

# The Papua Monitor: Q4/2025



January 2026 Update: Human Rights and Conflict Developments in West Papua<sup>1</sup>, Indonesia -  
Covering Events from 1 October to 31 December 2025 (4<sup>th</sup> Quarter 2025)

Violations	2025 Q1	2025 Q2	2025 Q3	2025 Q4
<b>Torture</b>	More than 23 victims in 12 cases	5 victims in 4 cases	8 victims in 5 cases	13 victims in 4 cases
<b>Freedom of expression</b>	More than a dozen victims in 3 cases	More than a dozen in 3 cases	27 victims in 5 cases	15 victims in 4 cases
<b>Killings</b>	6 victims in 6 cases	16 victims in 9 cases	7 victims in 7 cases	21 victims in 7 cases
<b>Disappearances</b>	-	8 victims in 1 case	-	3 victims in 2 cases
<b>Intimidation</b>	Dozens of victims in 3 cases	More than a dozen victims in 5 cases	More than a hundred victims in 6 cases	More than a dozen victims in 2 cases
<b>Criminalisation</b>	-	More than 17 victims in 4 cases	3 victims in 3 cases	1 victim in 1 case
<b>Ill-treatment</b>	11 victims in 8 cases	More than 35 victims in 14 cases	34 victims in 11 cases	40 victims in 15 cases
<b>Cultural rights</b>	Dozens of victims in 3 cases	More than a dozen victims in 2 cases	-	Hundreds of victims in 2 cases
<b>Arbitrary detention</b>	81 victims in 11 cases	29 victims in 9 cases	75 victims in 16 cases	28 victims in 9 cases
<b>Freedom of assembly</b>	More than 68 victims in 7 cases	More than 30 victims in 3 cases	More than 27 in 5 cases	14 victims in 3 cases
<b>All other violations</b> (health, food, environment, information, housing, fair trial)	Dozens of victims in 2 cases	2 and dozens more in 6 cases	8 and dozens more victims in 7 cases	3 and hundreds more victims in 3 cases
Estimated Victims	More than 117	More than 118	More than 229	
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>105 + dozens more victims in 29 cases</b>	<b>106 + dozens more victims in 33 cases</b>	<b>114 and hundreds more victims in 38 cases</b>	<b>101 and several hundreds more victims in 30 cases</b>

Table 1: Violation and victim data per quarter. A "+" symbol following a number indicates a certain count (the number given) plus an additional, less precise count (e.g., dozens, several). Each column is an independent set, reflecting the possibility of multiple violations per victim or case. Totals represent unique counts per column, not aggregate sums. In row Estimated Victims you can find an estimated number that combines the precise numbers with the less precise (e.g. dozens) numbers through estimation.

## Summary

### Human rights

<sup>1</sup> The term West Papua, also sometimes referred to as Papua, Tanah Papua (Land of Papua) or Western New Guinea refers to the western half of the New Guinea islands and is recognized by the United Nations as part of Indonesia since 1969. It is comprised of the Indonesian administrative provinces Papua Province, Papua Barat Province, Papua Tengah Province, Papua Pegunungan Province, Papua Selatan Province, and Papua Barat Daya Province. The unresolved [conflict about the political status of West Papua](#) continues to cause violence and violations of human rights and indigenous people's rights.

The human rights situation in West Papua between October and December 2025 was characterised by an increase in victims of human rights violations. This surge is linked to the rapid expansion of large-scale government-driven economic development projects and the military operations deployed to secure them. These projects primarily affect small indigenous communities, often inhabited by several hundred people.

The pace of development is likely to accelerate further as the government establishes new military battalions across the region. Some of these are Territorial Development Infantry Battalion units. They have been [deployed to support projects of food security, infrastructure development, public health, and economic empowerment in West Papua](#). Such new battalions have recently been established in Biak-Numfor, Supiroi, and Waropen.

Whilst the number of cases during the reporting period slightly decreased compared to previous quarters, the pattern of violations remained consistent. The extraordinarily high number of victims of extrajudicial executions and ill-treatment, combined with the recurrence of enforced disappearances, is directly linked to military operations that fail to distinguish between civilians and combatants. Such tactics reportedly included airstrikes, battle drones and victim-activated explosive devices in or near civilian areas (see Conflict section).

