



# Papuans Behind Bars Annual Overview 2025

# Papuans Behind Bars Annual Overview 2025

---

First published in June 2026  
by Papuans Behind Bars and TAPOL  
[papuansbehindbars.org](http://papuansbehindbars.org) | [tapol.org](http://tapol.org)

This report uses the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 (CC BY-NC 4.0) licence. You are free to distribute, remix, adapt and create the material in any medium or format for non-commercial purposes only, and only as long as attribution is given to the creator.

More information at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

# Papuans Behind Bars

## Annual Overview 2025

### The data

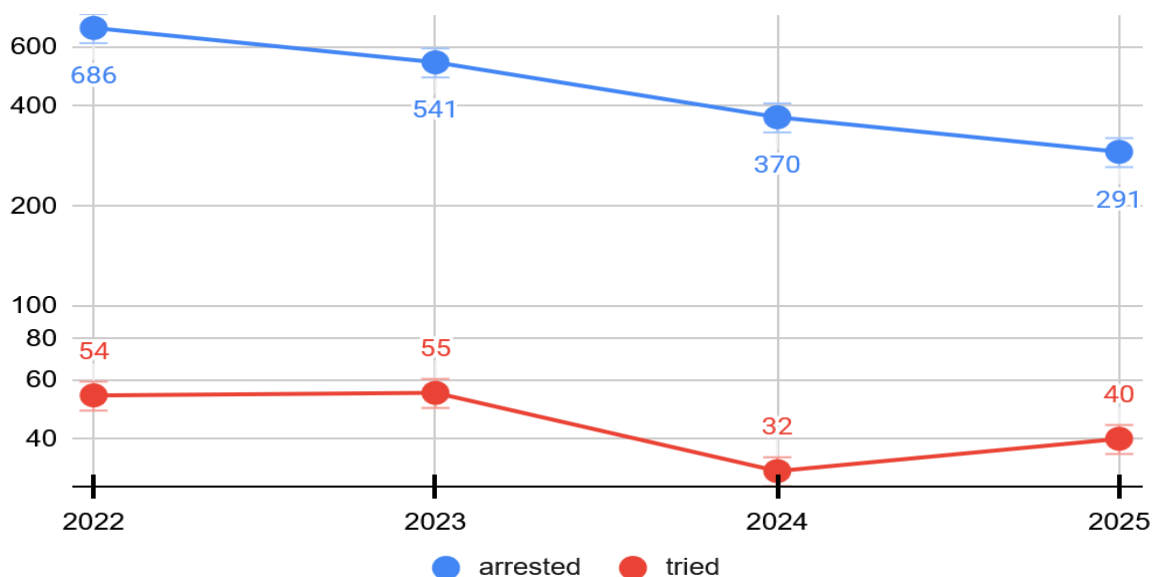
We recorded a total of 291 political arrests throughout the year. At least 233 of those arrested were released without charge, a few hours or days after their arrest. Forty people are reported to be facing further legal proceedings in a number of courts. At least 60 reported having been subjected to torture and other ill-treatment during their arrest or detention; five died.

According to the information we have received, the majority of those responsible for these arrests were police officers, accounting for 252 cases. Military personnel were involved in 22 cases. The remainder were carried out jointly by the police and the military.

Of the 30 who have been convicted, four were charged and convicted under treason laws. They were sentenced to seven months' imprisonment at a court far from their hometowns and the location of the incident, the Makassar District Court. In addition to treason, ten were tried on charges of possession of sharp weapons or firearms, 11 were charged with embezzlement, two were charged with murder, and the remainder were charged with endangering public safety and disseminating digital content deemed to incite hatred. Only one of them was acquitted of all charges, because the defendant was a minor. The rest were found guilty, with sentences ranging from six months to 15 years.

By the end of 2025, 48 of the 291 people arrested were still in custody. Ten were on trial in various courts, 21 others were serving sentences in various prisons in West Papua, and the remainder were still being held for questioning by the police. In total, including those arrested in previous years, there are 63 people currently serving prison sentences and 38 people who are still being detained or, at least, have not yet been reported as having been released.

Number arrested and number brought to trial, 2022–2025



Over the past four years, arrests in West Papua have declined. This is likely due to several interrelated factors. On the one hand, in recent large-scale demonstrations, the authorities have tended to change their tactics by arresting only a few organisers when dispersing a demonstration, rather than carrying out mass arrests as occurred in the past. On the other hand, the number of demonstrations has actually fallen due to the shrinking space for civil liberties. Some of the causes of this narrowing include increased securitisation, militarisation and intimidation.<sup>1</sup>

In addition, the data above shows that over the past four years, on average only 10.1% of those arrested have been brought to trial. Generally, those arrested were released after a brief interrogation without formal charges. In some cases, this is due to a lack of evidence. However, the high ratio of arrests to trials also indicates an abuse of authority and the possible use of arrest as a tool of social control to intimidate, stop protests, or disrupt civil society activities.



*Image 1. Petrus Madai after his trial at Nabire District Court, 23 January 2025. (Jubi/Hengky Yeimo)*

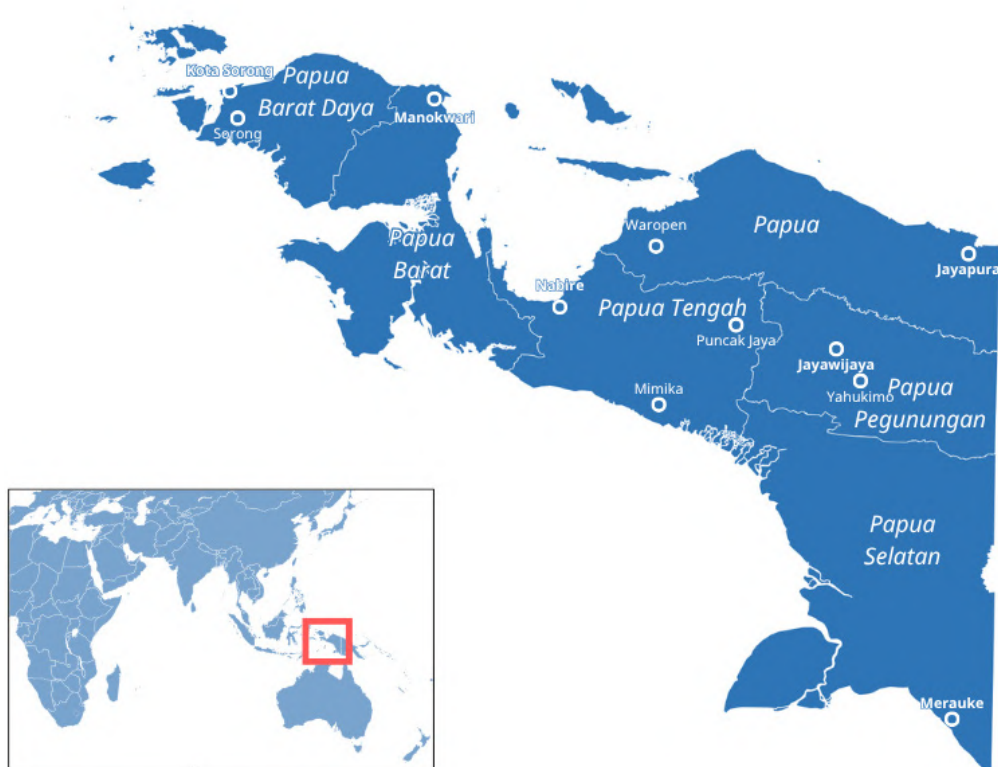
---

1. Over the past five years, the incidence of intimidation and harassment has continued to rise. See TAPOL, 'West Papua 2025 Freedom of Expression and Freedom of Assembly Report', p. 35, 7 May 2026, available at <https://tapol.org/publications/2025-west-papua-freedom-expression-and-assembly-full-report>. See also CIVICUS Monitor, 'Protesters and human rights defenders detained across the Asia-Pacific in 2025', 9 December 2025, available at [https://monitor.civicus.org/press\\_release/2025/asia-pacific/](https://monitor.civicus.org/press_release/2025/asia-pacific/).

## Who was arrested?

Of those arrested, 11 were female and 280 were male. In terms of age, based on the available data, 60 were children and teenagers (0 - 17 y.o), 105 were adults (18 - 64 y.o), and one was an elderly person (over 65 y.o). The majority of those arrested (157) were activists, students, or both. As regards organisational affiliation, those arrested were members of political, environmental, religious and legal organisations. Specifically 48 of those arrested were affiliated to Solidarity of West Papuan Students (Solidaritas Pelajar West Papua, SPWP), 42 were affiliated with United Liberation Movement for West Papua-Provisional Government (ULMWP-PG), 29 with National Committee for West Papua (Komite Nasional Papua Barat, KNPB), seven with Students' Independent Forum (Forum Independen Mahasiswa, FIM), four with Student Executive Body (Badan Eksekutif Mahasiswa, BEM) Universitas Cenderawasih (Uncen), four with Greenpeace, four with Federal Republic of West Papua (Negara Federal Republik Papua Barat, NFRPB), and the remainder—one each—were activists from Papuan Students' Alliance (Aliansi Mahasiswa Papua, AMP), Papuan Legal Aid Institute (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (LBH) Papua), and Voice of the Catholic Laity, Papua Region (Suara Awam Katolik Regio Papua).

