that Irianese did not intend staying permanently in PNG but that those requesting permissive residency would be considered. During a joint border committee meeting at Rabaul September 23-26 which called for closer trade relations, Somare reiterated that PNG had no intention of resettling Irianese refugees. PNG Deputy PM Father John Momis' claimed in early October 1985 that all 10,000 refugees could be accommodated in PNG. On October 11, 1985 deportation of 12 Irianese from Vanimo resulted in a riot and the charge and subsequent acquittal of 115 refugees with rioting and damaging government buildings in Vanimo. On October 25, 1985 the PNG cabinet approved what was to become known as the Momis/Bais refugee policy which was to repatriate Irianese who were not refugees; offer resettlement in PNG or in a third country to those determined to be refugees; cease deportation and relocate camps away from the border. On December 18, 1985 the PNG Cabinet rejected a Foreign Affairs submission which sought to resettle some refugees in PNG and decision was postponed again until 1986.

1986 On January 16, 1986 PM Wingti announced approval had been granted to screen refugees with those deemed genuine to be granted permissive residency and moved from the border area prior to resettlement in PNG or a third country, others would be repatriated. On January 21, PNG Cabinet decided to accede to 1951 UN Convention and Protocol (1967) relating to refugees. On February 2, 1986 Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade Vagi, announced that PNG and Indonesia would sign a treaty of friendship. Three days later, Vagi said most Irianese would be sent back as few were expected to be refugees and the rest would be resettled in third countries, not PNG. In February and March 1986 some 300 refugees were repatriated from Blackwater, Kiunga and Kamberatoro and Amanab. On July 19, 1986 129 Irianese from Atkamba camp were repatriated and UNHCR claimed that up to a third of Irianese may repatriate voluntarily. Following the arrival of 747 Irianese from near Kiwirok on September 3, a UNHCR representative travelled to the border to interview the latest arrivals, informing the International Commission of Jurist members that the UNHCR had determined that all border camp dwellers were genuine refugees.

RESETTLEMENT IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The border camps 1984-1987

People established makeshift camps on the Papua New Guinea side of the border near the places where they had crossed. In these camps, people were relatively free to

move in and out, to visit other places, attend gardens outside and travel to market (Preston 1992:859;861). Although there was no police or military presence or fencing, former residents of Blackwater recalled roll calls twice a day. Added to this, people seeking to travel outside of the camp were required to sign a book. Conditions differed from one border camp to another in terms of distance to towns and missions as centres of communication, camp size, relations with landholders, and availability of building materials (Preston 1992:858-859). At Blackwater, houses were well spaced and there was access to local markets and direct mission support. Efforts to establish local government to plan and implement community development 'modelled on village practice in Indonesia' were terminated by the provincial representative of the PNG Department of Foreign Affairs on the grounds that they were 'politically threatening'. Additionally, refugee children at Blackwater were not permitted to attend PNG schools, and parent initiatives to start camp schools were halted (Preston 1992:859). By March 1986 the border camps were reported to compare favourably to Papua New Guinean villages: established gardens providing food staples, newly constructed houses, and additional materials supplied by the Red Cross (Blaskett 1989:239). However, Green River camp also in the West Sepik Province, was an isolated site with severe water problems and poor relations with the government officers from the nearest district headquarters. In Western Province, Kuiu camp was flooded by the Fly river in the wet season and access to the market in Kiunga was difficult.

Rations were provided regularly in all of the border camps following the formal engagement of UNHCR after the PNG government acceded to the Convention. These rations included supplies, principally rice and tinned fish, and medical supplies. These rations were often traded with locals for garden produce. From December 1987, the UNHCR and PNG government stopped food and health assistance to Muyu people remaining in the ten camps on the border. Despite education and health services and rations offered by UNHCR to relocating refugees, an estimated 4,500 Muyu refused to relocate to Iowara. Instead, they remained in border camps on the edge of the Fly and Ok Tedi rivers and were registered in the 1990 PNG Census as 'non-citizen population'.¹⁷ Their refusal to re-locate has been explained in terms of their desire to remain close to the availability of sago on the border and proximity to

17 "When we speak of border camps we mean about 10 villages/settlements with approximately 4,400 inhabitants along the border in Western Province. Some of these settlements are at the rivers Fly and Ok Tedi, others are further north in the bush. the areas where the camps are situated extends about 150 km. The camps along the Fly River can be reached from Kiunga by motor boat within 2 hours and 1 ½ days, the camps along the Ok Tedi by car and by motor boat within 1 ½ hours. The camps in the north can be reached by plane and walking through the bush (4-8 hours walking). Some of the border camps are located in areas that are flooded in the rainy season" (Lutz and Hansen 2000).

their own land. The Catholic Church of Daru-Kiunga continues to provide regular patrols with immunisation and other health services and training of aid post workers.¹⁸

The people who fled in 1984-86¹⁹

West Papuans who fled into PNG have been categorised in terms of occupation: subsistence villagers; educated public servants, students and church workers; army and police deserters and OPM leaders and activists (Mongi 1985). They have also been categorised based on place of origin: those born along the Irian Jaya border and those who were not (Zocca 1995). These categories give no suggestion of overlap or cross-membership. Three quarters of those who had fled had been dependent on subsistence crop production for their livelihood before flight. The remaining twenty-five per cent engaged in non-farming occupations, mainly manufacturing and the service sector, and were clustered in camps which comprised residents who were previously urban and typically more educated ie. from Jayapura or Mindiptana (Preston 1992:853).