In October 2025, the Indonesian National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) expressed deep [concerns regarding a proposed revision to Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights](#). Human rights observers warn that the revision is part of a systematic effort to weaken Indonesia’s primary independent human rights institution.

Various court proceedings raised the attention of human rights observers and civil society. On 28 October, a [panel of judges at the Wamena District Court sentenced four Indonesian police officers](#) for their roles in the fatal shooting of [Mr Tobias Silak and the serious injury of Naro Dapla](#) in Dekai, Yahukimo Regency, in 2024. The primary defendant, Chief Brigadier Muhammad Kurniawan Kudu of the Gorontalo Police Mobile Brigade, was convicted under Article 338 of the Indonesian Criminal Code for murder and sentenced to 14 years imprisonment. Three other defendants were sentenced to 5 years’ imprisonment. The verdict marked a victory in the ongoing battle against impunity. However, the [prolonged failure to resolve the Jubi Molotov attack case despite incriminating evidence is exemplary of the persistent impunity](#) in the Indonesian justice system. Authorities have failed to make arrests or identify suspects after twelve months of investigation.

In November 2025, [judges at the Makassar District Court in Makassar City in South Sulawesi Province sentenced four Papuan political prisoners from Sorong City to seven months’ imprisonment](#). The four activists were convicted under Article 106 of the Indonesian Criminal Code on treason for taking part in a plan to “separate a part of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia”. The verdict came after months of proceedings marked by the transfer of the trial from Sorong to Makassar, delays, and reports of intimidation of families and supporters.

## Conflict

The Indonesian government’s militarised approach to conflict resolution and economic development in West Papua has reached alarming levels, triggering widespread internal displacement, human rights violations, and growing civil society resistance. Between [late October and early November 2025, Papuans in the towns of Nabire, Enarotali, Sugapa, and Jayapura went to the streets to protest against the central Government’s](#)

[approach](#) to settling the longstanding conflict in West Papua. Indigenous people in the remote central highlands are increasingly exposed to a growing military presence and ongoing counterinsurgency operations. As of 1 January 2026, more [than 105,878 civilians across multiple regencies have been internally displaced](#) due to military operations and armed conflict. Return movements to their places of origin have not been reported. It can be assumed that the crude mortality rate in the displaced population exceeds that in a non-displaced population in West Papua. This excess mortality rate impact is presumed to be particularly concerning among IDP communities living in camps and temporary shelters in the jungle.

A December 2025 report by the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) with the title “[Papua in the Grip of Military Operations](#)” provides an [overview of the military deployments and expansion of military infrastructure in the region](#). In Intan Jaya Regency alone, [approximately 23 non-organic \(temporary\) military posts were built in September as troops took control of villages. This resulted in the total paralysis of 52 out of 59 educational facilities](#). Six health facilities, including hospitals and health centres, have ceased functioning. Furthermore, 62 civilian killings by Indonesian military personnel have been documented. The local indigenous population and human rights observers are concerned that the extensive [military presence in Intan Jaya serves the purpose of securing the gold-rich Wabu Block mining concession](#) covering approximately 1.18 million hectares.

In October 2025, [clashes between security forces and the TPNPB in Intan Jaya Regency resulted in contested casualty figures, with the military claiming 14 fighters killed while the TPNPB reported 12 civilian and three fighter deaths](#). In a separate incident [in Intan Jaya on 25 November 2025, a military drone dropped an explosive onto a civilian house, killing a 17-year-old senior high school student and leaving another civilian injured](#). In late December, a forty-year-old Papuan civilian suffered fatal blast injuries after allegedly [stepping on a victim-activated explosive device placed on a civilian path used for daily movement](#) between gardens and homes in the Jalan Gunung area of Dekai District, Yahukimo Regency

HRM documented 41 armed attacks and clashes throughout the fourth quarter of 2025, significantly higher than the 29 clashes recorded in the third quarter. The majority of armed hostilities between October and December 2025 occurred in Yahukimo, with 15 armed clashes and attacks documented during the reporting period. Armed hostilities were also documented from the regencies of Intan Jaya, Pegunungan Bintang, Nduga, and Mimika. Isolated incidents of armed violence occurred in the regencies of Teluk Bintuni, Maybrat, Nabire, and Dogiyai.

