

The
MORNING
STAR

in

PAPUA
BARAT

NONIE SHARP

in association with
MARKUS WONGGOR KAISIËPO



The Morning Star In Papua Barat

Koreri exists and is alive as long as West Papuan people are there. If this book is for Koreri and West Papua I am happy.

Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo, Delft,
Netherlands, 21 June 1991

God created this land and this nation with a purpose: that the native people should always be there. It is the wish of our ancestors that we in the OPM never give up.

- West Papuan narrator, 'Rebels of the Forgotten World',
Nexus Films with Survival International, 1991



Plate 1 'Arnold Ap made Koreri live again'

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This book is for all Papua Barat. It is dedicated to the Papuan martyrs, especially Angganitha Menufandu, Johan Ariks, Frits Awom, Arnold Ap, Silas Papare, Lucas Rumkorem, Stefanus Rumbewas, Simson Nukuway-Jakadewa and Yehuda Serontou.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book has a lively history. Its seed-ground was the Women's International Forum in Nairobi, Kenya in July 1985. A forum chaired by Mrs Elizabeth M Ireeuw-Wonggor Kaisiëpo on women and the right of the peoples of Papua Barat to independence, drew the attention of women from many countries to the tragic betrayal of their people and country some twenty years earlier, by nation-states, by groups and by individual persons. The forum demonstrated the fighting spirit of Papuan people for national independence. This forum was organised in conjunction with members of the Vereniging van Papoea Vrouwen in Nederland (VPVN) – Association of Papuan Women in the Netherlands. These members are her sisters, Petronella P Westra-Wonggor Kaisiëpo, Gerda T Oudshoorn-Wonggor Kaisiëpo and Mrs Cootje Mano-Telussa. Attention was drawn there to Koreri, a millenarian movement of renewal which, in the period of the Second World War, sought to bring about the West Papuan Kingdom under the leadership of a Biak woman named Angganitha Menufandu. Long before this forum, I had learned that she was a gifted woman, a poet and visionary; genealogically, it seemed, a woman to be highly respected. She was said to have ancestral ties with Manseren Manggundi, the supreme culture hero of the peoples of Geelvink Bay.

Mrs Elizabeth M Ireeuw-Wonggor Kaisiëpo acted as the main organising force which led me to Delft in the Netherlands in June and July 1991 to record conversations with her father, Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo, and to complete the story of Koreri. The previous years of friendship and trust provided the condition of these conversations. Throughout the course of this work, she co-ordinated a series of discussions, assisted with translation herself, acting throughout as guide, organiser and friend. Her sisters, Petronella and Gerda assisted their mother Mrs Mientje

Mandowen-Wonggor Kaisiëpo in making her home my home for a time.

A number of people assisted with the completion of this work. Rex Rumakiek, whom I have known since 1976, encouraged me to make the journey to the Netherlands. He had introduced me to his ideas about Koreri and Papuan identity in a conversation published in *Arena* 70 in 1985. He prepared me for my long discussions with Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo. In May 1991 Rex wrote encouraging me to follow 'the footprints of the Koreri Movement', and he stressed the importance of Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo as 'the last remaining authority on Koreri': 'He was the linkage between the Koreri, the Christian Missionary authority and the Colonial Administration. In West Papuan politics, I think his autobiography is the reality of that history.' In January 1993, he made helpful suggestions about the manuscript.

Henk Rumbewas travelled a long way to provide an English translation for recording from the first day of our discussions in Bahasa Melayu in Delft, the Netherlands. His sense of humour, his awareness of people's feelings and needs, and his sensitivity to differences in custom, assisted our progress. I would like to thank him too for his further assistance in revising and checking the English translations in Melbourne. Victor Wonggor Kaisiëpo provided assistance with translations and gave me important moral support. Max Ireeuw assisted in many ways in organising my discussions in the Netherlands, in answering questions, and in important general advice. I would like to thank Cory Ap for her encouragement and help to the project; she chose and provided the photograph of her late husband, Arnold Ap, for the Frontispiece. Zachy Sawor, Dominggus and Genya Waweyai, Jim Manuseway provided helpful information and generous hospitality. Derek Ayamiseda, who was a District Officer at Korido after the Second World War, provided important reflections upon the Great Koreri Movement 1938-43 and his support for its

proclamation of the Kingdom of Papua Barat. I thank too Insos and Muaha Ireeuw for their co-operation in this project.

I would like to acknowledge my debt to the work of the late Rev Freerk Kamma, especially to Chapter 8 of his book *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Nunfor Culture Area*, which contains rich and diverse empirical material derived both from local informants and from the 'Mandof manuscript'. (Unfortunately he gives no further information on the detailed use of the latter beyond the following statement: 'I have extensively used K Mandof's manuscript on the movement for the main points of this Chapter [8]'.)

I would like to thank my friends in the circle around *Arena*, especially Alison Caddick and Betty Rouch, who encouraged me to write the story of Koreri. Geoff Sharp, Alison Caddick and Pat Walsh made helpful comments on the manuscript. I would like to thank Mrs M R Kamma-van Dijk who provided the photograph upon which the cover design is based (see Kamma 1972, Plate I, Frontispiece); Cory Ap for the Frontispiece photograph; Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo for Plate 5. Plate 3 is a photograph of a drawing by a West Papuan artist; photographs for Plates 2 and 4 were taken by the author.

I would like to thank the Research and Travel Committee, School of Social Sciences, La Trobe University for making it possible financially for me to travel to the Netherlands in June and July 1991. The secretarial staff of the Department of Sociology made a major contribution to the completion of the manuscript. Beth Robertson took overall responsibility for typing successive versions and for the index; for this and for her personal interest I thank her. Therese Lennox, Glenis Massey and Elaine Young performed the difficult task of transcribing the English translations of recorded conversations. Noelle Vallance, Administrative Officer, gave important overall guidance in the layout and typesetting of the book. Judy Carr assisted with copying and collating.

Millenarian myths and movements which have sprung from them were a central focus of my interest in the middle of the 1970s. As a research fellow in the Department of Sociology, La Trobe University, I spent several years exploring the meanings of colonial millenarian movements in Melanesia, especially in the eastern half of the island of New Guinea and its neighbouring islands. A major focus was the way in which the genre of cultural movements often changed from generation to generation. They continued to seek the same goals, but their cultural politics had moved frequently from millenarian to cultural-ethnic nationalist form. The resilience of the underlying motif of these movements became an *idée fixe*.¹

In 1976 my attention was drawn by PNG friends to the western half of New Guinea where the indigenous Papuan people were imprisoned within their own lands. My curiosity turned to indignation when the reasons for the arrival of a wave of some thousand refugees at the PNG border following the Indonesian elections in May 1977 became apparent. *The Rule of the Sword: The Story of West Irian* was published in August 1977.

This book touched the nerve of Papuan self-recognition; it also hit the sensitive nerve of Indonesian self-righteous possession: the 'backward' peoples of the easterly reaches of the former Dutch East Indies were theirs to 'civilise' and they saw the book as an infringement of that right.

Papuans passed round the book among themselves; it was read widely in Papua New Guinea. In Australia, those who had taken on the role of justifying the *realpolitik* of Indonesian takeover either ignored it or went into attack. *The Rule of the Sword* was written as an intervention: to break through the silence surrounding Papua Barat. And break through it did.

The present study is history and reflection. It contains some thoughts on cultural resilience and explorations of its changing social forms. It is written within the strictures that followed

reception of *The Rule of the Sword*. The expressions of surprise, of joy and of anguish which travelled along tortuous routes were also signs of danger: it became clear that were I to travel to Irian Jaya the well-being of the carriers of those sentiments might be endangered. Over a period of fifteen years it was possible to find people in the region and in the Netherlands with first-hand information. The outcome is a book which is discursive rather than comprehensive. The political murder of Biak cultural leader, Arnold Ap on 14 April 1984 strengthened my resolve to write on Korero and cultural resistance. Following a recorded conversation with Rex Rumakiek in 1985 (*Arena* 70: 104-21), I had become excited about the Great Korero Movement and curious about its leader Angganitha Menufandu, a poet and seer who also became a prophet of Manseren, in a period when there were few prophetesses among the many prophets of colonial Melanesia. She became Angganitha *Bin Damai*, Woman of Peace, Angganitha Makbon, Star of the Mountains, in the period from 1938 until 1943 when, according to oral sources, she was murdered together with Stefanus Simopiaref (Bewi) by Japanese military authorities at Manokwari.

I sought to deepen the story of Angganitha, learn more about her and come to understand why *she* became a leader of the Great Korero Movement of some 30,000 people. As it turned out I did not learn a great deal more about her during my visit to the Netherlands in 1991, but I learned something else of great importance from Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo: *the meaning of Korero as cultural identity*, and in a context which goes back to the beginnings of the period of foreign influence, a growing self-awareness which found practical expression in active struggle against enforced acculturation.

The Rule of the Sword sought to convey a sense of what it was like to be a Papuan woman or man imprisoned in his or her own land. The present study is in the active voice of a Korero man of Biak. It concerns Korero as the promise of a myth, Korero as a charter for living which stamps social and personal character, and thus Korero as a source of the courage to

confront both those who betrayed and those who re-colonised Papua Barat.

Oral tradition changes over time to fit in with new events, demands and opportunities; that, as Mary Douglas has observed, is its peculiar advantage over a more fixed tradition associated with literacy. This study attempts to illuminate the extending meanings of Koreri through the writing down of important oral history previously unavailable to people outside Papua Barat. Given the physical separation, and even more, the condition of active denigration of Papuan identity, this project seeks to make a contribution towards conserving and nourishing the family tree of Papua Barat.

This work is set within the framework of thinking in which oral tradition and oral history have moved 'up front' into the limelight of ethnological study. Hopefully the written and oral sources upon which I draw provide a context, for a previously unwritten life story and the delineation of an oral tradition which is part of the tradition of Koreri people. My deep reasons for recognising the authenticity of certain oral 'sources' are discussed elsewhere (see Sharp 1993:Introduction). In the history of what we may now venture to call 'oral historiography', this study owes a major debt to Paul Radin, who, even in 1913, called for 'authentic accounts' of oral tradition and orally-based speculative thinking from the intellectuals of non-literary cultures, the overriding need for 'actual texts from philosophically-minded aboriginal philosophers' (1927:xxx).² It must be noted that the transformation of oral history into written history is a hazardous process. The autobiography of a man who reflects back over some thirty to fifty years upon his life is in many ways about a different person from the self of those earlier times. Such reflections are a distilled wisdom; they are different from the lived experience of his formative years.³

The Morning Star... is completed in a highly novel context in Australia; one in which *terra nullius*, a doctrine developed in an age of racial discrimination and assumptions about Australia's indigenous peoples as 'primitive', has been rejected as the legal foundation of the Australian state. On 3 June 1992, the High Court of Australia made an historically and legally famous judgment in the *Mabo* case (*Mabo v the State of Queensland*). Its decision provided the legal foundation upon which we may begin to put Australia's house in order with respect to the customary rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Sharp 1992:55-61). In the era now emerging the conditions which have bred the ethnic nationalisms now shaking European nation-states may begin to find expression within this region. One may hope that the Republic of Indonesia finds itself obliged to recognise the right of Papuan peoples to their homelands.

February 1994

Nonie Sharp

NOTES

1. See 'Nationalism and Cultural Politics', *Arena* 43, 1976: 58-77; 'A Melanesian Journey: New Ways in Co-operation', *Arena* 83, 1988:50-80.
2. For a fruitful critical discussion of approaches to oral tradition which go beyond an anthropology which 'used oral accounts primarily to construct a synchronic and ahistorical ethnographic present' (Neumann 1992:106), see Neumann:106-24; Neumann himself considers the question of oral traditions as histories rather than merely sources; see Waiko, 'Binandere oral tradition *is* history' (lxv); see also Vansina 1965 on oral tradition as a source of history.
3. For critical exchanges on the revival and re-creation of culture in the context of a seemingly absent past which has been constructed by the colonial process, see Keesing 1989:19-42, Trask 1991:159-71.

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAMES

GKI (M)	Gereja Kristen Injili, Greater Christian Church
KKBN (B)	Kankain Karkara Biak, Village Councils of Biak
M	Bahasa Melayu
OPM	Organisasi Papua Merdeka, Free Papua Movement
UZV	Dutch Reformed Church, Utrecht Missionary Society
VPVN	Vereniging van Papoea Vrouwen in Nederland (Association of Papuan Women in the Netherlands)
Barat	Bahasa Melayu word for West
Irian	A Biak word meaning hot or shimmering land, the main island of New Guinea

Papua/Papuans comes from Portuguese *papuas*, itself probably a local word for 'curly hair'.

The name Papua Barat is used throughout the book except where reference is being made to West or Netherlands New Guinea, the English version of the Dutch colonial name. Occasionally M W Kaisiëpo uses the names Irian Barat or West Irian. The current Indonesian name is Irian Jaya (Irian Victorious).

All foreign words are in Biak language unless indicated otherwise.

I

INTRODUCING A LIVING TRADITION

This book has two halves. The first half explores the meanings of Koreri and its manifestations in the myth of Manseren and the Morning Star movements in Papua Barat, which have taken both millenarian and secular form in the period since the 1850s. The second is the life story of a Biak man who was 'born and bred Koreri'. In the sense that Koreri signifies a living cultural distinctiveness, his life is a microcosm of the history of Biak and of Papua Barat from 1913 until today. It expresses both the potentialities of Koreri and the tragedy of its thwarting and betrayal.

Each half of the book reinforces the other. The first provides a context for the second, thus giving richer meaning to social events; the second, a personal narrative, portrays the meaning of events in human terms. Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo took part in a course of events which helped to shape and give definition to a movement for an independent Papua Barat. Not only did he act them out in substantial and highly significant ways; he also played an active part in shaping an awareness and a programme that set West Papuans on a road to independence, only to find that powerful forces, propelled from outside, were bearing down relentlessly and irresistibly upon them. In the 1960s the Papuan people were suddenly left friendless and deserted by the governments of nation states, by organisations and by individuals on whom they had come to rely. A deception and a betrayal on a grand scale were then hidden by a powerful colonial myth – the myth of their backwardness and primitiveness. Those who challenged this myth were met with the power of modern weapons.

Excerpts from Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo's descriptions, thoughts and reflections upon the Papuans' move for independence in the 1950s and its betrayal are threaded lightly

through the first half of the book, giving life and illustration to sometimes dry history. They usually appear in italics.



The Morning Star on the flag of Papua Barat is the symbol of Koreri. In 1961, when representatives from all the regions of Papua Barat came together to choose the symbols of their national identity, it was agreed that the Morning Star should become the central emblem of Papua Barat. The flag, a symbol of condensed meaning, was the product of an independence movement which had begun to take shape nationally soon after the ending of the Second World War. This movement had been conceived within, and received a major impetus from, Koreri movements in the Biak-Numfor area.



Plate 2 Markus and Mientje Mandowen-Wonggor Kaisiëpo 1991; photograph above, the living Wonggor Kaisiëpo tree

Koreri is a word in the Biak language meaning 'We change it' (literally *Ko*, We[incl.], *rer*, change, *i*, it). *Rer* means to change skins, and Biak people liken the Koreri process to a snake or lobster changing its skin. Two closely related meanings distinguished here are given further amplification in the two chapters which follow, in the context of mythical and historical events.

In its most well-known meaning among outsiders, Koreri is renewal made possible by a millenarian myth, the myth of Manseren, which promises a metamorphosis where the visible and the invisible, mortals and immortals, endings and beginnings, life and death are joined together in a terrestrial paradise.¹ From time to time the pressure of dissonant events gives rise to movements which herald such a metamorphosis. Characteristically these movements find public expression in dramatic actions which symbolise the ending of the existing order: people stop working, gardens and livestock are destroyed, men and women are gripped by trance and 'possession'.

These occasions see the rise of a prophet or universal leader who may draw together and give expression to the feelings, the strivings, the frustrations, and above all the hopes of the members of a group of which they themselves are part (see Sharp 1993: Chapter 4). One such occasion was the 'Koreri situation' or movement which flowered in millenarian, messianic form among some 30,000 people in the islands of Geelvink Bay in the neck of the bird's head in the early years of the Second World War. Led by a woman named Angganitha Menufandu from Insumbabi, an islet on the western side of the island of Supiori, the movement gathered strength from all round the islands; the islanders' canoes converged on this islet awaiting the arrival of Manseren, the Lord, and the proclamation of the Kingdom of Papua Barat – a time of Koreri or ultimate transformation.

This ultimate metamorphosis prefigured in the Manseren myth is the climax of the continual renewal of the generations. This foreshadows a second meaning of Koreri. Through the generations, Koreri expresses cultural identity, an identity

integral with 'Koreri custom': living in the way laid down by Manseren Manggundi, the mythical hero who created sacred laws for Biak-Numfor people.

Koreri has also widening meanings relating to the lineage of Papuan generations, denoting an identifiable people, place and custom. Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo refers to the Wonggor Kaisiëpo tree. In the past *the tree was empty*. This tree signifies change as well as continuity of place, blood, custom and tradition. As he says, it is the tree of change; in his case this is signified by the ten children belonging to himself and Mientje Mandowen, their twenty-one grandchildren, and their eight great grandchildren. The Koreri of each line or clan or tribe is consolidated in the totality: the Koreri of Biak, the Koreri of each cultural unit, the Koreri of Papua Barat. *Wherever there are Papuans there is the hope of Koreri. I told you Koreri is a movement from the old generation to the new generation of the future. We have to get better in the future. That is the Koreri – the general name for changing something. Movement. That is Koreri.*



In this widest sense Koreri is, then, the Papuan generations. Koreri has come to mean the hope and the reality of Papuan identity. This enlarged meaning is pertinent to the growth of an all-Papua movement for independence in the late 1940s and after.

The connection between Koreri as (Biak) cultural identity through time, its continual renewal, on the one hand and Koreri as the millennium on the other, may be found in the process of elaboration of reciprocal exchanges, at the social level, at the level of symbolic systems and of relations between them. Burrige (1960, 1969) and Brunton (1971:118-19) provide the

founding insight upon which this argument is based; their contribution is considered in Chapter 2, in the context of the development of distinct phases of the Koreri movement.

Writers in the field of comparative religion, such as Marcel Mauss and Mircea Eliade provide a more general framework in the interrelations between the everyday and the cosmic cycles. Their insights help one to grasp the way in which people 'who are still *sasor*, in the husk' (see Kamma 1972:18) remake themselves as *distinctive* groups and sub-groups in a process of renewal made possible by the mediating role of Manseren. Each such renewal prefigures the *ultimate* renewal in the Koreri of an ending and a new beginning (see Mauss 1970: Chapter 1; Eliade 1974:391; see also Sharp 1993: Chapters 2 and 4).



Various writers have considered the way in which nationalist sentiments have fuelled movements for independence in Papua Barat. Worsley (1970) and Sharp (1977) have focussed on culturally-based aspirations and cultural identity. This book explores the character of that identity. It complements attempts by this author to consider the fabric of a culture undergoing major change while still retaining important roots in reciprocal interrelations (1993).

It seeks to show how Koreri acted as the decisive force and dynamic inspiration of Papuan nationalism, imbuing it with the soul of Papuan communities, helping to give it cultural definition. It suggests that an understanding of the depth of the Koreri inspiration gives meaning to the events of the 1950s which found expression in the adoption of the Koreri flag (which originated in 1942 during the Great Koreri Movement) as a national symbol; how Koreri provided the major grounding force

national symbol; how Koreri provided the major grounding force which led to the birth of the OPM in 1965; and continued to inspire the minds and hearts of significant figures who were only being born at the time of the short-lived period of Dutch decolonisation. Arnold Ap, a Biak cultural leader and artist murdered by the Indonesian military on 14 April 1984, is a very significant figure in this process of crystallisation of the cultural aspirations of the very diverse peoples of Papua Barat. In the long period from the late 1940s until today, 'other Koreris', with other names, arose historically among the diverse communities and cultural units of Papua Barat. They provided a common basis for the creation of a movement for an all-Papua identity, composed of these smaller sub-groups.



The recorded history of Koreri has been one-sided. It is written narrative, composed mainly by outsiders, by Dutch writers looking into Koreri events and the meaning of Koreri from the outside. The best of these accounts, it may be argued, were written by those well equipped to write them. Reverend Freerk Kamma, a missionary turned anthropologist, together with his wife, lived and worked with Biak-speaking people in the Sorong-Radja Ampat islands from 1932 to 1942. A more minor writer on Koreri in the post Second World War period was J V de Bruijn, a District Officer first in the Biak area and later in Hollandia.

The late Rev Kamma's major study of Koreri, the myth of Manseren, the outbreak of prophet (*konor*) movements which attempted to understand those movements and their cultural significance, was published in Dutch in 1954. In 1972 an English edition of the book was published with a major case study of the Great Koreri Movement of 1938-43; he obtained

area about 1951-52, and from a very comprehensive manuscript of some 200 pages by a Biak author, known as the 'Mandof manuscript',² which neither I nor my Biak associates have been able to locate. In international scholarly circles, F C Kamma's *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Culture Area* (1972), an updated and enlarged edition of the Dutch version, is regarded as the standard work on Koreri.

Kamma attempted to absorb many of the Biak people's customs, certainly those which did not challenge the exclusive truth of Christianity. *Kamma knew a lot about the customs of the Biak-Numfor area, because not only did he live there and become a Doctor of Anthropology; he had also become one of us. He ate, he slept as a Biak. He spoke the language; he also felt like a Biakker. Like other Dutch missionaries, or European people, he thought that his own Christianity was the real religion. When our old people heard somebody speak our language, they said: 'He's one of us'. He knew everything, he was one of us... But he was still a Dutch person.*

But he was still a Dutch person... This is Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo's way of pointing to a blindness in Kamma, a blindness so complete that in seeking, through decades of close association to comprehend the meaning and the purport of Koreri, the Koreri that lay all around eluded him. He then brought together his own insights with a host of written and oral primary sources to produce an authoritative work on Koreri. Yet the 'absolute truth' of his civilising Christian mission prevented him from seeing that the Biak people *lived* their Koreri beliefs in the custom of their daily lives and how this gave them their identity, an identity which was passed down and renewed through the generations as genealogy made sacred by Manseren. That identity is composed of many smaller identities.³ His blindness was to lead Rev Kamma into a position which denied Koreri. In 1956 he relinquished his position as a supporter of West Papuan independence, coming to accept the new position of the Dutch Reformed Church which accommodated the Indonesian demand for incorporation of Papua Barat into Indonesia. Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo saw this

as the betrayal by a friend of the Koreri of Papua Barat — the right to the existence of his people.

Although Rev Kamma acknowledges his assistance with *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Culture Area*, the reality is that Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo refused any co-operation beyond matters of language detail. As he explains in Part Two of this book, he cut off relations with Rev Kamma in a decisive manner.

Rev Kamma and Mr de Bruijn each felt he knew Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo very well; each respected him. Reverend Kamma had taught him, and later he had worked with him; de Bruijn had worked with him in the administrative area in the period leading up to and including self-government. Both were surprised and disappointed with the totality of his rejection of them. There is a certain pathos in their blindness; their very certitude that Koreri represented a false hope, the hope of a pagan paradise, combined with their twin certitude concerning the exclusive truth of Christianity. They were, to turn around Robin Horton's depiction of the Azande's supposed insular thought, caught in the web of their own binary categories of thinking which forced them to accept this *or* that.

This background provides a meaningful context for Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo's own contribution to the present study: for his wisdom is missing from their writings. This study centres upon one area, Biak-Numfor, whose cultural symbol is the Morning Star, known in Biak language as Sampari or Kuméseri. Through this example it seeks to illustrate how Koreri gives people strength by inspiring them to define and to defend their culture, first in *konor* movements, and later in projects of a highly political and often apparently secular character.

Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo's narrative is central to the book. There are three levels of meaning to his position at its centre. First, he is present here in his own right: he is a man whose life and beliefs bridge the cultural gap between the 'exclusive' categories of traditional and modern: he is a politician and statesman with the soul of a Koreri. Second,

because Koreri lies at the heart of his existence, his life and thought are like a cameo of Biak culture; he is representative of the best of that culture. In this meaning he is representative of a *social type*, one which emerged in a period of cultural and social onslaught, a representative of a *changing* Biak culture.

The Morning Star in Papua Barat is the first occasion on which Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo has opened his mouth and his heart to the world beyond Papua Barat, and with enthusiasm, at times gusto, given of himself unstintingly and candidly. Following an initial testing of purposes and moral positions he said: 'Koreri exists and is alive as long as Papuan people are there. If this is what this book is for I am happy.' Here begins the third level of Mr Wonggor Kaisiëpo's contribution. The idea of Koreri as the Papuan generations and the spirit of Papuan people is Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo's original thought. *Koreri songs represent the people. In reintroducing Koreri songs in 1937 I felt that I was bringing back the spirit of what was already in the minds and the culture of the people.*

With this thought one may speak of the history of Papua Barat from about the 1850s when prophet movements in defence of local cultures were noted by foreigners, as the history of Koreri. Basing itself upon his widened definition of Koreri, Chapter 2 distinguishes three phases and further sub-stages of Koreri until the present day. Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo's original thought is a product of his relation to Papuan people; for in a broad historical and cultural sense he represents the Biak people of the era of the late 1930s to the early 1960s. In this sense (and in a context of division both among the nationalists of his generation, and between the '1962-63 generation' and 'the 1969 generation' who felt morally obliged to fight the neo-colonial occupiers with something more than words) his voice is their voice, and today Papuan people recognise him as the new man of his own culture, one who bridged a vast cultural gap without betraying his people's hopes, one whom people followed 'naturally' because he gave expression to their feelings. On 30 August 1947 he became the first chairman of Kankain Karkara Biak. In 1961 he was elected by the Biak-Numfor Council to

the New Guinea Council, a first parliament of West Papuan people held in the highest esteem by the emerging Papuan intelligentsia (van de Veur 1964:436-38).⁴

He represented the Biak people in the period from the 1940s to the 1960s, and his voice was a manifestation of their hopes. As he observes, his cousin-brother, Franz Kaisiëpo was selected by the Dutch and not by the people, to represent Papua Barat at a Conference at Malino in the Celebes in 1946. *He was sent there by the Resident, J P K van Eechoud. So he was actually representing the Dutch Government... We, the group from Kankain Karkara Biak, disagreed with his appointment.* Yet it is Franz Kaisiëpo, who later became the Governor of West Irian under Indonesian rule, who appears as the significant figure in accounts of journalists and scholars of the period.

The absence of the life-experience and reflections of a man like Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo, or his contribution to the aim of Papuan independence, from written accounts of Papuan history, is symptomatic of a situation in which the underlying well-springs of contemporary political action are bypassed, or simply not known. Often accompanying this belief is a dismissal of movements inspired by the myth of Manseren as some sort of obscure and primitive expressions of hope for the ideal state. Others exclude messianic movements altogether from their consideration of the rise of nationalism in Papua Barat. There are good reasons for this, which I shall try to unravel.

Certainly writers such as Kamma and de Bruijn have documented the emergence of a self-conscious Papuan nationalism with the Great Koreri Movement of 1938-43 as an important forerunner of Papuan nationalism a generation later. This has become part of a conventional wisdom about Papua Barat. In this tradition we find J Pouwer, a Dutch government anthropologist, writing in 1957: 'One [messianic] movement appeared to proclaim a war of liberation for the whole of Dutch New Guinea' (p. 248). 'A messianic movement...began to exhibit nationalistic overtones' in 1942, wrote van de Veur in 1963 (p. 56).

By May 1942, Osborne observes, following de Bruijn, the Koreri movement had developed a distinctly nationalistic tone (1985:11). Referring to 'the notorious "Manseren Myth" cargo movements in the Geelvink Bay area' which had 'flared' between 1938 and 1943, Hastings follows this general wisdom, acknowledging the 'declaration of independence' of Papua Barat in 1942 and the adoption of a national flag' (1969:215). He is also aware that within the 1961 generation there stirred 'an embryonic sense of Papuan nationalism' charged by 'vivid memories of the 1942 Biak declaration' of independence for Papua Barat (p. 217).

Yet despite this insight, Hastings expresses a degree of amazement at the speedy emergence of 'a politically conscious élite' by the early 1960s, the creation of insignia of Papua Barat and Papuanness (a flag, a national anthem, a coat of arms), the effectiveness of regional councils, the rise of political parties, and the creation of a National Council (p. 217). In similar vein, van der Kroef wrote in 1968 of the signs of a 'Papuan political awakening' as expressive of 'a belated but unmistakable Papuan nationalism' from 1960 onward (p. 693).

Their surprise stems from a failure to perceive what lies at the heart of Papuan nationalism among Geelvink Bay islanders: a sense of the handing down of a tradition from generation to generation at the core of which lies the myth of Manseren and the promise of Koreri. Hastings noted how the little-known but nevertheless 'notorious "Mansren Myth" cargo movements ... flickered and flared' over fifty years from the 1890s to 1943 (1969:215). He was unaware of the underlying persistence and ethical potential of the myth.

Without this understanding, interpretations of moves for cultural and political independence remain confined within the dichotomy between élites (see May 1985:34), or the petit bourgeoisie and masses (Savage 1978:143). This, I would argue, is a peculiarly Western distortion which fails to perceive the close connection between certain Western-educated intelligentsia and the group of people to which they belong. The result of this blindness is a thinning out of meaning in

explanations of grass-roots movements for independence which tend to assume they had their beginnings in the neo-colonial occupation of Papua Barat by the state of Indonesia.

Foreign writers who may not see the deep connection between Korero, the myth of Manseren and the post-war movements to free Papua, nevertheless recognise the importance of underlying cultural symbols. Thus Osborne makes reference to Korero on five pages of his book *Indonesia's Secret War* (1985; 213 pages); on page 99 he shows a fleeting awareness of the 'deep spiritual significance' of Sampari (Venus) and his symbol, the Morning Star flag, as an inspiration to the resistance movement in contemporary times.

The reasons for the underestimation of Manseren-Korero as a belief and a practice which frames the identity of Biak-Numfor people have deep roots. In confronting the Manseren-Korero movement Western writers stand at the boundaries of two genres of discourse with contrasting sets of rules: the one expresses a mythopoeic, cosmic reality; the other the secular-rational. Those within the former speak a mutually intelligible language, but as Eric Hobsbawm wrote long ago, a peculiarity of millenarian movements is that outsiders are frequently 'disabled from saying anything of great value about them', whereas those who see them as important cannot speak a language intelligible to foreigners (1959:60).

Generally speaking, Western writers handle their lack of comprehension of the rules and meanings of a contrasting discourse by discounting its manifestations, searching only for symbols of a nationalism recognisable within their own cultural terms. Their status as recorders and interpreters from the metropolises of contact allows them to assume this privilege. The Great Korero Movement of the 1940s is unusual in its union of the mythico-religious with the political-programmatic; this clear union forced upon outsiders who had close contact with events, like Kamma and de Bruijn, some sense of their integral connection.



It may be useful to draw attention here to the two-sidedness of Biak cultural assumptions: a founding equality of all people belonging to a sacred endowment, combined with a differentiation of clans, families and persons according to their knowledge. In Biak society there is an intelligentsia – the shaman or *mon*, the poets and song people. As the life of Arnold Ap testifies, in contemporary times the persons of special knowledge remain at the centre of the culture; but this knowledge and these creative powers are less hereditarily grounded than in the past. People continue to know that certain places have a sacred significance as mythical centres, even though there may have been a collective forgetting of the full narrative which gives them this sacred character. Then there are people who ‘know’, who carry on the cultural tradition in modern circumstances; these are the ‘Koreri people’. Such a person is Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo. To all appearances – his dress, his demeanour, his manners, his articulateness – he is a modern man belonging to the educated élite. But his pulse remains in time with the beat of *siber*, the *kundu* drum, the musical arm of Koreri. And throughout *The Morning Star in Papua Barat* he speaks as a Koreri man of Biak.

Once secular symbols and secular actions present themselves as unmoored from a mythico-religious underlay, there is the tendency to assume that the latter has disappeared. Thus in the early 1950s, even before Biak people began to spearhead moves towards Papuan independence, de Bruijn came to conclude that Biak culture was dead: ‘Practically nothing is left of the old Biak culture’ (1951:10). To him the modern Biak had taken over.

As I have noted elsewhere, in quiet times the cultural remains unnoticed and unnoted; only at dramatic moments does

it rise into public view and in colonial situations, often unexpectedly (Sharp 1976:61; 1993:241-42; see also Alavi 1973:10 on the role of 'primordial' or first-order loyalties). In Biak history the outbreak of the Great Koreri Movement is a spectacular example of such a dramatic moment. In the period leading up to it the islanders appeared to outsiders to be putting aside their old ways in favour of Christian piety.

Biak people have too a long history of secular political activity. In 'traditional' times they engaged in vast feats of 'secular' organisation to secure slaves, goods and friendship through long and arduous sea journeys. The belief that political 'secular' actions are *ipso facto* signs of 'like-us-ness'; that given the apparent change in their diction or manner of expression, those who engage in such actions are speaking 'our' cultural language, is an assimilationist presumption attached to the either-or, binary thinking of Westerners which continues to invoke the 'traditional' versus 'modern' dichotomy central to Western social science. This is sad; it is also dangerous. It blots out modes of being alternative to our own mode of being; it equates the mythico-religious with the traditional and the primitive, the secular with the modern and the civilised. In taking modern reality to be *the* reality, it creates a half-humanity in the name of the whole.

Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo's entire life is an eloquent revocation of the truth of that intellectually arrogant certitude.

NOTES

1. Cohn refers to this ultimate metamorphosis as the millennium; a time of salvation which is pictured as collective, terrestrial, imminent, total and miraculous (1970: 13).
2. I am following Kamma's spelling here. M W Kaisiëpo notes that this is not a Biak name; the Biak spelling is Marndof. Kamma 1972:313 gives the following details: Mandof, K, *Tentang Pergerakan Koreri*, Manuscript, 230 pp., ARZ, Oegstgeest. It was not found by the author at that location, or in F Kamma's personal papers in June-July 1991.
3. Taking the example of the Meriam of the Murray Islands of the Torres Strait (Sharp 1993: Chapter 2), I have considered identity formation as a layered or foliated process. Following the general insights of Mauss and Lévi-Strauss I compare the identity of the Meriam as '...a totality, which comes to be composed of many-layered identities ... like a flower with many petals' (p. 8; cf. p. 76). A rose or lotus is the model here.
4. In van der Veur's survey of the opinions of 774 Papuan senior students ('the emerging Papuan intelligentsia'), who were drawn from high schools and vocational training centres across Papua Barat between April and June 1962, the role of New Guinea Council member received the highest mean ranking score.

1 THE SECRET

*...Manarmakeri stand up, you are holy.
You eclipse the sunlight on Mount Yamnaibori, the
mountain of the maiden of Biak.
In order that we may put his blessings on board and
leave for Irian, the mainland.
For my eyes have beheld the Morning Star...*

The Song of Manarmakeri

The island of New Guinea is in the shape of a bird. The myth of Manarmakeri begins at Yamnaibori, the Mountain of Rest on the western side of Biak, one of the islands in the neck of the bird's head. It continues on through the land of West New Guinea, the Dutch name for West Irian. In the Biak language, Irian means the 'hot land', the mainland of New Guinea; at the end of the 1950s West New Guinea and its surrounding islands came to be known by its inhabitants as Papua Barat.

Long ago a man named Yawi Nushado Manarmakeri, a wood carver and poet, lived on Yamnaibori mountain in the Sopen area. Among the Biak islanders the art of wood carving embodied the height of sacred, spirit power. A wood carver was seen to possess a link with the divine; to bear and develop a very special inheritance translated into personal practice through magical knowledge.

Yamnaibori means 'I will rest at the top'. Here on the plateau high up above the Sopeno River on the western side of

the island of Biak there rested a flat stone belonging to Manarmakeri, whose secret and sacred name was Manseren Mangundi. On this plateau he made his food garden.

It was here that a spirit from the land of souls said to him: 'This is a *Koreri* place' (Kamma 1972:24), a place and time of metamorphosis and renewal, where night and day, waking and sleeping, sickness and health, youth and old age, life and death – all the opposites of existence – are joined.

Manarmakeri became entranced with what the voice told him – that he was still *manaibu*, like a flower in the husk ready to begin a long journey. He descended to Sopen, the village below, to begin his search for *Koreri*.¹ The story of that search is given in an epic poem of forty-two stanzas sometimes known as the Song of Manarmakeri. Much of the poem is rendered in a symbolic language whose meanings are discerned by the singers and spectators (but not by many foreigners):

*Oh, you brethren of the ancestors
Who left Yamina mount
From the landward side of Sopen*

...
*A widower I was, so I went away,
Descending the mountain, embarking in a canoe.*

...
*And the star, the Morning Star descended.
It was the star who drank [the palm wine]*

...
*He promised me the *Koreri**

...
*He offered me the *Marès* fruit
And being a widower
I accepted and took hold of the fruit.*

...

*The stream I followed, upriver I went,
The Mamberamon, the current in turmoil,
Directing myself under the setting sun.*

...

*Go to the town of the dead, the great town,
Where the roofs are touching, touching each other.
There you will find the treasures which I possess.*

(The Song, *Beyuser* of Manarmakeri, Kamma 1972: 59-63).

Manarmakeri means both 'scabious old man' and 'old man of the Star' (*mansar*, old man, *armaker*, scabies, *mak*, star). After his encounter with the spirit voice, Yawi Nushado is said to have neglected himself and developed a skin disease. Manarmakeri was the rejected one, the outsider; he was also the link between less than human and more than human (the one who received divine secret gifts). Given his link with the most divine – Manseren Nanggi – his real name became too sacred to say.

From Sopen he travelled eastwards to the island of Meok Wundi. There he took up the practice of scaling the coconut palm to collect palm wine which he was distilling at the top. On one of his visits he found the wine had been stolen. One night, not long before dawn, he discovered Kuméseri or Sampari, the Morning Star stealing the palm wine, who became frightened, for daylight was coming. Beware, the Dangerous one! In return for his pledge not to reveal the Morning Star's misdemeanour, Kuméseri gave the Old Man the secret of the Morning Star, the supreme gift of divine knowledge to share with his people, the people of Biak. First he offered him specific secret gifts including the promise of Koreri in one place. But Manarmakeri did not want Koreri just in one place for one people. He sought the secret of eternal life for *everyone* and this is what Sampari-Kuméseri then granted him.

Giving him the fruit of the *marës*² tree, he told him to throw it at a young girl's *susu* (Melayu; hereafter M), breasts and she would become pregnant. Soon the Old Man came upon some young girls swimming in a lagoon. He threw the *marës* fruit at a girl named Insoraki, daughter of the headman, Rumbarak. Insoraki means woman of the *babores voyages* (*honggi*, M). It landed between her breasts (*susu*); she pushed it away but it returned. She began to itch her *susu*. Soon she found that she was pregnant and (in due course) gave birth to a son. The village people, very puzzled, arranged a feast with the idea of identifying the father. All the men walked past and the boy, Konori, let all the young men pass. Finally, three older men were left; last of all came the Old Man whom the boy recognised as his father (Tijdeman 1912:253-56).

Using the powers given to him by the Morning Star, Manarmakeri performed miraculous acts. He drew a canoe in the sand, which then materialised, so enabling the three to sail away, visiting the Mamberamo River in the east and then travelling westwards to the island of Numfor.

It was the Manarmakeri's refusal to accept anything other than the secret of miraculous conception which gave the Biak people a sacred genealogy. 'Being a widower I accepted the fruit', runs the poetical text of the epic poem.³ It is this genealogy which foreshadows Wonggor Kaisiëpo's conception of Koreri as sacred genealogy, which was noted briefly in the preceding chapter and is explained by him in Chapter 4.

In Numfor Manarmakeri burnt his old skin; he built a big fire and stood in it, becoming a very young, handsome man. To see himself he looked at his reflection in the water in a baler shell. At first he saw he was too light, so he went into the fire once again and burnt his skin some more. After the second burning he liked the way he looked and so he accepted this shade. He then decorated himself and went back to the house where his wife, Insoraki did not recognise him, calling out: 'Please stay away, my husband is not here'. Once again, it was the child who recognised him.

Manseren Manggundi, Lord Manarmakeri as he became through the gift of Koreri, then created four houses full of people, establishing himself as the head of the four *keret* or patriclans he had created.⁴

According to the myth, Manseren, who sailed away in his canoe, will return one day ushering in Koreri, a Golden Age of plenty when the ancestors will return with gifts, the old will become young and feuding will cease (Kamma 1972:91). In his new homeland Manseren, it is said, would plant a coconut tree which would grow to heaven, then overbalance and bend right over until it touched Meok Wundi; Konori, the miracle child would run along the trunk to Meok Wundi (Worsley 1970: 140).⁵

Koreri Custom and Biak Identity

Koreri is the tree of the living, the tree of those who came before, the possibility of generations to come. In the myth of Manseren, the Old Man rejected some of the secrets first offered by Sampari-Kuméseri, the Morning Star. He offered him first a time of plenty which Manarmakeri refused. In accepting the *marés* fruit and the message that went with it, he was reaffirming the continuity of the Biak-Numfor people. His long sea journey westward in which he created many islands is a statement about the multiplicity and the unity of the four *keret* or clans he brought into being at Numfor. His determination to become the 'right' Biak colour after his baptism of fire is a statement about Papuan identity; the shedding of his old skin is a statement about change and renewal.

Koreri is about beginnings, about genealogy, about endings in the sense of coming together in the process of becoming – from *manaibu*, Biak language for people who are 'still in the husk' – to people who are moving through a darkness towards the full light of the Sun (Manseren Nanggi, the Almighty One, is God of the Sky).

Among the Biak-Numfor people, as among many others, the process of life is a search for an All-Unity, a joining of the many into the one – in The Golden Age of Koreri, The Great Time of ultimate joining. That Unity springs from a movement within cyclical time, an eternal recurrence modelled upon the cosmic cycles of time (Eliade 1959). It is not simple repetition, it is sameness and difference (Sharp 1993: Chapter 2). Biak people, whose existence is modelled on the tradition embodied in the myth of Manseren, see the two-fold nature of genealogy as continuity *and* change: the former is taken for granted; the latter is what Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo refers to as a movement towards perfection: *We have to get better in the future.*

Koreri custom is unwritten and strong. It is often given in metaphor and in parable as in the famous narrative of the two culture heroes Kuri and Pasai whose opposite natures served to confirm a certain morality and ethic of Biak life.

In Biak history we have Kuri and Pasai, two important persons with different characters. Pasai always said serious things and Kuri turned serious things into a joke. These two people are famous in our history. They were real people. These two people sang songs. I am singing a song about Kuri. [Markus sings in Melayu.] This song taught people not to tell lies and how they must work hard. That was Kuri's song. Kuri himself didn't know seriously about work; he taught the people to work seriously, but he didn't do so himself. Yes, he was a kind of clown. He taught people to look for fish. When they caught a fish and brought it to the beach, he made a fire and roasted it; then he ate it, saying 'Thank you' and made jokes with them. He said, 'You must work hard to live'. Their story is very famous throughout Geelvink Bay.

Biak means the emerging: 'Lo, it is still emerging,' runs the Biak narrative (Kamma 1978:33). This island, of 925 square kilometres, is composed of coral and rock. Sopen, on the western side of Biak, at the foot of three mountains – Yamnaibori, Bomankwam and Manswarbori – forms its centre, the cradle of Biak civilisation. Separated from the larger island by a narrow strait lies the smaller island of Supiori (270 square

metres), its centre resting in the village of Soweik. In these twin islands custom provided firm rules on the socialisation of boys and girls and on the conduct of adults.

Boys and girls were taught differently. The girls were taught separately and we, the boys, were taught in a separate place. Only the little babies were left behind in the villages. When children reach the age of eight or ten they begin learning by going with their uncles or aunts or mothers and this is a process of learning through working and the age of working is from ten years upwards. For example, my parents will send me over to stay for months or even a year with a close aunt – my father's sister – and during this time it is the responsibility of the aunt or even the whole family to teach me until I know my relations well. Then my parents will come and take me home. That's the rule for the boys.

Each village on each of the two islands consisted of a cluster of clans allied by a system of cross-cousin marriage known as *indadwer*, and each island had formed a distinct identity. Marriage ties and gift exchange between the two islands formed the basis of a second-order Biak-Supiori identity in which Biak, with Sopen as its centre, asserted itself as the dominant partner. A third-level identity was based upon the unity of the islands of the whole of Geelvink Bay, and consisted of some 30,000 islanders half a century ago. A fourth and wider identity is founded upon the communities of Biak-Numfor émigrés and their descendants in the islands of Dore Bay and Korano Fiak, the Biak name for the Radja Ampat islands, which lie to the north-west of the bird's head at Roon, Dore and West Waigeo. There live another Biak-speaking people, known in Biak language as Biak *bondi*, Biak people living outside their home islands. Consisting altogether of some 40,000 people in the early post-war period, the islander people spoke twelve dialects of a common language.

Their society was a layered one, although there existed no political centrality in the form of corporate head or chief. Central to Biak cosmology is the contrast between above and

below; within this contrast there is the contrast between sea and land.

In the Biak social order first we have Manseren, Lord or God at the top; then Mambri, the heroes; third is Mampapok; fourth is Kawasa, the community. Manseren Nanggi, God of heaven, may be contrasted with Manseren Saprop, God of the earth and Manseren Sup Ma Swan, God of the land (sup) and of the sea (swan).

The genealogy of Manarmakeri, Manseren Manggundi, expresses and gives impetus to the alliance between the two islands of Biak and Supiori, and specifically, between the two cultural centres of Sopen and Sowek. According to Kamma (who, I believe, relies heavily here upon the 'Mandof Manuscript'), the myth of Manarmakeri tells of the preceding three generations of Yawi Nushado, the fourth generation, which completed the sacred lineage of the house (*rum*) of the Biak culture hero Kumense Mandof, creating layer upon layer of unique titles of divine power and authority (1972:21). These included the title of *mambri*, hero, which he obtained from Kumense Mandof in the following way. The latter had a sister, Inserenbenyar, who became pregnant after grazing her breasts on the grass known as *inseiram* which made them itchy. Her twin sons grew up close to the Mardori River near Sopen, and in due course she married one of them to Insawai, the other to Inmar. The twins died, leaving the two widows pregnant, the former bearing a son, Jejau Mandof, the latter, two daughters. Mandof gave one of his sisters to a man from Sowek and in return received Insowek as his first wife. He gave the other daughter to Boyowen Nushado from Sopen receiving Jane Sopen in return. The elder of the two sisters married to Nushado had a son, Yawi, later to become Manarmakeri. The Sowek man and the other daughter had a son named Menufaur (Kamma 1972: 21).⁶

Importantly, the twin boys received their mother's brother's name, title and inheritance – Mandof – since they had no father. Manarmakeri's personal genealogy joined a supernatural origin with the title of *mambri*. In Biak culture, to

become a person with divine power is a combination of inheritance and the development of character, persistence in the arts of magic, poetry and wood carving, and meditative capacity. Thus, as we have seen in the myth of Manarmakeri, the Old Man, by which name he was commonly known, united in himself the centres of Sopen and Soweke, a fact of great significance which I shall return to in unfolding the developing practice of Koreri.⁷



The Biak calendar divides the year into quarters denoted by the seasons. A time of great significance is the calm period at the end of the dry, southeast season - *wampasi* - when a day is chosen for the launching of the fleet on long sea voyages.

