



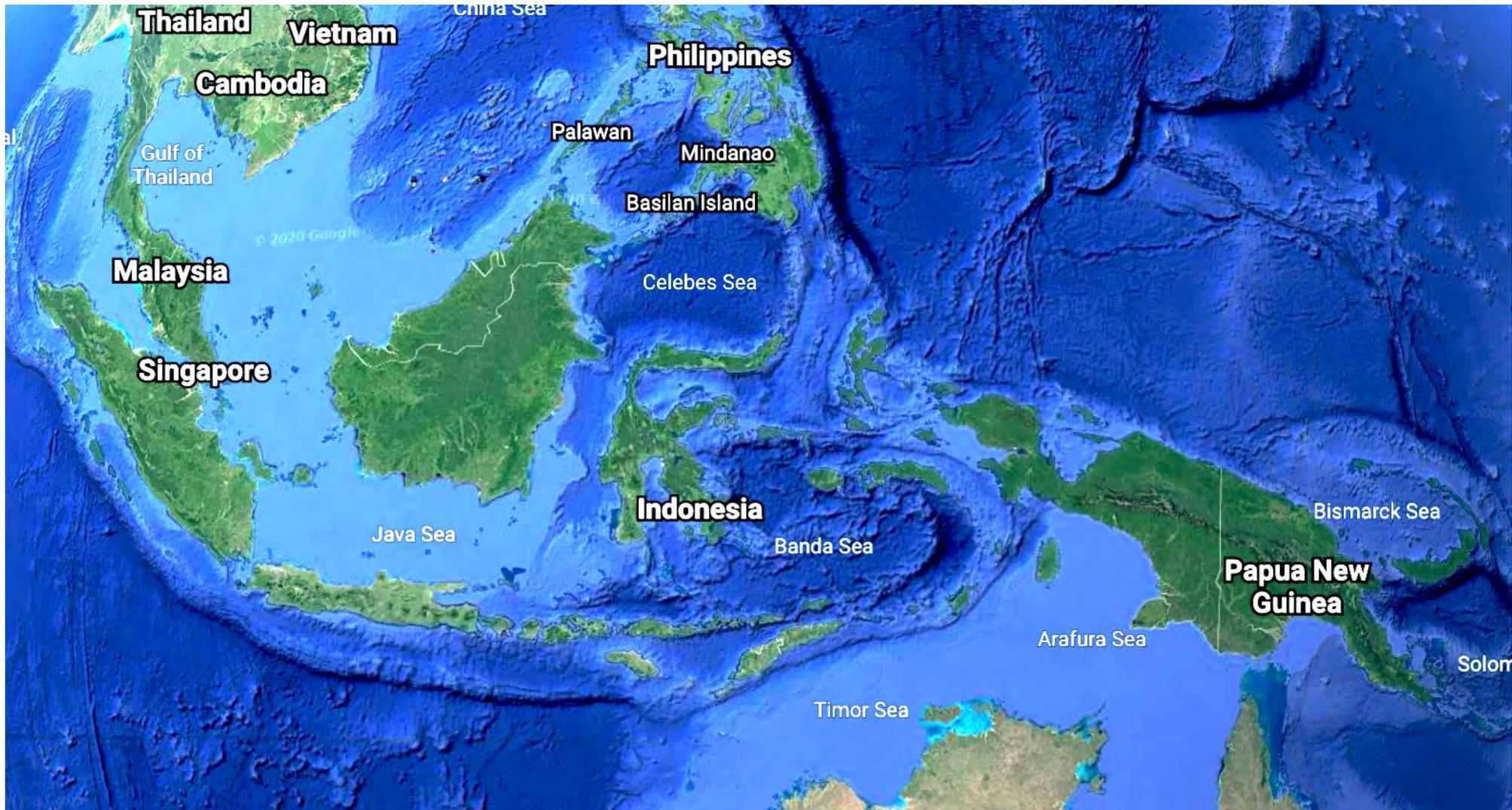
Julian McKinlay King
University of Wollongong

Globalisation, governance and State-sponsored terror: The case of Indonesia

Rethinking Peace, Conflict and Governance Conference, University of New England, 12-14 February 2020



I pay tribute to the late **Professor Peter King** (CPACS) and late **Dr John Otto Ondawame**, former OPM freedom fighter, academic (CPACS), and OPM International Spokesperson **who spent much of their lives fighting for West Papuan freedom**



Indonesia: 7,000 km island chain occupying former Dutch East Indies Territories, and the (former) territories of Netherlands New Guinea incorporating over 3,000 language groups

PART ONE

THE BIRTH OF STATE FASCISM WITH THE ARRIVAL OF JAPAN



1941: The Japanese arrival in Dutch East Indies was welcomed by Sukarno (Tropenmuseum)

Japan's Puppet Show

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

The NATION July 22, 1944

In the Netherlands East Indies the Japanese were hard put to find prominent Indonesians who would collaborate with them. They finally seized on Ir. Soekarno, a fiery Javanese nationalist who had been exiled to Sumatra by the Dutch for revolutionary activities, and made him head of the Poctera, or so-called "peoples' movement." But apparently Soekarno is none too reliable; he has disappeared from the radio for long periods and is known to have been under arrest at least once.

Sukarno worked as principal 'Collaborator' for the Japanese during WWII extorting resources / labour from the island archipelago



1953: Sukarno visiting Emperor Hirohito

Order of the Rising Sun
旭日章



Grand Cordon badge and sash

Awarded by the Emperor of Japan

Type	Order
Awarded for	long and/or especially meritorious civil or military service

- Sukarno (1901–1970) 1943

1943: 'Order of the Rising Sun' awarded to Sukarno for outstanding service by the Emperor of Japan



1944: The Japanese Imperial Army trained a Javanese paramilitary force in with the ideology of Fascism in preparation for the Allied invasion

reported to have numbered half a million members in mid-1945. There are also reports that from 1944 some branches of the Seinendan, following the Japanese example, set up training suicide units (Barisan Berani Mati). Another development was the formation of an auxiliary police force, the Keibodan, which was more than 1 million strong at the end of the war. This was followed in mid-1943 by the Heiho, an Indonesian auxiliary force forming an integral part of the Imperial Japanese Army, and containing many former KNIL soldiers and NCOs. The officers were all Japanese and Indonesians could not advance above the rank of sergeant. The main tasks of the Heiho were to man anti-

**A total of 1.5 million auxiliary paramilitary
(C.L.M. Penders, 2002)**

'Black Fan' Terrorists Defy Allies; Plan Guerrilla War

BATAVIA—An organization of terrorists calling itself the Black Fan has let it be known that it intends to wage a prolonged guerrilla war against the Allied forces reoccupying Java.

A number of Japanese, dissatisfied with the Tokyo surrender, have joined the trouble-makers, and the organization is believed to be led by Japanese malcontents.

The political situation in Java has been confused since a "Nationalist" leader named Shukarno proclaimed a "Republic of Indonesia" last August 17. Japanese authorities stood idly by instead of arresting Shukarno and twenty-one members of his "Provincial Government." The Indonesi-

**Japanese Imperial Army members defect, create, & lead the 'Black Fan' terrorist group
(Times Herald, 15 September 1945)**

“I miss Japanese food sometimes,” he said at his modest house in the village of Sidomulyo, near the hilly resort town of Batu in East Java Province. Um 9 September 2009 BY CHRISTINE T. TJANDRANINGSIH KYODO NEWS his longing for Japanese food.

Ono, whose Indonesian name is Rahmat, is one of the estimated 1,000 Japanese soldiers who deserted and stayed behind in the Dutch East Indies, mostly on the islands of Sumatra, Java and Bali, after the Japanese surrendered to the Allied forces on Aug. 15, 1945.

Ono joined the Special Guerrilla Forces led by another Japanese former soldier, Tatsuo “Abdul Rachman” Ichiki, fighting for Indonesia’s independence in East Java’s South Semeru Province. DUTCH. AFTER THE WAR, SOME OF THE JAPANESE NEVER RETURNED HOME.