HRM counted eight civilians killed and six injured by the TPNPB. Meanwhile, 15 civilians were killed, and 8 were wounded by security force members during armed clashes or counter-insurgency operations. Concerning the combatants, 15 security force members were killed, and 15 were injured during this period. In contrast, the TPNPB reportedly lost 11 combatants, with 4 guerrilla fighters being injured during armed clashes.

## Political developments

The government faced mounting criticism over its approach to West Papua, where lethal military operations continue despite growing civil society opposition. Residents held [demonstrations across multiple Papuan cities in late October and early November, denouncing military expansion in the central highlands](#) and alleging [extrajudicial killings](#) and [enforced disappearances](#). Despite widespread civil society rejection,

President Prabowo pushed forward with development plans, hosting provincial leaders in December to call for accelerated development across all sectors. He [announced plans to expand palm oil plantations across West Papua](#) as part of a broader strategy to achieve energy self-sufficiency within five years. Prabowo declared that palm oil, along with sugar cane and cassava, would be cultivated to produce biofuels and ethanol, potentially saving Indonesia hundreds of trillions of rupiah in fuel imports. In response to the announcement, civil society groups and indigenous landrights holders from Merauke launched a peaceful protest against [the Merauke Sugarcane National Strategic Project](#) in Jakarta on 18 December 2025.

Various developments in the legal sector in October and November 2025 raise growing concerns regarding civilian oversight and extensive powers of the police and military. Indonesia's Constitutional Court has issued a landmark ruling prohibiting active police officers from holding civilian government positions. Still, the implementation of the decision has sparked controversial discussions as [thousands of police officers remain in posts across ministries and state agencies](#). In October, Indonesia's Constitutional Court rejected formal review petitions challenging Law No. 3/2025 on the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), ruling that the legislative process did not violate the 1945 Constitution despite procedural controversies and widespread criticism from civil society.

In November, the [Indonesian House of Representatives \(DPR\) unanimously passed the revision of the Criminal Procedure Code \(KUHAP\) into Law](#). A coalition of legal aid organisations and human rights defenders warns that the new KUHAP officially opens the door to a police state, legitimising arbitrary detention, invasive surveillance, and unchecked investigative powers. A fierce national debate on historical memory and justice arose after [President Prabowo Subianto officially bestowed the title of National Hero upon Indonesia's second president, General Suharto](#), during a ceremony at the State Palace. While many Indonesians condemn Suharto for being responsible for numerous gross human rights violations, a significant demographic views the New Order era with nostalgia.

## International developments

Between October and December 2025, the Indonesian government under President Prabowo Subianto pursued an active foreign policy focused on strengthening defence ties. Indonesia convened its first trilateral defence ministers' meeting with Australia and Papua New Guinea in early December, during which Papua New Guinea raised concerns about the [West Papua conflict potentially spilling across its border and proposed a 10 km buffer zone](#). President Prabowo also met with Russian President Putin in Moscow to discuss military cooperation, nuclear energy, and wheat exports, while Defence Minister Sjafrie Sjamsoeddin announced the purchase of at least 42 Chinese-made fighter jets.

## Cases

### Unlawful killings and enforced disappearances



### **Military members allegedly involved in the killing of Papuan youth in Kenyam, Nduga Regency**

On 16 December 2025, Mr Ermin Dabiye, a twenty-one-year-old student from Kenyam, was reportedly killed in Kenyam District, Nduga Regency, Papua Pegunungan province, under circumstances strongly suggesting unlawful use of lethal force by Indonesian military (TNI) personnel.

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### **Military operations against indigenous village in Gearek District, Nduga Regency: One child killed, mother and sibling injured**

On 12 December 2025, Indonesian military forces (TNI) conducted a large-scale air and ground military operation against indigenous settlements in Woneworasosa village, Gearek District, Nduga Regency, Papua Pegunungan Province.

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### **Young Papuan man fatally shot during road blockade triggered by car accident**

On 3 December 2025, 20-year-old indigenous Papuan, Mr Yanuarius Pekei, was shot dead while joining a protest on the connecting road from Paniai to Dogiyai in the Deiyai Regency, Central Papua Province. Mr Pekei sustained a lethal gunshot wound to the neck and died at the scene.

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### **Death of theology student following alleged Police abuse in Nabire, Central Papua**

Theology student, Mr Yoas Pigai, died following an incident involving members of the Nabire Resort Police in Nabire Town, Central Papua Province, on 28 November 2025.

