

From Papua Ethnonationalism to Indonesian Nationalism: A Historical Study

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Abstract: This study aims to: identify Papuan ethnonationalism values that can strengthen the spirit of Indonesian nationalism in Papua; describe the process of Papuan ethnonationalism transformation into Indonesian nationalism to strengthen the spirit of Indonesian nationalism in Papua. This study uses qualitative methods with historical approaches. Qualitative research is a research process to understand humanitarian and social problems by creating a comprehensive and complex picture that is presented in words, reporting detailed views obtained from information sources and carried out in a scientific setting. Ethnonationalism is nationalism in the form of solidarity groups or a sense of community based on ethnicity, referring to subjective feelings that separate one particular group from other groups. Because it is in the form of a solidarity group, ethnonationalism is a bond that is so strong and will be difficult to release by a society, which lives in a pluralistic nation's essence. Ethnonationalism is part of nationalism; therefore discussing the issue of ethno-nationalism will not be separated from the concept of nationalism, which is a matter that questions the nation or nationality. In connection with this, then in discussing ethno-nationalism in Papua, researchers used theories and concepts from nationalism experts, such as Smith, Kohn, Anderson, Renan, and Kahin. The result of this study is that the entonationalism of the Papuan people develops from the diversity possessed by Papuans, then ethnonationalism transforms into Papuan nationalism which can strengthen the spirit of Indonesian nationalism in Papua

Keywords: Papuan Ethnonationalism, Indonesian Nationalism, and Historical Studies

INTRRODUCTION

In the plenary meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Indonesian Independence (PCII) on August 18, 1945 it was confirmed that the Republic of Indonesia which was proclaimed on August 17, 1945 inherited the Dutch East Indies territory. The area in question includes Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, and Maluku. At that time Papua was part of Maluku Province.

Papua has a different historical experience from other regions in Indonesia. This difference was marked by the still in power of the Dutch in Papua until 1962, so that Papuans had little contact with people from other parts of Indonesia. In connection with that, of course

when young nationalists from Sumatra (Jong Sumatra), Java (Jong Java), Sulawesi (Jong Celebes), and Ambon (Jong Ambon), and other regions have common aspirations to create an Indonesia independent, Papuans are insulated from this movement. That fact caused the development of Indonesian nationalism in Papua Province to have a different style compared to the development of Indonesian nationalism in other provinces.

Nationalism is an understanding or doctrine to love the nation and state for membership/citizen awareness which potentially together achieve, maintain and devote the identity, integrity, prosperity and strength of their nation. The understanding of nationalism creates and maintains the sovereignty of a country by realizing a concept of shared identity for a group of people. Nationalism for a country like Indonesia is very much needed, because it is this understanding that can maintain the integrity of the nation. A sense of unity and unity can only be realized when the whole community has a strong sense of nationalism. But it is unfortunate, the spirit of nationalism now seems to loosen/fade among the younger generation.

With a high national spirit, concerns about the threat of national integrity will be avoided. Nationalism is the most amazing social discovery in the course of human history, at least the last hundred years. There is no social space on the face of the earth that is free from the influence of this ideology. Without nationalism, the line of human history will be completely different. The end of the cold war and the spread of ideas and culture of globalism (internationalism) in the decade of the 1990s until now, especially with the existence of communication and information technology that developed very rapidly. Nationalism that gave birth to the nation is at the intersection of politics, technology and social transformation.

Nationalism is more a cultural phenomenon than a political phenomenon because nationalism is rooted in ethnicity and culture. Even if nationalism is transformed into a political movement, it is superficial because the national political movements are ultimately based on cultural motivation, especially when there is a cultural identity crisis. In this perspective, the nationalist political movement is a means of regaining ethnic self-esteem as the basic capital of building a country based on cultural similarities. The spirit of nationality will flow a sense of social solidarity, the spirit of willingness to sacrifice and can foster a spirit of patriotism. A sense of social solidarity will strengthen the national spirit of a nation. The spirit of willingness to sacrifice is the willingness to sacrifice for the sake of a great interest or for the sake of the country and the nation has led the Indonesian people to independence. For a nation that wants to advance and achieve its goals, besides having a willing spirit to sacrifice, it must also be supported by a high patriotic spirit.