Preston's figure of 40% and 30% respectively for non-farming occupations for the Muyu camps of Atkamba and Komokpin, contests the notion that all Muyu who fled were uneducated farmers (1992:853). Of the mainly Muyu refugees from camps in Western Province, five individuals had tertiary education. Eighty-eight percent of those in the manufacturing industry were employed as carpenters or sawmillers. Eighty percent of white collar workers were teachers, agricultural extension officers and clerks (Preston 1992:853). At Blackwater camp at Vanimo, 40% of households were previously engaged in waged work, however thirty percent of its non-farming population previously worked as coastal fishermen (Preston 1992:853). At Blackwater there were 79 students, 25 university students and 54 secondary school students (Preston 1988:64). These urban professionals along with some from

18 Since 1995, four volunteers from the Austrian Service for Development Co-operation (OED) have provided training for trainers in principles of community development and conflict resolution, courses in Pidgin and English and projects to improve basic camp infrastructure. Lutz and Hansen (2000) reported the following relations between refugees in camps and local people in adjacent villages on the border: infrastructure projects at Dome could not be implemented because of tensions with landholders eg. two water tanks had remained disconnected; parts of the local community of Erehta had refused to establish a joint community school with refugees from Niogamban; in the camps of Dome and Yogi, gardening ground is exhausted as refugees have used the same area continuously for 15 years and have no possibility of extending the gardens because of tensions with landowners.

19 This section draws substantially on the research of Rosemary Preston, who worked as a lecturer with the Educational Research Project, University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) at the time of undertaking research sponsored by the Border Crossers' Relocation Unit in the Department of Provincial Affairs and UPNG. Her fieldwork undertaken in most of the camps in West Sepik and Western Province in 1986 culminated in a report titled 'Educational needs of West Irian refugees at the East Awin location site in Papua New Guinea' (1988).

Merauke and Mindiptana, were the most politically articulate of the refugees in the border camps (Preston 1992:852).

Categorising West Papuans in PNG

Every asylum-seeker has to cross a border before being able to request asylum ... Use of the term 'border crosser' was meant to divert attention from ... the request for asylum (UNHCR official quoted in Blaskett 1989:248).

In the 1960s, people moving west-east across the border were classified by the Territory Administration as traditional border crossers and while the term refugee was most often used, few were considered to be political refugees (Blaskett 1989:68-69). Later the term 'genuine refugee' was added to distinguish those who fled fearing persecution (Blaskett 1989:247). West Papuan immigrants were categorised as 'border crossers' and not 'refugees' by PNG government officials to avoid predetermining their status and to encourage repatriation as the most appropriate response (Blaskett 1989:247).²⁰ The Migration Ordinance of 1963 contained no clear provisions on dealing with non-traditional border crossers and was at the Administrator's discretion (Blaskett 1989:69). Both the Australian and then PNG administration determined asylum applications individually; masking the political nature of the west to east flight (Blaskett 1989:231).

A national debate in Papua New Guinea simmered over the status of those who crossed in the period 1984-85. It was argued that those people who had crossed *en masse* in 1984 could not be categorised according to the technical term 'border crosser' as their movement was not temporary in character or for the purposes of traditional activities listed as: "social contacts and ceremonies including marriage, gardening, hunting, collecting and other land usage, fishing and other usage of waters, and customary border trade".²¹ The economic refugee argument came to dominate the thinking of PNG immigration policy-makers (Blaskett 1989:246). Papua New Guinea accepted Indonesia's perspective that the West Papuans were motivated by non-political or economic motives that could be addressed by equalising development on both sides of the border through a border development program, ie. higher

20 The PNG government had objected to resettlement in PNG for three reasons: resettlement sites would become permanent OPM sanctuaries, if located in the border region would invite further groups of crossers, and resettlement costs such as roads and schools in Western Province would be prohibitive (Hastings 1986:226).

21 Article 4 of the 'Basic Agreement between the Government of Papua New Guinea and Government of the Republic of Indonesia on Border Arrangements', Port Moresby, 29 October 1984, cited in Wolfers (1988: 164).

development to the east induced the flow of people into PNG. This 'underdevelopment theory' that dissidence was due to lack of development was promoted by Indonesia and officially accepted by PNG (Blaskett 1989:234-235).

In 1984, the Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) concluded that: "the approximately 11,000 border crossers ... were either refugees under the UN Convention and Protocol, or were clearly in a refugee-like situation within the mandate of the UNHCR" (1986:8).²² Zocca (1995) cited an unofficial claim by the UNHCR's office in Port Moresby written in 1993: "when the PNG Government signed the UN Convention and Protocol, it classified all refugees who crossed en masse between 1984 and the signing, as 'Prima Facie refugees'". It was also reported that the UNHCR claimed them to be refugees on the basis of their mass influx (Blaskett 1989:249).