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### **Military members alleged to have tortured and executed indigenous Papuan in Wamena, Jayawijaya Regency**

Members of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) killed Mr Frengki Kogoya, 21, in the vicinity of the Jayawijaya District Military Command (Kodim 1702) in Wamena, Jayawijaya Regency, Papua Pegunungan Province, on 11 November 2025.

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## Indigenous Papuan shot dead and three wounded amid security force gunfire at Moanemani Market

On 20 October 2025, security forces opened fire at Moanemani Market, Kamu District, Dogiyai Regency, around 11:00 am. Three people were reportedly injured during the shooting.

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## Military drone attack on civilian house in Dekai kills Papuan 17-year-old pupil – one person injured



On 25 November 2025, at around 9.00 pm, residents on Gunung Street in Dekai District, Yahukimo Regency, Papua Pegunungan province, observed a military drone repeatedly circling above their neighbourhood. The drone reportedly switched on a green light, followed by a yellow and then a white light, illuminating one particular house before releasing an aerial explosive.

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## Military members alleged of the enforced disappearance of villager in Nduga

On 3 October 2025, members of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) reportedly arrested Mr Mumak Nirigi, 35, a resident of Mebarok District, near the Wisigi area, amidst intensified military operations.

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## Alleged enforced disappearances, mass displacement, and starvation risks following military operations in Lanny Jaya

An Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) air-and-ground operation in Yigemili Village, Melagi District, Lanny Jaya Regency, Papua Pegunungan Province, on 05 October 2025, allegedly resulted in the enforced disappearance of Mr Yoban Kine Wenda, 60, and Mr Wiringga Walia Wenda, 23.



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## Torture & ill-treatment



### Military members accused of ill-treating Indigenous elderly in Sahbuku Village, Maybrat

On 31 December 2025, Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) personnel stationed at the Aisa Military Post reportedly ill-treated an elderly man named Mr Markus Sahbuku in the Sahbuku Village, East Aifat District, Maybrat Regency, Papua Barat Province.

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### TNI personnel allegedly planted victim-activated explosive devices in Yahukimo – One Papuan civilian injured while working in his garden

On 23 December 2025, in the Jalan Gunung area of Dekai District, Yahukimo Regency, Papua Pegunungan province, a forty-year-old Papuan civilian, Mr Agus Magayang, suffered fatal blast injuries after allegedly stepping on a victim-activated explosive device placed on a civilian path used for daily movement between gardens and homes.

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### Military personnel allegedly beat and arbitrarily detain Papuan in Enarotali

On 13 December 2025, at around 4:00 pm, Indonesian military personnel arbitrarily arrested and ill-treated 27-year-old Papuan, Mr Nomianus Nabelau, in Enarotali Town, Paniai Regency, Central Papua Province.

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### Police violence against a student free speech rally in Jayapura

On 8 December 2025, Indonesian police officers carried out acts of intimidation and physical violence against students during a peaceful free speech rally at the P3 Uncen Atas bus stop, Jayapura City, in the Papua province

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### Jayapura Police intimidate, arbitrarily detain, and ill-treat peaceful political activists in Sentani



On 6 December 2025, Jayapura Resort Police (Polres Jayapura) officers forcefully dispersed a peaceful assembly organised by the West Papua National Committee (KNPB) at the BTN Matoa Field, Sentani, Jayapura Regency. During the crackdown, officers intimidated and arbitrarily arrested six participants. Twelve activists were subjected to ill-treatment during the incident.

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### Military members shoot indigenous child during raid in Sugapa District, Intan Jaya

On 6 November 2025, joint Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) launched a large-scale military operation in the area around the Eknemba Village, Sugapa District, Intan Jaya Regency. A child sustained a bullet wound in the leg during the operation and had to be hospitalised

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### Police reportedly arrest and torture minor in Merauke

On 21 October 2025, plainclothes police officers riding motorcycles arbitrarily arrested 17-year-old Cansius Yawiwa in Jalan Kuda Mati, Kamundu Subdistrict, Merauke City, South Papua Province.

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### Security forces torture volunteers during humanitarian mission in North Moskona, Teluk Bintuni

On 16 October 2025, members of the Police and the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) reportedly tortured ten Papuans, including two volunteers from the Manokwari Institute for Research, Assessment and Development of Legal Aid (LP3BH Manokwari), in North Moskona District, Teluk Bintuni Regency, Papua Barat Province.