Map of West Papua



By region, the majority of arrests in this report occurred in Nabire, Papua Tengah Province, accounting for 27.5%. This is due to mass arrests of the students demonstrating against the Free Nutritious Meals (Makan Bergizi Gratis, MBG) programme. This is the significant shift as in our previous reports, Jayapura, Papua Province (17.9%) had almost the highest number of arrests. Arrest cases also occurred in Waropen (14.4%), Yahukimo (11.3%), Sorong City (9.6%), Sorong Regency (3.8%), Mimika (2.1%), and Puncak Jaya (2.1%). Cases in other areas were below 2%.

## Why were they arrested?

The majority of arrests during this period were related to freedom of assembly and expression. We recorded at least 191 people being arrested for taking part in demonstrations, organising demonstrations, holding meetings, wearing symbols and/or flying the Morning Star flag, gathering in public places, or engaging in other political activities. Of that number, for example, 72 people were arrested for commemorating historic days or activities associated with specific political groups<sup>2</sup> and 105 people were arrested for demonstrating in response to specific issues.<sup>3</sup>

Armed conflict also continues to underlie a number of arrests. In this regard, at least 69 people have been arrested on various charges, including for allegedly having been part of an armed group, involvement in acts of violence, possession of firearms or sharp weapons, the purchase and sale of weapons, for assault on security officers, or even for involvement in murder.

### Seven most frequent reasons for arrest between 2022 and 2025

Reasons	2022	2023	2024	2025
Demo or calling for demo	585	427	323	137
Accused of collaboration with armed groups	18	144	53	57
Accused of attacking officers	95	10	0	8
Meeting	14	41	4	48
Affiliation with pro-independence groups	0	43	21	12
Accused of murder	5	41	7	8
Accused of involvement in the possession or trafficking of firearms or sharp weapons	10	17	12	14

The table above shows that, although overall figures have fallen year on year, the reasons for arrest relating to freedom of assembly and expression remain predominant. These are followed by arrests relating to armed conflict, such as allegations of involvement in armed groups, attacks on officials, allegations of involvement in murders, and the possession or trade of weapons.

2. Such as commemorating National Peasant Day, the Rome Agreement, West Papua Independence Day, distributing NFRPB invitations to a dialogue, commemorating the ULMWP's anniversary, and attending a meeting of the ULMWP Provisional Government.

3. Such as calling to boycott Indonesian products and investments, opposing militarism in West Papua, demanding the closure of Freeport, opposing the revision of the Military Law, opposing nickel mining in Raja Ampat, opposing the Free Nutritious Meals programme, opposing the transfer of four political prisoners from Sorong to Makassar, and opposing the excessive allowances for members of the House of Representatives.

## **Criminal Justice Process in Indonesia: A brief introduction**

### Inquiry and Investigation

The inquiry and investigation stage is conducted by the police in order to explore, assess, and determine whether an event is a criminal offence or not. If, in the inquiry (*penyelidikan*) process, the police finally find criminal offence(s), then the police advance to investigation (*penyidikan*). At this stage, the police are authorised to name the alleged perpetrator as a suspect (*tersangka*) and take steps such as arrest, detention, search, seizure, and examination of documents.

In naming a person as a suspect, there is also a list of the articles they are accused of having violated (*pasal-pasal yang disangkakan*). These articles must be contained in the warrant of arrest and/or detention.

### Prosecution

Once the case file and evidence are deemed sufficient, the police will submit the results of their investigation to the public prosecutor. If the public prosecutor deems the police file to be eligible, the public prosecutor will refer the case to the district court accompanied by an indictment (*surat dakwaan*) made by the public prosecutor. The indictment contains the articles charged against the defendant (*terdakwa*)—who is no longer called as suspect.

### Lengthy pretrial detention

According to Indonesia's Criminal Procedure Code (*Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Acara Pidana*, KUHAP), a suspect can be arrested and held by the police for one day. Subsequently, the police can detain the suspect for up to 20 days, with the possibility of an extension agreed by the Prosecutor Office for an extra 40 days. In total the police can detain a suspect for 61 days in their own detention place. The prosecutor can detain the suspect for a further 20 days, with the possibility of an extension agreed by the head judge of a district court for an extra 30 days. A suspect who is charged with a crime punishable by nine years' imprisonment or more, such as treason (*makar*) can be detained for 30 days and can be extended for another 60 days by the chief judge of a district court without the suspect appearing in court. This means that a suspect in a treason (*makar*) case can be detained for up to 201 days before seeing a judge. In the KUHAP, there is no legal procedure for a suspect to challenge their detention before a court (habeas corpus). Many UN human rights bodies have criticised the lengthy pretrial detention period and the absence of habeas corpus in Indonesia's criminal justice system.

### Court hearing

After receiving the indictment and related files from the public prosecutor, the district court appoints judges to hear the case. At the trial, the panel of judges listens to and examines the indictment read by the public prosecutor, the response of the defendant or his lawyer, as well as the evidence and testimony of witnesses. Before the panel of judges deliberates on the verdict, the public prosecutor will be asked to present the prosecution's case (*tuntutan*, a request to the judge regarding the verdict and punishment of the defendant). The defendant is also asked to respond to the prosecution's demands or to defend himself.

It is not uncommon for the prosecution's case to differ from what was read out in the indictment. From the many articles charged at the beginning, for example, it can become only one article.

### Reading out the judge's verdict

After examining all charges, defences, evidence and witnesses, the panel of judges will deliberate and read out their decision on the case. It is not unusual for a judge's verdict (*putusan*) to differ from that of what the public prosecutor demanded. The panel of judges may even find the defendant guilty but for another criminal offence (another article) that was not in the indictment and prosecution.

The decision of the panel of judges of the district courts can be appealed before the high court. If this fails, the prosecutor and defendant/their lawyer can apply to the Supreme Court —via the district court which tried the case in the first instance— for a case review (*peninjauan kembali*, PK) if they have new evidence (that has not been presented in previous courts) or found contradictory judgements or judicial errors.

### Additional notes

The introduction above refers to the Indonesian Criminal Procedure Code (KUHAP), which was passed in 1981 and amended in 2025 (Law No. 1/2026). Much of its content was adopted from the Dutch colonial criminal procedure code. While the law has many sections that protect the rights of suspects and defendants, there are a number of sections that fall short of international fair trial standards.<sup>4</sup> For example, to name a few, the right not to be compelled to testify or confess guilt and the prohibition of torture and ill-treatment are not explicitly regulated.

---

4. See Amnesty International, "Indonesia: Comments on the draft revised Criminal Procedure Code", 6 September 2006 (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/ASA21/005/2006/en/>).

## Key dynamics in Indonesia

In 2025, there were some important events and legal framework changes relevant to the current situation relating to West Papuan political prisoners. First, on 1 August, President Prabowo Subianto signed a Presidential Decree (No. 17/2025) to legally pardon 1,178 convicted inmates/prisoners,<sup>5</sup> including five West Papuan political prisoners.<sup>6</sup> The Government of Indonesia claimed that granting amnesty to West Papuan political prisoners was a continuation of efforts to resolve the conflict through peaceful means. It was part of a long-term dialogue approach that has also led to the release of New Zealand citizen pilot Philip Mehrstens in September 2024.<sup>7</sup>

Papuan human rights lawyers from the Papuans Behind Bars network criticised the Presidential pardons which, they said, did not extend to all West Papuan political prisoners. At least one of the recipients, Viktor Makamuke, had actually been eligible for early release having already served two thirds of his prison sentence.<sup>8</sup> The conviction of four activists with treason at the Makassar District Court in November 2025 is inconsistent with the Government of Indonesia's claim that it has been granted amnesty for non-violence West Papuan political prisoners.<sup>9</sup> These individuals were sentenced to seven months and were members of the NFRPB group. They were arrested by Sorong police in April 2025 for sending letters to several local government institutions inviting them to participate in peaceful dialogue.<sup>10</sup> If the Government of Indonesia considers the granting of amnesty as an initial step for a peaceful resolution of the West Papuan conflict, the use of charges and criminalisation against West Papuan activists' peaceful political expressions should be stopped.