In July-August 1984, fifty-one people died of starvation at the Komokpin border camp (Blaskett 1989:291). It was estimated that over 2000 refugees were squatting in an area usually providing for 150 people (May 1986:145). Criticism by media (*Post Courier* August 13, 14, 16 1984; *Times of PNG* August 16, 30 1984) and parliamentarians forced the PNG government to accept UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees) intervention.²³ On January 21, 1986 PNG Cabinet agreed to accede to the Geneva Convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees and the Convention entered into force for PNG on October 15, 1986.²⁴ In September 1986, the PNG government and UNHCR signed an agreement where by

22 West Papuans at Blackwater were represented as Irianese 'evolue' ie. of European attitude and education in opposition to those in the south as 'discontented village types' but including skilled and semi-skilled workers and with educated leaders (Hastings 1986:222). Hastings claimed that of the 10,000 who had crossed it was more accurate to describe them as border crossers than refugees which applied only to 400 of the 1000 at Blackwater camp "in danger of life or liberty if they returned to Irian Jaya" (1986:220).

23 Hewitson and Smith (1986:211-217) examine the contention that "deliberate neglect at the highest levels of government amounted to policy" by looking at a chronology of events which led to the deaths. Osborne (1985:184) makes the point that even without accession to the convention, PNG had certain obligations as a member of the UN: "...that in accordance with customary international law, even non-signatories to the UN's refugee charter were expected to adopt the policy of non-refoulement (forcible return) of refugees allowing them sanctuary until a solution could be found ... [and] that as a member of the UN it had endorsed a set of guidelines in 1980 governing refugee repatriation criteria. These included the right of refugee communities to send observers to their homeland to inspect prevailing conditions; and the need for international monitoring."

24 The PNG government when signing these instruments stipulated that: "in accordance with article 42 paragraph 1 of the Convention makes a reservation with respect to the provision contained in articles 17 (1) [wage-earning employment], 21 [Housing], 22 (1) [Public Education], 26 [Freedom of Movement], 31 [Refugees unlawfully in the country of refuge], 32 [Expulsion] and 34 [Naturalisation], of the Convention and does not accept the obligations stipulated in these articles" (UNHCR). According to UNHCR in Port Moresby, signing the UN Convention and protocol classified all refugees who crossed between 1984 and 1986 as "prima facie refugees", that is, refugees in the absence of evidence to the contrary. Australia signed the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol on the status of refugee on behalf of PNG, Norfolk Island and Nauru (Mongi 1985).

the latter would provide funds to resettle Irian Jayans in PNG until the end of the year. The UNHCR would be given responsibility for administering the border camps in consultation with the PNG Department of Provincial Affairs and in consultation with Indonesia (Blaskett 1989:248-249). On September 6, 1986 it was announced that the UNHCR informed the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) that the UNHCR had determined that all border camp dwellers were genuine refugees (Blaskett 1989:305).

In 1984, the Sandaun premier publicly opposed refugee repatriation by establishing a provincial refugee co-ordinating committee, and announcing with the Western Provincial government, support of refugee re-settlement in either province (May 1986:145). In April 1985, the premiers of Fly, Morobe and North Solomons provinces offered to re-settle refugee families temporarily (Blaskett 1989:295). On September 19, 1984 Western Province member Warren Dutton announced that Awin people of Kiunga were willing to accommodate Irianese in the Kiunga area (Blaskett 1989:292).²⁵ On October 25, 1985 Cabinet approved Momis' refugee policy which included the relocation of existing border camps from the border (Blaskett 1989:299). The PNG government's new refugee policy included re-locating West Papuans to East Awin,²⁶ a 100,000 hectare site, approximately 120 km from the border. This strategy accorded UNHCR policy that refugees should be relocated from vulnerable border areas before non-relief development assistance is provided (Preston 1992:860). In March 1986, it was announced that the PNG government had decided to relocate refugees to East Awin, Aitape (east of Vanimo), and Wabo, and to employ 7,000 refugees on a plantation at East Awin (Blaskett 1989:302).²⁷ The East Awin site had been previously planned as a rubber production site, failing due to the absence of marketing infrastructure (Preston 1992:863). The relocation would form part of a proposed integrated development plan for the area of East Awin, Nomad, Lake Murray and Debapare (Preston 1992:861).²⁸ Refugees were encouraged to relocate to take advantage of East Awin's economic potential, increased security and the provision of services (Preston 1992:863).

25 During the 1987 election campaign, a PANGU candidate for the North Fly region accused the national government of attending to the refugee resettlement scheme ahead of development for local landholders (Aditjondro 1987:10).

26 East Awin refers to the PNG census division of the landholding group, the Awin people. Iowara, the name of the former UNHCR camp is located within East Awin territory. The terms East Awin and Iowara are used interchangeably by Papuans to mention what is actually the surveyed re-location site. In this thesis, East Awin is used to mention territory for example in relation to the Muyu region. "Muyu" is the name given by the Dutch administration of Netherlands New Guinea to the population west of the border (Kirsch 1991:1).