They also provided tactical leadership, weapons and training to the ramshackle revolutionary forces.

“Their contribution doesn’t appear in either Japanese or Indonesian history textbooks,” said Hayashi. “Their contribution doesn’t appear in either Japanese or Indonesian history textbooks,” said Hayashi.

Many of them also feared being court-martialed or tried as war criminals if they let their whereabouts be known.

“They heard rumors that soon after boarding the ship returning to Japan, they would be thrown into the sea” said Hayashi who visited Ono more than 80 times for his book

Thus all power and responsibility were centered in the President: "He must be the true leader of the nation and of one mind with the whole people" (Supomo).⁸⁰ This had been the goal of Sukarno's "centralized democracy" or "democratic centralism," as he had formulated it in 1933. His idea of a *Führerstaat* had crystallized during the Japanese period;⁸¹ in both the Japanese military government and his own organization, the Barisan Pelopor, he had been able to observe the effectiveness of directly transmitted orders. In a time threatened by conflicts

1945: Following Japanese rule, Sukarno shifts ideology from 'democratic – centralism' to Fascism to create the Indonesian 'Fuhrerstaat' (Bernhard Dahm, 1966)



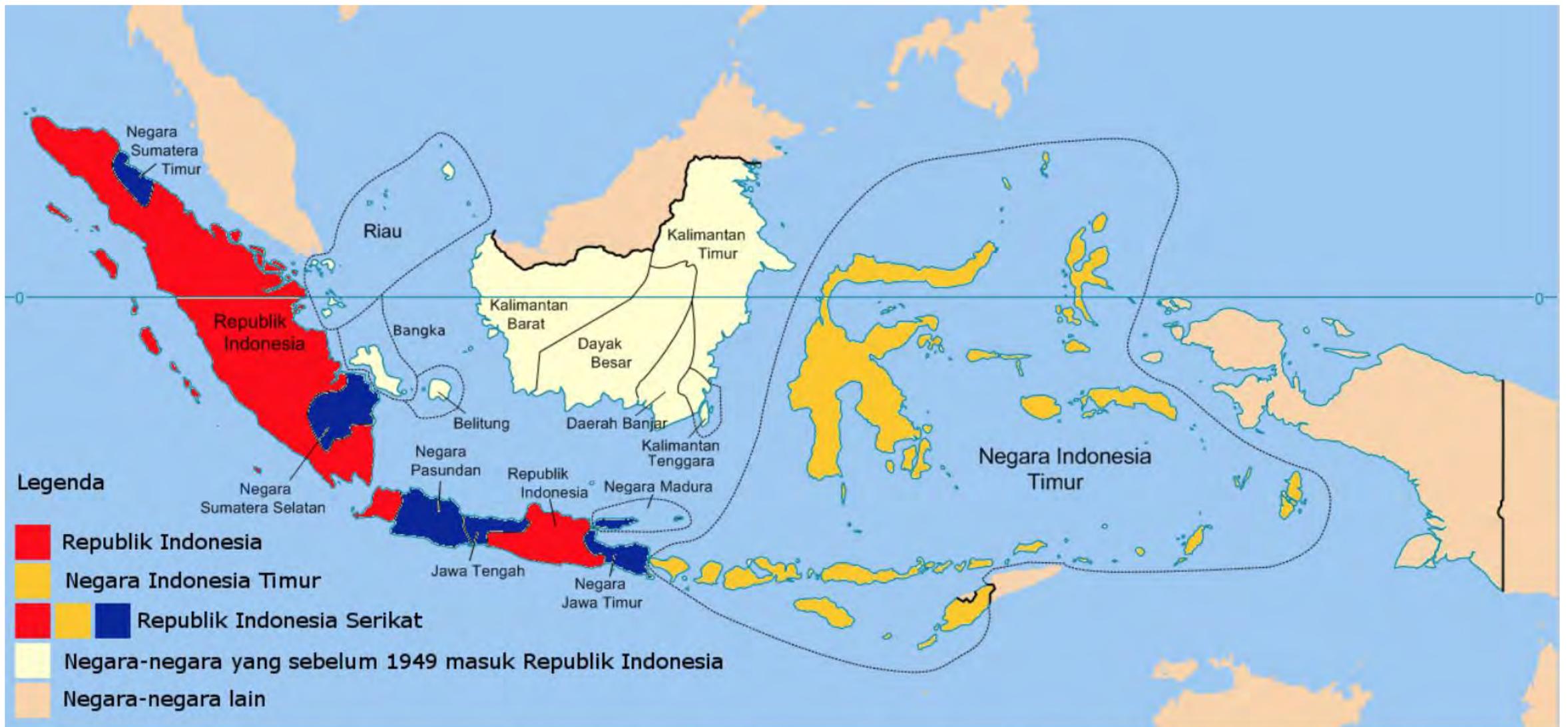
26 November 1946: The signing of the Linggadjati Agreement between Dutch and Javanese leadership



Republic of Indonesia consisted of Java, Sumatra, and Madura. All other Territories were entitled to self-determination

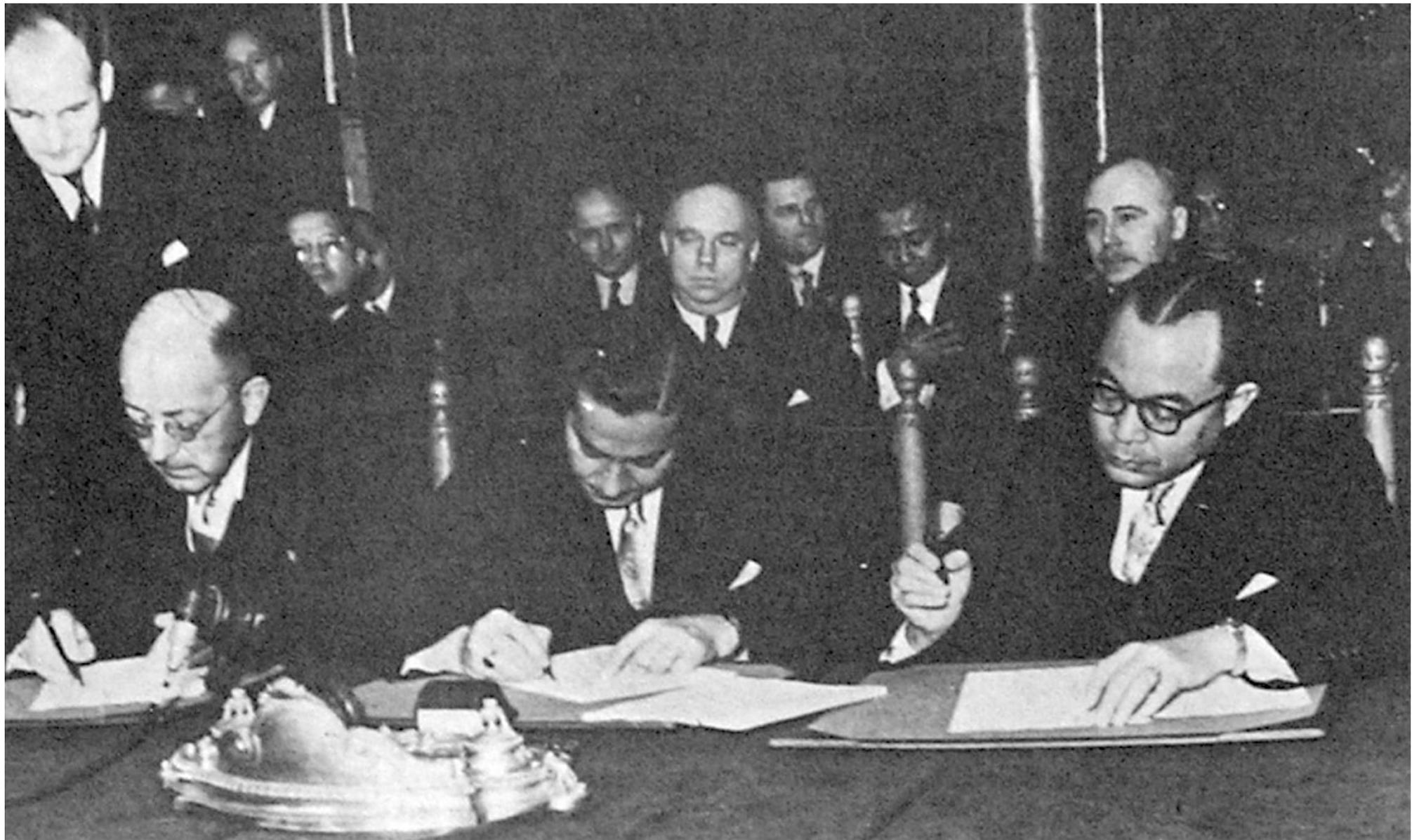


17 January 1948: The signing of the UN Security Council brokered Renville Agreement aboard USS Renville in Djakarta Bay



The United States of Indonesia. The constituent state of the Republic of Indonesia is shown in red. The State of East Indonesia is shown in gold as *Negara Indonesia Timur*. Other constituent states are shown in blue. Autonomous constituent entities are shown in white.