This is a time when the Scorpion, the Pleiades and Orion appear. In Greek narrative, the Pleiades chased the Seven Sisters (Orion) across the meadows. In keeping with the way of life of a sea people, in Biak mythology this same grouping known as Sawakoi (Orion), who are females, are chased into the sea by male figures, the Pleiades and Taurus (Kamma 1972:6).

About the end of March, the day arrives on which the sun emerges at a point half way between its northernmost and southernmost rising points. In Bosnik this is determined by the lowest spring-tide, which leaves a particular coral rock dry. On this day, the wind drops away, the voyagers travel in all directions, especially north-westwards (Kamma 1972:6).

Islanders of the Biak region had also built a strong identity which was matched by the power of their seafaring skills. This power was embodied in their beautifully crafted and ornamented long canoes, which they equipped with double outriggers. Holding up to one hundred warriors, the canoes travelled to the Moluccas, to the Malay Peninsula, even as far as

India. In the course of *babores* or trading voyages in which goods were exchanged in a moneyless economy, the Biaks collected heads, and most importantly in recent centuries, they brought back slaves from as far away as Halmahera to enlarge their *kawasa* or community and replenish their future warrior force. Slaves and their descendants were 'tools' crucial to Biak might, for their presence secured the Biak lifeline. But they could not be equals with their captors because they lacked the sacred endowment that first came from totemic ancestors and found its highest expression in the spirit power of Manseren.

Babores voyages became a way of keeping out foreigners – neighbouring warriors and especially those working on behalf of the Sultan of Tidore and the agents of European colonial powers. In *babores* the Biak-Numfor islanders were 'showing the flag', a signification of their identity.

In the period leading up to the arrival of the Dutch in the area in the late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, slave-hunting became more and more intense as the pressure on the local people increased as a consequence of the increased activity of competitive mercantile European powers in lands they had destined for conquest.

The Biak area had its own warrior hero, Gurabesi, who travelled in his war canoe to the Radja Ampat Islands. The strength of Biak social organisation, the distillation of Biak culture, was embedded in the structure they created to secure their lifeline: the war canoe. The importance of the culture heroes, Fakok and Pasref, who, in oral tradition, are said to have introduced iron into the Biak area (the use of which they had learned in their raids in Halmahera) is shown in the use of their names for the joining structures of their canoe. *Mambri*, the war heroes had a special position in the canoes; the slaves remained outside the canoe proper. These were agile sea warriors who developed *mansusu*, a canoe in which the bow and prow were identical, so it could reverse direction without it being necessary to turn round. The cross-pieces on their double outriggers matched the organisation of their lineages: four representing a *rum* or house.

The Biak warriors had learned to look in two directions; their mansusu were canoes that could move from either 'front' or 'back'. Mansusu is a canoe that goes in either direction. Man is hero; susu in Biak language means reverse. Mansusu when applied to a person means a changing person, a person not to be trusted. The advantage of mansusu is that you can reverse it very quickly. When you go on trading and warrior voyages it is easy to reverse and to pull out. Everyone, either the ones in the front or those in the back are experts; not just good at steering or good at paddling. So it's easy rather than having to turn round to attack.



Plate 3 A Biak War Canoe

Biak people had come to know iron in the first two decades of the 1600s. Le Maire has recorded the way in which the shamans, men with special magical powers, were those who took on the role of village blacksmiths. The Portuguese arrived in the area in 1527. In 1616 the Padaido Islands (which include Meok Wundi) were named the Traitor Islands and the Biaks made raids on Dutch ships. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries Europeans had little influence, being repulsed by Biak warrior fleets. On 24 July 1866 a Dutch ship captained by Willem Schouten came to the Biak-Numfor area and the islands were renamed the Schouten Islands. Late in the nineteenth century the Dutch colonial power took punitive action against headhunting and slave hunting on behalf of the Sultan of Tidore to which the people of the islands of Geelvink Bay, the surrounding mainland and the bird's head area, had been formally subject since the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁸ Early in the twentieth century pressure on local people was increasing. Missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church (UZV), C W Otto and J G Geissler, had set up a missionary outpost at Mansinam on 5 February 1855 and at Manokwari in 1898. By the end of the first decade the Dutch administration made it compulsory for the people to engage in labour.

A Sign of the Morning Star

Into this world came Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo in the village of Wardo on 1 May 1913, a member of *wonggor*, crocodile clan, which is a sign of strength. This was the same year in which the missionary Julius Abrahams came to the village of Wardo and took up residence in the home of Herman Wonggor Kaisiëpo, father of Markus. As we shall see, it was this event which symbolised the beginning of an intrusion both permanent and pervasive in its effects.

On the one hand, Christianity disarmed the islanders. On the other, both directly and in an indirect way, it became a mirror in which some individuals saw 'the brightness' of their

Koreri belief system. In combination the two assisted a process, which grew out of the past, through which other Papuans were no longer seen as strangers and enemies but as an extension of a growing cultural entity: Christian universalism claimed all men as brothers so breaking down old barriers; it also catalysed the emergence of 'revitalization movements' which grew out of the old culture (see Wallace 1956:265).

The life of Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo enshrines the historical reality of the colonial 'civilising mission', its negation by a Koreri movement which culminated in the proclaiming of the Papuan Kingdom, the betrayal of the hope that that proclamation embodied, and with it the disappearance of West New Guinea and the Kingdom of Papua Barat as a public entity. Wonggor's life is given here as a Koreri narrative. In the year of his birth the missionary found a safe haven in his father's own house; in the same year the first Dutch administrative officer was stationed at Bosnik. The period from 1928 when his father agreed for him to go to Bosnik to train as a missionary teacher, until 1937 when he challenged the rules of the missionaries and reintroduced the Koreri *wor* songs and dances into his teaching and community activity, was a time of major transition in the Geelvink Bay area. People were being wrenched from Koreri and the old customs and indoctrinated actively in the Christian way; they were being schooled in a new knowledge system and they were being compelled to work for the Dutch.

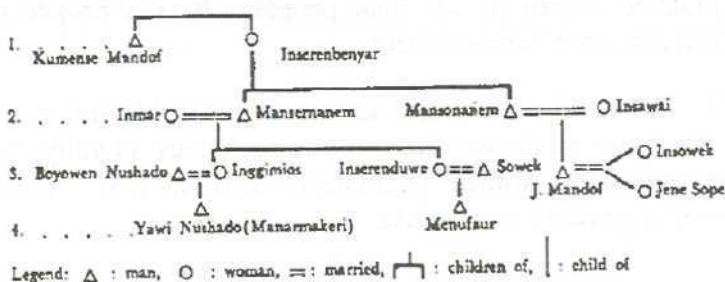
In the nine years leading up to 1937 Wonggor Kaisiëpo was being inducted into a new rite of passage; a process of assimilation taken for granted by the missionaries. He, along with other Biak men, was being 'converted'; a new status was being conferred upon him. As we shall see shortly, his actions were like the precursor of a sign or miracle for which the people had been waiting. Between 1939 and 1943 their hopes culminated in a movement proclaiming the Kingdom of all Papua. In the context of the betrayal of Koreri and the disappearance of West New Guinea-West Irian-Papua Barat as a political entity in the period from 1956-61, Markus Wonggor

Kaisiēpo made final his rejection of the colonial-Christian civilising mission. As we shall see, he came to view the evangelists as Iscariots who had betrayed his people and he refused any co-operation with them.

NOTES

1. Koreri is a mythico-religious belief and a religious practice shared by all Biak people. It is a proper name and therefore not italicised here.
2. The *marēs* is also known as *aibesobin* (*ai* = tree, *be* = 'that', *so* = throw, *bin* = woman; thus literally 'tree to be thrown at the woman' (Kamma 1972:31, note 5). Its Latin name is *Calophyllum inophyllum*.
3. The meaning of refusing the Koreri 'in one spot' in favour of the gift of succession is not recognised by F C Kamma (see 1972:61, note 6: 'It is remarkable that the *Koreri* is refused, and priority given to a woman in order to become a father').
4. The above version is drawn from Tijdeman and van Hasselt 1912:253-56; 1914:90-100, translated for the author by Rex Rumakiek.
5. Kamma says first that there were thirty recorded versions of the myth (1972:50; later, he noted as many as forty-five. All of them begin with events in Sopen, p. 25). Kamma, who provides the poetical text and prose versions, gives a 'full-blown' version recorded after the Great Koreri Movement of 1939 to 1941.
6. Kamma (1972:22) presents the following genealogy of Manarmakeri. Here he has replaced Menufandu (see 1954) with Menufaur. Thimme (1977:16), who also presents Manarmakeri's genealogy, states that his Biak informants told him that Menufandu is correct. This is M W Kaisiëpo's opinion (1991).

Genealogy of Manarmakeri



Kamma concludes:

In conclusion it must be pointed out that reckoning from the first-named: Kumense Mandof and Inserenbenyar, Yawi (Manarmakeri) represented the fourth generation. In Biak four stands for totality. Three generations form an exogamous lineage, one house. The fourth generation is a repetition of the first and the beginning of a new cycle. The data I obtained give only these four generations, and I believe that these constitute the 'holy lineage' in which all the glory of Biak is united and which could be invoked by all later 'lineages' (houses) as a model to be 'recreated' in restored mythical times.

(p. 22)

7. The genealogy of Manarmakeri suggests the myth may have fairly recent origins. This suggestion may also be supported by the observation that the making of palm wine (or other alcoholic beverages) was introduced to the eastern half of New Guinea only within the last two centuries; however, given the Biak trading patterns with Malay peoples, this practice has probably a very much longer history. Markus Wonggo Kaisiëpo claims that Koreri is much older than Christianity (see Chapter 4).

8. The Tidore kingdom lay in northern Maluku close to that of Ternate. Both had trading and raiding links with Halmahera and West Irian-New Guinea (Cribb 1992:206).

2 PHASES

In earlier work which combines the 'historical-religious' with the 'political-historical' (Sharp 1975:301; see also Eliade 1970), I suggested, following Lanternari, that the form and the content of culturally-based reactions to colonialism spring from a particular historical relationship between coloniser and colonised. Lanternari contrasts the events which 'at two different moments of history' provided the motivation for contrasting responses to white penetration among the Sioux: the Ghost Dance fed the fires of rebellion in the face of violent expulsion; the Peyote Cult, a response to a non-violent policy of enforced acculturation counselled introspection and meditation (1963:97). 'Cargo cults', the millenarian movements which proliferated across the eastern half of the island of New Guinea in response to colonial rule, it was argued (Sharp 1975:338-40), have their origin in the *coincidence* of beliefs deriving from millenarian myths about the ultimate return of the ancestors bearing gifts of 'Cargo' and the presence of manufactured goods whose origins remained unknown to local people.¹

The discussion which follows seeks to outline and to explore the character of responses to foreign intrusion with the main focus on the Geelvink Bay area since the middle of the nineteenth century. Known as Koreri movements, they developed and changed in response to variations in the new cultural themes which impinged upon the local people and the varied political and military forms taken by encroachment and acculturation processes.

Themes

The recorded history of Koreri begins about 150 years ago when a *konor* or prophet movement heralding the return of Manseren was first noted by outsiders. Over a period Koreri movements sprang up in various islands in Geelvink Bay uniting previously separate villages, groups and island communities. The newcomers saw these movements as major obstacles to their entry to, and safety in, the area. Although missionaries came to the mainland centres around Geelvink Bay, to Mansinam in 1855 and to Manokwari in 1898 when the Utrecht Missionary Society (UZV) established missionary outposts on the island of Mansinam in Dore Bay in 1855, as we have seen, it was not until 1908 that the Dutch Government established an administrative centre at Bosnik. As J V de Bruijn records, a 'modest administrative station' was established in Hollandia in 1910 (the first Dutch administrative centre being established in West New Guinea in 1898). In 1913 the UZV began a missionary centre at Bosnik. By 1940, 30,000 islanders in Biak and Supiori alone became Christians, at least in name.

The oldest written reference to Manseren Manggundi was in 1854. Between 1855 and 1967 forty-five *konor* movements were recorded on the island of Numfor, in Mansinam, Wandamen, Amberbaken, Roon, Dusner, Waropen, Wariab, Dore, Kau (Halmahera), Biak, the island of Waar, Manokwari, Padaido Islands, Japen, Kurudu, Ayan Islands, Amber villages in Waigeo, Batanta, Pam, Yefbo, Arefi-Yensawai (Kamma 1972:102-56). Some places gave birth to more than one *konor* movement, and several occurred in villages where the UZV Mission had not yet begun work (Kamma:151). The movements carried the same basic theme; they also exhibited variations. In one movement in the Ayan Islands in 1933, Jesus Christ was proclaimed as 'the revelation of Mansren *Nanggi*' (p. 150). In the Arefi-Yensawai area, a *konor*, Wilhelmus Rumbewas who led a movement in 1934 and 1962, had a dream which foretold the arrival of four ships with Christmas decorations and loads of cargo ushering in a time of Koreri (p. 154).

From the perspective of the local people themselves, *konor* movements were a defence of culture: this area, they were saying in their own cultural idiom, is the dominium of we Biak people. From this point of view, the islanders were the defenders of their homelands with Sopen, its three mountain areas, and in particular, Yamnaibori, the seat of their strength: the sacred ground of Manseren Manggundi.

As suggested earlier, the meaning of Koreri as change refers first to the change implicit within the ongoing generations, or in other words a recognisable entity undergoing transformations. The second and ultimate meaning of Koreri is represented by *the* change to complete all changes, *the* consummation of exchanges which constitute the life of the person and of society in the knotting together of separate exchanges, the creation of larger unities. That is the arc of the cultural project, or more accurately, the spiral of the culture (see Eliade 1959).

This idea of Koreri as a culmination, a realisation, a resolution of the paradoxes within social life, within cosmic processes, and within symbolic systems, may perhaps be understood with reference to Tangu of Papua New Guinea. Tangu have a word (*mngwoingwoitiki*) that expresses the idea of a state of affairs in which things are 'all square' or equivalent between people. In the ups and downs of everyday life of giving, receiving and returning, *mngwoingwoitiki* is that 'moment', frozen in time, when the see-saw of reciprocity levels before tilting away from the horizontal. In a highly insightful way, Brunton (1971:119) extends Burridge's observation that in the best of all possible worlds everyone would be 'all square', that is on the same level, and 'true amity' would reign (Burridge 1960:58 as quoted in Brunton 1971:118). For Tangu, a millenarian myth promised the arrival of Cargo; the gift of Cargo would make everyone equal (p. 119). This, I suggest, is akin to a state of Koreri as a 'finale', and this accords with the millennium as the All-Unity, a state of cosmic harmony (see Sharp 1993: Chapters 2 and 4). Whether or not the All-Unity is envisioned to be accompanied by the arrival of Cargo is, in this

view, irrelevant: it is the All-Unity that makes everyone and things 'all square'.²

The account of the development of Koreri that follows, shows how in real life these two meanings are joined: the ancient promise of ultimate reconciliation carries the possibility of the overcoming of the new domination in the search for equality between people - of coming to be on 'the same level'. Koreri became a means of defending culture, which entails both a spiritual and a socio-political strengthening, just what was needed to work towards its realisation.

This chapter considers the phases of the Morning Star in a very special sense. At one level we are talking about phases in a search for Koreri; that is the 'Biak perspective', which includes all the people of the Schouten Islands and those Biaks who have migrated to the bird's head area. At a more general level the phases refer to the expressions of cultural self-awareness which arose all over Papua Barat and which became associated in the name of the Morning Star in the early 1960s. It is being suggested that the Koreri of Biak had its parallel in other communities of Papua Barat, but because of uneven development, different histories of contact and encroachment, these aspirations were less well-known among outsiders and did not find expression in such powerful movements for cultural independence as those in the Biak region. Biak, the colonising power had claimed, is the gateway to West New Guinea: *Kanken* Koreri, the Door or Shield of Koreri is the symbolic entry point to the Koreris of all Papua Barat. 'Koreri is one but has many names' one may say, adapting the ancient saying of the Balinese: 'God is one but has many names'.

Three very loosely demarcated and overlapping phases of Koreri or the Morning Star movement are distinguished here. The first covers the period from about 1855 until the late 1930s: the rise of movements of Koreri, each signalled by the appearance of a *konor* or prophet of Manseren. These movements, appearing suddenly in different places, and becoming more and more frequent (Kamma 1972: Chapter 7), continued to await the return of Manseren.

The second phase, which has become known as the Great Koreri Movement, covers a period from 1938 to 1943. Beginning in Supiori, the smaller of the island pair of Biak and Supiori, the movement bore two important features. First, it united the clans and villages of the twin islands of Biak and Numfor. Second, in proclaiming the Kingdom of all Papua Barat, raising its own flag, instituting rules of conduct in the form of a political programme, it embodied a major transformation in both the form and the content of Koreri. It formed a bridge from a millenarian movement to a movement of cultural nationalism. A response to the newer narrative of colonial supremacy is incorporated; but the cultural genre remains distinct.

The third phase had its beginnings in the period from about 1949. A divine intervention in the virgin birth of Manseren and his son and the coming of Koreri each remain basic tenets of belief, but *the means of achieving Koreri has changed* from the miraculous to the practical; the emphasis now is on *koperasi* (M), practical community projects concerned with village development and welfare.

The changes in the social form and content of Koreri are matched by changes in forms of consciousness. In the third phase, one may note the emergence of a consciousness which has become aware of its own origins. Here we are seeing the beginning of a political practice inspired by religious truths. Men and women who bear special inspiration, which continues to come from sacred origins, have an ongoing importance; they also manifest an expanding individuation or critical self-awareness, an awareness which embodies choices.

The life and thought of Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo illustrates and gives expression to this transformation. Koreri or metaphorphosis has itself undergone a change. His self-awareness implies a reversal. *I was born Koreri; Christianity is only a mask; the contents [behind the mask] belong to us.*



1:1,000,000

Map 2 The islands of Biak-Supiori (Schouten Islands)

In the manner of an understanding which discerns the new within the old, Koreri is seen as both change and continuity. As we have seen, it is the Biak generations; it is also the family tree of all Papua Barat. This is the original creative thought of Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo. It is an awareness and a belief, which in the traditional manner of Koreri, fuels action: action against the Dutch Church which he saw as betraying his people's right to independence: not Gereja Kristen Injili, Greater Christian Church but Gereja Kristen Iscariot!



Each of the three phases takes for granted the identity of Papuan cultural or language units. In the third phase there is an awareness of the potentiality of a diversity in unity of those cultural units. Each remains within the sacred endowment of its own genealogy on its own ground; the possibilities of alliance are attendant on a change in attitude to one another. A common administration and, one may add, a common enemy which imposed itself upon them the common burden of an inferior status, provided a condition to make common cause. The banning of slave hunting combined with the teachings of Christianity that all humankind are brothers and sisters, offered a form of universalist consciousness which could actively aid the process of seeing their Papuan neighbours not as enemies but as of 'the same kind' as themselves.

Of utmost practical importance is that the concept of extended unities – the potentiality of culturally diverse communities coming into wider association – came to include all Papua Barat. This notion, of diversities-in-unity, is antithetical to the concept of 'a homogeneous cultural entity', the words used by one Dutch administrator to designate the historically developed reality of the 35,000 inhabitants

composing Kawasa Biak – the community of peoples of the islands of Geelvink Bay (de Bruijn 1965:82). These people constitute one cultural unit, but one which is not homogenised; being composed of smaller cultural units interlinked by a process of mediation of differences, or in everyday terms, the turning of enemies into friends. In the history of the Biak-Numfor people, it was Manarmakeri who played the role of mediator between communities, making wider integrations possible.

Scholars indigenous to the face-to-face societies of Melanesia find the reality of this kind of process self-evident. Thus Utula Samana argues for the importance of ethnic-cultural identity among the communities of his home area in Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea: (1988:41-57). Likewise Dave Passi refers to the elaboration of diversities-in-unity beginning from Murray Island, his home island in the Torres Strait: ‘We can have a unity, yet retain diversity in that unity... There is variety and yet we are one’ (in Sharp 1993:110). As we shall see, in the development of Koreri social practice, there is a continuing thread of similarity in the form of mediation over a period of time; it is the *content* of that practice that changes.

Phase 1: *Konor* Movements, Defending Culture

Throughout the history of colonisation, millenarian myths, foreshadowing the miraculous arrival of a terrestrial paradise, a regeneration of life, a resolution of the paradox of birth and death, of plenty and scarcity, of health and sickness, of beginning and ending, have fuelled movements seeking to enact and bring about that state of affairs (see Cohn 1970 on mediaeval millenarianism). Typically they are centred around a prophet or herald of the millennium, who acts as a medium with the central figure of the myth – or in other words, a link with the ‘supernatural’ other. In the Biak-Numfor area movements led by such figures, known as *konor*, were noted by outsiders in pre-missionary times. This is consistent with the view that millenarian movements or ‘cults’, as they are often known by

outsiders, are not in themselves essentially a response to colonialism; in ancient times they were often a response to natural or social disasters or cataclysms (Salisbury 1958:75; Vallentine 1963:42).

As we have seen, the lives of the Biak-Numfor people were set within and by the cosmic or natural cycles: they ordered their lives, giving them a rhythm as well as a medium or set of analogies through which they constructed the categories of their lives and their meaning systems. These cycles of the natural also held within them certain seemingly irresolvable paradoxes – us and other, life and death. Moreover, the regular patterns and cycles of nature contain dramatic moments – the whirlwind, the storm, the tidal wave – singular events outside the categories of the day-to-day, ‘the normal’, the expected. Here begin the frontiers of the super-natural, and it is in this abyss that the most powerful ‘resolving’ myths find their place. Such a myth is the myth of Manseren Manggundi, offering as it does a rallying point at times when the body social is threatened by forces of disintegration; when natural disaster threatens a people with physical extinction. Like all myths it proclaims a truth; again, in the manner of myth it attempts to bring about the truth it proclaims: *Our beliefs are not just words*, Wonggor Kaisiëpo says, *ours is also action*. Not just knowing but doing (Frankfort 1946:11-13; see Kebi Bala [Passi] in Sharp 1993:108-09).



In 1854 the myth of Manseren appeared in published form. A year later the first *konor* movement was noted by foreigners. Eighteen such movements occurred in places where the Christian mission had not been (Kamma 1972:217). Between 1855 and 1967 forty-five such movements were recorded in the Biak-

Numfor area, in which groups of believers prepared for the return of Manseren. Preparations included characteristically, the destruction of gardens and livestock; the state of being of the believers was characterised by trance and possession. In the impending Korero old things would pass away, all things would become new. The core purposes they sought but could not realise in the everyday – the conversion of enemies into friends, the unification of the Before and the After – now seemed within reach.

Outsiders do not know the age of the myth of Manseren; and the genealogy given by Kamma locates Manarmakeri as a mythical-historical figure. Wonggor Kaisiëpo says that Korero and the narrative of the miraculous birth of Manarmakeri's son are located in ancient times long before the birth of Christ. *We had our Jesus long before your Jesus*, he told the missionaries.