Second, in January 2026, Indonesia's new Criminal Code (KUHP) came into force.<sup>11</sup> The new KUHP, which was passed into law in 2023, provides a new definition of treason or *makar*. Article 160 of this new KUHP stipulates that "treason or *makar* is an intention to carry out an attack that has been realized by preparing the act."<sup>12</sup> This means that a person can be charged with *makar* articles if s/he intentionally commits crimes.

---

5. Under the 1945 Indonesian Constitution, an *amnesti* is a presidential political privilege, which needs approval from parliament, to legally pardon any convicted inmate, without requiring the inmate to request the pardon from the President.

6. CNN Indonesia, 'Penerima Amnesti Prabowo dari Kasus Penghinaan Presiden sampai Papua', 5 August 2025, available at <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250804182150-12-1258620/penerima-amnesti-prabowo-dari-kasus-penghinaan-presiden-sampai-papua>. Media sources said that six West Papuan political prisoners received *amnesti* from President Prabowo, but one of them was in fact a Malukan political prisoner. All of them were charged with and convicted of treason (*makar*). The five West Papuan political prisoners who received *amnesti* are Viktor Makamuke, Alex Bless, Yance Kambuaya, Adolof Nauw and Hilikia Isir. Their profiles are available at [www.papuansbehindbars.org](http://www.papuansbehindbars.org).

7. Antara, 'Prabowo akan beri amnesti napi pengguna narkoba hingga kasus Papua, 13 Desember 2024', 13 December 2025, available at <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/4527820/prabowo-akan-beri-amnesti-napi-pengguna-narkoba-hingga-kasus-papua>.

8. JUBI, 'Pemberian amnesti kepada Tapol Papua dianggap pembohongan publik', 9 August 2025, available at <https://jubi.id/polhukam/2025/pemberian-amnesti-kepada-tapol-papua-dianggap-pembohongan-publik/>.

9. See the court document at [http://sipp.pn-makassar.go.id/show\\_detil/M3RBaXFUNmROeHFIRVd0NnZ4OW9La3ZYT-3d1aW0yMERZUThFYVvyNWptZEd5MTByYThObFlvbWtyZzhDK3l0aGRUS25KVgJXdGwwaGtaOGozR1NQVUE9PQ==](http://sipp.pn-makassar.go.id/show_detil/M3RBaXFUNmROeHFIRVd0NnZ4OW9La3ZYT-3d1aW0yMERZUThFYVvyNWptZEd5MTByYThObFlvbWtyZzhDK3l0aGRUS25KVgJXdGwwaGtaOGozR1NQVUE9PQ==).

10. Tempo.co, 'Kota Sorong Rusuh Akibat Masyarakat Tolak Pindahan Tapol ke Makassar', 27 August 2025, available at <https://www.tempo.co/hukum/kota-sorong-rusuh-akibat-masyarakat-tolak-pindahan-tapol-ke-makassar--2063695>.

11. For the detail *makar* articles in the new KUHP, see Papuans Behind Bars Annual Overview 2023, p. 6, available at <https://papuansbehindbars.org/annual-overview-2023/>.

12. The original text in Bahasa Indonesian is that "*Makar adalah niat untuk melakukan serangan yang telah diwujudkan dengan persiapan perbuatan tersebut.*"



Image 2. Mass protest outside the West Java Regional People's Representative Council, Bandung, 29 August 2025. (Wikimedia Commons/Mori505)

In late August/early September, nationwide protests against government austerity measures and a lack of democratic accountability became violent after a motorcycle taxi driver was hit and killed by a police tactical vehicle on the evening of 28 August. Protests were organised against the impact of an ongoing policy of austerity and deepening economic regression, and rising increases in benefits for MPs of the national parliament (DPR RI).<sup>13</sup> In West Papua, students organised protests relating to these issues at the Papua provincial parliament office and the Papua Regional Police Headquarters but they ended peacefully.<sup>14</sup>

The police responded with unprecedented mass arrests in Indonesia against both members of the general public who had posted their angry “provocative” comments on social media, and towards pro-democracy activists. By the end of September, 959 people had been named as suspects by the police consisting of 664 adults and 295 children.<sup>15</sup> Indonesian human rights organisations documented cases where the police arbitrarily arrested and detained several pro-democracy activists as part of a government effort to find scapegoats for the nationwide riots. Apart from the mass detentions, the August 2025 protests and riots across the country saw at least 13 people killed.<sup>16</sup> None of these arrests took place in West Papua.<sup>17</sup>

13. The Guardian, 'Indonesia protests explained: why did they start and how has the government responded?', 2 September 2025, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/sep/02/indonesia-protests-explained-start-how-has-the-government-responded>.

14. JUBI, 'Gerakan Cipayung Plus Papua protes kenaikan tunjangan anggota DPR', 1 September 2025, available at <https://jubi.id/polhukam/2025/gerakan-cipayung-plus-papua-protes-kenaikan-tunjangan-anggota-dpr/> and Tribunnews, 'Giliran Papua Gelar Demo, Massa Aksi di DPR Provinsi: Kantor Ini Rumah Kami', 1 September 2025, available at <https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2025/09/01/giliran-papua-gelar-demo-massa-aksi-di-dpr-provinsi-kantor-ini-rumah-kami>.

15. As of 14 February 2026, the Youth Movement Against Criminalisation (GMLK) reported that 703 political prisoners had been put on trial, 506 of whom had been found guilty. See Laporan Komisi Pencari Fakta, 'Operasi Pembungkaman Kaum Muda Terbesar sejak Reformasi [The Largest Crackdown on Young People Since the 1998 Reform Movement]', p. 75, released on 18 February 2026.

16. Laporan Komisi Pencari Fakta, 'Operasi Pembungkaman Kaum Muda Terbesar sejak Reformasi [The Largest Crackdown on Young People Since the 1998 Reform Movement]', p. 73, released on 18 February 2026.

17. Tempo, 'Polri Tetapkan 959 Tersangka Kerusuhan Agustus 2025, Terdapat 295 Anak', 24 September 2025, available at <https://www.tempo.co/hukum/polri-tetapkan-959-tersangka-kerusuhan-agustus-2025-terdapat-295-anak-2072942>.

UN human rights experts continued to highlight their concern in relation to several human rights situations in West Papua. First, in March, nine UN Special Procedures under the UN Human Rights Council sent a joint letter to the Government of Indonesia raising their concern about allegations of human rights violations against indigenous Papuans affected by the National Strategic Project (PSN) of the Merauke Food and Energy Estate.<sup>18</sup> Their concerns included the absence of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) from the local indigenous West Papuan Yeinan and Malind people who own the land affected by the PSN Merauke. The joint UN Special Procedure mandate holders also raised their concern that the local indigenous Papuans would not only face environmental destruction covering about two million hectares, but also that there would be a potential loss of cultural sovereignty and of diverse endemic species.

Second, in November, five UN Special Rapporteurs<sup>19</sup> issued a joint press release expressing their grave concerns regarding Indonesia's persistent lack of recognition of indigenous peoples' rights, which are enshrined in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), and the ongoing systemic human rights violations against them.<sup>20</sup> The Special Rapporteurs also specifically highlighted the decades of discrimination, persecution and militarisation against indigenous West Papuans whose rich natural resources have been exploited. Furthermore, their press release echoed the concerns of human rights CSOs about the implementation of the PSN without the free, prior and informed consent of indigenous West Papuans, and a repressive working environment for West Papuan human rights defenders.<sup>21</sup>

In 2025 there were other legislative changes that are likely to affect the upcoming situation of Papuan political prisoners. In March, the national Parliament (DPR RI) passed an amendment to the 2004 Military (TNI) Law, despite facing nationwide mass protests from university students and other civil society groups. The amendment provides a bigger social and political role for the military, beyond their traditional role in defence. Under the new Military Law, active military personnel can be appointed to 14 additional official posts, including in law enforcement. Unfortunately, these changes did not include reforms previous to the military justice system, preventing public courts from prosecuting military personnel who commit criminal offences, thus perpetuating impunity.

Despite the worrying precedent set by this law, an interlinked proposal to allow military personnel to enter business sectors was rejected due to large nationwide public protests. Immediately following the law's amendment, a group of human rights NGOs submitted a judicial challenge in the Constitutional Court (MK) focusing on a substantive number of the amended law's provisions.

---

18. See <https://spcommreports.ohchr.org/TmSearch/Mandates?m=22>. The nine UN Special Procedures consisted of the Special Rapporteur on the right to food; the Working Group on the issue of human rights and transnational corporations and other business enterprises; the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights; the Special Rapporteur on the human right to a clean, healthy and sustainable environment; the Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association; the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders; the Working Group on the rights of peasants and other people working in rural areas; the Special Rapporteur on violence against women and girls, its causes and consequences and the Special Rapporteur on the human rights to safe drinking water and sanitation.