The Renville Agreement demarcation lines (RI in red). All other Territories were entitled to self-determination and excluded Netherlands New Guinea



2 November 1949: Signing the UNSC brokered Hague Agreement. It included the other States / Territories of the Dutch East Indies and not Netherlands New Guinea

Article 2

1. The division of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia into component states shall be established finally by the Constituent Assembly in conformity with the provisions of the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia with the understanding that a plebiscite will be held among the population of territories thereto indicated by the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia upon the recommendation of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia or of an other organ of the United Nations, under supervision of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia or the other United Nations organ referred to, on the question whether they shall form a separate component state.

2. Each component state shall be given the opportunity to ratify the final Constitution. In case a component state does not ratify that Constitution, it will be allowed to negotiate about a special relationship towards the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Hague Agreement granted sovereignty to the “Republic of the United States of Indonesia” and under ‘Transitional Measures’ allows all 15 autonomous states self-determination

491 (V). Admission of the Republic of Indonesia to membership in the United Nations

The General Assembly,

Noting the recommendation² of the Security Council of 26 September 1950 that the Republic of Indonesia should be admitted to membership in the United Nations,

Noting also the declaration³ made by the representative of the Republic of Indonesia to the effect that it will accept the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations,

Admits the Republic of Indonesia to membership in the United Nations.

*289th plenary meeting,
28 September 1950.*

UN resolution 491: The 'Republic of Indonesia' is admitted into the United Nations in violation of the Hague Agreement which stipulates 'The Republic of the United States of Indonesia'.

The 15 NSG Territories were denied self-determination.

**448 (V). Development of self-government in
Non-Self-Governing Territories**

The General Assembly,

Noting the communication¹⁴ dated 29 June 1950 from the Government of the Netherlands in which it is stated that the Netherlands will no longer present a report pursuant to Article 73 e on Indonesia with the exception of West New Guinea,

Noting that the full independence of the Republic of Indonesia has been followed by the admission of **that** State to membership in the United Nations,

**UN resolution 448: The “full independence” of the Republic of Indonesia
excluding West (Netherlands) New Guinea**

**TERRITORIES ON WHICH INFORMATION IS TRANSMITTED
UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER (1960)***

By Administering Member responsible for transmitting information

<i>Australia</i>	<i>United Kingdom</i>	Nyasaland
Cocos (Keeling) Islands	Bahamas	Pitcairn Island
Papua	Basutoland	St. Helena
<i>France</i>	Bechuanaland	Sarawak
New Hebrides (condominium, United Kingdom)	Bermuda	Seychelles
<i>Netherlands</i>	British Guiana	Singapore
Netherlands New Guinea	British Honduras	Solomon Islands
<i>New Zealand</i>	British Virgin Islands	Swaziland
Cook Islands	Brunei	Uganda
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Tokelau Islands	Fiji	Antigua
<i>Spain</i>	Gambia	Barbados
Fernando Póo	Gibraltar	Cayman Islands
Río Muni	Gilbert and Ellice Islands	Dominica
Spanish Sahara	Hong Kong	Grenada
<i>United States of America</i>	Kenya	Jamaica
Guam	Malta	Montserrat
United States Virgin Islands	Mauritius	St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla
	New Hebrides (condominium, France)	St. Lucia
	North Borneo	St. Vincent
	Northern Rhodesia	Trinidad and Tobago
		Turks and Caicos Islands
		Zanzibar

**1961: 'Netherlands New Guinea' was listed as a Non-Self-Governing Territory
(UN Doc ST/TRI/SER.A/19)**

Danyon Jacobs
Dillon Mahly



Consulting Executive Editor

Dr Allan Ardill

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WEST PAPUA EXPOSED: AN ABANDONED NON-SELF-GOVERNING OR TRUST TERRITORY*

JULIAN MCKINLAY KING** WITH ANDREW JOHNSON***

*This paper examines the shift in legal status that should have occurred,
**Current legal status of West Papua: An abandoned Non-Self-Governing
or Trust Territory**
under the United Nations ('UN') Charter, with the transfer of West Papua
from the Netherlands to the United Nations in 1962 via the 'Indonesia and*



PORTAL Journal of
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Vol. 16, No. 1/2
2019

RESEARCH ARTICLE

A Soul Divided: The UN's Misconduct Over West Papua

Julian McKinlay King

The UN Secretariat committed at least 19 covert breaches of international law

Indonesian patrol "invaded" west Papua

Jan 7/69
SITHZ

PORT MORESBY, Today. — An Indonesian patrol shot two West Irianese porters engaged by Australian District Officer Arthur Marks and captured a third in Australian territory, a coroner said in Port Moresby yesterday.

The patrol—12 Indonesian soldiers and six West Irianese men—was 12 miles inside western Papua when the two refugees were killed, the coroner, Mr Max Allwood said. It remained in Australian territory for two more days looking for more refugees.

The coroner was giving his findings after inquiring into the deaths of Julius Yam, of Muxu, and Pius Leonardus, of Pou, both West Irianese villages.

He found that Yam died on May 29 at or near Bulmao, a site on the Baro River, 12 miles east of the border with West Irian, from brain injuries inflicted by a high-velocity bullet fired from the rifle of an unknown member of a combined Indonesian and West Irianese patrol and that

Leonardus died at the same time and place from unknown causes.

Mr Allwood said there had been allegations of Indonesian shooting in the Kwari area of western Papua on May 19 and Mr Marks was sent to investigate.

On May 28, he left Kwari for Bakuli, about six hours' walk away, which was near the site of the reported shooting.

Six West Irianese, including Yam and Leonardus, were taking his baggage down river by canoe and were eating fish on the river bank when surprised by the patrol.

Escaped

One man, Johannes Kudop, captured by the patrol, stood with his hands in the air while the other five jumped into the river. Automatic rifle fire was heard and only three reached the other bank and made their way to Kwari.

Kudop was put under a two-man guard and led away, but later escaped.

One aspect of the May 29 shooting which is puzzling some observers in Canberra is the apparent use of West Irianese warriors by an Australian patrol officer. But former Papuan residents said they believed the number of Papuans in the Kwari area was so few that the district officer had probably engaged the West Irianese when he found them in his territory.

The Australian Ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Jockel, has raised the matter with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Malik. He is believed to have made it clear to Mr Malik that, though the possibility of misunderstandings about the border could be conceded, Australia could not consider that Indonesia had any "right of hot pursuit" across the border.—NZPA

From 1958 to 1962 Indonesian military made numerous 'invasions' into West Papua



1963: At the onset of Indonesian administration, anyone found opposing Indonesia was arrested, murdered, or disappeared

SECRET WAR 'SLAUGHTER' IN W. IRIAN

NZPA-Reuter *June 2/69 NZA* London

The Indonesian Army has slaughtered thousands of primitive tribesmen in an unreported war in West Irian, according to the British Sunday newspaper the Observer.