Common myths which join the seemingly most exclusive opposites – which bring together former enemies, which promise resurrection – call upon mediums who stand astride the commonsense categories of life, who, in other words, transgress the boundaries of categories of the everyday, acting as mediators between man and more than man. Often they appear in shapes symbolic of their unifying role; for instance, Bomai, the god of the Meriam people of the Murray Islands of the Torres Strait, who transformed into many shapes, finally appeared as an octopus, a symbol of the unity of the eight clans of the Murray Islands and their most divine and powerful god (Haddon 1908; Kitaoji 1977:212; Sharp 1993:29-30). The name Bomai was not known by most Murray Islanders. So awe-ful was that name that most people knew Bomai only by the name of a lesser god, Malo (Haddon 1908:232).

The figure of Manarmakeri, which translates either as 'scabious Old Man', or 'the Old Man of the Star', was a singular person: the repudiated or rejected one, in the tradition of the anomaly; like us but not like us, an outsider. Most Biak people knew him only as the Old Man, his secret names were too sacred to say.



Within this first phase the myth grew, taking in the new events and experience which came with the foreigners – responses to the missionary teachings and reactions to the conditions imposed by the Dutch. A version of the myth recorded by W K H Feuilletau de Bruijn in 1916 incorporated the promise that with the arrival of Koreri there would be no Dutch East India Company which forced them to do road building and pay taxes, a requirement introduced in 1912 (Kamma 1972:44-45; Worsley 1970:140-41).

From the standpoint of outsiders, the appearance of *konor* in different parts of the Geelvink Bay area, and further afield, was seen as an impediment to the Christian cause. Thus they were commented upon; Koreri and *konor* as its messengers were seen as the anti-Christ. Thus in 1914 van Hasselt attempted to show the power of *konor* in a period long before Koreri became manifest in any major public way. He wrote of the killing of the Dutchman Captain Holland (who is buried in Manokwari), the long journeys undertaken by the people of western Biak to capture slaves on the island of Japen, the rejection of outside influences which might subdue and subordinate them, by proclaiming and reasserting the truth of their own indigenous god (Kamma 1972:96).



As in Papua and New Guinea where millenarian movements known as cargo cults by foreigners were banned by the Australian administration, where their leaders were imprisoned for 'spreading false reports' (Rowley 1972), the appearance of *konor* in the Biak-Numfor area and beyond, was seen as 'creating disturbances'. Thus de Bruijn refers to the 'Koreri disturbances of the Schouten Islands' (1951:1), and of their affinity with 'similar disturbances among primitive peoples

throughout the world' (p. 1). The missionary Kamma notes too how *konor* movements were seen as a 'disturbance of peace and order and the deliberate circulation of alarming rumours', (1972: 220). *Konor* themselves were seen as 'false prophets' and the movements were 'regarded as sources of disturbance' (p. 263).

Koreri movements were certainly creations of the indigenous culture; they were also creations of a culture in transition. As the account of the next phase demonstrates, they were what Wallace has termed 'revitalization movements' (1956: 265). They sought the creation of new unities, the creation of a new society', as Burrige wrote of Tangu (1960:247). New unities were prefigured in the myth of Manseren which broke with the tradition of secrecy attached to magical knowledge. Manarmakeri was asking people to share in the secrets of Kuméseri-Sampari, the Morning Star. This is a development of immense significance for it made possible both the spiritual and the social strengthening necessary to meet the challenge of intrusion and encroachment (see Waiko 1972:418; Sharp 1975: 299-359).

Phase 2: The Search for the Kingdom of Papua Barat, 1938 to 1943

Angganitha Menufandu is the *konor* of this phase. The miraculous curing of Angganitha, a woman of the island of Insumbabi off the coast of Soweik, was a sign to the people that Koreri, heralded by the return of Manseren, was imminent. Angganitha had suffered from a skin disease, possibly leprosy; she was also paralysed. One day she was visited on the island where she lived as an outcast, by a stranger who brought her food and medicine and cured her. He then gave her his blessing saying he had chosen her to lead the people to Koreri. She then returned to Insumbabi, the island of her birth where people, seeing that a miracle had happened, became her followers. She told them that it was Manarmakeri who had cured her and named her *Bin Damai*, Woman of Peace, enjoining her to lead

all her people to Koreri. Thus began what is known as the Great Koreri Movement involving all the people of Geelvink Bay. People harvested their food gardens, killed their livestock, sang the Koreri *wor* songs and danced the Koreri *wor* dances as a preparation for the arrival of Koreri (Worsley 1970:148-49). Wonggor, who was at Bosnik, explains how the people around him there took the miracle curing as a sign. They tapped the sides of the canoe and made off for Insumbabi, Angganitha's home island, coming to rally around their new prophet.

Angganitha was born in 1902. A gifted woman, both poet and prophet, she composed songs in traditional narrative and question and answer form, which were sung at gatherings of her followers (Kamma 1972:162). The movement she led seeking cultural continuity and revival arose at a special time in Biak history: a period in which Dutch rule was supplanted by Japanese invasion. She inspired her people to overcome their enmities with one another and to strengthen mutual ties. Through a message to Angganitha from Manseren came the authority to enjoin the people to renew themselves and bring about the Kingdom of heaven upon earth – Koreri – where the Koreri flag in blue, white and red, signifying faith, peace and courage, would fly out over all West Irian-Papua Barat (Kamma: 158).

The person is like a priest who got the holy message from heaven, from Manseren Nanggi and gave it to the local people. This person is somebody like Angganitha because she is a holy person. She got the message from Manseren Nanggi and gave it to the local people. All these people saw her as a holy person because she was paralysed and through a miracle she could walk again. She made Koreri [the Koreri movement] and she was like a priest.

The rise of a *konor* in the Soweik area, the centre of the smaller and lesser of the twin islands, is significant. It was as though the balance of power and cultural supremacy now 'tipped' in Supiori's favour, an event not uncommon in the history of millenarian movements.



Angganitha's rise and the outbreak of the Great Koreri Movement were 'making things even'.³ The core of the new Koreri movement centred on Supiori's move to become even, to re-partake of the sacred endowment which brought Soweik into union with Sopen.

Genealogical evidence given by Kamma, suggests a reuniting with the sacred personage of Manseren Manggundi. If his account, which relies heavily upon the missing Mandof manuscript is accurate, Angganitha's original name was Inserensoweik. Through her, Angganitha was related to Manarmakeri: Insoweik was Jejau Mandof's first wife; his mother was Insawai who, it may be recalled, was married to one of the twin boys born miraculously to Kumense Mandof's sister, Inserenbenyar. The four generations from Kumense Mandof to Yawi Nushado (Manarmakeri) on the one hand, to Angganitha's ancestor, Menufandu or Menufaur (see Chapter 1, note 7), represent one house or exogamous lineage (Kamma 1972:22); this also signifies the 'repetition' of the first generation 'and the beginning of a new cycle' (p. 22). Angganitha embodied the cross-ties between Sopen and Soweik; through these cross-ties there is a transference: she may be seen as the re-creation and reaffirmation of the In-the-Beginning, which Manarmakeri's miraculous appearance denoted. In this way, it could be said, the sacred tie between the island twins (for which the twin boys stand as metaphor) is strengthened by the three generations preceding that of Angganitha. She is the synthesis, the beginning of a new time or cycle, the medium or *mon* through which Koreri might break through into the lives of all the island people of Geelvink Bay.



Three stages may be discerned within the Great Koreri Movement of 1938 to 1943, each with unique features closely tied to the ways in which the authorities of both Church and State sought to restrict the wishes of the people for Koreri. Each new stage expressed a gathering determination.

In the first stage Angganitha preached a philosophy of non-violence. In response to this movement, the Dutch authorities burned down the houses of Angganitha and her fellow islanders in Insumbabi, and they imprisoned her. This phase lasted until the end of 1941.

The beginning of the second stage at the end of 1941, marked by the return of Angganitha to Soweik, was a more political one with open opposition to the Government, recognition of Angganitha as *konor*, rallies and songs and a new flag, the building of a new organisation with representatives in each village, the flag flying on the representative's house. At a social-structural level, a new level of integration had been achieved (see Kamma 1972:166). This stage reached a climax with the re-arrest of Angganitha and the burning of shops and offices in Bosnik by Biak warriors in May-June 1942.

The third stage began in June 1942 with a new military leader of the movement, Stephanus Simiopiaref moving to proclaim Angganitha Queen of all New Guinea. The leaders of the movement formulated a complete political programme for the whole of New Guinea under the Koreri flag. The first task of the movement was to free Angganitha from prison and this action resulted in violence. The people had risen in open revolt calling for freedom for Papua (Kamma 1972:178). Universalist goals meant a struggle to break down social barriers and create peace among local groups (see p. 173).

Although leadership remained in the hands of Simiopiaref, Angganitha's inspiration lingered on: oral tradition has it that the Japanese military attempted to behead her; she did not die, so they buried her alive (Rumakiek 1985:118).

Importantly, this movement as 'a form of religious nationalism', as de Bruijn called it (1951:7), foreshadowed by a generation the adoption of a programme for the independence of all West New Guinea, for which, as we shall see shortly, the Biak-Numfor people, and in particular Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo, were the early architects.



The period delineated by the arrival of the missionaries and the Dutch administration and the graduation of the first evangelist-teachers at Bosnik in the mid-1930s, was a critical one in shaping the development and opening out of the myth. In turn, this determined the character of the Great Koreri Movement. The Biak-Numfor people had for centuries used and worked iron; they were familiar with the processes of pre-industrial artisan skills. It was simply a next step for them to become acquainted with a money culture, with the products of industrial production, and with the skills of literacy and numeracy that went with them.

The myth itself grew, taking in new events. In the period known as the Advent Nights which preceded the outbreak of Koreri, the coming of a factory was added to the myth (Worsley 1970:146). In contrast to Papua and New Guinea where the focus of millenarian myths was on the arrival of cargo, the manufactured goods which the people saw as sent to them by the ancestors and stolen by Europeans, the emphasis in the Biak-Numfor area was different. There are very sound reasons for this difference. The peoples of Papua and New

Guinea were prevented from knowing the 'secret' of the cargo: they believed manufactured goods came from the world of their ancestors. The Biak-Numfor people had had the opportunity over a long period to know that these new commodities were manufactured.

The most important changes in the myth concerned a sense of the extending unity of all New Guinea. Accompanying this change was a diffusion of Manseren's blessing to all the people of Irian. In the ultimate reversal which Korero denoted, at the sounding of the last trump, 'The dead would have arisen and all secrets would have been divulged to all humankind' (Kamma 1972:36).

If the movement was increasingly universalist in character, it was also increasingly militant: both anti-Mission and anti-Government. Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo's action in 1937 in flouting mission rules on the performance of traditional Korero songs and dances (*wor*) helped to 'press the button' of defiance. He taught children the Korero *wor* banned by the missionaries; he insisted on his heritage as a Korero man; he published letters of those who were anti-Korero so the villagers could distinguish between Korero and anti-Korero people; and during a major ceremony in Biak he revived Korero custom.

In 1939 Angganitha was arrested and taken to gaol in Bosnik. This event acted as the trigger for an outbreak of violence. All Biak was in uproar and some 5,000 warriors descended on Bosnik, burning Chinese shops, police offices, police barracks, government buildings and killing some people, demanding the release of Angganitha, their *konor*.

The people were deadly serious. Anyone who was thought to have informed the Government of an earlier Korero movement was placed on a death list. According to family sources this list included the missionary, Freerk Kamma (Mrs Kamma, personal communication, 1991). Any Ambëri (foreigner) or local teacher who had informed the authorities or had mocked the movement was taken prisoner (Kamma 1972:200).

Angganitha's arrest and the events which followed immediately signalled the beginning of a second stage of the

Great Korero Movement. The symbolism of this stage is important and quite unique. It centres upon the flag of the Papuan Kingdom, *bandera wamuren* which became the central symbol of the movement. *Bandera wamuren* means the east, the origin of the blue, white and red flag, said to be the Dutch tricolour *reversed*; a metaphor for the turning round of the existing state of affairs in the process of the coming of Korero. The Morning Star was placed in the blue section, a cross in the white one. Not just renewal but metamorphosis was the keynote (de Bruijn 1951:7). Korero believers claimed that the Dutch tricolour is part of their heritage which the colonists stole. In the millenarian movements which flowered in the eastern half of the island of New Guinea, known by outsiders as 'cargo cults', typically it was said that Europeans had stolen the secret of the cargo which was the birthright of the local people. Among the followers of Manseren Manggundi, significantly the stolen secret is that of the Papuans' emblem of freedom, the symbol of their independent identity as a people.

Of utmost significance is the way this movement threw up a unifying cultural symbol – the Morning Star flag – which signified the ultimate promise of Korero and a political programme to achieve it in the here and now. 'The whole of New Guinea, from Gébé to Hollandia and Merauke, will fall under the protection of the new flag.' This was the seventh of eight sets of principles agreed on in June 1942 (Kamma 1972: 173).



Sampari-Kumeséri, the Star of Korero, lay upon a red background on the left hand side; the right hand side is composed of blue and white horizontal stripes. Blue, white, red signify hope, peace and courage. In later times the hope for,

and confidence in, the possibility of the realisation of the Koreri of all Papua Barat became a source of courage to resist cultural annihilation. Among those people formed within the meanings of Koreri of the era leading up to the Second World War, one perceives a strong note of Angganitha's divine message of peace alongside hope and courage. Angganitha *Bin Damai*, Woman of Peace, signified the unity of previously separate and hostile groupings; *Bin Damai* also expresses a philosophy of non-violence: 'Do not shed blood, for blood is a bar to renewal (*Koreri*)', was the first rule of the movement led by Angganitha (Kamma 1972:159). This is an ethic which echoes the Christian principle; turning the other cheek is the hallmark of Christianity, not an eye for an eye, or the turning of enemies into slaves which characterised pre-Christian Biak culture. Thus Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo holds to her philosophy of non-violence: weapons are only a last resort in response to the rule of the sword by the forces occupying Papua Barat.

In a social life where all things may become new through the mediating role of spiritually powerful figures who receive their strength from their ambiguous position *vis-à-vis* two classes: man and more than man, that is man and god; or one of us and the rejected one. Such a personage was Manarmakeri, who lived as a man and who also received supernatural power from the Morning Star, Sampari; the Old man who lived as an outcast, the despised and rejected one (*Sekfamneri*)⁴ whom people mocked, ridiculed and held in contempt. In belonging to two categories, Manarmakeri is able to cross boundaries no others can cross (see Douglas 1978:289). Of us and not of us; one who lived upon the highest mountain and one who received the deepest Secret from Manseren Nanggi, the Almighty One — just the Old Man to effect a transformation of the highest order. The reversed colours of the flag are a signification of that transformation.



Other changes were taking place in people's awareness which the myth foreshadowed and which may be compared and contrasted with Christian universalism. The element of personal choice in the 'offer' of the Morning Star assumes a strong element of individuation; the Old Man's choice is a universalist statement (Koreri for everyone) and Manseren's message is for the universal resurrection of real people, in an earthly paradise. (Manseren has Christian qualities which embody the possibility of resurrection.)



The Biak people believe they come from an area to the east of the Mamberamo River, at Tabi or Bagaiserwar. The choice of *bandera wamuren*, the east, as their flag is an affirmation about the reaches of the Papuan Kingdom in the easterly direction. Its border in the west, known as Point Gébé, is defined by the conquering voyages of the Papuan warrior ancients, Fakok and Pasref.

The distinction between the mythical and the geographical west is of great importance. In the epic poem of the Manseren myth, the land of the dead, typically westward 'under the setting sun', lies in 'the whirling stream' of the Mamberamo, the vast river of the northern coast which in mythical terms is the gateway to the underworld. Before the migration of the Biak people to the islands of Geelvink Bay the Mamberamo River lay to their geographical west.

In the cosmology of the islanders of Geelvink Bay the land of the dead lay far westward; in the land where one became a *mon*, a spirit or soul; thus Mamberamo, originally *mamberamon* (literally, man who went to become a *mon* or spirit; Kamma 1972:63, note 10).⁵ All this may suggest that the Manseren myth had its origins very long ago, the position taken

by Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo. Mamberamo is the gateway to the underworld; it is also the land of souls. Over the centuries the mouth of the river was defended against foreign intruders with great vigour because the area represented a mythical centre (Kamma 1972:137 ff., 220).

Phase 3: The Morning Star in Papua Barat

From about 1949 onwards, a transition in both the mode of consciousness and the form of organisation of movements of cultural identity occurred. The emphasis upon miraculous events prepared for by magical and ritual practices gave way to more secular-political activity. This change does not imply that basic religious beliefs and miraculous events, for example, the virgin birth of Manseren's son, or the return of Manseren, were excluded or supplanted.

The features of the newer movements are three: *koperasi* as the means of achieving Koreri, and this includes steps to bring all Papuans to the same level; a growing awareness of Koreri as the Papuan generations, or in other words, Papuan identity; the transition from a millenarian to a cultural nationalist form of opposition to occupation.

A move towards self-determination for all West New Guinea had been given its public expression on 5 April 1961, with the inauguration of the New Guinea Council. The Council was a sign of both an ending and a beginning: an ending of Dutch administration, the beginning of an 'assisted self-government', as J V de Bruijn called it (1965:96), a step along the path to full self-government. As laid down in the official Netherlands Government Gazette the previous year, on 10 November 1960, preparations were being made for the 'democratic constitutional development of the territory' (p. 96). In the history of Netherlands New Guinea this body carried unique powers, combining legislative authority with financial co-responsibility for the New Guinea budget which, until then, had

been the exclusive domain of the Governor of Netherlands New Guinea in consultation with a Council of Heads of Departments.

All round, a far-reaching step had been taken in the process of decolonisation. In relation to the hopes, anticipations and cultural perspectives of Papuans its significance cannot be underestimated. It represented organisational moves by the colonial authority in response to projects and programmes inspired mainly by Korero beliefs. A strong Korero man, Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo was Vice-Chairman of that Council.

In the Biak area a generation before, 'a self-conscious Papuan cultural nationalism' (de Bruijn 1951:10) had united some 30,000 villagers. Now the political climate was being created for the full legal expression of that nationalism in other ethnic-cultural units all over West New Guinea.

In the past, public discussion by Papuan people on their present and future had never been encouraged by Dutch officials. As a people their opinions had not been considered. In a monumental turnaround 'currents of opinion' of the population were to be reflected in 'a representative body' (de Bruijn 1965:96). The words of an Explanatory Memorandum in the lead-up to the establishment of the New Guinea Council reflect the momentousness of the occasion in which the promotion of a common Papuan consciousness might give impetus to the integration of very diverse and unevenly developed ethnic-cultural groups in the colony (see de Bruijn 1965:97, note 14).

The foundation of the New Guinea Council was described by de Bruijn as 'a factor of far-reaching significance for the realization of the Papuans' right to self-determination' (p. 97). Administrators had arranged things so that before 5 April 1962 the New Guinea Council would make known to the Dutch Government its views on the way in which self-determination might be achieved and give advice on a time schedule. This it did on major questions long before the year was over (p. 97, see also p. 98).

The hopes of Korero were being rekindled: a self-determining future seemed to be in the making. The

Netherlands Government had, it seemed, changed its colours. A renewal and a transformation had been set in train and was gathering strength. 'The author's impression,' wrote Paul van der Veur of Papuan aspirations, '...is that the idea of being entitled to their own existence will not be so easily discarded' (1963:72).



The moves by the Dutch Government were making possible and encouraging expressions of Papuan nationalism, a nationalism in which, at that time, the Biak-speaking islanders of Geelvink Bay formed a powerful centre. This rising cultural-political consciousness found organised expression in October 1961 with the formation of a Papuan National Committee which claimed 'to represent all West Papua'. The name 'Papua Barat', proposed formally by Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo in his position as Vice-President of the New Guinea Council, became one of three requests made in the Manifesto of the Papuan National Committee on 19 October 1961; the other two were for the West Papuan flag to fly beside the Netherlands tricolour and for *Hai Tanahku Papua*(M), 'Hail My Country Papua' (see Appendix Two), to become the Papuan national anthem (de Bruijn 1965:101). One name, one people, one country, one spirit were in process in Papua Barat.

Yet outside events were shaping the future of the Papuan peoples in an opposite direction. The following year, on 15 August 1962, the sovereignty of Netherlands New Guinea was transferred to Indonesia. After an interim period from 1 October 1962 to 30 April 1963 during which a United Nations authority administered the country, the land known in Indonesian circles as Irian Barat became an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia. All that remained now was the imprimatur of

'selected' captive spokesmen who were indoctrinated, cajoled and bludgeoned over the next six years into recording their 'choice'. Politics had brought *koperasi* to an end, as Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo reflected thirty years later.

The Dutch had given Papuan public opinion a chance too late. The Dutch Government itself was persuaded to change its mind by the United States: fear of communism and Sukarno's *confrontasi* were the basic underlying reasons (Sharp 1977:40). Alongside that change in attitude the chances of Papuans 'flew out the window'. The officials who had supported the thinking behind the New Guinea Council became silent. Dutch pens stopped writing about the justice and the realism of Papuan self-determination. A lost cause faded before the narrative of Papuan backwardness and the *realpolitik* of great power politics.

The Papuan people were betrayed. Mr Wonggor Kaisiëpo accused those who betrayed him and his people. The Christian missionaries, the Church had 'sold out' Papua Barat. In his eyes they were Iscariots, not followers of Christ.⁶

A new stage was being reached in the struggle for self-determination of a nation in the making: the end of the brief period in which the Dutch Government encouraged, sought to shape, and give institutional expression to the stirrings of Papuan people, was suddenly and very painfully near. The Dutch reversed their position, as did other national states which had considered the possibility of an independent New Guinea, the core of a Melanesian federation based upon the two halves separated artificially by colonial boundaries.

Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo, in his role as assistant district administrator, 'overlooked' the colonial borders between peoples whose concordance in their principles of living offered a potential for unity in diversity. In the short term, he was rapped over the knuckles for it. In the longer term, he tapped into areas of potential support not only among the inhabitants of both sides, but also among the politically astute such as John R Kerr (later Governor-General of Australia) who advocated 'a Federation of Melanesia' for the whole island of Australia, New Guinea and its offshore islands at a time when the Australian

Ministry for External Territories remained firm in its policy of independence for Papua and New Guinea 'in the generations to come' (see John Kerr, *The Observer*, 6 September 1958; Paul Hasluck, *South Pacific*, January-February 1952:228, as cited in Sharp 1972:32-33).



The new stage was sharply demarcated from the former in that public expressions of the right to self-determination flew in the face of the rule of the sword. That sword was gripped firmly in the October 1965 coup in Jakarta which brought the military junta, led by General Suharto, to power. It was this increasingly dangerous and enclosing situation that led to the birth of the Organisasi Papua Merdeka, or Free Papua Movement (OPM). Johan Ariks, who came from the Manokwari area, was one of the founders, along with Baldus Mofu. Educated Papuans, who also retained their local identities and associations, found rainforest hideouts for their secret meetings. They were dedicated first and foremost to the same aims that Papuan nationalists had foreshadowed in the Koreri movements.

Biak formed the centre of Papuan nationalism. The coastal areas surrounding the Schouten Islands and the Radja Ampat Islands which served as Biak *bondi* for many people over generations, were integral with that centre. Kawasa Biak formed the backbone of the movement for self-determination and it was Koreri as a set of meanings which fuelled that movement. Yet it was this link between Koreri beliefs and displays of Papuan nationalism which eluded many outsiders. The reason lies in their perception of Koreri. They saw the Manseren-Koreri movements as expressions of a 'nativistic primitivism', an unrealistic search for a millenarian utopia. Kawasa Biak, the Biak community, was commonly seen by administrators as 'the

culturally most advanced' in Papua Barat. Thus for instance J V de Bruijn, who worked as District Officer in the Schouten Islands Administrative division in the post-war years, described Biaks as people 'with the most European outlook' (1951:9). He believed that by the end of the 1940s, 'Practically there was nothing left of the old Biak culture' (p. 10).