27 Burns Philips were also reportedly interested in refugee's as a 'stable' labour force (ICJ:1986).

28 Warren Dutton (parliamentary member for North Fly who also had commercial interests in rubber) advocated refugee status for border crossers from 1984 and made the announcement that villagers in the Kiunga area of Western Province had offered to accommodate refugees on 30,000 ha of their traditional land under consideration for rubber development (May 1986:144, Hastings 1986:226).

Relocation to East Awin

The removal of refugees from borders and residual control of their own affairs to minimally productive territory is not uncommon, just as the quality of service provision, such as education and health, is often below that required to enable full economic and social participation. If strategic relocation, such as this, removes destabilising threats to the host state and society, it ensures the long-term residential and economic insecurity of those moved. In this, the rhetoric of humanitarianism conspires to hide what the realities of precarious government and fragile economies render inevitable (Preston 1992:873).

Relocation from the border camps to the East Awin site – also known as Iowara – would alleviate conflicts with landowners over land use and privileges (rations) enjoyed by refugees, as well as other tensions such as sorcery accusations: “[occurring] more frequently because health problems in the camps are intensified by unsanitary and protein-poor diets” Kirsch (1989: 53). Relocation would deny the OPM access to camps – where they could enjoy asylum – and resources, and would also avoid Indonesian troops crossing the border to pursue OPM guerrillas (Blaskett 1989:231). It was also a strategy to prevent the transfer from Indonesia of communicable animal (eg. pig cysticercosis) and crop diseases not already present in Papua New Guinea (Preston 1992: 861). According to the UNHCR, the primary objective of relocation was to enable the refugees to become self-sufficient (UNHCR 1993). Relocation would require their separation from the local population: “whose sympathy with the West Papuan cause might help restore links in the chains of assistance and communication that would be lost with the move away from the border” (Preston 1992:861).

A UNHCR-sponsored survey soliciting refugee attitudes to resettlement concluded that across all sixteen border camps, sixty-four percent of the refugees indicated willingness to be relocated elsewhere in PNG, thirty percent wished to remain in their border camp location and less than seven percent expressed the wish to repatriated (Gau in Preston 1992:863; see also ICJ 1986:49-51). Refugees from Blackwater appealed to the UNHCR not to be resettled at East Awin. The PNG government considered two other sites for northerner relocation, at Aitape in West Sepik Province (ICJ 1986:16, 38). A proposal to relocate refugees identified as ‘political activists’ at Blackwater to be segregated and relocated to Wabo camp in Gulf Province which housed 150 West Papuan refugees between 1979-1981 was rejected (ICJ 1986:37). Several events had involved Blackwater camp in early 1988: in March, an OPM raid on an Indonesian transmigration camp at Arso (south-west of Vanimo) saw hostages taken and subsequently released, and in April approximately 200 Indonesian soldiers entered West Sepik to raid a camp reported to hold those involved in the Arso raid (Blaskett 1989: 308). Previously, 90 West Papuans had deserted Blackwater camp along with an OPM leader, to resume guerrilla activity around Wutung (Hastings 1986:228). It was surmised that the Indonesian government pressured the PNG government to close Blackwater camp claiming that the refugees

had been involved in the attack, contravening terms relating to security in the International Border Agreement (Preston 1992:865-66).

Relocation to East Awin began in February 1987 with an advance party of some 40 men from Atkamba and sawmillers from Blackwater camp who spent three months preparing temporary shelters. Telefolmin camp was the first to relocate followed by Yogi, Dome, Komokpin, Kuiu, Kungim, Tarakbits and Niogamban (UNHCR 1993). In May 1988, northerners from Blackwater camp at Vanimmo were compelled to relocate to East Awin when the PNG government officially closed their camp. At East Awin they formed three settlements based on their ethnic origin: Blackwater, Wamena and Mamberamo (UNHCR 1993). In 1989, a camp of approximately 200 northerners who had previously shifted away from Blackwater to a camp located on the beach were also evicted and re-located to Iowara. According to a UNHCR briefing document: "refugees who refused to move to East Awin in 1988 were forced by the Government in December 1999 to move to East Awin camp using the new provisions under the amended Migration Act" (UNHCR:1993). In 1992, sixty refugee families from Sota and Erambu, Irian Jaya, living in the border camps of Weam and Suki in the Moorehead District, were relocated to Iowara.

East Awin's social-economy

In 1999, Iowara consisted of seventeen refugee settlements stretched along the Kiunga-Nomad road between km 40-70. These settlements are comprised of people from across West Papua including: north coast (Jayapura, Manokwari, Nabire, Sorong) and islands (Yapen-Serui, Biak-Numfoor), Mamberamo, the Baliem Valley and eastern highlands region towards the border, the Waropko-Mindiptana region in the Middle-Fly border region, and the Morehead border area. The administration centre of the camp is approximately 120 kilometres from the border and 48 kilometres from the Fly River. The population at Iowara is approximately 3,500 or 20 people per square kilometre, compared to less than 10 people per square kilometre in neighbouring areas (Allen 1993). Awin people have claimed the land from the river's edge to Barramundi highway (km 30) while the land above this, encompassing all of the camps at Iowara from Blackwater to Kuiu (km 40-70) is claimed by Pare landholders. The PNG government has paid several instalments to the landowners for the re-location site covering 100,000 hectares with compensation being negotiated between Awin people at Drimdenmasuk on the Fly River to the west, and Pare people at Nomad to the east and Lake Murray to the south-west.