Reuters report, 2 June 1969

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ORIGIN/ACTION
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

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RSIAN Assigned to
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Action Taken
DATE: July 9, 1969

TO : Department of State

INFO : CANBERRA, THE HAGUE, MEDAN, SURABAYA, USIA, INR, FEAC, FRB, FORD

FROM : Amembassy DJAKARTA

SUBJECT : WEST IRIAN: The Nature of the Opposition.

REF : A. Djakarta's telegram 3614 of June 9, 1969.
B. Djakarta's telegram 3445 of June 3, 1969.
C. Djakarta's A-199 of May 14, 1969.
D. Djakarta's A-69 of February 19, 1969.

SUMMARY

The Free Papua Movement (OPM) is not the all-pervasive revolutionary organization some believe it to be. Other than a small leadership cadre operating in the Djaapura area having cross-border contacts, anti-government dissidents have virtually no liaison with each other, receive no outside assistance or direction, and are generally incapable of mounting an insurrection in the face of the relatively large Indonesian military establishment in West Irian. Grievances and anti-GOI sentiment are quite real, however, and there is little question that a great majority of the non-Stone Age Irianese favor a termination of Indonesian rule. Opposition to the GOI stems from economic deprivation over the years, military repression and capriciousness, and maladministration. Limited efforts of the GOI to rectify these problems to date are generally "too little and too late," and it is uncertain whether the Indonesians will actually try to ameliorate the sources of local discontent in coming years. Despite the undercurrent of opposition, anti-government elements have been unable to translate words into deeds and there is little likelihood that the few existing internal security threats will be allowed to get out of hand. It is difficult to predict whether the GOI will be compelled to take harsh repressive measures or seek to establish good government and further economic progress in the region. The outcome is likely to be mixed and uneven.

GROUP 3
Downgraded at 12-year intervals,
not automatically declassified.

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Classified by: POL:AFLE/... Date: 7/8/69

Contents and Classification Approved by: POL: RFS/... Jr.

1969 JUL 11 PM 5 34

COPY TO PBR

Department of State, Frank Gailbraith, 'The Nature of the Opposition' 9 July 1969

Regarding the magnitude of the opposition to Indonesian rule, probably a decided majority of the Irianese people, and possibly 85 to 90 percent, are in sympathy with the Free Papua cause or at least intensely dislike Indonesians. An

Perhaps the most oft-cited grievance of the Irianese is that the Indonesians cleaned out the shops and storehouses in the period immediately following their takeover of West Irian administration in 1963. Missionaries reported that they had witnessed Indonesian military personnel loading up Air Force planes at night with goods taken from local merchants. Within two months of Indonesian takeover on May 1, 1963, there was an acute shortage of food and consumer goods. It is

Military repression has stimulated fears and rumors of intended genocide among the Irianese. These fears in large part have been generated by shooting incidents involving trigger-happy, jittery troops. In mid-May, for example,

Secret US Department of State report by Frank Gailbraith, 'The Nature of the Opposition' (9 July 1969)

Some examples of terror ...

Indonesia's 753 Battalion sweeping in the Freeport area in 1974 following OPM activity killed a local Amungme villager Kibak Nagalolan.

“Nagalolan was hung up and his head cut off; his blood was collected in a bucket and the massed crowd ordered to drink it.



18 years since the Biak massacre, but suffering still ongoing



Hundreds massacred in Biak in 1998 by Indonesian military after raising the Morning Star flag

The Guardian

Marni Cordell

Friday 13 December 2013 17.38 AEDT

West Papuans tortured, killed and dumped at sea, citizens' tribunal hears



Scores of unarmed civilians were tortured and killed and their bodies dumped at sea in a massacre by Indonesian security forces in West Papua 15 years ago, a “citizens' tribunal” held in Sydney has found.

On 6 July 1998, West Papuans demonstrating for independence on the island of Biak were murdered in a co-ordinated attack by the Indonesian military and police and a large number were detained, according to the findings of the Biak Massacre Citizens' Tribunal.

Many of those in custody were subsequently raped and mutilated in horrific circumstances and the security personnel responsible for the attack have never been held accountable, the tribunal heard.

Biak Masacre Citizen's Tribunal, 2013, CPACS

Papuan children taken to Jakarta to be converted to Islam



Michael Bachelard



The removal of children and indoctrination into fundamentalist Islam by the Javanese ruling elite is an act of genocide



World Bank sponsored transmigration camp in West Papua
as a tactic to thwart independence



Update on security force operation in Nduga: Approximately 2000 indigenous Papuans displaced, 13 IDPs reported dead

Published on Wednesday, 20 March 2019 07:46



Ongoing security force operations in multiple districts of the Nduga regency have caused the displacement of thousands of indigenous people. Human rights defenders claim that the internally displaced people (IDPs) originate from thirteen districts in the Nduga Regency which have been affected by the military operation, namely the districts Mbuwa, Dal, Mbulmu Yalma, Mapenduma, Yigi, Nirkuri, Kageam, Paro, Mebarok, Gesekema, Jengelo, Amala and Kilimid. 407 IDPs

denied for this very reason.

Calls for Indonesia to end human rights violations by the United Nations Human Rights Council and major international agencies such as Amnesty International, the Red Cross, World Council of Churches, Franciscan International and others, including governments, have all been ignored. Meanwhile human right abuses continue to be more devastating than ever, with the use of chemical weapons.

Crimes Indonesia wants hidden

It is well established that there is an undeclared war of resistance against Indonesian occupying forces.

The indiscriminate use of chemical weapons dropped from helicopter gunships against fleeing Villagers of the Nduga region in the Highlands of West Papua indicates the intensity of the war. The colonial army is using these banned weapons in desperation to terrorise the Papuans and reduce resistance. The tactics are well rehearsed. If the resistance does not create an incident the

Social media ...



Indonesian military take 'trophy' shots of murdered West Papuans



Mass graves are common ...



Nduga killings, Papua highlands circa February 2018



Exclusive: Chemical weapons dropped on Papua

DECEMBER 22, 2018 – JANUARY 25, 2019

The Indonesian military has employed airstrikes in West Papua – suspected to include the banned chemical weapon white phosphorus – as a retaliation for murders following a flag-raising protest. By *John Martinkus* and *Mark Davis*.

Indonesian military use illegal white phosphorus bombs in West Papua

23 extra-judicial killings in West Papua last year - rights group

11:58 am on 10 July 2019

A human rights group advocating for West Papuans in Indonesia says there were more than 20 extra-judicial killings by the military there last year.



Members of the Indonesian military Photo: AFP

Indonesian military murder with impunity

How mining and the military created an HIV epidemic in Indonesia's Papua



[Susan Schulman](#)



Susan Schulman is a freelance journalist based in London

“Papuan believe HIV was intentionally introduced into Papua by Indonesians in order to kill us,” one Papuan confided to IRIN. “And that the government intentionally leaves the disease to spread widely without taking serious measures to overcome the problem.”

The intentional spread of HIV by Indonesia in West Papua is a deliberate act to bring about its destruction and an act of genocide

Over 500 arrested in West Papua demonstrations



Over 500 people were reportedly arrested from West Papua demonstrations in Indonesia. Photo: Supplied

Activists with the West Papua National Committee, which organised many of the demonstrations, were subject to beatings in Jayapura and had their central headquarters vandalised.

The latest round of mass arrests brings to well over 5000 the number of people arrested in Indonesia for peaceful demonstrations in support of West Papuan self-determination this year.

Mass arrests and torture is a daily occurrence in West Papua

Armed conflict continues in West Papua's highlands



Indonesian police and military have been conducting numerous raids in the regency in recent weeks.

Military sweeping operations across the Nduga highlands region over past months, 50,000 people displaced, many children and elderly dead from exposure.



Exposure and malnutrition killing hundreds following military attacks on villages

PHOTO: Members of Brigade '08 are backing presidential challenger Prabowo Subianto. (ABC News: David Lipson)

Indonesian "thugs for hire" are playing an increasing role in the nation's presidential election, less than a week out from the world's biggest single-day poll.