Administrators like de Bruijn believed that Biak culture was dead, that the islanders had assimilated the European mentality and adopted the life-ways of their European educators and superiors. After all, that was what the civilising mission of State and Church had been about since the second decade. He was aware of Biak resistance to assimilation; what he saw as 'difficulties encountered among the natives of Biak' were 'intelligible only in the setting of the Manseren beliefs' (1951: 10-11). Yet he failed to perceive the fundamental truth that Korero and the Manseren movements gave the Kawasa Biak its identity and strength.

The difficulty lay in the seemingly paradoxical reality of the Biak islanders' situation. On the one hand they were (obviously) the most educated in a Western sense and acculturated to Western ways. They advanced nationalist goals and increasingly they expressed that nationalism in political and economic programmes intelligible to Westerners. Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo is the archetype of the new Biak man. On the other hand Wonggor Kaisiëpo is again illustrative; Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo's identity and that of his group are integral with a situation often unfamiliar to a Western mind for whom the dualities of change and conservatism operate as binary categories. The deep conservatism of Korero provided both the inspiration and the strength for the conservation of Kawasa Biak. The paradox of changing *and* continuing for the Biak is reconcilable within a process whereby new means are adopted to achieve ancient goals. Thus Korero found expression not in the form of the old *konor* movements, but in apparently secular movements for self-determination, and in economic projects based upon *koperasi*. Yet they drew their strength from the secrets of Manseren Nanggi, Almighty God, through the agency

of Sampari-Kuméséri, the Morning Star. As we have noted elsewhere, the Murray Islanders of the Torres Strait have a word which expresses the continuity *and* the newness or change within all things, a conception which has its roots in the observation of cosmic regeneration. This setting too threw up people in the 1930s and afterwards who drew their strength from the ancient god of the Murray Islanders known as Malo-Bomai. Again, like the Biak islanders, they had also acquired the knowledge and the skills appropriate to formulate, demand and fight for a programme for their own autonomy (Sharp 1993: especially Chapters 7, 8 and 9). Their 'secular' projects and actions were integral with a spiritual strengthening which was built upon a flame that had been carried forward from their ancestors.

The Manseren cult, wrote de Bruijn in 1951, is a form of 'religious nationalism' whose political and military features are as important as the religious ones (p. 7). Koreri is less a religion than a self-conscious Papuan cultural nationalism, he continued (p. 10). A decade later the incipient power of this awareness was noted: '... one senses the momentum of a new Papuan consciousness... it seems probable that the whole question [of West Irian's future] will be determined primarily by this development of this new spirit of self-awareness' (van der Kroef 1961:291). Between 1959 and 1961 a change took place in the composition of Kankain Karkara Biak, the village council: members of the newly educated generation who had grown up in the period of the Second World War were vying for authority with the old village headmen in Kankain Karkara Biak (de Bruijn 1965:91-92).

The Koreri or Manseren movement was changing. In the period leading up to 1961-62 the impetus for self-determination reached a crescendo. Koreri or Manseren had no public persona at that time. Yet upon the flag of Papua Barat, which had the acceptance of representatives of all the districts of Papua, lay the indelible imprint of a divine power symbolised by Sampari, the Morning Star, recognised as inspirational in all quarters of the country. In the period following the New York Agreement when sporadic protest was transformed into an organisation for

independence - the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) – the same flag and programme for liberation gave expression to this inspiration.



Koreri continued to take new forms. In the period of intensification of the Indonesianisation of Papua Barat there emerged a group known as Mambesak, Shining Bird, dedicated to the conservation and renewal of the multiplicity of Papuan cultures. It was led by Arnold Ap, a man from the most indigenous and 'original' Biak groupings whose homelands are close to the mythical centre of the Manseren myth. The first song of Mambesak, named Koreri, carried a spiritual strengthening; the words were about the birth of Jesus of Bethlehem and the love of the Lord Almighty for us all; the inner meaning carried the strength and divine inspiration of Manseren Nanggi, Almighty God.

*In the midst of our doubtings
Which come from the influence of Satan
God is with us and never leaves us.*

'Arnold Ap made Koreri live again...', Wonggor Kaisiëpo reflected in June 1991. For Mr Wonggor Kaisiëpo the Christian words are but a mask; the contents belong to Koreri. While saying these words he drew out a shining silver-bladed knife from its leather sheath.

NOTES

1. Lommel writes: 'From the cult of the dead, there derives all the traditional religious life of Melanesians. For them, it is not conceivable that the cargo comes from Europe, the existence of which they are not aware, for them the cargo comes from the world of the dead' (Andreas Lommel, 'Der "Cargo-Cult" in Melanesien: ein Beitrag zur Problem der Europaisierung der Primitiven', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, LXXVIII, 1, 1953:55, as quoted in Lanternari 1963:186). Lanternari adds that another 'inexperience' should also be added, viz. that concerned 'in the process of manufacturing the goods. The lack of such experience seems to us a determining factor in their attitude toward the cargo' (pp. 186-87).

2. This idea fits well with Burridge's development of Lévi-Strauss' conception of myth as a logical model which seeks to resolve the contradictions of life. Narratives or myths serve to create an 'awareness derived from a synthesis of differently based universes of knowledge' (1969:203): the moral order founded upon reciprocal relationships between people and the non-reciprocal, between people and the divine.

3. Brunton has argued that movements of colonial millenarianism known as 'Cargo cults' are a means of dealing with destruction of traditional exchange systems (1972:115-128). A hypothesis worth consideration is that the outbreak of the Korero movement in Supiori, the lesser of the twin islands and its leadership, one tied through the house of Menufaur to Yawi Nushado, constitutes, in part, an attempt to throw off the domination of Biak and become even.

4. *Sekfamneri* means the rejected one, or the one who came out of the coconut spike, or the man of the coconut spike, where the Old Man kept watch (Kamma 1972:18).

5. *Mon* was also the name given to the founders of new *keret* (patricians) and the leaders of immigrant groups (Kamma 1972:15); *Fan Nanggi*, ritual feasts to Nanggi, the sky were conducted by shaman known also as *mon* (p. 14).

6. There is a connection between Christianity as a transcendental, universalist religion and the incapacity of its followers to see its emergence as part of an historical process. In this form of awareness, its message represents the ultimate truth; *Koreri* then denotes the otherness of primitive observation.

3 ACROSS THREE GENERATIONS

Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo has the outward manner and appearance of a modern man; the bearing and appearance of a statesman. His recollections of events, of persons, of dates are impressive. For example, recounting in 1991 his meeting with the Queen Mother in 1960, he told me how he explained to her why he did not speak Dutch. *In 1929 I wrote to you asking whether we could learn Dutch. You refused us then and that is why I do not speak Dutch today.* This corresponds closely with written records of a letter sent by Markus and two colleagues to Her Majesty asking for instruction in Dutch (as published in *Handelingen New-Guinea Raad*, Second Session, 9th Meeting, 16 July 1962:6, in van der Veur 1963:56, note 2, who gives the year as 1932).

The life of Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo of crocodile clan from the village of Wardo in the district of Sopen, which begins on 1 May 1913, is the story of a man who was 'born Koreri'. He also carries the strength of his sacred line, *wonggor* or crocodile. His life is the practice of Koreri under conditions of the active denigration of that tradition by powerful forces: by missionaries, by the Dutch colonists and, supported by neighbours and great powers, by the state of Indonesia. Yet he is a man respected by the missionaries who taught him and worked with him, by the Dutch, by his own people and by other leaders in Pacific islands. His early hopes were kindled by his father, Herman Kaisiëpo, a man with a strong feeling for Koreri who had brought the missionaries to *his* house to add their blessing to his spirit of Manseren. These hopes were encouraged by the missionaries. A bright student emerging as a district assistant soon after the Second World War, with first

class honours in his academic subjects in 1949, he grew to manhood in the schools of the Utrecht Missionary Society at Korido, Bosnik, Serui and at the school for headmasters at Miei in the mid-thirties. Clashing with missionaries in his early adult years before the Second World War, he taught the Korero warrior dances, promulgated Korero in the pages of *Sampari*, the Church paper which he edited, and began projects of village economic co-operation (*koperasi*).

His life began as a life of hope; hope was followed by the realisation as a young man educated as a missionary teacher that his identity, like the identity of the Biak people, was being insulted by the missionaries, men who in practice constituted the main day-to-day authority in the Geelvink Bay area in the period in which he grew to manhood. For them Korero was a belief of the past, as were the warrior traditions of the Biak islanders. Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo's experience, following his graduation, was that the missionaries talked one way and acted another; they also tried to stop him developing co-operative village business. The attraction of Christianity for Biak people was that it promised for them the possibilities of building the kingdom of heaven in Geelvink Bay. For them Christianity at first held out for them the fulfilment of the promise of Korero. Yet the social goal of missionary endeavour was limited to that of schooling Biak people within the basic ways of a modernising tradition, spreading the gospels through indigenous pastors and evangelists.

Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo was among the first Biak people to receive the qualification of 'Native Teacher'. He did so on December 1934. In February 1935 he received a diploma as Evangelist from the Rev Kijne of the Utrecht Missionary Society. He was among the first to go for training at the missionary centre at Miei. The others who graduated in the same period were Frederik Kafiar, Andreas Kawer, Dorus Korwa, Robert Rumbaku and Keliopas Ramaseuw. The first West Papuan teacher was Petrus Kafiar, after him Johan Ariks, Willem Romainum, Jason Sarawan, Tontje Awendu, Barnabas

Jufuway and Karel Koibur, who were trained in Depok, Java. On 25 April 1907, the first Biak-Numfor man, Petrus Kafiar, went to Nuswundi for training. Kos Jeninan (who married the younger brother of Petrus Kafiar) was the first teacher in Dojo, Sentani (Hollandia) in 1928.

It was not until Wonggor Kaisiëpo came along that the *wor* songs and dances were reintroduced; this particular action had long-term consequences. As a school teacher and as editor of the mission newspaper *Sampari*, his was an organising public role, a role which went beyond the old village boundaries.

Wonggor also won the respect of the missionaries and the Dutch authorities while carrying on the tradition of Koreri; in fact under conditions of betrayal and opposition pressure, he became an increasingly vocal advocate of Koreri: 'I tried to make Koreri more shining because Koreri must be free like Christianity', he reflects. He came to see his role as one of forcing the money changers out of the temple. The following incident, significant in itself, also provides a metaphor for the character and practice of Wonggor Kaisiëpo after 1956, a time when he felt betrayed by the Church.

On one occasion when he was a young man, the missionaries held a celebration to mark the completion of a new church building in Bosnik, Biak Island in 1940. All the Dutch people's tables were covered with white cloths and crockery was laid out upon them. Mr Kaisiëpo's table and that of other Papuans had no cloth and only tin mugs. When the missionary, Rev Agter, got up to bless the food and said: 'Oh Lord, on this united table ...', Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo turned the tables over, saying, 'Don't lie to the Lord; there is no agreement of thought. Your tables are covered with white cloths and crockery, ours are not. This is not Christianity.' In 1935 Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo received a certificate as an evangelist. In 1940 he returned it to the missionaries: an affirmation of cultural identity. In 1937 he had defied their ban on Koreri *wor* dances; he had clashed with them over village business; and he saw them as complicit in the attempt to stifle and crush the movement for Koreri led by Angganitha.

By the late 1940s, the attitude and policy of the Dutch colonial authorities towards the Biak people and to West New Guinea as a whole, changed direction. They were looking towards an indigenous élite which might lead the coming generation towards a separate independence for New Guinea-Papua Barat. In 1947 Mr Wonggor Kaisiëpo became chairman of the Biak-Numfor Regional Council established by the Dutch (Kankain Karkara Biak); in 1961 he was elected to the New Guinea Council, composed primarily of elected Papuan delegates. The latter was the forerunner of a Papuan parliament; among younger Papuans positions within it were seen as the most prestigious of all jobs in the country. Now based in Hollandia he clashed with them once again, this time around his efforts towards creating a Papuan airline largely self-financed by Papuan shareholders. The Dutch authorities refused to cooperate: 'We have our own airline', they said to him. Although they were clearly not to be trusted at this point, they were moving towards a separate post-colonial West New Guinea. So it seemed were the missionaries, and in 1956 the Dutch Reformed Church was indigenised.

In spite of all this, he continued to be highly respected by the Church and by the Dutch authorities alike. On 4 December 1949, he addressed 2,000 people in the City of Utrecht, Netherlands about his people, their hopes and needs. Johan Ariks, an Arfak man originally from the Manokwari area, played the organ. (In 1965, Ariks became one of the founders of the Organisasi Papua Merdeka; two years later he became a martyr for his people.)

The Dutch authorities, likewise, honoured Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo. In August 1945, he graduated as district officer in Hollandia with first class honours in law, administration, social studies, geography, Melayu, hygiene. On 21 November 1944 he was one of the people who received a letter of appointment to represent the Church and the Government in the Biak-Numfor area for one half year. He received a letter of identification as Administrative Assistant and

representative of Kankain Karkara Biak on the New Guinea Council, signed by J V de Bruijn. On 8 August 1951 he moved from Biak to Hollandia becoming Chairman of the Public Relations Office (Bevolkings Voorlichting). On 28 April 1955 he received the Order of the House of Orange. This significant award was in recognition of his work in solving tribal warfare in the Wissel Lakes and Waris area in the Hollandia region. On 4 April 1951 the Governor-General of New Guinea awarded him 'The Small Gold Star for Loyalty and Service' as Government Assistant at Korido, District of Biak, North New Guinea.

The year 1956 was a turning point. This was the year when the missionaries of the UZV changed their thinking on the future of West New Guinea-Papua Barat. Before this time they had accepted the idea that Papua must be outside Indonesia. Their reversal was a mortal blow for Wonggor Kaisiëpo and his fellow countrymen. Even though they had had their differences with the missionaries over a period of some twenty years, they also believed that men like the Reverends Kijne and Kamma, who spoke their language fluently, who ate the local home-grown food and lived amongst them, understood and appreciated their most basic hopes: to keep and develop their own Papuan identity. When they reversed their position and said that it was not possible for Papua Barat to be independent of Indonesia they betrayed Wonggor Kaisiëpo's most fundamental belief. For him it was the great betrayal, the betrayal of Koreri. It was also a personal betrayal, a moment of truth in Wonggor's life. Sadly, neither the missionaries nor the Dutch, who were sentimentally attached to the Papuan people, seemed to comprehend this fact.

They saw Koreri and the myth of Manseren as part of the obscurantism and backwardness of the 'primitives', the objects of their civilising mission. In the language of contemporary post-structuralism, the genre of their discourse was qualitatively different (see Lyotard 1988:156-57, 178-79): the 'civilisers' were enmeshed in the belief in the universality of their own mode of thought and belief so entirely that they could not begin to comprehend the passion that lay behind the thrust for what they called self-rule.



Plate 4.1 Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo telling his story;
Delft, June 1991

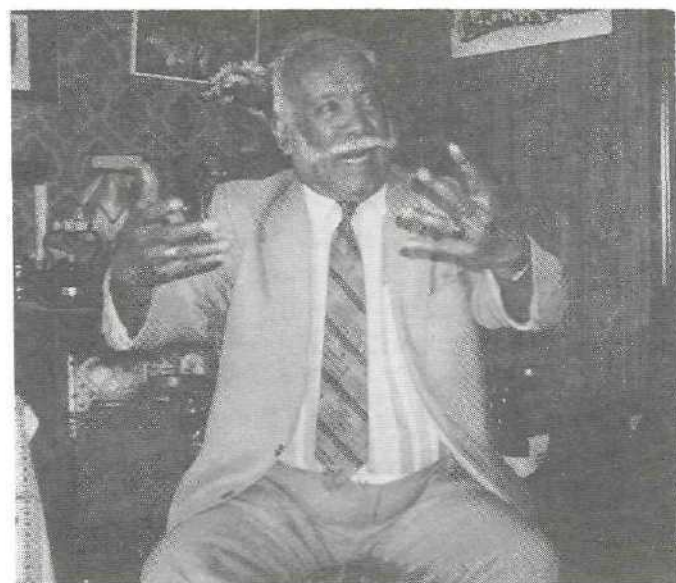


Plate 4.2 Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo telling his story;
Delft, June 1991

When Mr Wonggor Kaisiëpo arrived in the Netherlands with his family in 1962, the missionaries were very kind to him. Yet a life-line had been severed with those he had known and trusted in a basic way, although explicitly not agreed with. He never spoke again to the Rev Kamma or the Rev Kijne, something which they found hard to understand; he did attend Rev Kamma's funeral. The Church and its proselytisers he openly termed 'Iscariots': GKI stood not for Gereja Kristen Injili (Church), but Gereja Kristen Iscariots.

His quest – the quest of his entire life – continued with greater clarity, single-mindedness and vigour – was to find a way for Koreri 'to break through into the present' of his homeland.



Wonggor Kaisiëpo is not a tragic character; he remains undefeated. His hopes were dashed again and again; there is anguish, frustration, but never hopelessness or bitterness. He is not a flawed character, one who brings about his own downfall. Events moved independently of his wishes, his energies or, one should say, despite them. The fates combined to defeat him, but these were social fates, fates which from the mid-1950s brought calamity and destruction to the whole people of Papua Barat and to Wonggor Kaisiëpo personally.

Today the independence of spirit, the purposive energy combine with a sense of humour, often whimsical. It was as though he had untapped resources which he called upon when necessary to fight for his principles and his people. 'That is me with my Koreri eyes,' he said of a picture of himself taken in 1950. Eyes of hope, of expectation, of the coming realisation of a promise and a commitment, of a life that seemed to be within his grasp.

II

4 *MARKUS WONGGOR KAISIËPO, THE LIFE OF A KORERI MAN*

I was born a Koreri man from Biak

I was born as a Koreri man from Biak. Before Christianity came we Biak people already had a religion named Koreri; a very strong religion practised by the people of Biak. In our Koreri religion we are not only talking: we also put our beliefs into practice. This may happen in a softer, a more everyday way or in a stronger way. What I am telling you now is exactly the same as any other Biak person would tell you.

The whole belief in Koreri, according to some people, particularly Europeans or Christians, is wrong. They said it was wrong and they tried to get rid of it, and then they introduced a new religion – Christianity – which has a similar story to Koreri.

I myself was born on 1 May 1913 in the village of Wardo. I was born during the time an Ambonese man was staying with our family, a teacher whose name was Abrahams. This Ambonese teacher came to stay with us on 13 April 1913. During the time he stayed with us, I, along with other Biak children born at that time, were the first to be registered in the system of registration of births. This teacher stayed with us almost five years, because at that time it was difficult for security reasons (there was no peace in the Biak area at that time) for him to find a house for himself. These were very turbulent times.

In Biak tradition visitors are not allowed to stay with anybody unless their protection is guaranteed. Only the strongest in the village can look after them. We are honoured

and respected, a well-recognised family. The same custom is found in communities all over Biak. In other parts of Papua too, when we come to a village as a visitor we can't just go and stay with anyone. People in the community will direct us to a well-recognised family where we can stay. This custom is found in all parts of Papua Barat – in the coastal areas, in the inland, everywhere. We are Papuan people [with the same custom] wherever we go. This also happened to me when I visited the remote areas. I had to stay with the big fish (like the upper-class families) not the small fish.

The name of our house would be insulted

The family tree is another part of the history of Koreri; you have to place it in the context of a particular period of time. The teacher Abrahams did not have his own house because there was no peace at that time. The question is, why did the teacher come? Not because we needed the Bible but because of an incident relating to *indadwer*, the Biak marriage system.

It is not our personal decision to select a husband or wife. It is the family or the parents who make the decision. This is our system of *indadwer* [or cross-cousin marriage]. For example, I am from the Wonggor Kaisiëpo family; mama, my wife, is from the family of Mandowen. We never, never met until our wedding day (and that of five other couples). I saw her for the first time in the church wedding ceremonies in the village. I knew she was beautiful, but I didn't know that I was going to marry her. In our traditional way somebody takes you and gives you away to the right person.

According to *indadwer*, a woman named Margareta Kaisiëpo was meant to marry Olfram Maker; in exchange, Albertina Maker was to marry Kornelius Kaisiëpo. Kornelius went to Waigeo in the Radja Ampat Islands. While he was away, Justus Obinaru came and stole Margareta Kaisiëpo. When Kornelius got the news of this theft of his wife-to-be, he got angry and on his way back he stopped at Mansinam and asked the missionary van Hasselt to write a letter for him to

bring to Ansus on the island of Japen, to ask the teacher Julius Abrahams to come to the village to settle the problem. Those in dispute, the Maker and Obinaru *keret* (clans), wanted to kill the teacher, Abrahams, so they could enlarge the problem. The missionaries sent a little boat, *Utrecht* to investigate the case. They also wanted van Hasselt to take the teacher away. He was staying with us. My parents and our relatives said 'no' because the name of our house would be insulted; our family name would be blamed because this would suggest we could not provide the teacher with the necessary peace arrangements for him to stay. So our name was at stake.

You remember the two families or clans Maker and Obinaru and the way Justus Obinaru stole Margareta Kaisiëpo and made her his wife when she was supposed to marry Olfram Maker. (This is according to *indadwer*, our custom of a man giving his sister in marriage to a man of another clan and that man giving his sister in marriage to the first man. Margareta's brother was Albert who married Albertina Maker and his son was Franz Kaisiëpo, the second governor of West Irian. His name was given to the airport on Biak.) Olfram Maker, who was very angry, was not in town at the time. He was away on the island of Waigeo. So Olfram Maker took the Ambonese teacher, Abrahams from Ansus to Wardo where he came to live in our home. The Maker family thought they could kill Abrahams there because the Wonggor Kaisiëpos were not so strong and therefore they could kill him and blame the Wonggor Kaisiëpo family, so making big trouble for the family and for the whole village. But they were not strong enough to kill him because they were afraid of the Wonggor Kaisiëpo clan. This made the Wonggor Kaisiëpos more influential, and this man, Abrahams was still alive at the time of the Second World War. From that time onwards, all the outside people, Malay people, known by us as Ambéri, were safe in Wardo, but in other places they killed the Ambéri teachers or missionary-pastors. Even during the [Great] Korero period most of them were killed except those who lived in Wardo.

My father had a strong feeling about Koreri

In every place in the world there is a secret or sacred place for the people there. In Biak we have such places and in our religious custom these are the holy places: Yamnaibori, Manswarbori and Bomankwam. Yamnaibori and Manswarbori are where people love or care together and Bomankwam is like the seat of authority of Koreri.

Now the missionary van Agter wanted to make his home there on the third hill so he could supervise all these places where Koreri was active and so he could give his missionary messages from that place, but my family wouldn't allow it.

In the past my grandfather made some sacred houses, *rum mansinam*. *Rum* is house, *mansinam* is the name of a kind of bird which makes so much noise you can hear it from far away. *Man* means bird and his way of making a noise is *sinam*. *Rum mansinam* is the centre or home to which captured people brought back to Biak from other places in Papua Barat or Seram, who spoke different languages, learnt to talk Biak language and become Biaks. We couldn't understand each other if they all spoke their own languages. So they must learn to speak Biak language and they must be Biak, so becoming part of Kawasa Biak. If they didn't then they would be killed.