19. They were the UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights in the context of climate change and the Working Group on business and human rights.

20. Indonesia voted to support the adoption of this instrument under the UN General Assembly.

21. OHCHR, 'Indonesia must recognise Indigenous Peoples and consider them partners for national development: UN experts', 4 November 2025, available at <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/11/indonesia-must-recognise-indigenous-peoples-and-consider-them-partners>.



Image 3. The Chair of Commission III, Habiburokhman, submitted the draft Criminal Procedure Code Bill to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Puan Maharani, during a plenary session, 18 November 2025. (TVR Parlemen on YouTube)

In November 2025, the national parliament (DPR RI) passed a controversial draft law on the amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code (KUHAP). The legislation was approved quickly, and lacked any meaningful public consultation. Meanwhile a series of different drafts circulated among the public, causing confusion as to the law's content. Lawmakers expedited the enactment of the KUHAP draft law to complement the new Criminal Code (KUHP) which would enter into force in January 2026.

The new KUHAP gives more powers to the police and law enforcement agencies to block, search, and seize, which normally require a judge's permission but now can be waived on the discretion of the investigator. It also does not provide habeas corpus or the right of a criminal suspect not to be detained before trial without judicial approval. When reviewing Indonesia's human rights record, multilateral bodies such as the UN's Human Rights Council have repeatedly recommended the adoption of this right. The absence of habeas corpus can allow police and other security forces to commit torture or other ill-treatment, as well as allowing for arbitrary detention. This has led to the existence of many political prisoners in the country.<sup>22</sup>

A positive legislative change happened in April when the Constitutional Court made a positive decision by ruling that the criminal defamation provisions in the infamous Electronic Information and Transaction (EIT) Law could not be applied against government agencies, groups of people and corporations.<sup>23</sup>

22. Hukumonline.com, 'Koalisi Masyarakat Deklarasikan Darurat Hukum, KUHP-KUHAP Baru Berpotensi Lebih Buruk', 2 January 2026, available at <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/koalisi-masyarakat-deklarasikan-darurat-hukum--kuhp-kuhap-baru-berpotensi-lebih-buruk-lt695774bdd31ea/?page=2>

23. The judicial review on the EIT Law's criminal defamation provisions before the MK was submitted by an environmental human rights defender (Daniel Frits Maurits Tangkilisan) who was once criminalised by the provisions in 2024 for his work against an environmental degradation in an island in Central Java.



Image 4. Aksi Kamisan demonstration in Jakarta on 31 October 2024 raised the issue of rejecting Soeharto's title of national hero. (Salsabila/Konde.co)

On 10 November, at the National Hero Day commemoration, the Government of Indonesia posthumously made Soeharto, Indonesia's second President, a national hero through a presidential decree. As head of the New Order military regime (1966 – 1998), his regime's crimes are well documented. They included mass atrocities in the 1965/66 genocide against those accused of membership of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the illegal occupation of East Timor (Timor-Leste), mass atrocities in Aceh and West Papua, and the repression of activities by Islamic organisations. Judicial investigations launched by the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) under the Human Rights Court Law have named Soeharto as being responsible for many past atrocities.<sup>24</sup> TAPOL—a member of Papuans Behind Bars (PBB)—regularly published reports on serious human rights violations during the New Order period following TAPOL's establishment in 1973 by Carmel Budiardjo who was herself arbitrarily detained by military personnel in the aftermath of the events of September 1965.<sup>25</sup> Indonesia's human rights groups and victims of past atrocities have lodged a legal challenge to overturn Soeharto's national hero award.

24. Komnas HAM, 'Merawat Ingatan Menjemput Keadilan; Ringkasan Eksekutif Peristiwa Pelanggaran HAM yang Berat', 2020, can be accessed at [https://perpustakaan.komnasham.go.id/opackomnas/index.php?p=show\\_detail&id=12725](https://perpustakaan.komnasham.go.id/opackomnas/index.php?p=show_detail&id=12725). Kompas.com, 'Komnas HAM: Gelar Pahlawan untuk Soeharto Cederai Fakta Sejarah Orde Baru', 11 November 2025, available at <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2025/11/11/19552431/komnas-ham-gelar-pahlawan-untuk-soeharto-cederai-fakta-sejarah-orde-baru>.

25. TAPOL's publications have been digitally archived and can be accessed at <http://bit.ly/19WLykX>.

## Key dynamics in West Papua

In mid-February, the MK ruled that some of the local elections in West Papua – held in November 2024 – should be rerun. This includes the gubernatorial election in Papua Province, as the Court dismissed the winning Vice Governor on accounts of administrative fraud. In March, the provincial Election Commission (KPU Provinsi Papua) announced that the local elections would then take place on 6 August 2025.<sup>26</sup> During the previous campaign there had been reports of hate speech as several candidates are said to have made inflammatory speeches that have caused inter-Papua ethnic and religious tensions.<sup>27</sup> In August, the MK ordered the Papua Province’s Election Commission (KPU Papua) to repeat the election of Governor and Vice-Governor of Papua Province. Mathius Fakhiri and Aryoko Rumaropen, who lost in the first election, eventually won after the election was repeated. The result was then upheld by the Constitutional Court in mid-September after the losing candidates (Benhur Tomi Mano and Constant Karma) challenged the result.<sup>28</sup> During the campaign period, there were reports that Tomi’s supporters committed hate speech based on religion and ethnicity, and that Fakhiri’s camp had mobilised public servants and police officials.

In mid-September, the media reported that the Australian Federal Police (AFP) arrested two men and charged them with the trafficking of ammunition and firearms from Australia to an armed pro-West Papua independence group (Tentara Pembebasan Nasional Papua Barat, TPNPB). The criminal investigation was initiated jointly with the New Zealand authorities as the result of the TPNPB’s hostage taking of New Zealand pilot Philip Mehrstens. Both men were granted bail by the Australian Federal Police and are standing trial from mid-October.<sup>29</sup>

In late September, two of the Government’s ministers – Coordinating Minister for Food Affairs Zulkifli Hasan and Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning Nusrudin Wahid – declared that they had designated 481 thousand hectares of land in Merauke Regency (Papua Selatan Province) for food estates. This is equal to seven times the size of Jakarta, and is in relation to the national food resilience program, one of President Prabowo’s priority policies. The Minister for Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning also declared that the 481 thousand hectares of land belonged to the State and not local indigenous peoples.<sup>30</sup> In mid-December 2025, amid a flooding disaster in the northern part of Sumatera Island caused by Cyclone Senyat but exacerbated by decades of industrial deforestation triggered by massive deforestation, President Prabowo convened all West Papuan Governors and 42 heads of regencies and declared that he would further expand palm oil plantations in West Papua as part of his economic priority policy of food and energy. Prabowo stated that palm oil plantations do not cause deforestation.<sup>31</sup> Environmental and human rights

---

26. Jubi, 'KPU tetapkan tanggal pemungutan suara ulang pilgub Papua, kampanye 130 hari', 27 March 2025, available at <https://jubi.id/mamta/2025/kpu-tetapkan-tanggal-pemungutan-suara-ulang-pilgub-papua-kampanye-130-hari>.

27. IPAC, Potential Fraud and Violence in Papua’s Approaching Elections, 15 November 2024, available at <https://understandingconflict.org/en/publications/IPAC-report-98-Potential-Fraud-and-Violence-in-Papuas-Approaching-Elections>.

28. Kompas.id, 'MK Tolak Gugatan, Kemenangan Mathius-Aryoko di Pilkada Papua Sah!', 17 September 2025, available at <https://www.kompas.id/artikel/kemenangan-mathius-fakhiri-aryoko-rumaropen-di-pilkada-papua-sah>.

29. ABC, 'Australian men charged with allegedly trafficking firearms after international kidnapping investigation', 13 September 2025, available at <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2025-09-13/men-charged-over-alleged-trafficking-of-firearms-to-indonesia/105769796>. See also Australian Federal Police, 'Two men charged with allegedly trafficking firearms following international investigation into kidnapping', 13 September 2025, available at <https://www.afp.gov.au/news-centre/media-release/two-men-charged-allegedly-trafficking-firearms-following-international>.

30. CNN Indonesia, 'Pemerintah Mau Sulap 481 Ribu Ha Hutan Papua Jadi Kawasan Food Estate', 29 September 2025, available at <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20250929130229-92-1278838/pemerintah-mau-sulap-481-ribu-ha-hutan-papua-jadi-kawasan-food-estate>.