Indonesia, which has stood for more than 73 years as a nation, is not spared the threat of national disintegration. Especially the weakening of the spirit of nationalism because of the pull of globalism, localism and radicalism. These draws are strengthened because the government has so far failed to realize national ideals, among others, building a just and prosperous society, giving rise to widespread social sentiment and dissatisfaction. The unity and unity of the nation that has been a rhetoric, has not been able to accommodate aspirations fairly. Mastery of sources of prosperity is only in the hands of elite groups who oppress the majority of the nation. Due to the feeling and spirit of nationality that was born from the spirit

of shared destiny to be weak. The ideology of Pancasila which is a unifier of the nation is now decreasing in value and encouraging some people or groups to seek alternative ideologies. Such conditions if not handled consciously and seriously will threaten the continuity of Indonesian nationality.

Although the Indonesian nation has been independent for more than 73 years, the process of national integration is still experiencing ups and downs. Ideally, at such an age, internal consolidation is no longer a crucial problem. Precisely the most important agenda for this nation is to bring people towards prosperity and certainty in all aspects (multidimensional). But what happens is uncertainty in all aspects (multidimensional). As a result, dissatisfaction with the state emerged in various forms of protest and deviant behavior. In extreme conditions, some people in certain regions appear to have a tendency to reconcile local nationalism (regional chauvinism) which can endanger the survival of national identity.

Nationalism in the present will be the basis for a new cycle in the struggle of the Indonesian people in the future or in other words the past and present situation is a conditioning factor for the form of nationalism in the present and the future, so that nationalism with the new face and spirit as well as its new concrete manifestations will become a reference framework for the Indonesian people's struggle and actions in the present and future. Therefore nationalism must always be studied, managed, and systematically educated, familiarized or conditioned through the education system.

This ethnonationalism is the roots or initial formation of Indonesian national consciousness. Or in other words, Indonesian nationalism is formed because the roots of the formation of Indonesian national consciousness were originally formed precisely from ethnonationalism movements in the archipelago. Therefore the emergence of an ethnonationalism movement that is considered to threaten Indonesia's national integration lately, both due to historical background and because of the distorted implementation of decentralization shows that from the beginning Indonesia did not have a strong nationalist understanding.

National integration will succeed if the political elite is able to integrate good relations between elites and the masses. This good relationship includes fair and harmonious political relations, so that political integration and territorial integration can be created. If the elite fails to carry out their roles and functions where the political elite is no longer able to control the social and political resistance movements towards political ideology and territorialism, it will lead to the collapse of the state. If not managed properly, ethnonationalism in the long and medium term is a threat that is very relevant for Indonesian nationality insight. Localism in Indonesia now appears in three forms, namely ethnonationalism which requires total independence from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, ethnonationalism which requires the widest possible autonomy with a different legal system and state administration, ethnonationalism in a decentralized system where political elites want local leadership dominated by local people.

Ethnonationalism is a bond that is so strong and will be difficult to release by a society, which lives in the pluralistic essence of the nation, because naturally, the process of

birth and evolution in new countries will cause tensions in a hard and chronic form closely related to blood relations problems, race, language, regionalism, religion or tradition. Primordial communities like this consider this bond-based unity a natural thing. In fact, the bond is stronger than other broader ties, for example a bond to a modern nation state. This reality is actually the main problem for new countries[1]. This certainly will not be in line with the conception of national ties, which requires a unity of loyalty to the nation state. Indeed, the bond of ethnicity is the main characteristic of the Indonesian Nation, and this can be a benefit, or on the contrary it becomes a big problem if it is not managed wisely[2].

As a symptom, ethnonationalism is now gaining momentum since the implementation of Regional Autonomy, especially in Indonesia. Papua seems to choose ethnonationalism as a strategy to express identity that emphasizes truth claim on the characteristics, identity, and value principles of an area. It seems that the Papuan people are influenced by the concept of the nation put forward by Anderson[3], that the nation is a concept that is blurred, immobile or ideals. Therefore, the Papuan people who feel as a Melanesian group are not included in the Indonesian category. Ethnonationalism can also be understood as a form of loss of loyalty from a particular group of people towards a larger bond, namely the nation and state of Indonesia. If ethnonationalism lasts long enough, it is not impossible that it will lead to regional independence demands.

Indonesia is a pluralistic society because it consists of many tribes, cultures, and languages that are able to form a national identity so that it can attach its citizens to one common interest. This can be seen from the motto of Unity in Diversity listed in the symbol of the state and has depicted the socio-cultural diversity in the Indonesian society. In the midst of the existence of the diversity of Indonesian society, the phenomenon that has occurred lately is the diminishing fundamental norms of the values of shared life and the increasing size of individual attitudes, while the increasingly strong global influence hits the nation which results in increasingly fading national integration and collapse. The issue of inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts that occurred in Indonesia is proof that Indonesian nationalism began to erode.