People say the Biak language is the language from Wardo, so that the Biak emigrants who live in Sorong speak the language of Wardo. The people there are from Wardo; we call them Wardo Bondi, which means people from Wardo who live outside (*bondi*, outside). Today most of the Javanese people who come to Papua Barat can be called Java Bondi, because they live outside Java.

In Biak there are many rocks, stones and coral. Wardo is a village. At Wardo we have a big river and a big waterfall and there are nice places there. Maybe my grandfather used this place because from the big river he could control the sea. The place looks far out to sea and perhaps that is why he came there. My grandfather was a clever man so he came and settled down there and made his 'imperium' or dominium there. We call this

imperium Bomankwam. *Bo* means high up, *man* is man and *kwam* refers to something used to make things strong. An iron hand.

When I was a small boy in the village I saw with my own eyes the pearl shell they used to make weapons sharp. The part of the pearl shell I saw, which my ancestors had placed on the hill, was more than three feet long, and my grandfather got it from the sea. This seemed to me like a very big miracle because the shell is in the sea and these people must have been very strong to take it from the sea to the hill of Bomankwam. Not in the modern way, only by manpower. I have wondered just how they managed to do that. They also used big stones to make their weapons. It is really puzzling for the stones are man height. Two men working together made *parang*, big knives. The stones are about six feet long and the pearl shell, known as the black pearl of Wardo, is very big, black and shining. So how did these people get each one to the hill?

During my life period people are not as strong as the people before them. So it is difficult to understand how these people took all those very heavy things to the hill. In my view, nobody tried to live alone. [They helped one another.] They had some secret power in them too.

In the beginning they began *rum mansinam* in Wardo, but they got so many slaves that the place was too small for all these people. So they moved them from Manokwari to the island of Mansinam. Manokwari means old village (*kwar*, old). My grandfather moved to the village on the island; it was bigger, so all the people could stay there. On the island of Mansinam these people were trained to feel like Biaks and became strong. If they didn't we sold them to other people. The Biak men married the women. Although you do not love them you *must* marry them [*laughing loudly*]. When a woman gave birth to a baby she was sold to another place. You must get the child.

The slaves were from Papua New Guinea; even from India. But not from Europe [*laughing*]! White people who came to the area could not settle down there, especially not in

Biak because the manpower there was very strong. The Biak people had strong defences. They wanted more slaves to defend themselves against the outsiders. First Italian (Roman) people tried to come over and they failed. The Spaniards too. There was a Spanish captain of an armada who came to Papua Barat on 20 June 1545. He was the first [European] person to see New Guinea and he called it Nova Guiné because when he passed Guiné in Africa he saw the people and when he came to Papua Barat he saw similar people. He found New Guinea, just as Columbus found America.

So grandfather made that *rum mansinam* to defend Wardo and all of Biak. We sold the weaker slaves; we only kept the stronger people.

The Dutch authorities could not get inside Papua Barat, so they sent these two German people to Mansinam because that's the headquarters of the movement [to defend the Biak area]. They thought: 'If we send these two missionaries to them, then we can remake them softly with our Christianity': you must not kill, you must not steal and things like that.

The headquarters of the warriors was at Wardo on Biak. In our time we would say, 'the Defence Ministry is there'. The warriors are on this island of Mansinam.

I will give you an example showing how strong Wardo was and how strong the crocodile clan was. Wardo was an education centre and also a 'factory' centre which produced all the teachers and sent them to places all round Biak. In the past we were strong in war, so in later times we were likely to be chosen as the place for the Christian mission.

You will remember about the Dutch evangelist who tried to build his house on the hill. He had just begun and the people had made the roof when my father came back from *babores*, trading. He heard the news and when he saw the house he said, 'No, no, no, that's impossible. You can't have the house here because this is a holy place for us. You must move your things and go to the other side of the river where you can build a new home there on the river. Not on top of the hill but down.' So they moved the missionary's house to the other side of the river.

My father had a strong feeling about Koreri and the spirit movement inside that place. He didn't want to become a Christian, so the Dutchman, Rev Agter went to his house and gave him his blessing with holy water on the front of his head. He became a Christian in his house. Normally you must go to the church but my father did not go to the church, the minister came to him in his house. 'If you want me to be a Christian you must come to my place.'

When my father became a Christian and got the blessing in his own house, he agreed that I go away to become a teacher of Christianity. That was in 1928, so I was about fifteen years old. After this, any Wardo boy was free to go anywhere to receive some education. I was the first one, like a model for others. I was not the eldest son. The first son had to stay at home in order to follow my daddy as village chief. I and my younger brother were allowed to go to the missionary school.

I had such a strong feeling about Koreri

At the age of fourteen or fifteen years I was sent to school at a place called *Rum Sram*. *Rum Sram* was especially for adolescent boys in the village. It was set up in the centre of the village just for boys; the girls stayed with their families. In this *Rum Sram* we boys learned history, carpentry, fishing and things like that. After we were fifteen or sixteen years of age we were sent to school, first to Korido and then to a teachers' college at Miei. I graduated as a teacher in December 1934 and I have kept my diploma until today. In February 1935 I also received a religious diploma from the missionaries. I worked as a teacher for ten years.

When I became a teacher in 1937 I was the first to promote the Koreri songs and dances. I was staying with the Reverend Henrik Jan Agter. When I began to introduce these dances it created a problem. I opened a class introducing the Koreri songs. The pastors were angry, but I did not care. And some teachers tried to oppose me, but still I stood firm.

One of the Biak teachers was my cousin-brother, Franz Kaisiëpo. He was the first teacher among the Papuans at that time. Also Kornelius Kaisiëpo, another brother, and cousin-brother Nikodemus. Some other teachers were not teaching at the school; they were working as evangelists. The missionaries banned these teachers from promoting the Koreri dances.

I said, 'This is wrong. We have to change the system.' And therefore I, as a new teacher, came up with this dancing. This was bringing back the spirit of what was already in the minds and culture of the people.

One day I broke in on the Christian ceremony in Korido. I asked the students to sing normal Christian hymns, but at the end I sang this *wor*: 'Almighty God you sit in heaven, And you send down your son, Jesus Christ to help the poor and suffering people'. It is a traditional song, but the words are Christian ones. It automatically encouraged people in the Church to sing together, because that custom originally belonged to the people.

As soon as I sang the *wor* type of singing, even the younger people in the street, in the village, the whole community, now paid attention to that and they sang it. It was an encouragement. The lazy people in the villages who rarely came to church, now participated actively because they could sing it in our way rather than singing Western hymns.

As soon as I practised this Koreri way, the two Dutch pastors called me and warned me: 'Are you trying to demonstrate the Koreri way, or are you following Christianity?' I said: 'Well, I want to make it clear that Christianity is only a mask but the contents behind the mask belongs to us. We've got the knife inside the sheath, you've only got the outside.' They were very angry.

On one occasion I was invited to a ceremonial feast in Mariaidori on the island of Supiori. At such feasts people usually sang and played the flute but on this special occasion I introduced for the first time the Koreri *wor* dances to the sound of *sireb*, the *kundu* drum.

The missionaries had put pressure on the people not to sing the Koreri songs or perform the Koreri dances. Everyone

was scared, but since my idea about Koreri was so strong I did not care. I didn't like Koreri being oppressed and abolished and therefore I started to promote Koreri on this occasion. People were so scared of the missionaries since they forbade us to sing the Koreri songs. But I had such a strong feeling about Koreri. The Government and the Zending, the Dutch missionaries, did not accept Koreri, but it is the *traditional way of our religion*.

I was always against the missionaries. I remember a meeting in 1940 where we had some talks and then the pastor prayed and I didn't agree with what he said. I thumped both my fists on the table with all the people sitting round it, and said: 'I don't agree with this!' And I turned the table over. At that time I tried to make it clear to the missionaries that Koreri, which was still under the cover of Christianity, should be practised separately. Koreri preachers would teach the people to choose what they wanted. However, Christianity pushed Koreri aside. And the same thing happened on the independence of Papua Barat. We were forced to adopt an Indonesian way; the international community forced us not to demonstrate our independence. And that is wrong.

In Europe people have freedom of speech, freedom to choose their religion. Mama mentioned that some people refuse to eat pork; yes, and the Papuan people should be given the same freedom. And the vegetarians, yeah! [*laughter*].

When we had a meeting in Manokwari with the missionaries in 1937 and they did not allow Koreri to be brought out I made a protest to the Governor-General in Batavia, which was the colonial headquarters. The Governor-General answered my letter saying that it was not necessary to stop the local culture and things from the people themselves. But he did not mention the name Koreri or the Koreri movement. In the letter he said: 'If you wash a newborn baby then you must make sure you do not throw the baby out with the bath water.' But he did not write the word 'Koreri'. Nothing!

Our people use Christianity as a mask

When I opened the class on the *wor* songs, the Government and the Zending, the Dutch missionaries – Reverends ten Haaft and Agter – in Korido, would not accept this. And they questioned me: ‘Markus, why did you introduce the Koreri songs?’ I replied: ‘I myself am a Koreri person’. They said, ‘But you are a Christian now, aren’t you?’ ‘Okay, Christianity’s alright. But Jesus belonged to us in the first place. Our Jesus is older than the Jesus you brought in now.’

As I mentioned before, the two are similar. So the people involved in Koreri are like a knife [taking a shining knife from a leather sheath]. They were happy at first. This sheath is Christianity that was brought in and this knife is Koreri. When the missionaries brought in their way people were happy because they felt: ‘It doesn’t make any difference’. But everything altered later on. Now you have the teachers and the pastors appointed by the communities. [Before the positions of people of sacred knowledge were hereditary.] That again is a new way of our people adapting to the system.

It is important to distinguish Manseren Nanggi, the Almighty God. When you say a prayer you must say it to Almighty God. Manseren Nanggi is like God the Father. Muslims say Allah.

To strengthen the idea of Manseren Nanggi I introduced a very special occasion at which to pay respect to Manseren Nanggi once a year. Traditionally, at low tide time (*wampasi*) between May and June there is a big ceremony and feast called *Fan Nanggi* [feast for Nanggi, the Sky] held under a special tree called *mansawo*. Under *mansawo* a feast is spread out: fish, vegetables, pigs, all the products of the sea and land. During this feast people asked Manseren Nanggi for guidance for the coming year, for example, when they sailed to Waigeo or the Solomon Islands or to New Caledonia. Somebody special would be appointed to sit or kneel down and the *kawasa* or community would appoint this person to ask whether a trip would be successful or not. This person comes out and announces

whether it will be a good trip or whether someone will be sick or die. This man comes out and gives the people an answer. He is like a medium with Manseren Nanggi. But the people appoint him. It is actually like the other religious practices - Zionism among Jews or Shinto in Japan. During the feast you get an answer from God. The role is like that of Moses among the Israelites: they ask him to get an answer from God.

This was the custom of our ancestors. The missionaries came and forbade the custom. They continued to practise the custom but very secretly. They kept doing it. I knew this when I was small. I was lucky to be appointed once to know what was going on during the feast or ceremony.

When the missionaries came the people participated in Christianity alone. In earlier times the people continued to use the *mansawo* tree for ceremonies, but some people told the missionaries that the *mansawo* tree ceremony really originated from our forbidden custom. So the missionaries chopped down the *mansawo* tree and replaced it with European Christmas trees. The people did not use the *mansawo* tree any longer because some people pimped. But sometimes the missionaries did not realise they were being involved in the Koreri way of representing the new way because the preparations were so good. When they found out that Koreri activities were mixed with Christianity, these activities were forbidden and they made people do things in the Christian way.

The missionaries came and looked for people who could take a significant part in their ceremonies, and the person appointed by the community was the one we used in *Fan Nanggi*; the missionaries didn't know that we used our sorcerer or medium under the name of Christianity.

Our people use Christianity as a mask. I would like to say to Christians: 'Look, I am trying to change the whole system because what you are doing is wrong'.

Koreri is older than Christianity

The problem is that people do not understand that Christianity and Koreri are basically similar. One difference between Koreri and Christianity is that in Koreri you have paradise only at the end, and you will never fear of suffering from disease, or getting old or young, you stay here, live forever. But in Christianity you may find hell or you may find paradise. Another difference is that Koreri is older than Christianity. Koreri existed for 100,000 years before Christ. The name of Jesus already existed in Koreri. The old man whom we call Manarmakeri was sitting on the beach on the island of Meok Wundi, holding the fruit we call *marəsbon* from the *marəs* tree (*bon* is fruit). Then he let it go into the water while he was watching a group of young women swimming, dancing and singing in a stream. They were playing *kwingkwin kwairoro* [a game often played by teenage boys], and singing this song:

Nuinenu Muyamu
Koryuri Kofafaro
Mankubu Kubuyo
Beyarorsro Samari boyaswa
Kwingkwin Kwairoro [loudly]
Kwingkwin Kwairoro [loudly]

Both of us here, you two there
 We come together holding each other
 Mankind who stand up.
 What is shining thereafter is a fruit which is strolling around
 Like water moving us around.

While they were playing the fruit *marəsbon* from the *marəs* tree [*Calophyllum Inophyllum L*], which was floating in the water, touched the *sus*(M), the breast of one of the young girls. 'Ye!', she exclaimed, brushing the fruit away. Whenever a Biak person exclaims he or she says 'Ye'. But the fruit drifted back again and touched her other breast. She exclaimed again and threw it away a second time. As soon as the *marəsbon* touched

her *susu* they both felt itchy and she began to scratch herself. Later on she found she was pregnant and the whole community was surprised. People wanted to know what had happened and who had made her pregnant. The whole community got together and made a Koreri feast. After a time a baby boy was born to her. By the time he grew to about five years of age the villagers believed that he would be able to recognise who his father was.

The villagers made a feast to try and discover who the father was. They had the boy stand and watch the first group of men passing in front of him. They started with a group of young men; the child kept standing there. Because they did not find a name for him they called him Jesus, since when the *marēsbon* touched her *sus* she began exclaiming, *Ye-sus* [Jesus].

The next group came and danced again. And still they did not identify the father until the last group of old men went by. In this last group of old men there comes the Old Man holding a leafy branch to chase away the flies because he had a skin disease. That is why the Biak people called him *Man-armaker*, the man with scabies.

And suddenly [*voice getting louder*] the boy left his mother and ran after the old man and hugged him. Everyone was shocked and said, *Spek skoine* 'Damned thing! Dirty...! Why didn't you choose any of the young fellows instead of the ugly old man?'

Now, do you want to know the reason why the boy had the name of Jesus? When the Zending, the Dutch missionaries came over and talked about Jesus, our parents said, 'Oh, that's our Jesus. Now you want to turn things upside down and claim he is your Jesus.'

When you read the New Testament, which was spread all over the world by Western people in order to tell lies, to steal and to manipulate people, you will see that it claims that Jesus was born in Bethlehem. You see how the three wise men came from the east. Those three men were representing exactly what was happening in Biak beliefs about Koreri. And they wanted to see the newborn child, Jesus. But in fact it was actually our Jesus, and later on the missionaries claimed he was theirs. They

said: 'What kind of Jesus is this?' They did not want to recognise him although it is mentioned in the New Testament.

*Through koperasi the idea of Koreri was
being supported in practice*

When I introduced the Koreri *wor* songs some Ambonese teachers, and also a Papuan teacher, objected to the idea. I had the function of filling in the baptism forms, and I had the right to correct the *Sampari* newspaper before it was stencilled. Therefore in *Sampari*, Morning Star, published by the Mission and produced by me, I published letters from the Ambonese teachers and also from a few Papuan teachers, criticising the idea of the Koreri songs. I did not publish any letters from those Ambonese teachers and the Papuan teachers who supported me. Therefore they complained telling me that I should publish them: 'Instead you publish anti-Koreri letters,' they said. So I answered, 'Well, my idea is that you can see clearly who are actually against the Koreri songs, and of course then the people will know that you are my supporters. Later, I will send letters to the Church community here in Biak asking them if they would like to have more Koreri songs from any teacher who is against those songs. If you don't like these teachers then you should kick them out of the villages' [*voice getting louder*].



What happened was that any anti-Koreri teacher who refused to leave the village got belted up by the villagers and forced to leave. Then the community started singing the Koreri songs and at the same time I opened a co-operative for the teachers. Like a small shop, so that the teachers need not depend on the Chinese shops. And through this *koperasi*, the idea of Koreri

was being supported in practice too. I started these things, but after that my Biak friends supported me; but then World War Two came.

*Biak was in a Koreri situation during
the Second World War*

Soon the Second World War started. The Japanese arrived. By that time all the prisoners had escaped from the gaols and that is where, according to the Reverend Kamma, the story of Angganitha Menufandu started. This story was about a woman who became Angganitha Menufandu Raya Makbon. She was paralysed and one day she became cured after a miraculous experience in which someone wearing white clothes came and healed her. This story spread out to all the villages and so the Dutch imprisoned her and brought her over to HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, Head District Board), to the mayor, Mr Ten Haaft in Serui.

At the time of the Japanese occupation we in Biak gathered in the village called Samber with the Reverend Agter. My brother-in-law, Mr Stefan Maker and I prepared a big canoe to go to 'Papua Australia' with sixty warriors and rowers in it, together with the Reverend Agter, to escape from the Japanese. But Reverend Agter decided to surrender to the Japanese authorities instead. He, his wife and eldest son, Theo died in the American bombardment of Ambon in the Moluccas. Therefore we left that meeting and some other teachers took Reverend Agter to Serui on Japen Island.

Biak at that time was in a Koreri situation; it was gripped by the spirit of Koreri. It was also in a war situation against the Japanese occupation.

Angganitha started the Koreri movement on 19 April 1941. She was imprisoned in the gaol in Bosnik. In this Koreri situation, on 15 January 1942, 5,000 supporters of the Koreri movement attacked the police station and the government offices in Bosnik, the centre of the Government at that time. The police station and the government office were attacked, the Chinese

shops were burned down and all the people were killed. The only Ambéri or foreigner not killed was the Ambonese teacher, who was protected during this attack because he was staying in our house in the village of Wardo. His name was Hendrikus Tomatala from the Moluccas. He was the only one who survived. After the War he lived in Saunek (Waigeo) until his death and was buried there.

I myself was taken away by sixty Japanese soldiers to talk about this situation. They came to Wardo and took me to Manokwari to talk about Koreri and the attack in Bosnik. Then I went from Manokwari to Manswan with the Reverend Filip Jacob Speniel Romainum and Mr Marisan, who was one of the last heroes who had fought against the Dutch authorities in Biak. There I managed to talk to the Manswan people, first of all with Stephanus Simiopiaref whose nickname was Bewi. He was the leader of Koreri in Manswan village. My very good school in Mokmer, near Bosnik had been destroyed and the facilities taken away to build Bewi's house. My school, the Mokmer, was the first experimental 'Beschavings School' chosen by Mr Diadinigrat as the model for Netherlands New Guinea.

The 1930s was the time when the Dutch security forces conquered West New Guinea. So the history of the Dutch East Indies in Biak really began in the 1930s. It is not true that the Dutch conquered Biak earlier than that. They did not because the opposition from the people was so strong at that time.

When I went to Manokwari I spoke with the Japanese military commander and the Japanese then came to admit that Koreri was the true religion of the Biak people. From that time the Biak people stopped treating the Japanese as their enemies.

*If I work for Koreri, that's okay,
but not for the Church*

After the War the Church came back. They still refused to recognise Koreri and attempted to destroy it. In our political struggle the Church in Oestgeest, Netherlands, denied our struggle for the independence of Papua Barat and thought only

of the right of the Indonesian and Dutch governments over Papua Barat.

In my personal opinion and in the opinion of Papuan nationalist supporters there is no recognition of the rights of Christianity. Please remember that we are not denying the existence of God Almighty, whom we praise, or Jesus who belongs to us already. *It is the Church we deny.* Jesus is ours. Our Jesus existed earlier than the Jesus they brought over here. Our Jesus came earlier and their Jesus just arrived recently in Bethlehem. We believe in God, but we do not believe in the Church because it is only dealing in manipulating people and turning the facts upside down. Christian people build arms factories so there are arms to kill people, to take over our land and our rights so we are reduced to poverty.

After the Japanese were defeated I was in Manokwari where I had been working for the Japanese (NKK, NANYO Kohatsoe Kaisa). Like Sukarno we were all prisoners of war. At that time we were all supporting the Japanese. I was lucky at that time because the Japanese supported my strategy for independence. At the time, the Japanese said: 'Indonesian brains are full of corruption learnt from the Dutch. Papuan people's brains must take many good things from the Japanese. The Japanese will help you move towards independence.' That is why I believed the Japanese and worked very hard for them during the War and [thus] saved many lives. But it was not my lucky turn after that. The Japanese have not supported me yet. They still owe me their support for Papuan independence.

When I was moved to Hollandia one of the Dutch ministers named J C Kolk from Brisbane came to NICA (Nederlands Indische Civiel Administratie, Dutch Indian Civil Administration) in Hollandia. At NICA he saw me when I was being questioned and my papers being checked. Reverend Kolk knew the Malay language. After looking at one of my documents and listening to my explanations, he wrote me a reference and appointed me to work in Biak on 21 November 1944. I still have the letter of appointment. He wanted me to work for the Church as a teacher and preacher in the Biak-

Numfor region. He wanted me to represent the Church Mission in Biak and Numfor. But I said: 'No, I am a Koreroi teacher. If I work for Koreroi that's okay, but not for the Church; I don't like it.'

Now Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed the independence of Indonesia on 17 August 1945. At that time I was the co-ordinator of students at the International Hostel at Nica. I had been appointed by all the Papuan representatives at that time and I made a protest stating that we the Papuan people of a Melanesian nation would stay out of the Indonesian state. We strongly opposed that [*emphatically*] and shortly the Dutch Government totally agreed with that and followed our opinion accepting the name Irian. I was the one who proposed it and sent the name to Brisbane, Australia. This event was published in the newspaper *Penyuluh* on 8 October 1945. Mr Jan Pieter Karel van Eechoud disagreed with me about the name 'Irian'; he disagreed with me and my own opinion, and this goes on until today. Irian is a Biak word. Sukarno interpreted IRIAN as Ikut Republic Indonesia Anti-Netherlands. I said: Ikut Republic Indonesia Arti Naraka, Follow the Indonesian Republic's Arti-Naraka. This is a letter game, word play.

At that time we also formed the committee of KKBN, Kankain Karkara Biak-Numfor, which was also opposed by van Eechoud, but I sent a telegram to Lieutenant Governor-General, van Mook in Batavia. Dr van Mook told van Eechoud: 'Don't you stop them forming the group KKBN and anything else related to their culture because it is theirs'. So van Eechoud agreed for us to form our cultural group which was recognised officially on 30 August 1947. Following that recognition of our committee I was appointed to attend a conference in The Hague, Netherlands, from 23 August to 2 November 1949. During that visit I went to Oestgeest and the Zending, the Dutch Mission Secretary-Director, Mr Brouwer, told me that the missionaries were strongly behind us and would help us. They gave me an opportunity to preach in the Biak language to a congregation of more than 2,000 Protestant and Catholic people at the Dom Kerk, the head church in Utrecht and Reverend Kamma

translated my sermon into Dutch and Johan Ariks played the organ. Johan Ariks and I were the only Papuans to attend a round-table meeting during the conference.