31. BBC, 'Prabowo ingin tambah lahan sawit di Papua – Siapa yang akan paling dirugikan akibat kebijakan ini?', 10. December 2025, available at <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/crrk14e41ddo>.

groups criticised his statement.<sup>32</sup>

In October 2025, President Prabowo inaugurated various West Papuan figures as members of the Executive Committee for the Acceleration of Papua's Special Autonomy Development to assist with the mandate of the Vice President's office.<sup>33</sup> There has not been much expectation for an improved situation in West Papua with CSOs (civil society organisations) regarding the appointment of Gibran, son of the former President Jokowi, as Vice President as mere window dressing.

In late August there was mass unrest and violence in West Papua due to a number of issues. From 20 to 27 August, activist groups in Sorong staged protests against the transfer of four Federal Republic of West Papua (NFRPB) political prisoners to Makassar, where they stood trial.<sup>34</sup> The protests took place at the Governor's office, the district court and the police station where the four political prisoners are being held. On 26 and 27 August, the protests intensified. Activists and family members blocked the road in front of the Sorong City police station and several other roads, because they felt that their concerns were not being heard. The police responded to the protests by shooting tear gas and rubber bullets at the crowd, and later arrested 23 people in total.<sup>35</sup>



Image 5. Activists staged a protest against the transfer of four political prisoners to Makassar, Sulawesi Selatan Province, on 23 August 2025. (Solidaritas Rakyat Papua Pro-Demokrasi Sorong Raya)

32. See one of them, Tempo.co, 'Sederet Respons soal Keinginan Prabowo Tanam Sawit di Papua', 18 December 2025, available at <https://www.tempo.co/politik/sederet-respons-soal-keinginan-prabowo-tanam-sawit-di-papua-2100010>.

33. Detik.com, 'Istana: Komite Eksekutif Dibentuk Bantu Gibran di Badan Percepatan Otsus Papua', 8 October 2025, available at <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-8151647/istana-komite-eksekutif-dibentuk-bantu-gibran-di-badan-percepatan-otsus-papua>. Presidential Decree 110/P of 2025 sets out the legal basis for the Executive Committee's mandate with regard to Papua although its roles and duties are not yet known and further details are not yet available to the public.

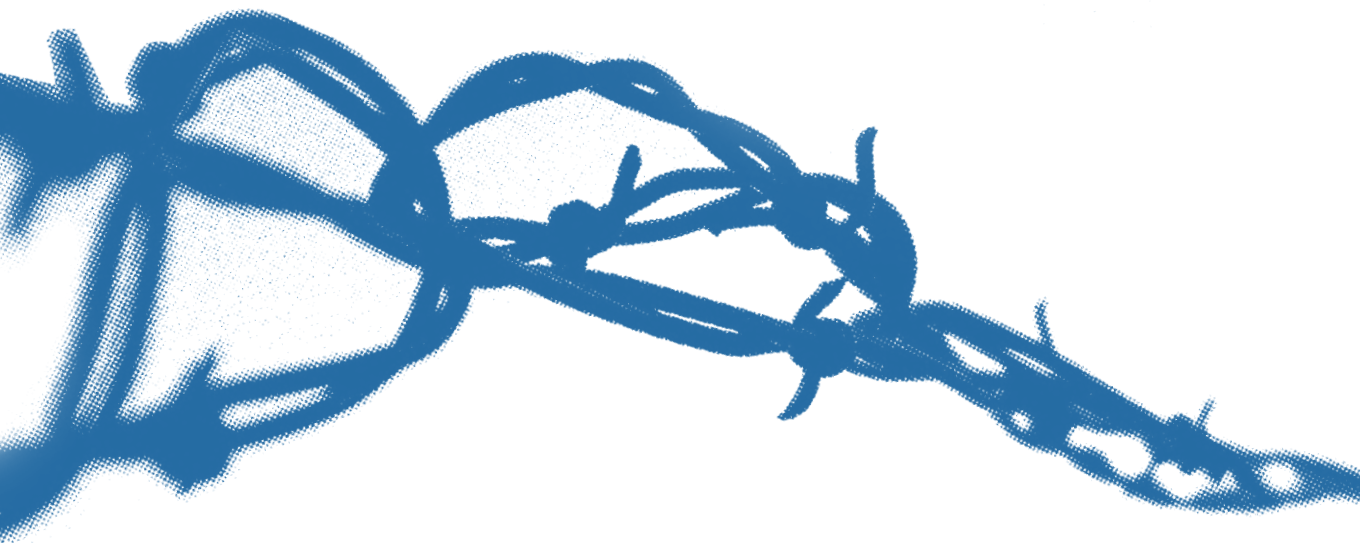
34. For the background of the case, see Papuans Behind Bars 'Quarterly Update April-June 2025', available at <https://papuansbehindbars.org/q2-2025/>.

35. Tempo, 'Kota Sorong Rusuh Akibat Masyarakat Tolak Pemandahan Tapol ke Makassar', 27 August 2025, available at <https://www.tempo.co/hukum/kota-sorong-rusuh-akibat-masyarakat-tolak-pemandahan-tapol-ke-makassar--2063695> and Kompas.com, '1 Warga Tertembak dalam Bentrokan Massa dengan Polisi saat Pemandahan 4 Tapol ke Makassar', 27 August 2025, available at <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2025/08/27/170911178/1-warga-tertembak-dalam-bentrokan-massa-dengan-polisi-saat-pemandahan-4>.

On 16 September, a riot in Elelim, Yalimo Regency, Papua Pegunungan Province occurred after West Papuan high school students were subjected to racist chants. The media reported that at least 30 small stores and houses, a high school building, and some government and military buildings in Elelim were burned by mobs, and at least 23 people, including police and military personnel were injured. In the aftermath of the unrest, more than 200 non-Papuans in Yalimo relocated to Wamena.<sup>36</sup> Elsewhere, in Asmat Regency, Papua Selatan Province, on 27th September, a crowd burned down a military post and looted several stores in Agats City, capital of Asmat. The crowd demanded the removal of 'non-organic' military personnel (units not from West Papua) from the area during a procession carrying the body of a Papuan youth. The unrest had been triggered earlier in the morning by a shooting by military personnel of a young West Papuan who was allegedly intoxicated and carrying a knife.<sup>37</sup>

In March, the Vatican Catholic Church appointed Father Bernard Baru as the new Bishop of the Timika Diocese. He is the second Papuan indigenous bishop after Mgr. Yanuarius Theofilus Matopai You of the Jayapura Diocese. Father Bernard Baru is a former Chair of the Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation of the Order of Sancti Augustini (SKPKC OSA) in Sorong. Pope Leo XIV has some familiarity with West Papua. In 2003, while still a cardinal, he visited West Papua in his capacity as head of the Agustinian Order to celebrate five decades of OSA mission in the area.<sup>38</sup> We also received information that as the head of the Agustinian Order, he proposed the Vatican Church to appoint Father Bernard Baru OSA as the new Bishop of Timika.

Data from a human rights watchdog Human Rights Monitor mentioned at least 105,000 Papuans had been displaced internally in West Papua by December. This figure was higher than 85,000 IDPs (internally displaced persons) in 2024.<sup>39</sup>



36. BBC, 'Kerusuhan di Kabupaten Yalimo, Papua Pegunungan, disinyalir dipicu ucapan rasis pelajar SMA – Mengapa kasus rasisme selalu berulang?', 18 September 2025, available at <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c864gg4qxgvo> and Jubi, 'Empat warga ditemukan meninggal dunia saat insiden di Yalimo', 18 September 2025, available at <https://jubi.id/rilis-pers/2025/empat-warga-ditemukan-meninggal-dunia-saat-insiden-di-yalimo/>.

37. BBC, 'TNI diduga tembak warga di Asmat, Papua hingga tewas – 'Kenapa menangani orang mabuk harus pakai senjata?', 1 October 2025, available at <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cj4y049dj1vo>.

38. BBC, 'Kunjungan Robert Prevost ke Papua dan harapan perdamaian – 'Saya kaget ternyata dia yang menjadi Paus'', 10 May 2025, available at <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cr7zrdnmv17o>.

39. Human Rights Monitor, Annual Report 2025: Human Rights and Conflict in West Papua, 13 March 2026, available at <https://humanrightsmonitor.org/reports/annual-report-2025-human-rights-and-conflict-in-west-papua/>.

## Key concerns

During this period, we documented other serious human rights violations against West Papuan political prisoners, such as death in custody, extra-judicial killing, torture or other ill-treatments, arbitrary detention against children and enforced disappearances.

### Death in Custody and Extra-Judicial Killing

On 27 February, military personnel reportedly arrested two West Papuans, Goliath Sani and his friend (name unknown), in Kampung Mamba, Sugapa District, Intan Jaya Regency, Papua Tengah Province. While the friend was released shortly after his arrest, Sani remained in detention. The next day, a number of TNI personnel were seen delivering Sani's body to Yokatapa Hospital in Sugapa. The family believes that Sani was tortured to death during his detention. Since October 2024, there have been armed clashes between Indonesia's military forces (TNI) and the armed pro-Papua independence group (TPNPB) in Sugapa District.<sup>40</sup> The two were arrested during a period of a heightened security presence.