At Iowara, health services are co-ordinated by the Montfort Catholic Mission under a Tripartite agreement with the PNG government and UNHCR. There is a health sub-centre at Camp 10 comprising impatient, outpatient, antenatal, prenatal, and labour wards.²⁹ Additionally there are five aid posts located at Niogamban, Iowara, Yogi, Komokpin and Kuiu. Approximately twenty PNG nationals and

²⁹ Most common illnesses presented include: malaria, anaemia, tuberculosis, pneumonia, tropical ulcers.

refugees are employed in these services. Schools are co-ordinated by the Montfort Catholic Mission with the support of the PNG government and UNHCR. There are five registered community schools (grades one–six), following a PNG curriculum and staffed by approximately 35 teachers, mainly refugees trained in Irian Jaya and 11 refugees who trained at Wewak Teacher’s College, PNG. Elementary classes are conducted in bahasa Indonesia and English and classes include children of PNG employees at Iowara and children of local landholders. In the early 1990s, a technical training facility ‘Diaspora’ provided carpentry and other technical skills to students. This school was subsequently closed and a mainstream secondary school (Grades 9-10) opened, also closing in 2000. Subsidised by UNHCR, in 1999 school fees were set at 10 kina for primary school and 40 kina for high school.

Three quarters of the refugees at Iowara were dependent on subsistence crop production before they left West Papua (Preston 1992: 852). For many, sago constituted a staple food as well as a primary source of roofing material. Many had also been previously dependent on subsistence strategies in their own place include considerable gathering of uncultivated plants and hunting of animal resources which cannot be practiced at Iowara. At Iowara, game was quickly hunted to the point of extinction and hunting beyond the boundary required the permission of the landowner. The relocation site is described as: “lowland tropical (12-150m above sea level) and being virtually uninhabited before the arrival of the refugees, it is covered by lowland rainforest. There is annual rainfall of some 4,600 mm. A thin layer of topsoil overlies a predominantly clay layer some 40-60mm thick making it far relatively infertile soil unable to support more than one agricultural crop before moving to another garden area ...” (UNHCR 1993). Muyu people’s customary practice of shifting cultivation is hindered by the restricted area. Shifting cultivation practices which are sustainable in extensive forest areas with small populations are not sustainable where several thousand people are relocated within a few months to a restricted area.³⁰

Employment contravened the terms of their refugee status: “Government policy on employment of refugees in East Awin is restrictive in the sense that they can only be employed within the boundaries of the proposed purchase area and even then only if suitable PNG citizens cannot be identified” (UNHCR 1993). The UNHCR funded a revolving loan scheme for small business projects including: poultry raising, piggery, river transport, tailoring, bakery, cane and wooden furniture making (UNHCR 1993). Other refugees occasionally sold baked goods in the Kiunga market or transported vegetables (mainly green bananas, sweet potato, taro, cucumber, peanuts). At Kiunga, produce commands a price five times that of Iowara market where there are few

30 For refugees living in some of the border camps in Western Province, their garden area is also restricted and exhausted after 15 years of continuous planting. There is no possibility of extending the gardening area because of conflicts with the landholders (Lutz and Hansen 2000).

buyers.³¹ Other items sold at Kiunga and Tabubil, the OTML mining town, included bilum made from synthetic coloured wool purchased in the Kiunga market; paintings; woollen flower ornaments; coconut broadrib brooms, coconut hair oil, framed religious posters, and jewellery. Refugees also sold tobacco, medicinal oil, *vetzin* (monosodium glutamate powder) and red and white garlic imported from Irian Jaya, probably Mndiptana. Numerous minor disputes occurred in the Kiunga markets when local Awin traders sought to restrict refugees from Iowara and in the border camps from selling produce in the Kiunga market.

Some refugees established small tradestores selling goods such as kerosene, matches, soap, batteries, razor blades, fishing line, lantern wicks and pens as well as foodstuff like rice, oil, tinned fish, salt, sugar and flour. The two main kiosks were both ransacked during a PNG police raid in December 1998. In 1988-1990, oil exploration activities in the East Awin area saw a market for vegetable and baked produce as well as employment opportunities. In 1992, an Australian volunteer agriculturalist facilitated a vegetable marketing project, transporting three tonnes of produce weekly to OTML's canteen in Tabubil. The project was handed over to two refugees in the following year but closed some time after this. Other small businesses that had ceased operation included two furniture projects making wooden beds and pallets for OTML, and a sawmilling business also facilitated by an Australian volunteer forester and sawmiller (UNHCR 1993, Zocca 1995).

Permissive residency

In October 1998, the PNG government finalised application procedures for permissive residency allowing West Papuan refugees rights including free movement, engagement in business activities, employment, enrolment in PNG schools and tertiary institutions and access to health facilities. Conditions include not residing in the border area of Western and Sepik provinces, not engaging in political activity, no voting rights and no rights to membership of political parties.³² The status of

31 However, freight costs of at least 20 kina need to be realised before profit. Trade and mobility generally are obstructed by the condition of the Kiunga-Nomad road, impassable in wet conditions.