*After 1956 the missionaries changed
their way of thinking*

On 5 July 1956 the Missionary Church at Oegstgeest stated that Papua Barat should not be granted independence and must become part of Indonesia. I opposed this very strongly to Reverends Kamma and Kijne. For me Gereja Kristen Indonesia (GKI) had another meaning to that proclaimed. They say 'Gereja Kristen Injili', the Christian Church based upon the Bible. I said: 'But Injili means a free thing. So if you call the Church "Injili" this means you are colonising the Bible. Yet you have no right to colonise the Bible.' Therefore from that time onwards I would not agree to the form they wanted the Church to take. I disagreed with the meaning of freedom formulated by the Church and I stated strongly that my people should get independence first and then the Church should become independent. As a case in point let me mention the Kingdom of Tonga.

It is not for the Church to be free to colonise me. In this case the form of the Gereja Kristen Injili is like a monkey performing tricks in order to continue the colonial system. My statement to them at that time is written in a book *Kenjataan Pendirian Dari Nieuw-Guinea* (see Appendix I).

As I have told you, I opposed Reverends Kamma and Kijne. I also mentioned that the Christian organisation is not really Christian. Because I was born a Biak man I still have Korero blood in my body. I was educated by the Christian Church to be a teacher and I had also been preaching for ten years and witnessed the Holy Scripture. Now after the War the Holy Scripture betrayed me.

My witness before those 2,000 Christian people in Utrecht (and in the book I have just mentioned I stated that the Church denied our rights to the independence of Papua)

strengthened and encouraged me to be more active for Koreri than I had been earlier.

When I came to the Netherlands in 1962 the old missionaries and ministers who had worked in Papua Barat, particularly in Biak, were very kind to me. They knew me when I was growing up, during my student days and in my working life. They knew me very well and they liked me; they also felt sorry that I had to come here to stay. These people included Mr Kamma.

The first time I came to Holland was in 1949. At that time all of them agreed with me that Papua Barat must be outside Indonesia. One hundred per cent or two hundred per cent. After that time in 1956 all of them changed their way of political thinking. That is why I was disappointed.

At the time I changed my way of political thinking too. Church people in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe, both Protestant and Catholic, said: 'It is not possible now or in the future to get freedom in Papua Barat'. So I said: 'I say to you that it is not possible to get Christianity in Papua Barat if you say that it is not possible to get our freedom and independence. The same applies to you.'

The political changes made me so sad that I did not want to work together with the missionaries like Rev Kamma to write a book or anything like that.

Throughout the whole world it is said now that religion is free. I say: 'If so why don't you give freedom to Koreri, not try to smash it?' From my point of view Koreri must have the opportunity to be created again. That is why I am against the missionaries.

*I saw I had better brighten up my Koreri
which tells the truth*

I learnt to be a Christian and preached for ten years, but then the Injili, the Church I made witness to was telling me and my people lies and trying to make us become Indonesians. In fact I am not an Indonesian. Therefore I saw I had better throw away

Christianity which tells lies and brighten up my Korero which tells the truth. Western people should believe in Korero too because Korero does not lie. As soon as I realised that the Church was telling us lies this became an encouragement to strengthen my Korero. This incident with the Church pushed me away from Christianity. I saw that they are *pencuri* (M), thieves.

Our Organisasi Papua Merdeka which is fighting now is OPM-Korero: O stands for *Or*, P for *Paik*, M for *Mak*, the sun, the moon, the stars. As long as the sun, the moon, and the stars are shining Korero will always exist. Therefore whoever tries to eliminate Korero must get rid of the sun, the moon and the stars. If they could do this they could kill Korero. This is the same as the struggle for independence of our Papuan people. If you look at the Biak language and culture again and the English version of the OPM – the Free Papua Movement – then F stands for *Fakok*, P for *Pasref*, the two Papuan warrior ancients, and M for *Mambri*, the war heroes. They were active hundred years before the birth of Christ.

These three heroes, *Pasref*, *Fakok* and *Mambri* sailed even as far as the land known as India today. When our ancestors were travelling through Java, Java was nothing [*loudly*]. And today they, the Javanese, have big mouths. The first Indian traders came to the island of Java in the year 68 AD. They built the temple of Borobudur in central Java where the Javanese people worship today. The Indian traders came first to the island of Java and later the Dutch arrived calling the Indonesian archipelago Hindia Belanda, the Dutch East Indies.

In Biak culture *Fakok* is very important. It is not only the name of the warrior hero; it is also the cross piece used to balance the canoe. The *Pasref* are the pins of the body of the canoe, like our ribs. *Mambri* is a leading warrior, a very important person; usually there is not only one *Mambri*, but *Mambri* from lots of places. All over Biak there are *Mambri*. In a Korero war you have lots of *Mambri* who have a very strong fighting spirit. For example, Permenas Awom formed the OPM on 29 July 1965 in Manokwari. Permenas, a Biak

man and his followers were also *Mambri*. If Permenas Awom had not made this move there would not be any OPM.

The word *Mambri* challenges you to *do* something, to accept the challenge of Koreri. *Mambri* is like *mangginin*, the eagle that swoops down to catch fish.

*The Church is using God's name to steal
from and lie to the people*

If you look at the reality of Christianity, all over the world people who call themselves Christians force people to steal and manipulate others. They teach other people to put aside their own beliefs and religion. This is the real meaning of Christianity. Although today people are free to believe what they like, the Church still goes on sending missionaries round the world.

As I have said, I stood at the pulpit preaching for six years to witness the Injili until the time we protested against the proclamation of Sukarno and Hatta on Indonesia. I was appointed to bring over our protest to the Dutch Government. At that time the Government agreed that we travel to Hollandia and to The Hague. So I went to Holland and talked to those 2,000 Christian people. After 1956, Christianity denied our rights to independence and therefore in return I and my people in the OPM deny the existence of the Church. Unfortunately the people inside the country are used by the Indonesian Government and the Church to deny our struggle for independence.

In conclusion, you see the Church inside the country now is like a tool used by the Indonesians to betray us and that betrayal is supported by the Dutch and other Western nations.

At that time, in 1956, they established Gereja Kristen Injili (GKI). I was in Hollandia and I just did not recognise it. And I said: 'How is it that they proclaim the independence of the Church in West New Guinea before they proclaim that independence for the people of West Irian?' The idea was to set up the Church in Papua Barat led by the mother Church in

Holland, create a Papuan élite and then run away from the mess they had created. These white Dutch, these thieves and liars, wanted to leave the Church to the Papuans to oppress their own people themselves. Yet these Papuan people are not crazy. With their lips they say Gereja Kristen Injili, but in their actual lives they are for Gereja Koreri Irian.

If you read the book *Kenjataan Pendirian Dari Nieuw-Guinea*, you will find out about the government side at the time, which was during the governorship of van Baal, who was pro-Indonesian, that he would not allow me to deliver my statement. At the same time he appointed Mr Kruskamp to speak on behalf of the Government. Mr van Baal himself refused to talk because he was politically behind the Indonesia of Sukarno.

From the Zending side the speakers were the Reverends Kamma and Kijne. They represented the Church's involvement. And I was asked to speak on behalf of the native population. The final speaker was the representative from the mother Church in Oegstgeest, Holland. The book of the proceedings was written in Malay and Dutch. They were using two languages – Malay and Dutch – at that time.

The concern of the Church was to decide whether to deepen their realisation of a Dutch government responsibility for West New Guinea. If you look at this responsibility the Church is only taking into account the needs of the Dutch and Indonesian governments – not those of the Papuans at all. From that point onwards I did not care much for the Church. As I mentioned earlier, I myself and other nationals round the world, including Africa, considered the Church to be a body which was using God's name to steal from and lie to the people. They make tricks and different kinds of ceremonies in order to steal. When you complain they say, 'No, just keep on praying'. But what kind of blessing would you expect from [their] God [*laughing*]? I am sure it would be just like the sunshine and rain that everybody receives anyway. It is just the same blessing.

I talked to Reverends Kamma and Kijne but only critically, not as friends like we used to be. At that time I said to them: 'If you are using the word "Christian" that means GKI

standing for Greater Kristen Iscariot. Iscariot is Judas' second name. Actually it should be Gereja Koreri.'

When Reverend Kijne left for retirement in Holland he sent me a letter in Hollandia. I shall repeat here some of the sentences: 'Markus, why weren't you loyal to the Church?' That was asked in Kijne's letter to me in Hollandia.

I replied to him in a letter: 'Papa Kijne, did you find anything mentioned in the New Testament that said that Jesus was loyal to Judas Iscariot who betrayed him? If Jesus was loyal to Judas Iscariot who betrayed him, then of course I Markus will be loyal to the Church of Oegstgeest who sold out my people' [*voice rising to a crescendo*].

I was elected by the people of Biak-Numfor...

I was elected by the people of Biak-Numfor, by Kankain Karkara Biak, I was not representing the Government. One must make a distinction between my appointment and that of my [cousin] brother Franz Kaisiëpo. On 19 July 1946 Franz Kaisiëpo attended the Malino conference in Jakarta. He was sent there by the Resident, van Eechoud. So he was actually representing the Dutch Government. We, the group from Kankain Karkara Biak disagreed with his appointment. After 1946 New Guinea was still outside the so-called agreement concerning the territory of the Republic of Indonesia.

Then, twelve years later, the New York Agreement followed. All the representatives of the Kankain Karkara Biak spoke with the same voice as myself. There were five districts: Bosnik, Sorido, Warsa, Korido, Kamere. Each of these districts had three representatives, making up fifteen. These representatives were also appointed by the people from each district on behalf of all the people of Biak-Numfor. So that is Kankain Karkara Biak. They all agreed and the rest of the people of West New Guinea were seeking their representatives to our Kankain Karkara Biak. People from Kaimana, Fakfak and Sorong were adding their support to our Biak-Numfor political determination not to be part of Indonesia.

It was the Dutch who said: 'Biak is the gateway to the island of New Guinea'. But they knew this also from our old songs. There are so many examples I could give you, but let me put it briefly this way. It was the Dutch who said that Biak is the gateway. Whatever I wanted to say they always replied: 'But you Biak people are the gateway'.

In the past who was fighting for New Guinea? It was only the Biak people. Later on, people from other parts of New Guinea came along too, but when they faced difficulties they gave up [*laughing*]. But we Biak people were determined to fight on.

As I mentioned, in Christianity people believe in Jesus Christ who was born in Bethlehem. But for us our Jesus was born in Biak. Therefore, according to Biak people, Jesus is a Biak person. The Jewish people rejected Jesus Christ, who was born in Bethlehem, until today, and their Messiah has not returned yet. And now these un-Christian people go around and use the name of Jesus to merchandise the story of Jesus Christ for their own benefit all over the world. People in Jordan [Israel] have never believed in Jesus until today.

Yes, I was born Korero; I was bred as a Korero person. But later when the Mission and Christianity came they persuaded us to put aside our beliefs and receive Christianity. And so I participated in it for ten years. But Korero is older because it has been here for 100,000 years before Jesus Christ arrived and now we are near the year 2,000 after Christ.

After all this the Indonesians came and the OPM started fighting. Actually we do not have to fight with firearms. The Dutch and the international community in the United Nations are lying to us for their own economic gain. They put a resolution in the United Nations to support Indonesia. These Christian nations support the Muslims of Indonesia to steal the wealth of New Guinea.

*Angganitha stated that we should
not use violence*

It is the Dutch who used violence by imprisoning Angganitha [the prophetess of Koreri]. Therefore her supporters tried to release her. The Dutch tied her legs and arms and brought her over to Bosnik gaol. The Dutch should not have used force to imprison her because she was totally disabled.

I myself saw her paralysed. She could not stand at all. The village people had to carry her over from Soweik to a small hut on her own island of Insumbabi where it was easier for her to care for herself. She could not stand at all then. But one time when everyone was out fishing and she was on her own in the hut, a man came out of the darkness and walked towards her in a white cloak saying: 'Angganitha, stand up and follow me'. As if she was dreaming Angganitha, still with paralysed legs and arms, heard what the man was calling and so she stood up and followed him to the middle of the island of Insumbabi where the person disappeared. She then realised that she was standing in the middle of nowhere, in the bush. She was so happy looking at herself, seeing how her legs and everything had healed so she could stand. She was happy and started dancing [*louder*]. She called out, 'Hurrah, hurrah...'. She was so excited [*excited voice*].

When the news came out I passed this story onto the Biak people and everyone became happy and rejoiced, hitting the sides of the canoe [*making a drumming sound on a piece of wood*]. They began paddling away to the island of Insumbabi full of wonder.

When Angganitha was cured people saw that a miracle had happened. They said: 'Well maybe this is the thing we have been waiting for'. They had been waiting for a sign. They had been very angry because the Dutch Government and the missionaries had not allowed them to perform their *wor*. Angganitha's cure was like a miracle happening, so they thought Koreri was arriving.

However, the Government sent over troops to take Angganitha to prison. That is why Angganitha said: 'Do not ever use violence because I am not a thief. I am only telling you about the miracle of my recovery and that now I am fine. Why do they have to come with the military to imprison me?'

I agree with her. Among ourselves today, the OPM should not use firearms. But the Indonesians use firearms to suppress us; that is why the OPM uses armed resistance (which is not necessary). Eventually we must fight only with words to say 'Yes' or 'No'. If everyone says 'Yes' to Indonesia then we will be part of Indonesia. If they say 'No' then we should not be part of Indonesia. The United Nations New York Agreement of 15 August 1962 gave Indonesia the possibility of manipulating my people. Indonesia employed the threat of death to coerce people into choosing Indonesia. Hence there was no free choice. And the UN and the world did not voice a protest.

Angganitha's father's Christian name was Martinus Menufandu; his village name was Kaderen. Her son was Jonathan. Martinus had a daughter, Angganitha and her brother was Abraham who had a son Izak Menufandu and a daughter, Rebecca. At that time I knew all the Soweik people, the adults and the children.

Kaderen is the veranda or open space in front of a house which sits on poles often out in the sea. The *kaderen* is made of planks of palm or betel nut wood. You use *kaderen* to sit on as a meeting place at night, for dancing, for drying fish, sago, or tobacco leaves, or for hanging out nets.

Angganitha stated that we should not use violence. It was the Government which came over and used the military to capture her. So the armed forces went to Insumbabi to capture her using rifles. That is why all the Biak people who were very sympathetic to her were very unhappy. In the European religion when Jesus Christ was crucified near Gethsemane, the disciple Peter lost his temper and chopped off the left ear of one of the soldiers. Then Jesus said to Peter: 'You don't have to use violence because in My Kingdom I do not use violence. Therefore I don't want you to use it.' Jesus also said: 'If you

are slapped on your left cheek then you must turn the right cheek'. If people throw a stone at you, you may throw a piece of cotton wool [*kapas*] back. In Christianity, if people slap your left cheek then you give the right one. If they throw stones, then throw some soft cotton back to them. This is also Angganitha's philosophy of non-violence. But in reality what we see in our daily lives, especially in the European nations, is that they themselves produce weapons. They even create atomic bombs and with these weapons they attack the weakest ones and the poorer nations. In my opinion, every nation should open their eyes and see that the Christianity that they bring along is one that produces weapons. With their products such as atomic bombs they kill the nations they considered *kafir*, which is Arabic for infidels or sinners such as the Japanese who died from the atomic bomb.

One more example is when Jesus was carrying the Cross to the hill of Golgotha and came across the Roman bodyguards who forced Simon Kereni to help Jesus carry the Cross because Jesus was getting weak from carrying it; lots of blood was coming out of His head.

Simon of Kereni, the old name of Libya, was the original forebear of Gaddafi's people. General Gaddafi descends from Simon Kereni, the one who helped Jesus carry the Cross across the hill of Golgotha. How is it then that America went over and bombed Gaddafi? Jesus said to Simon of Kereni: 'Go and save all the oppressed people'. That is why Gaddafi supported all the oppressed peoples such as the PLO or the IRA in Northern Ireland. When Gaddafi tried to help these oppressed people, America said he was wrong. And the Europeans said, 'Gaddafi is a communist!' The communists are not allowed to kill people, but democracy is allowed to kill people. Therefore, I personally, and the people of Papua Barat, disagree. Whether it is the communists or the democracies who are killing people it does not make any difference to me. But when the communists try to kill people they are not allowed to do so. The Americans were trying to kill Gaddafi by bombing Libya, but God protected

him by pushing away the bomb. This is why Gaddafi is still alive today.

So look! I want to give some more examples about the Americans. They used the atomic bomb to kill the Japanese *kafirs* and these events truly happened. But the point is that it is being done by the Christian nations.

I wish to say now that we, the Papuan people and I myself, see this work as the product of the Christian religion which is contradicting the content of the Holy Bible that they have spread all over the world. Christianity actually is a tool used to introduce people to Christianity and teach other people and at the same time manipulate them and steal from them the resources of their countries.

I have explained about the atomic bomb haven't I? I have tried to clarify about Angganitha not using violence. Now for us, the Papuan people, there is no need for the OPM to use weapons. Following the New York Agreement of 15 November 1962, Article 18, the people of Papua Barat were asked whether we would like to be part of Indonesia or whether we would like to be a free nation using our voting rights, not using our weapons. Now the OPM is using weapons. This is because America and Holland are giving money and weapons to Indonesia which has used this power to kill many people. The Church, which said that the case of Papua should be solved through the Church of Gereja Kristen Injili, turned a blind eye on this whole question of New Guinea [*voice raised*]. And the Church let the Indonesians kill the Papuan peoples. Now the Church is using some Papuan people inside the Church of GKI, Greater Kristen Indonesia, which I have named Greater Kristen Iscariot. So Greater Kristen Iscariot oppresses the peoples of Papua. And this is what I disagree about because this is not the work of Christianity. It should be Greater Koreri Irian which is better than Greater Kristen Iscariot. If you ask me to choose between Greater Kristen Iscariot and Greater Koreri Irian surely I will choose Greater Koreri Irian.

Koreri is for eternal life and Christianity is also for eternal life. Both of them are searching to find the place where heaven is. How can this be so?

*As Chairman of the New Guinea Council I represented
the people of Papua Barat*

Previously I explained my view about how Australia as a European nation in the Pacific should pay more attention to the Papuan peoples rather than care about European peoples in Europe. Both Australia and Japan should do this in the future because the issue of New Guinea and the rights of Papuan people will never settle down.

Australia has granted independence to Papua New Guinea. Papua Barat should be granted the same independent status as that granted to Papua New Guinea. Indonesia still occupies Papua Barat; these days Somare goes to the United Nations. Now the refugees from West Papua cross into Papua New Guinea. But Somare asks them to go home to Indonesian hands.

The governments of Holland and Australia signed an agreement in Canberra on 6 November 1957 in order to rule the whole population of New Guinea so in future there would be only one nation. I know that this is stated in the English version: one name, one country, one people. That is what I and the people of Papua Barat demanded.

Long ago when Sukarno got independence for Indonesia from the Dutch in order to create a federated state of Indonesia, the Ambonese announced on 25 April 1950 that they would stay outside the Republic of Indonesia. At that time I took part in a conference in Fiji. I was in Macassar talking the whole night with Dr Soumokil and three other Ambonese leaders to whom I gave my opinion: 'Do not proclaim your independence before 17 August 1950, because if you proclaim it earlier then Sukarno will eliminate the word *serikat*, "united", from the title'. I gave the reason that if the word 'unity' [of the federation] was there then other ethnic-cultural groups would seek independence and

get out of the Republic of Indonesia. However, these Ambonese leaders did not take much notice of me because they were much better educated than me by the Dutch and therefore they thought my advice did not count for anything at all.

During Mr Sukarno's speech on the 17 August 1950, the first speech on behalf of the Republic of Indonesia, he stated strongly that 'our nation is the Republic of Indonesia' [*raising voice*]. The word 'united' was missing. 'Our nation is the Republic of Indonesia, full stop, full stop, full stop', stated Sukarno. The word *serikat* should be eliminated because our nation is from A to A – from Aceh to Ambon. But because the Ambonese proclaimed their independence on 25 April 1950, Sukarno eliminated the word *serikat* and then on 18 April 1955,

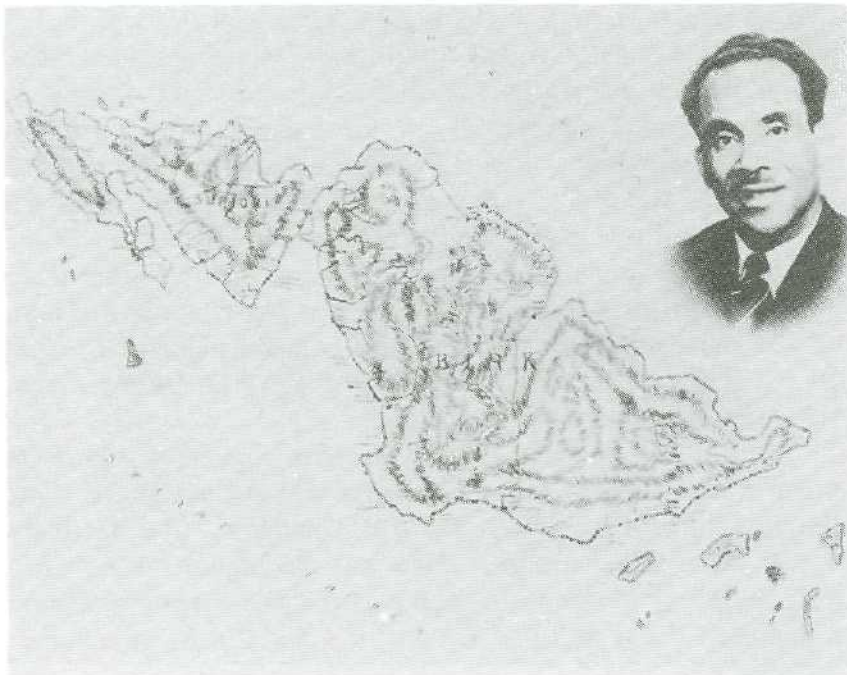


Plate 5 At the Hague 1950

because the Dutch and Australian governments made an agreement for a united New Guinea, Sukarno suddenly made a move to hold a conference of from A to A, which meant from Asia to Africa. Sukarno closed the issue of Aceh to Ambon and appeared at the Afro-Asian Conference on 18 April 1955 with this new A to A, standing for Asia to Africa. Soon the black nations and the Asian nations stood up and supported this new idea in order to make an anti-imperialist stand, particularly against the white Dutch in Papua Barat. Therefore Sukarno was very popular in the United Nations. Even the United Nations Committee on the decolonisation process set a date for 14 December 1960 which stated that every state should be one and not be split up, which meant that the former colony of the Dutch East Indies should be united with Papua Barat too inside the Indonesian nation.

I attended conferences in the Pacific, the first one in Fiji in 1950, in Noumea in 1953, in Fiji in 1956, in Rabaul in 1959 and in Western Samoa in 1962. At that time I was working in Hollandia, and I represented all the Papuan people. I was originally representing Kankain Karkara Biak-Numfor, but when I moved to Hollandia, I represented the government of Dutch New Guinea. Therefore I represented the people of Papua Barat. In the Dutch New Guinea Government there were three regions: Northern was Hollandia, Western was Sorong, Southern was Merauke [Western is from Sorong to Manokwari, the head of the bird; Southern is the swampy area of Merauke; Hollandia is the Northern region.]