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### Arbitrary detention, intimidation, and criminalisation



### Police stop school graduates in Nabire: Students raise allegations of arbitrary detention and excessive use of force

On 28 November 2025, Nabire Police reportedly blocked a student convoy returning from a graduation celebration in Nabire. Police officers arrested and detained nine people, including two female graduates.

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### Unfair trial against Papuan student charged with murder in Yahukimo

Human rights concerns in the prosecution of Ivan Kabak arise from the subsequent criminal proceedings, which demonstrate systemic violations of the right to a fair trial, including denial of legal counsel, prosecutorial failure to prove charges, and a conviction issued outside the scope of the indictment.

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### Criminalisation concerns in Yahukimo: Student alleged of affiliation with TPNPB

On 28 November 2025, members of Brimob under Ops Damai Cartenz arrested 21-year-old student, Mr Iron Heluka, in Dekai town, Yahukimo Regency, Papua Pegunungan province and subsequently detained him at

the Yahukimo Police Station.

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### **Papuan human rights defender intimidated and attacked after advocating for land rights in Jakarta**

Between 1 and 7 October 2025, Mrs Selly Selegani, a Papuan female human rights activist known for her advocacy against the Wabu Block gold mining project in Intan Jaya Regency, was subjected to a series of acts of intimidation, harassment, and physical violence after returning to Jayapura from advocacy activities in Jakarta.

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### **Four political activists arbitrarily detained in Nabire**

On 24 November 2025, police officers arbitrarily detained four members of the West Papua National Committee (KNPB) near Karang Tumaritis Market, Nabire town, Nabire Regency, Central Papua province, and subsequently detained them at the Nabire District Police Station

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### **Military members accused of arbitrary detention and beating of indigenous Papuan in Timika**

On 3 October 2025, Indonesian military personnel reportedly detained Mr Agustinus Tipagau, 22, in Timika City, at around 11:00 am. The arrest occurred without a warrant or clear legal grounds.

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## **Freedom of expression, and freedom of peaceful assembly and association**

### **Police fail to protect Papuan students during TRIKORA Commemoration in Makassar City, South Sulawesi**



On 19 December 2025, Papuan students in Makassar City, South Sulawesi province, peacefully commemorate the 1961 TRIKORA Military Operation. The protesters dispersed after being attacked by nationalist mass organisations and facing repressive police response.

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### Police disperse peaceful community protest in Boven Digoel, South Papua - Seven protesters injured

On 22 October 2025, a peaceful protest in the Boven Digoel Regency, South Papua Province, ended violently following repressive intervention by Indonesian police forces.



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### Police detain students and use excessive force against protesters in Jayapura

On 15 October 2025, police personnel disrupted a student-led, anti-militarisation protest at the Abepura Roundabout in Jayapura City, Papua Province. At least five protesters were arbitrarily detained for over 24 hours before being released without charges

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## Other violations

### Intimidation against indigenous leader in connection with planned construction of Indonesian military headquarters in Biak

Between 30 November and 9 December 2025, intimidation and surveillance incidents were directed against Mr Apolos Sroyer, Chair of the Biak Customary Council and Chief of the Biak Tribe, in the Biak-Supiori Regency. The acts are allegedly linked to his leadership of indigenous opposition to the construction of new military headquarters.



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### Health negligence case triggers public discussions on health crisis in West Papua: Papuan pregnant woman dies in Jayapura after being rejected by four hospitals



On 16 and 17 November 2025, Mrs Irene Sokoy, a pregnant indigenous Papuan woman living on one of the small islands in Lake Sentani, Jayapura Regency, Papua Province, died together with her unborn baby after being denied emergency care by four hospitals in Jayapura Regency and Jayapura City, Papua Province.

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### Kinmom-Snerbo Villagers set up road blockade in protest against Indonesian Air Force's land eviction

On 27 October 2025, residents of Kinmom-Snerbo Village in Biak Regency, Papua Province, staged a road blockade to protest the Indonesian Air Force's (AURI) construction activities on their traditional farmland.



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## About Human Rights Monitor

The Human Rights Monitor (HRM) is an independent, international non-profit project promoting human rights through documentation and advocacy. HRM is based in the European Union and active since 2022. We are achieving our vision by documenting violations; researching institutional, social and political contexts that affect rights protection and peace; and sharing the conclusions of evidence-based monitoring work.

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