Image 6. Goliath Sani's body at Yokatapa Hospital, Intan Jaya Regency, 28 February 2025. (Supplied)

On 22 March, military personnel arbitrarily arrested Abral Wandikbo at his home in Yuguru Village, Nduga Regency, Papua Pegunungan Province, when he was caring for his ill father. Wandikbo, who could not speak Bahasa Indonesia, was interrogated at gunpoint and handcuffed. He was forced to give information about the supposed hide-outs area of the TPNPB. Brought to Yuguru Airstrip, he refused to give the information and was tortured. His body was dumped and found three days later near a communal gardening area, 200 meters from a military post. Abral Wandikbo was an indigenous resident of Yuguru Village.

Police personnel in Yahukimo reportedly arrested and tortured a young West Papuan man, Viktor Deyal, at the Dekai Police Station in Yahukimo, Papua Pegunungan Province, on 3 September. The young man was said to be ranting in front of the police station because he was under the influence of alcohol. Police personnel arrested him, put him in a patrol car,

40. Human Rights Monitor, 'Military members alleged of executing Papuan civilian in Mamba Village, Intan Jaya', 3 March 2025, available at <https://humanrightsmonitor.org/case/military-again-alleged-of-executing-papuan-civilian-in-mamba-village-intan-jaya/>.

and reportedly drove him around while torturing him. That evening, Viktor was reportedly found at the Dekai Regional General Hospital in a lifeless state.<sup>41</sup>

Military personnel from the Kodim 1702/Jayawijaya were reported to have arrested and tortured a Papuan man, Frengki Kogoya, who had mental health issues, to death in Wamena, Jayawijaya, Papua Pegunungan Province. The arrest and torture took place around Kodim 1702 on 11 November. It was reported that the military personnel were angry because the victim had thrown stones at their official residence twice. The victim died the next day at Jayawijaya Regional General Hospital. In addition to being tortured by being beaten, the victim's body showed that the perpetrator had shot him with an air rifle.<sup>42</sup> The Kodim 1702/Jayawijaya commander has admitted that one of his personnel shot Frengki with an air rifle and has promised to seek justice for Frengki's death.<sup>43</sup>

### Torture or Other Ill-Treatment

On 13 March, military personnel reportedly arbitrarily arrested, detained and tortured EW along with two other indigenous West Papuans, PW and LA (names withheld for security reasons), in Puncak Jaya Regency, Papua Tengah Province, for more than two hours at Kodim 1714 military base. Indonesian military personnel collectively delivered beatings during both transport and detention at the base. They repeatedly accused the victims of involvement in the murder of a comrade during an electoral conflict in that regency. The commanding officer later apologised and offered compensation of IDR 300,000 (USD 18.5), after which they were released and returned to their house without receiving any medical aid.

Three police personnel arrested Ortizan Tarage who was fishing in the vicinity of a police training complex in Sorong City, Papua Barat Daya Province, on 10 May. The arrest was made without explanation. Ortizan was taken to the Sorong Police detention centre. There he was beaten with sticks, bamboo, a hose and iron. Ortizan suffered injuries to his face, calves, thighs, shoulders and hands. The skin on his thighs and calves peeled off. He was forced to admit to stealing two motorbikes, after previously confessing to stealing one. Ortizan was taken to hospital but forced to walk on his own. Even when he fell in front of the hospital, the police forced him to stand up and continue walking. He spent four days in hospital where, according to his lawyer, he was not given serious treatment. Discharged from the hospital, he vomited blood and had pain in several parts of his body. He was diagnosed with kidney disease. He was then threatened by the police not to report the acts of torture. On 22 May, the victim's lawyer from LBH Kaki Abu reported the torture against his client to the Sorong City Police. They asked for the police personnel involved in the torture to be sacked and punished.<sup>44</sup>

Police and marine personnel arbitrarily arrested and tortured four KNPB Yahukimo activists: Rinox Ulunggi, Jack Amohoso, Deko Kobak and Sinduk E Kobak. The arrests were made on 12 July, between 10.30pm and 11.30pm, at the KNPB Yahukimo secretariat in Yahukimo Regency, Papua Pegunungan Province. In addition to arresting the four people, police and military personnel also ransacked the secretariat. They were only released on 14 July,

41. BBC, 'Pemuda asli Papua tewas diduga akibat dianiaya polisi - 'Nyawa kami seakan mudah sekali dibunuh'', 11 September 2025, available at <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c9v7m8p1dj0o>.

42. Human Rights Monitor, 'Military members alleged to have tortured and executed indigenous Papuan in Wamena, Jayawijaya Regency', 13 November 2025, available at <https://humanrightsmonitor.org/case/military-members-alleged-to-have-tortured-and-executed-indigenous-papuan-in-wamena-jayawijaya-regency/>.

43. Indonesia Defense Magazine, 'Pangdam XVII/Cenderawasih Tegaskan tak Ada Toleransi bagi Oknum TNI yang Sakiti Rakyat', 13 November 2025, available at <https://indonesiadefense.com/pangdam-xvii-cenderawasih-tegaskan-tak-ada-toleransi-bagi-oknum-tni-yang-sakiti-rakyat/>.

44. Jubi, 'LBH Kaki Abu laporkan penganiayaan terhadap tahanan di sel Polresta Sorong', 23 May 2025, available at <https://jubi.id/domberai/2025/lbh-kaki-abu-laporkan-penganiayaan-terhadap-tahanan-di-sel-polresta-sorong/>.

having been badly beaten and seriously injured. After their arrest, the four KNPB members were not taken to the police station but first to the military district command. During the journey, they were beaten so badly that two of them urinated in their pants. Upon arrival at the military command post, they were kicked off the truck.<sup>45</sup>



*Image 7. Four KNPB activists from the Yahukimo region gave statements about their arrest and the torture they experienced. (KNPB Wilayah Yahukimo on Facebook)*

At the military command post, the four activists were submerged in drums of water while being beaten from midnight until dawn. They were forced to admit that they were members of the TPNPB. Towards morning, they were transferred to the Yahukimo Police detention centre. At the police station, the four were again tortured by soldiers and police. Marines reportedly burned the activists' beards and hair. The police chief ordered that the activists be taken to hospital for treatment. However, marines again intervened with hospital staff, instructing them to only stitch up the wounds and clean the blood without providing any further treatment. According to the report we received, as a result of the torture, Deko was unable to eat because his chin was torn; Jack suffered a wound to the left side of his head that had to be stitched; and Sinduk and Ronald were tortured to the point that they could not stand. After leaving hospital, they were again questioned by the police from dawn until nightfall, but police found no criminal case to answer against them.

45. Jubi, 'Polres Yahukimo bebaskan empat aktivis KNPB', 14 July 2025, available at <https://jubi.id/polhukam/2025/polres-yahukimo-bebaskan-empat-aktivis-knpb/>.



*Image 8. Police arrest four Uncen students during a demonstration commemorating the 63rd anniversary of the Rome Agreement, in Jayapura, 30 September 2025. (Jubi.id)*

### **Excessive use of force**

On 7 April 2025, Nabire police officers forcibly dispersed a demonstration by the West Papua Independent Student Forum (FIM-WP) in Nabire, Papua Tengah Province. The demonstration was held to mark the 58th anniversary of Freeport McMoran's contract of work at Grasberg, West Papua. The demonstrators demanded the closure of PT Freeport, as the company is regarded as the root of colonialism in West Papua. The activists also demanded the right to self-determination for the West Papuan people.

The forced dispersal was carried out by the police without prior negotiation, on the pretext that the planned march to the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) office would disrupt public order. In fact, the activists had already sent a notice of the demonstration to the police. To disperse the demonstration, the police fired tear gas and rubber bullets, beat and intimidated the demonstrators, and arrested seven of them. A similar forced dispersal of the 'Close down Freeport' demonstration also took place at Perumnas III, Jayapura, Papua Province, on the same day.

On 30 September 2025, the Jayapura police forcibly dispersed a demonstration by student activists belonging to Solidaritas Peduli Uncen at the main gate of Cenderawasih University (Uncen) in Waena, Jayapura. The demonstration, marking the 63rd anniversary of the 1962 Rome Agreement, was dispersed using excessive force, including firing of tear gas and water cannons, as well as the beating and arrest of four demonstrators. Negotiations between the police and the students reached an impasse. The students wanted to hold a rally from Waena to Lingkar Abepura, but the police refused. Furthermore, the police also limited the demonstration to only until 10 am.