32 In October 1998, the PNG government finalised application procedures for permissive residency which had been first mentioned and lobbied by various bodies including the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) since 1984. Permissive residency status was conditional upon the following: "1. Abide by the laws of Papua New Guinea; 2. Not to engage directly or indirectly in any political activity that might affect the good relationship between the Governments of Papua New Guinea and Indonesia; 3. Not to reside in the border areas of West Sepik and Western Provinces except East Awin Camp; 4. Not engage directly or indirectly in OPM activities including holding of military and civil positions in the organization; 5. Not to hold executive positions nor be financial members of any political parties in Papua New Guinea; 6. Not allowed to vote or stand in national, provincial and local government elections in Papua New Guinea until attainment of citizenship; 7. To notify the appropriate authority of any change of address and place of residence in Papua New Guinea; 8. Permissive Residency Permits are subject to renewal annually. Permissive Residents would have similar rights as nationals but not the full rights

permissive residency is subject to annual renewal (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 1998). Between August 31 and September 5, 2000, members of the West Papuan Indigenous Association (WPIA) at Iowara were repatriated to Irian Jaya according the joint offer made by the UNHCR and the PNG government to West Papuan refugees in 1996. Totalling six hundred and thirty-two people, 56 returned to Oksibil, 137 to Kiwirok, 352 to Jayapura and 86 to Wamena. The remaining three thousand refugees at Iowara applied for permissive residency status.

Bibliography

Aditjondro, G.J

- 1981 Indo-Melanesian refugees in the Pacific – the forgotten people. Paper for the conference of the Association of Asian Studies, Suny Oneonta, New York 1981.
- 1987a The Irian Jaya refugee and returnee problem: a state-of-the-art report and options for the future. Unpublished manuscript. 19pp.
- 1987b Irian Jaya refugee and returnee problem. *Impact* 22(9):31-33.
- 1993a *Kasus Arnold Ap, sebuah bukti tumpang-tindih konsepsi HAM*, Liputan diskusi tentang Perkembangan Hak-Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM) di Irian Jaya, diselenggarakan oleh Himpunan Pelajar dan Mahasiswa Irian Jaya (HIPMIJA), Salatiga April 24 1993. Unpublished manuscript.
- 1993b *Bintang Kejora di tengah kegelapan malam: Penggelapan Nasionalisme Orang Irian dalam Historiografi Indonesia*, Makalah untuk Seminar tentang Nasionalisme Indonesia pada dan menjelang Abad XXI, Yayasan Bina Darma, Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, Salatiga June 2-5 1993. Unpublished manuscript.
- 2000 *Cahaya Bintang Kejora: Papua Barat dalam kajian sejarah, budaya, ekonomi, dan hak asasi manusia*. Jakarta: Elsam.

Allen, B.J., Hide, R.L., Bourke, R.M., Akus, W., Fritsch, D., Grau R., Ling, G., Lowes, E.

- 1993 *Agricultural systems of Papua New Guinea Working Paper No. 4 Western Province: text summaries, maps, code lists and village identification*. Department of Human Geography, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra.

Amnesty International

- 1986 Irian Jaya: patterns of arrest and detention. London.

Askin, D.

- 2000 What is the future for these Iowara children. Report to OTML August/September 2000 visit to Iowara.

of citizens of Papua New Guinea. Some of these rights are: 1. Free Movement within Papua New Guinea except to and in border areas; 2. Engagement in business activities including leasing of government land and access to banking facilities; 3. Employment with similar conditions as nationals; 4. Enrolment in PNG schools and tertiary institutions; 5. Access to health services and facilities; 6. Access to PNG courts; 7. Freedom of Worship; 8. Freedom of Marriage; 9. Eligible for Naturalisation after 8 years qualifying period as Permissive Residents; 10. Freedom to return to Indonesia again to take up permanent residency at own expenses” (n.d PNG Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade). See also Joku (1996) for commentary on initial criteria for permissive residency announced by the PNG Government in 1996.