Known as "preman" from the Dutch term for "free man," they can be seen at every political rally dressed in military fatigues, army boots and berets.

"[They're] basically thugs and they have built a reputation as very tough, rough. Sometimes their actions border on criminal," said Endy Bayuni, Senior Editor of The Jakarta Post.

There is a lot of money to be made at election time, according to Andreas Harsono from Human Rights Watch, Indonesia.

"They provide security. They open doors when a politician would like to enter another [candidate's] territory," Mr. Harsono said.

RELATED STORY: 'Ghost votes': Indonesia's election plagued by vote buying, false identities

RELATED STORY: Internet trolls are trying to bring down Indonesia's President

RELATED STORY: What you need to know about the five Asian elections in 2019

Key points:

Paramilitary groups are providing security and support to presidential candidates ahead of the election
Many of the 'preman' groups began as gangs and some still have links to organised crime
Some groups have been paid by political parties to intimidate grassroots campaigners into silence



Prabowo Subianto. (ABC News: David Lipson)

**role in the
om the world's**

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as very tough,
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Key points:

Paramilitar
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The Vice President in 2012 was a member of paramilitary (mafia) group Pancasila Youth (The Act of Killing)



**Vice President of Indonesia “We need gangsters to get things done”
(The Act of Killing)**



The Indonesian military receive only 25% of its income from government. 75% or US\$2 Billion is derived from black market / extortion (Peter King, 2004)

Why Does Indonesia Kill Us? Political Assassination of KNPB Activists in Papua

BUDI HERNAWAN

*"Hi Indonesia the coloniser,
You can kill my body but my
soul and spirit are with the
eternity*

*It has been inscribed in the
history of the struggle of
Papuan forever."*¹⁰

broader audience. Therefore, killing is not an end in itself. Rather, it is carefully designed to infuse a message of terror among the targeted community, the Papuans.

Government policy

SUNDAY, JUNE 22, 2014

News: "Do I have the guts," Prabowo asked, "am I ready to be called a fascist dictator?"

By Allan Nairn

General Prabowo, the brother of a billionaire, was the son-in-law of the dictator Suharto, and as a US trainee and protege was implicated in torture, kidnap and mass murder.

Prabowo has been appointed Minister for Defence by President Widodo



Allan Nairn: Indonesian General Tied to Mass Killings Plots to Arrest Critics If He Wins Presidency

RELATED

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Transcript

Indonesian President Joko Widodo, who better known as “Jokowi,” is up for re-election on Wednesday. His chief rival is Prabowo Subianto, a former special force military commander and the former son-in-law of Indonesia’s longtime dictator Suharto. It is a rematch of the 2014 election that Jokowi won by almost 6

percentage points. Investigative journalist Allan Nairn has just uncovered shocking plans made by Prabowo for if he wins the presidency. According to minutes of a campaign strategy session obtained by Nairn, Prabowo has made plans to stage mass arrests of political opponents and his current allies. Nairn reports Prabowo also wants to restore Indonesia’s Army to the role it played in the U.S.-backed Suharto dictatorship which lasted from 1967 to 1998. Indonesia is the world’s largest Muslim nation and the third-largest democracy in the world behind India and the United States. We speak with Allan Nairn in Indonesia.

Transcript

This is a rush transcript. Copy may not be in its final form.

Investigative journalist Allan Nairn has just uncovered shocking plans made by Prabowo for if he wins the presidency. According to minutes of a campaign strategy session obtained by Allan Nairn, Prabowo has made plans to stage mass arrests of political opponents, as well as his current allies. Nairn reports Prabowo also wants to restore Indonesia’s Army to the role it played in the U.S.-backed Suharto dictatorship, which lasted from '67 to '98. Allan Nairn now joins us from Indonesia. He's just published his latest [report](#) on his website, AllanNairn.org.

o Widodo, who is
' is up for re-
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by almost 6

**to restore Indonesia’s Army to
ntly appointed Minister of Defense.**

Indonesia's new cabinet and its human rights implications

Jokowi's appointments will be rightly questioned: is he interested in human rights or the rights of the Indonesian army?



Given Prabowo's background and Yasonna's rhetoric and actions during his first stint as Law and Human Rights Minister, their appointments suggest that Jokowi's second term, will, like his first term, be largely unconcerned with promoting human rights and addressing past human rights abuses. Jokowi already had made Wiranto, another former general accused of contempt for human rights, his security minister.

General Wiranto and General Prabowo in Widodo's cabinet

NO IMPUNITY

Papua remains restricted under Widodo; 72 cases of violence against journalists

Aliansi Jurnalis Independen/Alliance of Independent Journalists (<http://aji.or.id>) 19 May 2017

Two cases of violence against journalists in Papua in the past week highlight the empty promise of Press Law protections in Indonesia's easternmost province, as well as the false hopes of President Joko Widodo, who more than two years ago promised to open foreign press access to the area. Censorship remains the norm in the province, where many foreign journalists are still forbidden from entering.

Foreign journalists are usually blocked from entering West Papua while local journalists suffer human rights abuses



Australian award-winning journalist and film maker Mark Worth died in West Papua on January 15, 2004 – suspiciously just two days after the ABC announced his documentary, *Land of the Morning Star*, would be screened across Australia.

Yet the Australian government predictably left any investigation up to the Indonesian government, which buried his body so quickly that no one was able to properly establish his cause of death, which was officially left as mere pneumonia. His death remains an unresolved issue with many.

Mark Worth, murdered in Indonesia 2 days before his documentary screened on ABC TV

February 6, 2018

INDONESIA: Army Personnel Tortured Indigenous Papuan Man to Death

ISSUES: Torture, fabricated case, fair trial, Rule of Law, indigenous people, remedy

Dear Friends,

The Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) has received the following information. It comes from the Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence (KontraS), a prominent national human rights organization. It is regarding the case of torture to death of Mr. Isak Dewayekua (23), an indigenous Papuan. Three army personnel of Yonif 755/Yalet illegally arrested and detained Isak and tortured him to death in Kimaam, Merauke Regency, Papua Province. The army personnel forced Isak's family to accept monetary compensation and sign a letter which demanded that the family drop the case. Currently, the investigation is still being conducted by the Military Police of Merauke Regency. Later, the case was transferred to the higher Military Police Institution in Military Regional Office (Pomdam) XVII/ Cendrawasih from December 29, 2017.

CASE NARRATIVE:

The case is caused by Sagero, a local drink. On November 17, 2017 Isak allegedly drank Sagero again, despite previously promising to stop drinking it. According to some witnesses, it was alleged by perpetrators, that Private Abiatar, frequently drinks with Isak. Therefore, three army personnel of Yonif 755/ Yalet initiated a search to arrest Isak.

Peter King quotes a surprisingly frank admission by General Ryacudu:²¹

Like it or not, the glue of the nation nowadays is the [Indonesian military]. If people want to dismantle the state, go ahead and abolish the territorial units. If the Trikora military command in Irian Jaya were dissolved, Irian Jaya would be independent tomorrow (King 2004: 103).

**General Ryacudu admission of an Indonesian military dictatorship
(Peter King, 2004)**

Stephen Hill headed UNESCO in Indonesia

“... the military has had a long standing policy of penetration right down to street or kampung (village) level in security and community involvement. Where I lived in Jakarta, for example, the street where I resided was monitored and managed by an ex-military non-commissioned officer who reported to his former military masters ... This practice was universal.”