The first meeting of the Northern region was in 1953 when I was appointed as the chairperson of the Dutch New Guinea Council by the Resident, Mr Lammers. The Secretary was Ir Tarenskein, and then there was the Mayor whose name was Solser. I was the chairman of the northern region committee. All this is written in the Dutch government documents of the time. I was moved to Hollandia on 8 August 1951. From Hollandia there were some Papuans, but in other regions they had not formed any committees. Therefore I insisted with the Dutch Government that there be a New Guinea

Council, and then other Papuan representatives came along. At that time I was employed as Public Relations Officer for the Regional Council for the whole of West New Guinea. I began this work when I was still in Biak in 1947 and then in 1951 I was moved to Hollandia. If there were any tribal clashes, for example, in the Wissel Lakes area I was sent there. After the War, the Government Resident, J P K van Eechoud sent Dr de Bruijn there and he was caught up there. The tribal people said, 'Oh, are you a Kapauku (Wisselmeren) [*kiap*]? Why do you try to interfere with our tribal war? During the War between you and the Japanese we did not interfere [*laughing gleefully*]. So now let us solve our own problems' [*more laughter*]. Therefore they did not want to pay any attention to him. In February 1947, Resident van Eechoud appointed me to go to Wissel Lakes [Wisselmeren]. At that time I sorted out their tribal war with them. Later on when I was in Hollandia as a Public Relations Officer, whenever there was a tribal war I was sent over to help resolve it. An example is in the inland area of Waris in the Hollandia region.

Between the villages of Genyem and Javi three highlanders and one man from Kei Island were killed. The Kei Island man was the police commander at Waris. The four of them were killed at Namola, Waris. At this time the Government appointed a district assistant, Mr Tiwow Menadoness [from Sulawesi], who is now living in Holland and another district assistant Oktovianus Ohe from Sentani, together with Inspector de Haas. They went over to solve the problem of the killing, but the people were unco-operative. Instead they sent an arrow into Oktovianus' neck. So Tiwow and the others retreated to the coast and the Mayor, Mr Lammers asked if I could go over and investigate this problem. I said, 'Yes, I'm ready to go'. On the night I was leaving my daughter Gerda was about to be born. This was on 4 September 1952. The doctor said, 'Markus, your wife is going to give birth, so you should stay'. And I said, 'No, it is your job as a medical doctor to deliver the baby. My job is to go and solve the problems of my people.' So I soon left to solve the tribal war [*much*

laughter]. I want to make this point clear because when many officers in the service face family problems they just use them as an excuse for not facing the problems of their work. But for me, problems at home are problems for the home; my work is my work, so I have to go. This is my philosophy of life.

At that time I stayed in the house of Nenere, a Moluccan, who was a teacher at Nafri on the coast. I walked to the inland area of Waris where I met a Biak police officer who is now in Papua New Guinea. His name is Willem Rumbiak. I stayed there to solve the problem. However, the people were already hiding the bodies in the swamp around the sago plantation. I went to the village of Namola and asked the people if they could tell me where the bodies were. However the murderers had escaped to the hills so I had to persuade them to come down. Finally they did come down, but they didn't want to give up their axes. The Government had dropped a few metal axes in their village and I met another village warrior whose name was Baras and said to him: 'I'd like to meet those people. Could you deliver these three axes to them?' When I arranged for the axes to be sent to the hills, the Dutch officer said: 'They will use these metal axes to kill each other or to kill you'. I said: 'No, I don't want to see my people suffer by having to use those stone-age axes'. So I sent three axes up to the people and the three chiefs of all the village came out and stated that they would like to have some more metal axes. And the villagers would each like to have a metal axe. So I said, 'Alright, you all come down and I'll give the axes to you' [*laughing cheerfully*].

As soon as they came down I asked them, 'Where did you hide the bodies?' They said, 'We put them in the mud'. I then asked them, 'Would you please pull them out of the mud?' When they pulled the bodies out I noticed that they were swollen and their eyes were missing. I got them to clean the bodies and then asked them which ones they had killed, requesting the killer to stand beside the body of the man he killed. Soon I asked them, 'Who started shooting arrows?'

After that they admitted the murders and soon I made a decision on their punishment. I took them to the coast. The

highest punishment was a month for the leader and then the average was two weeks for the others. I sent them down to town making them carry back all their needs. From Waris they walked to Hollandia which took two weeks and then they came back receiving the punishment of carrying all the supplies.

I did not respect the colonial border

One time the headman from the village at Waris where the men were killed accompanied me on a visit to some villages across the border in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. I gave him some mirrors and Dutch flags which he gave to the villagers. When the *kiap* asked them where they got them they said: 'We got them from a big-man from Dutch New Guinea'. The *kiaps* were very angry and I got a warning about the things I had given to people in the villages of Australian Papua and New Guinea. Later it was revealed by the Australian patrol officer that Canberra gave a warning to the Dutch Government in The Hague. They asked why Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo crossed the border. The Governor, Mr van Baal called me and asked me why I crossed the border. I said, 'What border? As far as I can see it is a colonial border. So why do I have to have any respect for it? That border should be eliminated. The important thing for us is that we are one people; we have our land and when you made that border you never asked us.'

As a result of this Australia and the Netherlands agreed to work together coming to make an agreement in 1957 to dispense with the border. This event was one of the basic reasons for their decision to work together.

These activities happened in the northern part. From there I went to the Asmat, Muju, Digul, Tanahmerah in the southern part. When I was in Muju I showed some films and the people from the Territory of Papua and New Guinea watched these films too, particularly people from the place they call Kiunga and also Ninati. The PNG people also watched this film in 1956. The Australian Government was very angry because I did all this without respecting the border.

I put the argument for early independence

One Dutch Vice-Governor encouraged us to work for independence in ten years. But there was another officer named Mr van de Wolk who said: 'There is no need to educate Papuan people. They only need to be trained as cooks and chauffeurs and similar little jobs.' He thought we should begin with little jobs and gradually move towards the top jobs because a ten-year plan is not long enough to train people to take over. This plan was actually going against my plan. This decision was being reached in 1959. A meeting with van der Wolk was attended by Rev Kamma, Rev Romainum, Nicholas Jouwe, myself and the three Catholic bishops were Monsignor Staverman OFM in Hollandia, who headed the north-east area, Monsignor Tillemans MCE in the southern area and Monsignor van Diepen Augustin in Manokwari.

When I put the argument for early independence they said: 'Mr Kaisiëpo, this is your ten-year plan'. I said: 'But there is another plan from Mr van der Wolk which I have already received. We will look at these two plans and decide which one we will use.' Then I said: 'If my ten-year plan is defeated then I will ask my people to make a revolution and kick the Dutch out of New Guinea'. I stated this in front of them all and then listened quietly to their statements.

Later on they asked the two other Papuan participants in the meeting, Nicholas Jouwe and Rev Romainum, 'What is your opinion?' Jouwe said, 'I'm sorry but I abstain [*blanko*, M]. Then they asked Rev Romainum: 'If Mr Kaisiëpo's plan is not fulfilled he has said that he will lead his people in revolution. What do you think of that?' He answered: 'As I said I go along with Kaisiëpo. I will lead my people to make a revolution.'

This is interesting because one from the religious side whose mind was with the Indonesians said that he was going to lead the people to a revolution. The other one – myself – worked for the Dutch but said he would lead a revolution [*laughing*]. Both of them are calling for independence!

*'I am one of the Papuan people,
not part of the Mission'*

When Mr de Bruijn was launching his book called *Mission Folk* he came to the place for the launching. I said: 'No I won't come because your book is about the Mission folk and I am one of the Papuan folk that you mention. But I am one of the people not part of the Mission.' When he went to the place for the book launching, Mr de Bruijn said to the people there: 'Ladies and gentlemen, maybe we can wait for five or ten minutes, maybe Mr Wonggor Kaisiëpo will come'. I said to him: 'All the Dutch people and the Dutch Government know that I only say something *once*. My people know I just say something once; and I said I'm not coming to your party. I was only born once and I die once. Not like the Dutch government people who are born many times and only die one time.' I didn't go. That's why I always say the Dutch Government must give freedom to Papua Barat.

The Australian and Dutch governments promised to help this country as Papua Barat: one name, one country, one people. That is what they said in 1957. But the Dutch Government ran away, and the Australian Government was the first government to recognise Sukarno's Independence Proclamation. The Australian Government had different politics and they did not want to help the Dutch Government in that way. I can understand that because Australia and New Zealand are also white, and European, but they are still there in the area. But I cannot understand the Dutch Government because the Netherlands is far away; it is not in the Pacific, it is not a neighbour, only the Government is there.

It could be that the Dutch Government was being pushed by other countries, like England and America. That is their fault, because we know when they colonised Indonesia including Papua Barat, they knew about politics. They did not ask America or England to colonise that part of the world. They just did it on their own.

When I was in Sydney I said to the representative of the Dutch Government: 'You must do what we Papuans want, not what the Dutch Government wants, but what we want'. If the Dutch Government thinks we can't handle the military or other strategies, then we just ask you to put your hands up and leave this country. Don't do anything, leave it to us.'

I was very angry and I wrote a letter to the Government. They answered me: 'Well, we don't want the Papuan people to get into bad trouble. We will save you because we can do better [than you] when swimming in troubled waters.'

I spoke in the Senate to all the government people, but nobody gave any answer. I stood up and gave my answer to the Government: 'We Papuan people are born with blood, not like the Dutch people who are born with dirty water, and we believe in Jesus Christ who went to the Cross and lost his blood, not the Dutch Jesus Christ who went to the Cross and lost his dirty water'. That was my answer to him.

In April 1962 I said it all angrily and I always told them the truth. I put my finger on the fist of the Minister and told him to shut up. 'You are lying!' They didn't like me because I just told them the truth. 'Never mind,' I said, 'if you don't like me that's no problem, but I like you'.

'...nobody asked me to speak freely before'

At the end of 1961 I was the head of a delegation from the New Guinea Council which visited Queen Juliana. I visited the Queen Mother in 1960, the year before. In 1960 I went to visit the Queen Mother, Wilhelmina at Appeldoorn in the Netherlands. She was very old then so the Minister said: 'If you come just visit her for five or seven minutes because she will be very tired'. But when my delegation came to visit the Queen Mother they had a translator whose name was Mr van Waandenberg, the first Governor of West Irian. We were introduced to her and she shook hands with the delegation. Then I said: 'Well we are very sorry Your Highness but we do not speak Dutch. I don't even wish to learn it because in 1929 I

wrote to you asking whether we could learn Dutch. But you sent us the answer, No! So I don't speak Dutch and I do not think it is necessary to speak your language. And I must now use a translator.' She talked with us for forty-five minutes because she was very interested in the question; the Dutch people had thought maybe only five to seven minutes.

In 1961 I made a speech in the City Hall in Amsterdam. I said: 'I hope that you have translated [my speech] with open hearts and open minds and speak freely, because my heart is always open, I never have a closed heart'.

In 1959 the Australian administrator in Port Moresby, Mr Cleland [Brigadier, later Sir Donald Cleland] and his wife visited Papua Barat. The Governor at that time, Mr Platteel and his wife also came and visited Manokwari for a one-week conference on nutrition for the people. In the last two days of the conference the two governments, Australia and Papua Barat, were invited to the reception. That night Mr Cleland said to the translator: 'I will ask Mr Kaisiëpo some questions and I hope he will speak frankly. He is free to give me his own answer, not some "line" answer.' I said, 'Well I am very happy and thank you for that because nobody asked me to speak freely like you before'. Mr Cleland said: 'Mr Kaisiëpo, as you know my Government has forbidden the people of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea from drinking alcohol. But the Dutch Government in Papua Barat has given permission for the Papuan people to drink alcohol. So, Mr Kaisiëpo, which of these two governments is right?' I explained: 'Every government is just like parents in relation to their children. The parents mean well. But the Australian Government is lazy; it doesn't like to have much work. So it wants to limit the use of alcohol. The Papuan people might cause trouble if you give them the chance to drink alcohol. The Papuan people are not allowed to drink alcohol but the government people, Australian, drink and drink. Actually we Biak people drink Swan Srai; that is a Koreri custom. *Swan* is alcohol and *Srai* is coconut. This means actually the Australian people are Manarmakeri people. They drink Swan beer and we drink *Swan Srai*.'

Christianity was brought by white people, and they are like people with leprosy, because they taught Christianity to our people and also to the African people, to the colonial people, and they colonised them and used Christianity like poison. White people think that what we have – the Koreri, and the religions of African or the Indian people – are bad; but actually it is they who have the bad things which they bring to us.

The Biak people or black people in general have done evil things like sorcery, but you don't see it, you can't prove it. But the European people are worse because they have guns, and atomic bombs. We can see that happen. Christians teach that you don't kill, yet they make these weapons to kill many people, millions of people. White people come and say: 'We will throw away your Koreri like the baby with the bath water and just stick to ours, because ours is the good one, not yours'. That's what I don't agree with.

The Church was not telling the truth, it didn't recognise Papuan rights, that is why I say it is Iscariot. In the period around 1956, the Church only cared about their own: the Dutch Government, the Dutch Church, and the Indonesian Church. That is the only important thing to the Dutch Church, not the Papuans. Mr Locher, the Secretary General of the Dutch Reformed Church, came to Papua Barat and he met me at that time. At the time the Gereja Kristen Injili (GKI) was born, Greater Christian Church. The Dutch name is ECK (Evangelische Christelijke Kerk). I say: The E is for European and the C is for Christianity and the K for Kerk (Church). So Reverend Kijne said to me at that time: 'They are trying to make the Church independent'. But I did not agree with him and we argued. 'If you say that then the Church is not independent and now I understand that the Mission too is colonialist. Christianity is not independent. Because now they will first give the Church independence, yet the people are not independent. That is a total contradiction.'

That is why I did not like to meet those people like Mr Locher, Mr Kamma and Mr Kijne. And I did not recognise the

GKI, the independent Church, and I am not a member of the Church. I told the OPM: 'Don't become a member of the Church. The GKI stands for Greater Kristen Indonesia.'

On the 21 November 1944 I said: 'Okay, I return my evangelist's certificate. I've finished.' Rev Kijne was in the Netherlands and he wrote to the newspaper about the things that I said. He wrote to me and he said: 'Mr Kaisiëpo, why are you not loyal to the Church?' I wrote back to Rev Kijne and said: 'Well maybe you can show me in the Holy Bible which chapter says that Jesus is loyal to Iscariot. If you find that, tell me, then I will read it and follow him and I will also be loyal to the Church.'

I just say I'm proud of Arnold Ap

When Arnold Ap started his song group Mambesak, Rev Kamma called him and said, 'The Korero is coming up in West Irian'. I said, 'Well what's wrong about that?' I understood that Rev Kamma and the Church did not want to let it live again. I said: 'What about around here, the young people are dancing at the discos. You don't forbid it. Why forbid our music?'

I just say I am proud of Arnold Ap. His life is okay. I am proud of him as I told you. And his murder is enough for me to know how bad the Indonesian Government is, and also the Dutch Government and the whole world, because they are in the United Nations. That is why I said the white people just use Christianity as a tool to go everywhere in the world to colonise people.

Korero means changing and I have already changed so much – maybe three generations, with ten children and twenty-one grandchildren and eight great-grandchildren. All the people are changing, but they do not know the word Korero. It just means that people are changing. The Dutch Christian people believe in the Messiah who is standing after three days. No one, including the Pope in Rome, no white man, has ever come back, but people still believe in Christianity.

In 1961 people made the Koreri shield. In Biak we call that shield *adai* and the name of the shield is *kanken* Koreri, the door of Koreri. People used that shield on 4 April 1962 when people went to Hollandia for a ceremony to open the Papuan consulate. I arranged for the Biak people to make it ready for the ceremony. I used it in the ceremony, but I don't really know what happened to it after that. Many of our cultural things stayed in Hollandia. Mr Rockefeller came and bought these things and put them in a museum in Hollandia. He gave \$70,000 to set up the Museum. Maybe the shield is still in Jayapura; but maybe it is in the Philippines. You know the way with Indonesia: whoever gives the most money is likely to get it [*laughing*]. Maybe in the future we can make another shield in order for us to make history. The important thing for me is working to get freedom for Papua Barat. When we have that freedom then, if I am still alive, I will work to set up our cultural centre. That is when we get our Koreri freedom. Anyway look at Arnold Ap. He made Koreri live again.

I am from *wonggor* clan; the symbol which follows means 'Wonggor's heart speaks out'.



APPENDIX I

From us, the indigenous people...

Ladies and gentlemen,

The call from the Synod of the Church of the Netherlands Hervormd staggered us and caused problems and lots of feelings and opinions from different groups in Holland and Indonesia and the international communities, which is surprising us the original inhabitants and owners who inherit the land of New Guinea. We the original inhabitants who inherit this land feel that we have a right, like any other people in this world. By not looking at the cleverness or education [we have] based on modern strength, we totally rejected the idea which is expressed by the Church, the Netherlands Synod of the Church of Hervormd, because it is opposed to or against decisions made earlier, that is:

We believe that with our own leadership under the guidance of the Kingdom of the Netherlands one day whose date is not yet decided by anybody else until now, we will stand equal with any other eastern nations or peoples.

With this in mind, we original inhabitants were struggling beside the government of the Netherlands to try to hang on with both our hands and hand in hand work towards gaining our sovereignty. Maybe our opinion, which we have expressed repeatedly, will be laughed at by our opponents, especially Indonesia and its allies in Asia and Africa or even by the Synod. *However it will always be our stand.*

*The conclusions of the inhabitants who are inheritors
of the land of New Guinea*

We the majority of the inhabitants of New Guinea are, by religion and culture, Christians through the leadership of the Church Synod. And we still respect and love the name of Christ who we recently adopted a hundred years ago. But the call from the Synod, which is stated clearly through the Word of God, is not the stand and value of our people and has not respected our wishes. We stated clearly that the Synod of the Church must not cover up its own interest and the interests of the Netherlands and Indonesia, and also eastern nations and forget all about the one original people, that is, we the Papuan people who more likely need [should expect] the support of the Synod and the support of the Netherlands and other nations if this is the era of humanity.

We the inhabitants of this land never thought that because of the problems between the Netherlands and Indonesia over our land, New Guinea, the whole world would be shaken. Each nation has its own aims and ideas. A big nation which is strong and rich, or has a rich culture, or even a backward nation can see that we the Papuan people inherit the land of New Guinea. Because of the differences in ideas and richness which causes concern in the world surely we know that our land is one little part of it, the disease of this universe. But it is not us who created it, or the Netherlands who are making it up; it is a new nation called Indonesia.

The problems which are causing us anxiety and desperation are those which push every nation to find unity in order to secure its own future. We know this. But do not forget that we, the real inhabitants of New Guinea, are still struggling – we have feelings and breath in one universe. Although our part of the world is different from other parts of the world it is in fact now that our voice is coming to the world.

Although the whole world is staggered, not even one nation in this world would just throw away its ideas as a result of listening to the word of God. To give up your hopes is similar to sacrificing yourself on the Cross already made by

someone else – you might as well go and hang yourself on the Cross.

We the inhabitants of New Guinea [have] never admitted the history created by Indonesia because one can never forget that our ancestors in the past around 400 years ago became enemies of Indonesia. And isn't it funny today that the Dutch are using their wisdom to try to be the peacemakers in this case? We the people of New Guinea became part of Indonesia only because historically the Dutch controlled such a great area called the East Indies. Not a single person from the Netherlands or Indonesia or the rest of the world would feel our resentment towards Indonesia when we are fighting against them to be free from the Netherlands.

The struggle for Indonesian independence produced a way out in which they were freed at the time. We the original inhabitants of New Guinea were thankful for being separated from Colonialism. We have also know that our neighbouring nations from the East (Africa and Asia) after a half century were granted independence from their colonial masters. These newly independent nations had a population of 550 million people. These nations truly hated the Western nations, because of one basic reason, that is *Colonial*, they had a very deep feeling and realised this from the Western nations during this atomic era.

*Our anxiety as original inhabitants
of New Guinea*

We the original inhabitants of New Guinea are not Indonesian people, totally opposed the unity into the sovereignty of Indonesia, because if it is so then our name and our right as a nation will forever disappear from this earth. We did not believe that the churches in Indonesia would grow prosperously in an Islamic country which are now united under the Islamic nations of Asia-Africa.

We also did not believe the eastern nations would be prepared to accept the idea of Western nations under democracy,

because beside that it has been shaken and 575 million people were already turned communist. We did not believe the formation for the nation of Borneo – North and East. The Portuguese with their demand for the unity of Dutch East Indies in the past. We did not believe that because if it took West New Guinea then it will take the rest of the island.

We have this conclusion according to what happened to India towards the region of Goa under the Portuguese. We were worried that Australia in the future would be the centre of attention for the eastern nations Asia-Africa to invade, because of their 'eastern attitude'.

We hoped that together the Western nations would cooperate and support the idea of true peace and humanity and not be influenced by these new emerging nations that based their hatred towards Colonialism to gain their sovereignty.

Finally, with our true sincerity as the inheritors of the original inhabitants of this land, to put our trust and loyalty to the KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS in general, and especially to the GOVERNMENTS OF NETHERLANDS-NEW GUINEA, for the opportunity and special respect they have shown towards our happy future together.

Thank you and goodnight

M W Kaisiopo

Kenjataan Pendirian Dari Nieuw-Guinea

(Standpoints on New Guinea)

Hollandia, c. 1956:13-15.*

APPENDIX II

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM OF WEST PAPUA

HAI TANAHKU PAPUA

1. Hai ta - nah - ku Pa - pu - a. Kau ta - nah - la - bir -
 ku, ku - ka - sih - kan di - kau se - bing - ga a - djal - ku.

2. Kukasih pasir putih dipantaimu senang, dimana lautan biru berkilat dalam t'rang.
3. Kukasih bunji ombak, pemukul pantaimu, njanjian jang selalu menangkan hatiku.
4. Kukasih gunung-gunung, besar, mullalah, dan awan jang melajaang keliling puntjakoja.
5. Kukasih hutan-hutan, selimur tanahku; 'ku suka mengumbara dibawah naungmu.
6. Kukasih engkau, tanah, jang dengan buahmu merubajer koradjinan dan pkerdjaanku.
7. Sjukur bagiMu, Tuhan: Kaub'rikan tanahku, b'ri aku radjin djuga waropelkan maudMu.

O, My Land Papua

1. O, my land Papua
Thou, my native land,
I love thee
until the end of my life
2. I love the white sand
of thy glorious beaches,
where the blue Ocean
shines in the light.
3. I love the sound of the rollers
dashing against thy beaches
a song that always
replices my heart.
4. I love the mountains,
great and sublime,
and the clouds
floating around their summits.
5. I love the forests
the blanket of my land
I love roaming about
in their shadow.
6. I love thee, o earth,
that with thy fruits
pays for my industry
and for my work.
7. Thank Thee, o Lord,
Thou hast given my
land;
May I be intent
on accomplishing Thy
design.

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I was born as a Koreri man from Biak. My father had a strong feeling about Koreri. The missionaries forbade us to sing the Koreri songs or perform the dances. But I had such a strong feeling I did not care...

The Morning Star is a part of the daily lives of West Papuan people. It is a sign to the gardener and the hunter of all tribes in Papua Barat that day-time is approaching.

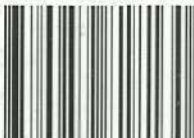
In Biak it is also the symbol of Koreri, a Biak word for change, which may be likened to a snake shedding its old skin. In the Biak-Numfor area movements seeking Koreri — the Kingdom of Heaven on earth (Luke 12:31) — have become associated more and more with an independent Papua Barat. Biak-Numfor is known as the gateway to Papua Barat, also known as West New Guinea, West Irian, or Irian Jaya.

In 1961 the Morning Star flag became the expression of 'the family tree' of Papua Barat. This symbolised the independent identity of the Papuan people, as a part of the Melanesian race. This book is about the people of the Morning Star.

Markus Wonggor Kaisiëpo, the last living authority on Koreri, a key figure in a cultural revival before World War Two, tells his life story here. It is the reality of Papuan history and of a struggle for independence.

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