*Image 9. Dozens of high school students at Nabire police headquarters, Nabire district, Papua Tengah province, after their demonstration against the Free Nutritious Meal programme was dispersed, 17 February 2025. (Jubi/Hengky Yeimo)*

### **Arbitrary arrests or detention against children**

Throughout the monitoring period, we recorded at least 60 minors who were victims of arbitrary arrest. They were spread across three regions: Sorong, Nabire, and Yahukimo. More than half were members of the West Papua Student Solidarity (SPWP) in Nabire, who were protesting against the MBG programme. They were arrested on 17 February 2025 and released on the same day after being questioned by the police.

In Sorong, five minors were also arrested whilst a number of activists and family members of the Sorong four were protesting the transfer of the Sorong four's detention and trial to Makassar, Sulawesi Selatan Province, on 27 August 2025. They were arbitrarily detained and only released three days later.

In Yahukimo, five children were arrested, one of whom was released after being detained for three days. Four of them were accused of links to an armed group. Two of the five were tried in Wamena on murder charges. One of them was acquitted as he was found to be a minor, whilst another was found guilty but not of murder. Instead, he was convicted under a provision concerning the dissemination of electronic content deemed to be inciting, and sentenced to one year in prison.

### **Enforce disappearances**

On 13 May 2025, Indonesian military personnel reportedly arrested six civilians in Zanamba Village, Intan Jaya Regency, Papua Tengah Province. These individuals were Peles Handani and his wife, Misael Tabuni and his wife, Julianus Janambani, and Daniel Hondani, and they were taken to a military post in Bilapa. The following day, they escaped after hearing that they were to be executed. These arrests were said to be part of an intensified military operation in Intan Jaya in mid-May 2025. The military carried out sweeps in Hitadipa and Sugapa districts, specifically in the villages of Titigi, Ndugusiga, Jaindapa, Sugapa Lama, and

Zanamba. A number of people were reportedly killed during the sweeps and the pursuit of members of armed groups.<sup>46</sup>

### Inconsistent use of articles

We also identified one case of inconsistent application of the charges brought against a political prisoner in court. This case involved a teenager from Yahukimo, Ivan Kabak, alias Larangen Solongkik. He was arrested by the police Satgas Damai Cartenz<sup>47</sup> in Dekai, Yahukimo Regency, on the day that his high school graduation results were announced, 5 May 2025.<sup>48</sup> The police accused him of being involved in the attempted murder of a non-West Papuan woman two days earlier. The police claimed that Ivan chased and stabbed the victim at Kali Wo Bridge, then recorded a video statement and sent it to others.<sup>49</sup>



Image 10. Ivan Kabak. (Supplied)

46. Republika.co.id, 'OPM Klaim Sipil Terus Ditembaki di Tanah Papua', 26 May 2025, available at <https://news.republika.co.id/berita/swuics393/opm-klaim-sipil-terus-ditembaki-di-tanah-papua-part2>.

47. It was formed in January 2022, replacing the previous task force, Satgas Operasi Nemangkawi, to deal with pro-independence armed groups in West Papua. Satgas Damai Cartenz consists of nearly 2000 police personnel and 101 TNI personnel. It operates in the regencies of Pegunungan Bintang, Yahukimo, Nduga, Intan Jaya, Puncak, Mimika, Dogiyai, Jayawijaya and Jayapura. See Tirta.id, 'Ubah Strategi, Operasi Damai Cartenz Gantikan Satgas Nemangkawi', 18 January 2022, available at <https://tirta.id/ubah-strategi-operasi-damai-cartenz-gantikan-satgas-nemangkawi-gnRE>.

48. Papuans Behind Bars Quarterly Update April–June 2025, <https://papuansbehindbars.org/q2-2025/>

49. Cepos, 'Satgas ODC Rekonstruksi Kasus Percobaan Pembunuhan di Yahukimo', 16 May 2025, available at <https://cenderawasihpos.jawapos.com/lintas-papua/pegunungan/16/05/2025/satgas-odc-rekonstruksi-kasus-percobaan-pembunuhan-di-yahukimo/>.

In court, Ivan was charged with premeditated murder and assault causing grievous bodily harm. The prosecutor requested that the judge sentence Ivan to five years in prison for premeditated murder. However, the prosecutor failed to establish the motive, premeditation and the link between the defendant's actions and the consequences. Therefore, the defendant's legal representatives from the Papua Human Rights Lawyers' Association (PAHAM) asked the judge to acquit the defendant.<sup>50</sup> On 15 December 2025, the panel of judges still found the defendant guilty, but under a different charge; spreading content that incited and caused hostility based on ethnicity, religion, race and intergroup relations (SARA) under the Electronic Information and Transactions Law and sentenced him to one year in prison.

The prosecutor appealed against the verdict. On 10 February 2026, the panel of judges at the Jayapura High Court decided to overturn the previous verdict, finding the defendant guilty of attempted premeditated murder but imposing the same sentence as before: one year's imprisonment.<sup>51</sup> This demonstrates that political prisoners in West Papua are frequently found guilty despite unlawful arrests and insufficient evidence or legal facts presented in court.

50. Human Rights Monitor, 'Unfair trial against Papuan student charged with murder in Yahukimo', 15 January 2026, available at <https://humanrightsmonitor.org/case/unfair-trial-against-papuan-student-charged-with-murder-in-yahukimo/>

51. Information System of Wamena District Court, [https://sipp.pn-wamena.go.id/show\\_detil\\_S3I2YjNMb0ppWU-VCZHRoUERIK0dVOUJFbnAwbGxFTzg1cnllanQ4TkxZRHpoRW5MTnl0bG5PU3lJWXjWSnRjcVZ6UXFlek4yRG11T1lwN-WYvdDYil3c9PO==](https://sipp.pn-wamena.go.id/show_detil_S3I2YjNMb0ppWU-VCZHRoUERIK0dVOUJFbnAwbGxFTzg1cnllanQ4TkxZRHpoRW5MTnl0bG5PU3lJWXjWSnRjcVZ6UXFlek4yRG11T1lwN-WYvdDYil3c9PO==)

### **How do we collect the data?**

The data used in this report is the result of monitoring cases of arrest, detention and trial of West Papuans, which are strongly suspected to have political motives. This monitoring was conducted by tracing and documenting information related to these cases.

Where available, we prioritised primary sources such as witness statements and in-depth investigations. However, the information we used can also come from local and national media coverage and statements from movement groups, reports by activists/human rights defenders, lawyers, police, court documents, and investigations by civil society. Where possible, we also conducted interviews with political prisoners, former political prisoners, their families/relatives and/or lawyers, as well as observations in courts and prisons.

As the flow of information from West Papua, especially in conflict-intensive areas, is limited and often fraught with authority bias, we use whatever sources of information are available and compare them. All sources referred to are recorded in the database so that readers can assess their accuracy for themselves.

The landscape of political arrests, legal process, trials and releases in West Papua is constantly changing, and each new development takes time to cross-check and verify. As such, our Annual Overviews are correct at the time of writing, however as time passes our database may show additional cases which have subsequently come to light, or changes to the status of particular detainees as their case progresses.

Further explanation of this data can be found at [papuansbehindbars.org](http://papuansbehindbars.org). Political Prisoners Sentenced during 2025

## Political Prisoners Sentenced during 2025

No	Name	Sex	Date of Arrest	Reason of Arrest	Verdict	Date of sentencing	Sentence	Detention facilities	Current status <sup>52</sup>
1	Yohanes Kramandondo	M	29/08/2023	Accused of committing murder, Accused of violent crime	Article 164 jo. Article 108(1) jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	11/02/2025**	1 year 6 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Fakfak	Released
2	Vridolin Petrus Yoris Kramandondo	M	29/08/2023	Accused of committing murder, Accused of violent crime	Article 164 jo. Article 108(1) jo. Article 55 (1) Criminal Code	04/02/2025**	1 year 6 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Fakfak	Released
3	Ferdinandus Kramandondo	M	01/09/2023	Accused of committing murder, Accused of violent crime	Article 187 jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	23/01/2025**	7 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Fakfak	Imprisoned
4	Alex Kramandondo alias Tete Peh	M	09/09/2023	Accused of committing murder, Accused of violent crime	Article 164 jo. Article 108(1) jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	04/02/2025**	1 year 6 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Fakfak	Released
5	Hariyanto Iba alias Yanto Iba	M	09/09/2023	Accused of committing murder, Accused of violent crime	Article 164 jo. Article 108(1) jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	04/02/2025**	1 year 6 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Fakfak	Released
6	Arkilaus Lokon alias Arki	M	24/11/2023	Accused of violent crime	Article 187(1) Criminal Code	13/03/2025	4 years	Lapas Kelas IIA Abepura	Imprisoned
7	Samson Same alias Setam Same	M	24/04/2024	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Accused of committing murder	Article 340 jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	03/07/2025**	20 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Sorong	Deceased
8	Anan Nawipa	M	11/05/2024	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Affiliation with independence groups, Accused of committing murder	Article 340 jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code, Article 480 Criminal Code	10/03/2025*	10 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Escaped

52 . As of 20 May 2026. Any developments will be updated on the Papuans Behind Bars website or in subsequent reports.