(Captives for Freedom)

My experience:

- US owned Indo Muro Kencana had 2 TNI Generals on the Board for “logistical” purposes
- Dayak communities massacred in Borneo to make way for mining and logging
- Military hunting & exporting tigers in Sumatra
- Extortion of mining companies
- Mass murder of people who oppose government policies (Bali)
- Sumbawa mass murder of demonstrators circa 1997

PART TWO

BREACHES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW & ALLEGED GENOCIDE

**AUSTRALIE, BULGARIE, CAMBODGE,
CEYLAN, TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE, etc.**

**Convention pour la prévention et la répression du crime de
génocide. Adoptée par l'Assemblée générale des Nations**

- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article III

The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

1948 UN Genocide Convention

Elizabeth Brundige
Winter King
Priyeha Vahali
Stephanie Talbot
Xiang Yuan

Indonesian Human Rights Abuses in West Papua: Application of the Law of Genocide to the History of Indonesian Control

By the Allard K. Lowenstein International Human Rights Clinic
Yale Law School

April 2004

Indonesian human rights abuses in West Papua, past and present. However, the historical and contemporary evidence set out above strongly suggests that the Indonesian government has committed proscribed acts with the intent to destroy the West Papuans as such, in violation of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the customary international law prohibition this Convention embodies.

By the Allard K. Lowenstein International Human Rights Clinic

GENOCIDE in West Papua?

*The role of the Indonesian state apparatus
and a current needs assessment of the Papuan people*

by John Wing with Peter King



A report prepared for the West Papua Project at
the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies,
University of Sydney, and ELSHAM Jayapura, Papua. July, 2005

2005 Similar report from CPACS,
University of Sydney



Adele Anthony
Mark Brady
Tasnova Chowdhury
Brianna Edwards
Simone Gray
Michelle Gunawan

Beau Hanson
Jonathan Kwok
Felicia Lal
Michelle St.Ange
Josephine Vernon
Danielle Warren

Volume 1(2) 2013

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ISSN: 2203-3114

A SLOW-MOTION GENOCIDE: INDONESIAN RULE IN WEST PAPUA

DR JIM ELMSLIE AND DR CAMELLIA WEBB-GANNON*

This paper examines and extends the debate on genocide in West Papua.

Referring to the 1948 United Nations Genocide Convention, examples of

genocidal acts are listed: killings, causing serious bodily and 'mental'

harm, the deliberate infliction of conditions of life calculated to cause the

Indonesian Confrontation, 1963–66



Between 1962 and 1966 Indonesia and Malaysia fought a small, undeclared war which came to involve troops from Australia, New Zealand, and Britain. The conflict resulted from Indonesia's President Sukarno's belief that the creation of the Federation of Malaysia, which became official in September 1963, represented a British attempt to maintain colonial rule behind the cloak of independence granted to its former colonial possessions in south-east Asia.

From 1963-66 Indonesian military made numerous 'invasions' into Malaya

In summary

- The invasion by the Japanese Imperial Army led to the birth of Fascism in Indonesia
- 1.5 million Javanese paramilitary were trained and armed by the Japanese and indoctrinated into Fascism
- Sukarno embraced Fascism due to its “efficiency”
- 1,000 – 3,000 military commandoes deserted the Japanese Imperial Army to create and lead the Black Fan Terrorist organisation which subsequently became the Indonesian Armed Forces
- Indonesia breached the Linggadjatti, Renville, and Hague agreements preventing self-determination for 15 Territories (among others)
- Indonesia entered the UN as the ‘Republic of Indonesia’ not ‘The Republic of the United States of Indonesia’ in breach of the Hague Agreement for which the UN was responsible
- Indonesia commenced intrusions into NSGTs Netherlands West Papua and British Malaya and even thought to take The Philippines in earlier times
- Indonesia is allegedly committing genocide in West Papua

PART THREE

THE PUPPETMASTERS

382 Foreign Relations, 1958-1960, Volume XVII

No doubt Sukarno's personal stock in Washington is at even a lower ebb than usual due to erratic performance during his trip. Never-

theless, we must hold his friendship if we are to achieve our objectives here, even if sometimes his visit be repugnant to us.

If, as seems possible, Sukarno arrives on American soil in a frame of mind of independent study of the question raised therein:

1. Present American policy toward the West New Guinea dispute—that of recognizing the existence of the dispute while neither taking sides nor making positive efforts to effect a solution—has in all things a solution to the dispute.

4. To have a prospect of success, any solution must contain provision for eventual relinquishment of Dutch control over West New Guinea and the eventual attainment of at least partial control over the

America proposed a United Nations trusteeship over West Papua in 1959

The Political Counselor and the other officers of the Section have jointly come to the following conclusions as a result of these discussions and of independent study of the question raised therein:

and of independent study of the question raised therein:

1. Present American policy toward the West New Guinea

... (1) a settlement of the dispute, in the form of which full sovereignty would be turned over to Indonesia, and (2) a bilateral agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands providing for the payment by Indonesia of adequate compensation for seized Dutch assets and the removal of discriminatory restrictions against Dutch nationals. Steps to effect the settlement would be inaugurated by a General Assembly resolution calling on the two sides to negotiate the dispute, thereby giving the United States an opening to convince both sides to accept the proposal.

issue from Indonesian politics. A trusteeship which was terminated at a definite and early date by a self-determination plebiscite would be a somewhat more feasible alternative. It would provide a face-saving approach for the Dutch and satisfy their demand for self-determination by the Papuans. At the same time, if the Indonesians were given full access to the Papuans during the period of the trusteeship, it would offer them the hope of early acquisition of the territory. The arrangement of such a trusteeship would be likely to involve long and arduous negotiations. In the process of negotiation the direct political gains to the U. S. in its relations with Indonesia would be likely to be somewhat attenuated. On the other hand, some version of such an approach may offer the best facade behind which a turnover to the Indonesians could be effected.

Excerpt from the report 'Dutch-Indonesian Dispute over West New Guinea' to the US President, 7 April 1961 – a 'façade' to turn West Papua over to Indonesia

CONFIDENTIAL 369

File No. ~~70144~~

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

211
3036/11/161

Receipt of Conversation with Netherlands Ambassador, Dr. J.G. de Bous

on 24th January, 1962

Officers Present: Sir Arthur Tange

MAIN SUBJECTS:

NETHERLANDS NEW GUINEA

The Ambassador approached me as I was about to sit down at an official luncheon to ask whether we had taken steps to express to the Americans our disapproval of a trusteeship proposal attributed to them - a step which the Ambassador had asked Sir Garfield Barwick to take at Mr. Luns' request.

2. I said that we had not yet acted upon this request. It was still under consideration (and the Minister was now absent in Hobart and not in easy communication). The point is that we had to consider whether it was right for Australia to inject its views at the point where as far as we knew there were some talks going on in New York. We had to ask ourselves whether Australia would intervene with its views on each and every idea that might come forward for discussion - or was it the Dutch concept that we express ourselves merely upon this particular proposal? We had not decided against doing what we had been asked to do - we were still considering the matter. Circumstances prevented our continuation of the discussion.

30

DISTRIBUTION:

- Minister
- Secretary
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- Admin. Br.
- F.A.M.E. Br.
- D.L. Br.
- S & S.E.A. Br.
- E.R. Br.
- Finance Br.
- C. & F. Br.
- E. & T.A. Br.
- M.T. Br.
- Com. Rel.
- Sydney Office
- Inf. Br.
- Ex. Comms. Br.
- Melbourne Office
- Antarctic Division

FOLLOWING POSTS:

U.N. New York
The Hague
Washington

Report prepared by

(A.H. Tange)
Secretary

ACTION:
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CONFIDENTIAL

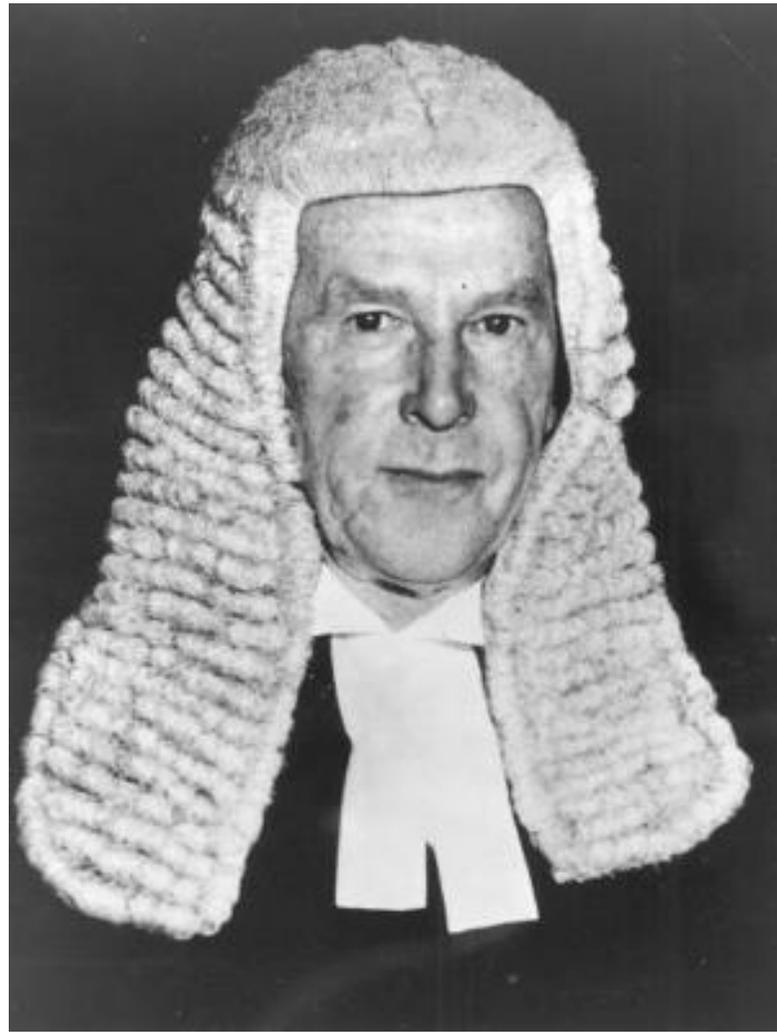
Australian Secret Dispatch External Affairs, Netherlands New Guinea, 24 January 1962

NETHERLANDS NEW GUINEA

The Ambassador approached me as I was about to sit down at an official luncheon to ask whether we had taken steps to express to the Americans our disapproval of a trusteeship proposal attributed to them - a step which the Ambassador had asked Sir Garfield Barwick to take at Mr. Luns' request.

Australian External Affairs, Netherlands New Guinea, 24 January 1962: Netherlands PM Luns' request to Australia's Attorney General Sir Garfield Barwick to intervene in American trusteeship proposal for Netherlands New Guinea

Just while we're here...



Sir Garfield Barwick: Chief Justice of Australia, Minister for External Affairs, Attorney General under PM Menzies, and later a judge with International Court of Justice

Approved For Release 2013/08/10 : CIA-RDP80-01975A006500010001-8

TOP SECRET

25X1



2 July 1962 25X1

Copy No. C 96

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE BULLETIN



25X1

State Dept. review completed

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading
and declassification

Approved For Release 2013/08/10 : CIA-RDP80-01975A006500010001-8

TOP SECRET

'Top Secret' CIA Bulletin, 9 July 1962

West New Guinea. Indonesia apparently is prepared to resume secret preliminary talks with the Dutch on West New Guinea under the auspices of Ambassador Bunker as soon as arrangements can be made. Foreign Minister Subandrio, who had just conferred with President Sukarno, informed the US ambassador of Indonesia's position on 30 June. He added that the Indonesian delegate, Adam Malik, would be ready to begin discussions by 9 July at the latest. Indonesia's decision apparently results from U Thant's letter of 28 June to President Sukarno in which Sukarno was once more assured that the Netherlands is willing to postpone a plebiscite in New Guinea until after the transfer of the area's administration to Indonesia. The Dutch still insist, however, on adequate safeguards for native self-determination.

CIA Bulletin 2 July 1962: United Nations Secretary-General U Thant in secret discussions with General Sukarno reassuring him that the Netherlands is willing to postpone a plebiscite until *after* Indonesia takes control in breach of Article 100 of the Charter

Irianese Begin 'Act of Free Choice' on Whether to Remain Part of Indonesia

By PHILIP SHABECOFF
Special to The New York Times



United Nations
Ambassador Fernando Ortiz-Sanz, U.N. representative, whose suggestion on voting was rejected by Indonesia.

'Going Through the Motions'

However, Jakarta's diplomatic community insists and members of the Indonesian Government frankly admit in private that the entire process is a meaningless formality.

"We are going through the motions of the act of free choice because of our obligation under the New York agreement of 1962," a member of the Indonesian Parliament declared. He was referring to the accord reached at the United Nations for the transfer of the former Dutch territory to Indonesian rule.

"But West Irian is Indonesian and must remain Indonesian," he added. "We cannot accept any alternative."

Open revolt against the Indonesian regime still continues in the form of the Free Papuan Movement. In late April and early May insurgents, consisting mainly of the local police, rose against the Jakarta administration in the Wissel Lakes region.

But the Free Papuan Movement is described as small, disorganized, splintered and poorly armed. Most of its members reportedly have no better weapons than bows and arrows. And Jakarta, which has 6,000 to 7,000 troops in West Irian, has had little trouble in suppressing the dissidents.

New York Times, 7 July 1969: Indonesia admits 'Act of Free Choice' is a done deal; and, people are in open revolt against Indonesian rule

Rem



Pol 19 West Irian

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 126

PAGE 01 DJAKAR 03614 01 OF 02 100040Z

84
ACTION EA 15

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AMCONSUL MEDAN
AMCONSUL SURABAYA
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*Djakarta 3614
6-9-69*

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DJAKARTA 3614

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJ: ASSESSMENT OF WEST IRIAN SITUATION

REF: A. DJAKARTA 3445 B. DJAKARTA A-220, MAY 28, 1969
C. STATE 88198 D. STATE 87881

①

1. SUMMARY: THE ACT OF FREE CHOICE (AFC) IN WEST IRIAN IS UNFOLDING LIKE A GREEK TRAGEDY, THE CONCLUSION PREORDAINED. THE MAIN PROTAGONIST, THE GOI, CANNOT AND WILL NOT PERMIT ANY RESOLUTION OTHER THAN THE CONTINUED INCLUSION OF WEST IRIAN IN INDONESIA. DISSIDENT ACTIVITY IS LIKELY TO INCREASE AS THE CLIMAX IS REACHED BUT THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES WILL BE ABLE TO CONTAIN AND, IF NECESSARY, SUPPRESS IT. THE GOI WILL BE SENSITIVE TO ITS "IMAGE" ABROAD, HOWEVER, AND WILL SEEK TO AVOID ACTIONS THAT WILL REFLECT NEGATIVELY ON THE CREDIBILITY OF THE AFC IN THE SENSITIVE EYES OF THE NETHERLANDS, AUSTRALIA AND WITH U THANT. THE TEST OF THE GOI'S CREDIBILITY VIS-A-VIS THE IRIANESE, AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL OPINION, WILL COME LESS FROM THE AFC THAN FROM POLICIES AND ACTIONS UNDERTAKEN AFTERWARD. UNLESS THE GOI

CONFIDENTIAL

1. SUMMARY: THE ACT OF FREE CHOICE (AFC) IN WEST IRIAN IS UNFOLDING LIKE A GREEK TRAGEDY, THE CONCLUSION PREORDAINED. THE MAIN PROTAGONIST, THE GOI, CANNOT AND WILL NOT PERMIT ANY RESOLUTION OTHER THAN THE CONTINUED INCLUSION OF WEST IRIAN IN INDONESIA. DISSIDENT ACTIVITY IS LIKELY TO INCREASE AS THE CLIMAX IS REACHED BUT THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES WILL BE ABLE TO CONTAIN AND, IF NECESSARY, SUPPRESS IT. THE GOI

2. IT LONG KNOWN THAT OUTCOME OF AFC IS PREDICTABLE. GOI HAS NO INTENTION OF ALLOWING WEST IRIAN CHOOSE OTHER THAN INCORPORATION INTO INDONESIA. SEPARATION IS UNTHINKABLE. TO MOST INDONESIANS, WI IS PART OF INDON "MANIFEST DESTINY," WHOSE LOSS WOULD GIVE IMPETUS TO FISSIPAROUS TENDENCIES IN OTHER PARTS ARCHIPELAGO, WHERE ANTI-JAVA FEELINGS RUN STRONG. SUHARTO GOVERNMENT WOULD FACE

- Act of Free Choice unfolding like a Greek Tragedy, the conclusion preordained
- Loss of West Papua would give impetus to fissiparous tendencies in other parts of Indonesia where anti-Java feelings run strong

US Promoted Close Ties to Indonesian Military as Suharto's Rule Came to an End in Spring 1998



Michel Camdessus, head of the IMF, looks on as Indonesian President Suharto signs an agreement in Jakarta (1998).ASSOCIATED PRESS

Washington, D.C., July 24, 2018 – The Clinton administration sought to preserve close ties to the Indonesian Armed Forces as President Suharto's rule came to an end in May 1998, even as the Army carried out significant human rights abuses, according to recently declassified documents posted today by the National Security Archive based at The George Washington University.