This situation will continue to occur due to the lack of success of education in instilling values and character in students, especially in instilling values and the spirit of nationalism that strengthens national integration. As stated Purwanto[4] that, to build nationalism as a culture or discourse that is understood by society, certain strategies and communication are needed so that their ideological functions can be formed and maintained sustainably. Therefore, the transformation of ethnonationalism becomes an important instrument in the process of socializing the value of nationalism to the community.

Based on the above explanation, this research was motivated by the increasingly waning spirit of Indonesian nationalism, which resulted in a stronger feeling of ethnicity and ethnonationalism. The emergence of an ethnonationalism movement in Papua was motivated by a strong regionalism of nationalism.

Although there has been a lot of research and writing about nationalism, in reality nationalism values have not been implemented in everyday life. Based on this fact, the

researcher will conduct research with the title "From the Ethnonationalism of Papua to Indonesian Nationalism: A Historical Study".

RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a qualitative method with a historical approach. Qualitative research as a research process to understand humanitarian and societal issues by creating a comprehensive and complex picture presented in words, reporting detailed views obtained from information sources and conducted in a background (setting) scientific. Data sources in this study were obtained from research informants in the form of in-depth interview recordings, and observations and results of literature study.

In this study researchers used three data collection techniques, namely in-depth interviews (with guidelines), observation, and literature study. Interview with guidelines is a technique of gathering information from members of the community studied on a particular problem with free questioning techniques, but based on a guideline that aims to obtain specific information rather than to obtain a response or opinion about a problem. In this study to obtain data validity is done by triangulation, which is data validity checking techniques that utilize something other than that data for checking purposes or as a comparison on that data. In fulfilling the validity of the data this research was triangulated with the source. Triangulation with the sources carried out in this study was comparing the results of the interviews with the contents of the documents/related sources.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Papua at a Glance

Historically, written information about the West Irian Islands (now Papua and West Papua Provinces) was obtained from the Srivijaya state in the 8th century. The source from Sriwijaya stated that when the kingdom was brought by the government of Maharaja Sri Indrawarman, there had been several envoys to China, namely in 716, and 724 T.M. Envoys from the Srivijaya kingdom gave gifts to the Chinese empire. Among the prizes given were a girl and various kinds of bird of paradise from "Seng-k'i"[5]. Krom[6], who interpreted the news, alleged that the name "Seng-k'i" was the same as "Zenggi" or "Jangge" in Javanese. "Zenggi" or "Jangge" is a term for negritos in the Indonesian Archipelago at that time. On this basis Krom suspected that the bird of paradise gifted by the Srivijaya kingdom was from Irian Island, which among the inhabitants was indeed a Negrito race[6].

Other written information about Irian Island comes from the record of a Chinese traveler named Chou Yu Kua in the 13th century. The Chinese traveler's record contains news about an area called "Tung-ki", which is located in the east and is part of the Kadiri kingdom. In this case Krom suspects that this area called "Tung-ki" is the same as "Jangge"[6].

In addition to the two statements written above, there are other written statements, namely as stated in the Nagarakertagama book composed by the Prapanca poet. In the 14th verse of the Nagarakertagama book, it includes the names of places on Irian Island such as "Wwanin", "Sran", and "Wandan". According to experts "Wwanin", is another name for the area "Onin" (an area adjacent to Fak-Fak), "Sran" is another name for "Kowiai" (the name of a place that is close to Kaimana), while "Wandan" is also the name of a place in Irian Island[5]. Further information was also reinforced by Teguh[7], that the Majapahit region at that time included Wanin (Onin Peninsula, Fakfak Regency).

Written information given later by Europeans is considered far more relevant. In 1512-1522 Magelhaens traveled around the world. During the tour, an Italian wanderer named Antonio Pigafetta participated in the voyage which made many notes which included the existence of a pagan king (Pagan King) in Papua[8]. Then in 1526-1515 Portuguese sailors named Don Jorge de Meneses sailed from the Malay Peninsula to the spice-producing islands (Maluku). During the voyage he accidentally discovered the island of Waigeo on the northern coast of Irian Island, and met the inhabitants of the island. The people who inhabit the island are called "Papuan"[9]. The Europeans who later gave the name for Irian Island with New Guinea were Alvaro de Saavedra, a leader of the Spanjol fleet sent by his governor to Maluku. On his voyage from Maluku back to Peru in 1528-1529, he landed in many places on the north coast of Irian Island. The north coast of the island is called "Isla de Oro", which means "Island of Gold". The news about the island of gold which then encouraged Europeans to compete to control the island of Irian.