- Australia West Papua Association (AWPA)
 1995 *West Papua Information Kit*. Sydney: Australia West Papua Association
- Bakar, A.
 1984 Irian Jaya: raksasa yang loyo. *Kompas* 11 April 1984.
- Bhakti, I. N
 1984a Perundingan Mochtar-Namaliu: perspepsi PNG tentang Indonesia. *Kompas* May 7, 1984.
 1984b Kasus Siaran Radio Australia: posisi PNG, Australia dan Indonesia. *Kompas* June 6, 1984.
 1984c Masalah perbatasan RI-PNG: kembali ke 'kebijaksanaan senyum' *Kompas* October 13, 1984.
 1985 Prospek hubungan Indonesia-Papua Niugini. *Kompas* January 26, 1985.
- Bell, I., Feith, H., and Hatley, R.
 1986 The West Papuan challenge to Indonesian authority in Irian Jaya: old problems, new possibilities. *Asian Survey* Vol. 26 (5):539-556.
- Blaskett, B.
 1989 *Papua New Guinea-Indonesia relations: a new perspective on the border conflict*. PhD thesis, The Australian National University.
- Budiardo, C. & Soei Liong, L.
 1988 *West Papua: The Obliteration of a People* (third edition). UK: TAPOL.
- Daley, P.
 2000 Australians in PNG guns-for-drugs deals. *The Sydney Morning Herald* September 9, 2000 (Kabar Irian Sep. 10).
- Diocese of Daru-Kiunga
 n.d A Brief history of the Diocese of Daru-Kiunga. Unpublished note.
- Dorney, S.
 1993 *Papua New Guinea: people politics and history since 1975*. Australia: Random House.
- Gau, M.
 1987a *Repatriement volontaire: établissement. Resultats de Deux mois de negotiations avec les refugies de la Western Province*. Port Moresby: UNHCR.
 1987b *Repatriement volontaire: établissement. Resultats d'un mois de negotiations avec les refugies de la West Sepik Province*. Port Moresby: UNHCR.
- Hastings, P.
 1986 Prospects: 'a state of mind'. In R.J May (ed.) *Between Two Nations: The Indonesia-Papua New Guinea border and West Papuan Nationalism*, pp. 218-231. Bathurst: Robert Brown and Associates.
- Hewison, K & A. Smith
 1986 1984: Refugees, 'Holiday Camps' and Deaths'. In R.J May (ed.) *Between Two Nations: The Indonesia-Papua New Guinea border and West Papuan Nationalism*, pp. 200-217. Bathurst: Robert Brown and Associates.
- Hyndman, D.
 1987 How the West (Papua) was won: cysticercosis and Indonesian counter-insurgency in a continuing fourth world war. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 11 (4): 8-13.
- International Commission of Jurists (ICJ)
 1985 *Status of border crossers from Irian Jaya to Papua New Guinea*. Sydney:

Australian Section of International Commission of Jurists.

Jayapura Diocese Secretariat for Justice and Peace.

- 1998 Situational report on returnees from Papua New Guinea to Irian Jaya dealing in particular with returnees to the Waropko-Mindiptanah area, a survey requested by the UNHCR, Jayapura December 1998.
- 2000a *Aspirasi 'Merdeka' masyarakat tanah Papua dan perjuangan demokrasi bangsa Indonesia*. February 2000.
- 2000b Description of Problems in Papua. Presentation by Catholic Church leaders in Papua in a personal meeting with President Abdurrahman Wahid June 29, 2000.

Joku, H.

- 1996 UNHCR happy about new refugee policy. *The Independent* May 10. 1996:3.

Kaisiepo, M.

- 1984a Catatan dari Irian Jaya (1): sesudah integrasi politik. *Kompas* April 6, 1984.
- 1984b Catatan dari Irian Jaya (2): trauma itu begitu menakutkan. *Kompas* April 17, 1984.

Kakakere, I.

- 1994 East Awin refugees demand investigation into deaths. *The PNG Times* May 19: 3.

Kakakere, I & J. Kila

- 1994 Trouble at East Awin. *The PNG Times* May 5: 3.

King, D.

- 1983 Kiunga revisited: 1983 Census of Kiunga. Research paper in Geography No. 8 University of Papua New Guinea. Waigani, PNG: Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research.
- 1988 Border crossers and refugees on the Papua New Guinea-Indonesia border. Paper presented to the International Migration workshop at the 19th Summer Seminar of the Population Institute of the East-West Center, Honolulu. June 1988.

Kirsch, S.

- 1989 The Yonggom, The Refugee Camps Along the Border and the Impact of the Ok Tedi Mine. *Research in Melanesia* 13: 30-61.
- 1991 *The Yonggom of New Guinea: An Ethnography of Sorcery, Ritual and Magic*. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania.
- 1996a Refugees and Representations: Politics, Critical Discourse and Ethnography along the New Guinea Border. In M.Morgan and S. Leggett (eds.) *Mainstream(s) and Margins: Cultural Politics in the 90s*, pp.222-236. Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- 2000 Rumour and other narratives of political violence in West Papua. Under review.
- in press Changing Views of Place and Time along the Ok Tedi. In J. Weiner and A. Rumsey (eds) *From Myth to Minerals: Mining and Indigenous Lifeworlds in Australia and Papua New Guinea*.

Koentjaraningrat

- 1984a Kebijakan pembangunan khusus di Irian Jaya (1): Aneka warna penduduk. *Kompas* May 15, 1984.
- 1984b Kebijakan pembangunan khusus di Irian Jaya (2): tiga tipe penduduk. *Kompas* May 16, 1984.
- 1984c Kebijakan pembangunan khusus di Irian Jaya (3): membangun dari bawah. *Kompas* May 17, 1984.
- 1984d Kebijakan pembangunan khusus di Irian Jaya (4): melibatkan penduduk. *Kompas* May 18, 1984.