9	Petrus Pekei alias Peni Pikey	M	17/05/2024	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Affiliation with independence groups, Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 365(2) Criminal Code	13/03/2025	1 year	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Released
10	Albertus Pigai	M	15/08/2024	Demo	Article 2(1) Emergency Law 12/1951	15/04/2025	8 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Released
11	Petrus Madai	M	15/08/2024	Demo	Article 2(1) Emergency Law 12/1951	16/07/2025	1 year 6 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Released
12	Jefri Douw	M	15/08/2024	Demo	Article 2(1) Emergency Law 12/1951	15/04/2025	8 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Released
13	Rife Kerebea alias Trisna Telenggen	M	16/08/2024	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Affiliation with independence groups	Article 340 jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	29/10/2025	8 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Wamena	Imprisoned
14	Ken Boga	M	03/09/2024	Accused of committing murder	Article 365(3) jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	29/10/2025**	4 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Imprisoned
15	Yakobus Waine alias Jeck	M	29/09/2024	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	04/12/2025**	12 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Escaped
16	Yotenus Wonda	M	05/10/2024	Accused of collaborating with armed groups	Article 340 jo. Article 53(1) jo. Article 56 Criminal Code	21/05/2025	6 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Escaped
17	Menius Pahabol	M	08/10/2024	Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law	11/02/2025	10 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Wamena	Released

18	Jemmy Magai Yogi	M	16/10/2024	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law	20/08/2025*	10 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Imprisoned
19	Maais Herlik Imburi	M	19/10/2024	Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law	13/06/2025	10 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Imprisoned
20	Otto Burdam	M	23/10/2024	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law	29/04/2025	10 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Manokwari	Imprisoned
21	Mozes Rumbrapuk	M	25/10/2024	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law	05/06/2025	10 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Imprisoned
22	Yenoarius Agapa	M	15/11/2024	Demo	Article 170(1) Criminal Code	20/05/2025	7 months		Released
23	Alex Youw	M	15/11/2024	Demo	Article 2(1) Emergency Law 12/1951	17/07/2025	10 months		Released
24	Elia Wader	M	21/01/2025	Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law	21/08/2025	10 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Imprisoned
25	Nikson Matuan alias Okoni Siep	M	02/02/2025	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	28/10/2025**	10 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Wamena	Imprisoned
26	Iyogtogi/Iyoktogi Telenggen	M	03/02/2025	Accused of collaborating with armed groups	Article 340 jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	06/11/202*5	8 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Wamena	Imprisoned

27	Aske Mabel	M	19/02/2025	Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 363(1) Criminal Code, Article 1(1) Emergency Law	21/07/2025	8 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Wamena	Imprisoned
28	Yuni Enumbi alias Yuni Masok	M	06/03/2025	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	09/10/2025	7 years	Lapas Kelas IIA Abepura	Imprisoned
29	Abraham Heluka	M	10/03/2025	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law	28/08/2025	15 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Imprisoned
30	Nikson Mai	M	28/04/2025	Affiliation with independence groups, Political activity	Article 106 jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	19/11/2025	7 months	Lapas Kelas I Makassar	Released
31	Piter Robaha	M	28/04/2025	Affiliation with independence groups, Political activity	Article 106 jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	19/11/2025	7 months	Lapas Kelas I Makassar	Released
32	Maksi Sangkek	M	28/04/2025	Affiliation with independence groups, Political activity	Article 106 jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	19/11/2025	7 months	Lapas Kelas I Makassar	Released
33	Abraham Goram Gaman	M	28/04/2025	Affiliation with independence groups, Political activity	Article 106 jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	19/11/2025	7 months	Lapas Kelas I Makassar	Released
34	Ivan Kabak alias Larangen Solongkik	M	05/05/2025	Accused of committing murder	Article 45a(2) jo. Article 28(2) EIT Law	15/12/2025	1 year	Lapas Kelas IIB Wamena	Released
35	Agustinus Ola	M	08/05/2025	Accused of embezzlement	Article 374 jo. Article 55(1) jo. Article 64(1) Criminal Code	25/11/2025*	7 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Sorong	Released

36	Marianus Un	M	08/05/2025	Accused of embezzlement	Article 374 jo. Article 55(1) jo. Article 64(1) Criminal Code	25/11/2025*	7 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Sorong	Released
37	Rifaldi	M	08/05/2025	Accused of embezzlement	Article 374 jo. Article 55(1) jo. Article 64(1) Criminal Code	25/11/2025*	7 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Sorong	Released
38	Dominikus Liberatus	M	08/05/2025	Accused of embezzlement	Article 374 jo. Article 55(1) jo. Article 64(1) Criminal Code	25/11/2025*	9 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Sorong	Released
39	Oswaldus Mawo	M	08/05/2025	Accused of embezzlement	Article 374 jo. Article 55(1) jo. Article 64(1) Criminal Code	25/11/2025*	1 year	Lapas Kelas IIB Sorong	Released
40	Aldy Frely Tulaseket	M	08/05/2025	Accused of embezzlement	Article 374 jo. Article 55(1) jo. Article 64(1) Criminal Code	25/11/2025*	1 year	Lapas Kelas IIB Sorong	Released
41	Galuh Cahyo Hari Kusumo	M	08/05/2025	Accused of embezzlement	Article 374 jo. Article 55(1) jo. Article 64(1) Criminal Code	25/11/2025*	1 year	Lapas Kelas IIB Sorong	Released
42	Oktofianus Masinau	M	08/05/2025	Accused of embezzlement	Article 374 jo. Article 55(1) jo. Article 64(1) Criminal Code	25/11/2025*	9 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Sorong	Released
43	Mikael Aryanto Mbeté	M	08/05/2025	Accused of embezzlement	Article 374 jo. Article 55(1) jo. Article 64(1) Criminal Code	25/11/2025*	1 year	Lapas Kelas IIB Sorong	Released
44	Maximus Jago	M	08/05/2025	Accused of embezzlement	Article 374 jo. Article 55(1) jo. Article 64(1) Criminal Code	25/11/2025*	9 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Sorong	Released
45	Gerson Bilardo Awarawi	M	08/05/2025	Accused of embezzlement	Article 374 jo. Article 55(1) jo. Article 64(1) Criminal Code	25/11/2025*	1 year	Lapas Kelas IIB Sorong	Released

46	AA	M	10/05/2025	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Accused of committing murder		15/12/2025	Free of all charges	Lapas Kelas IIB Wamena	Released
47	Praedy Wanimbo	M	15/05/2025	Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	16/10/2025	2 years 6 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Wamena	Imprisoned
48	Yekis Wanimbo	M	10/06/2025	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Accused of violent crime	Article 187 jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	11/12/2025	3 years 6 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Imprisoned
49	Ronai Pahabol	M	27/06/2025	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Sharp Weapon Possession	Article 2(1) Emergency Law 12/1951	11/12/2025	6 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Wamena	Released
50	Roberth Wenda	M	23/07/2025	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law	27/11/2025	3 years and 10 months	Lapas Kelas IIB Wamena	Imprisoned
51	Konara Enumbi	M	15/08/2025	Accused of collaborating with armed groups, Attacking Officers on Duty	Article 340 jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	17/12/2025	5 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Wamena	Imprisoned
52	Daud Ayok	M	30/09/2025	Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	04/12/2025**	8 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Imprisoned
53	Yermias Saroi	M	30/09/2025	Firearm and/or Ammo Possession	Article 1(1) Emergency Law jo. Article 55(1) Criminal Code	04/12/2025**	8 years	Lapas Kelas IIB Nabire	Imprisoned

Note:

\*) High Court verdict.

\*\*\*) Supreme Court verdict.



Papuans Behind Bars aims to provide accurate and transparent data, published in English and Indonesian, to facilitate direct support for prisoners and promote wider debate and campaigning in support of free expression in West Papua.

Papuans Behind Bars is a collective effort initiated by Papuan civil society groups working together as the Civil Society Coalition to Uphold Law and Human Rights in Papua. It is a grass roots initiative and represents a broad collaboration between lawyers, human rights groups, adat groups, activists, journalists and individuals in West Papua, as well as Jakarta-based NGOs and international solidarity groups.

Questions, comments and corrections are welcomed, and you can write to us at [info@papuansbehindbars.org](mailto:info@papuansbehindbars.org)

Visit [papuansbehindbars.org](http://papuansbehindbars.org) for the latest information on West Papuan political prisoners.

**PAPUANS  
BEHIND BARS** 