More important European visits took place on June 20, 1545 by Inigo Ortiz de Retes. He sailed along the North Coast of Irian Island by ship "San Juan" from Tidore to Mexico. On the north coast of the island he landed at the mouth of the river "Amberno" (Mamberamo) to collect water and firewood. Without any interference, Ortiz de Retes held a small ceremony and declared the island which he occupied as the property of King Spanjol. Ortiz de Retes was also the first to name the island with the name "Nueva Guinea" which in Latin was made "Nova Guinea"[10].

Giving the name "Nueva Guinea" (New Guinea) as opposed to Guinea, which is already known on the West Coast of Africa, because in its favor the population on the island was similar to the "Negers" of Guinea[11]. This is where the Dutch named this area NieuwGuinee or Nieuw Guinea, but since 1946, when the Indonesian nation was persistently facing and completing its physical revolution this area was better known as "Irian" which in the hearts of its people this name could be summed up as "inheritance land"[12]. The name Irian appeared formally at the Malino Conference in Makassar on July 15-22, 1946. In the conference came the opinion that the word "Papoea" which connotes the demeaning of Dutch New Guinea natives was changed to "Iryan" at the suggestion of Frans Kaisepo. However, this name became Irian which was used by the RI leadership at that time as a political spell so that the Dutch colonial government banned its use. In addition, the Dutch colonial government banned the use of the Irian name because the name was set to "Join the Republic of Indonesia,"[13].

The naming was then responded by the community with a political anecdote as a symbol of resistance and dislike of the Papuan people towards the Dutch government. The attitude of the Papuan people, by Antoh[14] is a form of Papuan nationalism, parallel and congruent with the Indonesian nationalism's struggle against Dutch colonialism. Furthermore Antoh[14] states that the proposed change of name from West New Guinea to Irian and rejects the term "Papau" is based on sincere intentions to improve the nation's dignity which is now called Papua.

2. Pluralism in Papua and Development of Ethnonationalism

Papua is an area with a very diverse population. Pluralism can be seen from various aspects, such as language, ethnicity, typology of population distribution, livelihoods, social and political structures, and so on. The diversity and heterogeneity of Papua can be a priceless potential if they are managed well and harmoniously. But otherwise Papuan plurality and heterogeneity can be a source of potential problems if they are not managed properly and harmoniously.

Mansoben[15] states that the diversity and diversity of the Papuan population is usually manifested in various aspects of culture, namely in aspects of language, social structure, livelihood systems, political systems and the main ideas used to participate in natural life universe that he lives in. In terms of language, for example, the Papuan population is very diverse, as stated by Mansoben[15] that based on the language used, in general the Papuan population can be divided into two major groups, namely Austronesian (Melanesian) and Non-Austronesian (Irian or Papua). Both languages are the main languages in which there are local Papuan languages.

The diversity of the Papuan population can also be seen from its social structure, which is based on the kinship system it adheres to, the Papuans can be divided into at least four groups. In addition, the nature of pluralism can also be seen from the principles of customary land rights which are regulated by clans and nuclear families. Including the first category, for example Dani, Biak, Auwyu, Yawa, and Waropen people. Meanwhile, the second category is for example Me[15]. In the aspect of system and local political structure, Papuans are also very diverse, both in form, nature and pattern. According to Mansoben[15] that in Papua there are at least four systems or types of politics, namely the big man or authoritative man system, the royal system, the ondoafi system, and mixed systems.

Meanwhile the development of Papuan ethno-nationalism began with a proclamation read by the Dutch government commissioner van Delden on August 24, 1828, that in the name and for the King of the Netherlands, Prince Oranje Nassau, Great Hertog Luxembourg, and other parts of the island of Irian and inland areas begin on the 141° meridian east of Greenwich on the South Coast and from that place to the West, Southwest, and North to the Goede Hoop Peninsula on the north coast belonging to the Netherlands. Since that time the areas on Irian Island were considered by the Dutch colonial government as part of Dutch colonies in the Archipelago[16]. The proclamation was often noted as the initial activity of the form of colonialism in Papua, although the Dutch Colonial Government really paid attention

to Papua in 1898, in which to prove its seriousness towards Papua the Dutch parliament authorized expenditure budget of f 115,000, - to "establish a government in the area part of the Netherlands "so that it can be stated that Papua is truly part of the Dutch colonial land in Indonesia.

The existence of the mission of spreading Christianity and Catholicism on the one hand or even parallel with the presence of colonialism marked the beginning of an increasingly intense and intensive cultural contact with the Papuan population that involved other people from other regions in Indonesia, especially those from Ambon and Key (Maluku) who are teachers and church officers[14]. Their existence was apparently not fully accepted by the community because of the attitudes and behavior that were considered to be disparaging or demeaning to the Papuans. However, the success of the mission of spreading religion is evidence that their efforts and goals are acceptable. The dislike of Papuans towards the newcomers according to Antoh[14] is a manifestation of Papuan ethno-nationalism. Ethnonationalism is a nationalism in the form of solidarity groups or a sense of community based on ethnicity, referring to subjective feelings that separate one particular group from other groups[17].