- 1984e Kebijakan pembangunan khusus di Irian Jaya (5-habis): orang Irja dan orang Indonesia lain. *Kompas* May 19, 1984.
- Kompas
2000 Repatriasi 680 Warga Irja tidak Bermotif Politik. *Kompas* September 4.
- Lutz S. and H. Heiko
2000 OED Social Programme for refugees in the Western Province, Annual Report. pp. 12.
- Mackie, J.
1986 Does Indonesia have expansionist designs on Papua New Guinea? In R.J May (ed.) *Between Two Nations: The Indonesian-Papua New Guinea border and West Papua Nationalism*, pp. 65-84. Bathurst: Robert Brown and Associates.
- Manning, C. and M. Rumbiak
1989 *Economic development, migrant labour and indigenous welfare in Irian Jaya 1970-84*. The Australian National University National Centre for Development Studies Pacific Research Monograph no. 20.
- Markin, T.
1996 The West New Guinea Dispute. How the Kennedy Administration Resolved that 'Other' South-East Asian Conflict. PhD dissertation. John Hopkins University.
- May, R.J
1986 East of the Border: Irian Jaya and the Border in Papua New Guinea's Domestic and Foreign Politics. In R.J May (ed.) *Between Two Nations: The Indonesian-Papua New Guinea border and West Papua Nationalism*, pp. 85-160. Bathurst: Robert Brown and Associates.
- Meliala, R.K.S
1984 Pembinaan territorial khas Irian Jaya – suatu jawaban strategis. *Kompas* October 22, 1984.
- Merauke Central Committee
1998 *Data sejarah Papua Barat dari tahun 1511 s/d tahun 1998*. Unpublished.
- Mongi, G.
1985 Brief History of the West Irian refugee problem in PNG. Presented at Refugee Council of Australia AGM Sydney November 12, 1985.
- Ondawame, O.
2000a Indonesian state terrorism: the case of West Papua. In S. Dinnen and A. Ley (eds) *Reflections on violence in Melanesia*, pp.277-289. ():Hawkins Press.
2000b Title _ . Unpublished PhD dissertation. Australian National University.
- Osborne, R.
1985 *Indonesia's secret war: the guerilla struggle in Irian Jaya*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
1986 OPM and the Quest for West Papuan Unity. In R.J May (ed.) *Between Two Nations: The Indonesian-Papua New Guinean border and West Papuan Nationalism*, pp. 49-64. Bathurst: Robert Brown and Associates.
- Preston, R.
1988 Educational Needs of West Irian Refugees at the East Awin Location Site in Papua New Guinea, *Research Report No. 59*. PNG: The National Research Institute.
1992 Refugees in Papua New Guinea: Government Responses and Assistance, 1984-1988. *International Migration Review* 26 3 (99): 843-876.

- Pula, A and R. Jackson et. al.
 1984 *Population survey of the Border Census Divisions of Western Province*. Port Moresby: Institute for Applied Social and Economic Research.
- Rakova, U.
 1988 *A study of West Papuan permitted refugees in PNG – 1988*. Survey sponsored by the Catholic Commission for Justice, Peace and Development Secretariat Caritas PNG. pp. 36.
- Ruhukail, C.P
 1985 Kasus pembunuhan Arnold C. Ap dan Eddy Mofu. *Berita tanpa sensor* April. Leiden: Gerakan demi hak-hak azasi manusia dan demokrasi. pp5.
- Rumakiek, R
 1985 The Movement for a Free West Papua. *Arena* No. 70: 105-121.
- Saltford, J.
 2000a United Nations involvement with the act of self determination in West Irian (Indonesian West New Guinea) 1968 to 1969. *Indonesia* 69: 71-86.
 2000b Phd thesis
- Sands, S.
 1991 The Situation of West Papuan Refugees in Papua New Guinea. *Research in Melanesia* 15: 95-120.
- Simopiaref, O.
 1999 Dasar-dasar perjuangan kemerdekaan Papua Barat. Kabar Irian newlist, November.
- Smith, A.
 1991 *Crossing the border: West Papuan refugees and self-determination of peoples*. PhD dissertation. Monash University.
- Solomon, S.
 2000 88 Irianese repatriated to Indonesia. *The National* April 3, 2000:1-2.
- Tugum, E.
 1988 Exodus in Search of Peace. *The Times of Papua New Guinea (Arts Times)* January 28-February 3, 1988: 8. Cited in Webb, M (1993) *Lokal Music Lingua Franca Song and Identity in Papua New Guinea*, pp. 77-78. PNG: The National Research Institute.
- United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)
 1979 *Handbook on procedures and criteria for determining refugee status*. Geneva: UNHCR.
 1993 Additional background information on the [East Awin] project. Briefing document. Canberra.
- Verrier, J
 1986 The origins of the border problem and the border story to 1969. In R.J May (ed.) *Between Two Nations: the Indonesia-Papua New Guinea border and West Papua nationalism*, pp.18-48. Bathurst, Australia: Robert Brown and Associates.
- Walsh, P.
 1994 Reconstructing West Papua: Report on human rights seminar and West Papua consultative forum. Port Moresby, December 1994. Unpublished report.
- West Papuan Observer
 1984 West Papuan Observer 8 (1-2)
 1984 West Papuan Observer 9 (3)

- 1990 West Papuan Observer 10 (4)
- West Papua Update
- 1993 West Papuan Update 16, December 1993
- Zocca, F.
- 1995 The West Papuan Refugees of Kiunga District. *Catalyst* 25 (1): 60-104.