Moluccan people who were in Papua at that time were actually closely related to Dutch colonial interests, so that it could be said that Papuans also did not like Dutch colonialism. The presence of Maluku people who occupy this intermediate position is very important for the activity of colonialism, because without them many activities that support colonialism are impossible to do optimally. The anti-migrant attitude shown by the Papuans as stated above is a manifestation of the awareness of Papuans' self-identity in affirming their rights and dignity.

3. Indonesian Nationalism and Papuan Nationalism

Renan and Kahin's theory of nationalism underlies what is expressed by Meteray[18], that in Papua there are two nationalisms, namely Indonesian nationalism and Papuan nationalism. Both concepts of nationalism emerged in Papua as a result of seeding nationalism in Papua[18]. Indonesian consciousness in the Papuans began to be sown in late 1945, when J.P.K. van Eechoud recruited several Indonesians as government employees and the arrival of several Indonesian nationalist figures who were exiled by the Dutch Government from Batavia to Papua in mid-1946[18].

SoegoroAtmoprasodjo was one of Digoel's former prisoners who was appointed by van Eechoud to be a lecturer and boarding director on the Civil Service Short Course in Kota Nica (now KampungHarapan). In the City of Nica many indigenous Papuans attended education, including Marcus Kaisepo, LikasRumkorem, LisiasRumbiak, FransKaisepo, Nicolas Jouwe, MarthenIndey, CorinusKrey, Silas Papare, BaldusMofu, O. Manupapami, and Herman Wajoi[20].

As a teacher, Soegoro had the opportunity to introduce Indonesian history and culture to course participants. According to CorinusKrey, Soegoro was the first person to introduce the values of Indonesian nationalism to students, including introducing Indonesian Raya songs[19]. This was confirmed by van Eechoud, who emphasized that in connection with the situation that took place in Java, Soegoro was encouraged to carry out various activities that supported the struggle in Java[20].

In order for students to easily understand that Papua is part of Indonesia, Soegoro initiated the formation of a learning group that aims to motivate students to take lessons and serve as a forum to discuss various political issues. In this case Soegoro sought to build Indonesian nationalism, where he continued to try to convince his students to think that they were part of the Indonesian nation. Soegoro described Indonesia as a nation that has diversity as well as Papuans from many tribes. Therefore, he stressed that although there are various differences, ethnicity, language, culture and religion, it is not an obstacle to building relationships with people outside Papua. In addition, Soegoro also assured his students that the Indonesian nation, which consisted of various tribes, needed unity to oppose the Dutch[18].

As with Soegoro who tried hard to realize his desire to oppose the Dutch Government in Papua, van Eechoud as the founder of the Civil Service School in the City of Nica sought to establish an identity identity. Therefore, the actions taken by Soegoro against the Dutch Government had disappointed van Eechoud. How not so far Soegoro was considered his golden child so he was appointed as a lecturer and director at the Civil Service school in the City of Nica.

Through van Eechoud, the Dutch colonial government in Papua pumped up the spirit of Papuan nationalism by reforming the government and providing space for the growth of Papuan nationalism, through the formation of political parties and the Papuan Council. The inauguration of the Papuan Council on April 5, 1961 was the culmination of van Eechoud efforts

CONCLUSION

Papua is a nation that has its own base and history, in which ethnic Papuans have a collective life on a basis as an individual unit that has a sense of belonging on the basis of cultural, racial, religious, linguistic, ethnic, and cultural ties, and grandmother same ancestor. These similarities are the basis of the ethnonationalism values of the Papuans. This has influenced the attitude of thinking and awareness of the feeling of brotherhood to desire to form a common ideology. Even so, this desire did not go smoothly because the Papuans, especially their elites, were divided into two groups, namely groups that supported Indonesian nationalism and groups that wanted Papuan nationalism.

For groups that fight for Indonesian nationalism, assume that what is championed by groups who want the formation of Papuan nationalism for Papuans is an effort of Papuans to realize ethnonationalism in order to strengthen the spirit of Indonesian nationalism in Papua, so that what is called Papuan nationalism is only part of nationalism (ethnonationalism)

Indonesia. While for Papuans who want Papua to form a nation (Papuan nationalism), ethnonationalism rooted in the diversity that belongs to the Papuan people, is quite transformed into Papuan nationalism.

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