1998: Secret archives reveal the US preferred a military dictator to the emergence of democracy in Indonesia



Starving children, Laga, East Timor, circa 1978, a direct result of genocide perpetrated by Indonesia. An estimated 300,000 people died during Indonesian occupation



President Kennedy supplied weapons to Sukarno for use against the people of the Dutch East Indies



President Nixon supplied weapons for the genocide in East Timor and West Papua



President Reagan supplied weapons to Suharto



1998: President Clinton supplied weapons to Suharto in full knowledge of genocide in West Papua

TRUMP'S INDONESIAN ALLIES IN BED WITH ISIS- BACKED MILITIA SEEKING TO OUST ELECTED PRESIDENT



Allan Nairn: Trumps Indonesian business partners support ISIS

Indonesia accused of using Australian helicopters in West Papua 'genocide'

Oliver Milman

Thursday 24 October 2013 19.36 AEDT



Helicopters supplied by Australia were used by Indonesia in a “genocidal” crackdown on civilians in West Papua in the 1970s, a new report has claimed.

The report, conducted by the Hong Kong-based Asian Human Rights Commission, says two Iroquois helicopters from Australia were among the aircraft deployed by the Indonesian military in the central highlands of Papua in 1977 and 1978.

The report paints a disturbing picture of sexual violence against Papuan women, with accounts of rape and sexual abuse “common”. Some women had their breasts cut, while others were buried, burnt and boiled alive.

The commission said the military operations resulted in the death of more than 4,000 indigenous Papuans, often from aerial assaults by helicopters and OV-10 Bronco planes, supplied by the US.

Australian Iroquois helicopters supplied to Indonesia used for genocidal operations upon West papuans

Papuans claim Australian link to death squad

7.30 By Hayden Cooper and Lisa Main

The group, known as Detachment 88, receives training, supplies and extensive operational support from the Australian Federal Police.



But there is growing evidence the squad is involved in torture and extra-judicial killings as part of efforts by Indonesian authorities to crush the separatist movement in West Papua.

On June 14, popular independence leader Mako Tabuni was gunned down as he fled from police on a quiet street in the Papuan capital.

To Papuan activists like Mr Yeimo, Australia's support and training for Detachment 88 is galling. "You give money for Indonesia to kill people in West Papua - you are the perpetrators of violence in West Papua," he said.

**Australia's training of Detachment 88 is
complicity in genocide**

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Indonesian Military Receives 24 F-16 Fighter Jets From the US

The Indonesian Military (TNI) accepted delivery of 24 General Dynamics F-16 Fighting Falcon fighter jets on Wednesday as part of a grant from the United States. (Photo courtesy of TNI)

By : Telly Nathalia | on 7:57 PM February 28, 2018

Category : News, Featured, Security

Jakarta. The Indonesian Military, or TNI, accepted delivery of 24 General Dynamics F-16 Fighting Falcon fighter jets on Wednesday (28/02) as part of a grant from the United States.

The aircraft were handed over at Iswahyudi Air Force Base in Malang, East Java, witnessed by TNI chief Air Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto, Defense Minister Ryamizard Ryacudu and US Ambassador Joseph Donovan, the TNI said in a statement.

Indonesian military trains on Australian soil for first time since Timor crisis

by defence reporter Andrew Greene

Updated Fri 23 Sep 2016, 8:34pm



PHOTO: The AFP abandoned a war crimes investigation against the TNI two years ago. (Corporal Beau Smith)

Australia's training of the Indonesian military is an act of complicity in genocide

Britain sells weapons to Indonesia after 13 year hiatus

By Rowena Mason, Political Correspondent

10:50AM BST 11 Apr 2012



Prime Minister David Cameron inspects a guard of honour at the Presidential Palace in Jakarta Photo: Stefan Rousseau/PA

Speaking on the runway as he was greeted by a military parade, Mr Cameron said he was visiting Indonesia because it "will be a top 10 economy and these are huge opportunities for British business".

**Governments who supply weapons to Indonesia are
complicit in genocide**

Berlin Approves Huge Tank Deal with Indonesia

In recent years, Chancellor Angela Merkel's government has significantly expanded German arms exports abroad, often to countries with questionable human rights records. Now Berlin has approved a deal to export over 100 tanks to Indonesia.



Germany is complicit in Indonesia's ongoing genocide in West Papua



East Timor: turning a blind eye to inconvenient truth

SHARE



Try to picture this: almost every man, women and child forced from their homes, often at gunpoint, usually because of the sheer terror of staying.

Entire towns and villages turned into wastelands.

Everything of value stolen and loaded onto trucks by the military, police or their anointed thugs.



And UN indictments and documents named the man ultimately responsible: General Wiranto, then commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces.

George Brandis and Wiranto: Complicit in genocide in West Papua



2018: JULIE BISHOP “NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT ASSERTIONS OF GENOCIDE IN WEST PAPUA”, TODAY SHOW, CHANNEL 9

More evidence of British complicity in East Timor invasion emerges

□ Adam Henry | □ 11 August 2017, 1:30pm | □ 14

Archival documents show the British Government – like Australia and the U.S. – actively assisted Indonesia cover up crimes against humanity in East Timor. Dr Adam Henry reports.

For the British and Americans, this involved the sale of weapons which would be used directly in East Timor and West Papua. For the Australians, this would involve providing *de jure* recognition of the Indonesian occupation in return for beginning negotiations over maritime boundaries in 1979. By closing the Timor Gap, the Australians would eventually gain access to Timorese oil and gas. In no page of the many documents examined at the UK National Archives is there even the slightest concern or contrition over the fate of the East Timorese — only the problem of how to continue the relationship with the perpetrators.



Indonesian invasion of East Timor, 1976

Britain, the US, and Australia assisted Indonesia cover up genocide in East Timor

41. SUHARTO-YES. AFTER THE UDT, INDONESIA FOUND ITSELF FACING A FATE ACCOMPLI. IT IS NOW IMPORTANT TO DETERMINE WHAT WE CAN DO TO ESTABLISH PEACE AND ORDER FOR THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE IN THE INTEREST OF THE SECURITY OF THE AREA AND INDONESIA. THESE ARE SOME OF THE CONSIDERATIONS WE ARE NOW CONTEMPLATING. WE WANT YOUR UNDERSTANDING IF WE DEEM IT NECESSARY TO TAKE RAPID OR DRASTIC ACTION.

42. FORD-WE WILL UNDERSTAND AND WILL NOT PRESS YOU ON THE ISSUE. WE UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEM YOU HAVE AND THE INTENTIONS YOU HAVE.

6 December 1975: Secret NOD267 transcript of President Ford & Kissinger meeting with General Suharto immediately prior to the invasion of East Timor (Gerald Ford Library)

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

1948 Genocide Convention

racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to

1948 Genocide Convention



Indonesian president with UN Secretary-General, both complicit in genocide

UN:

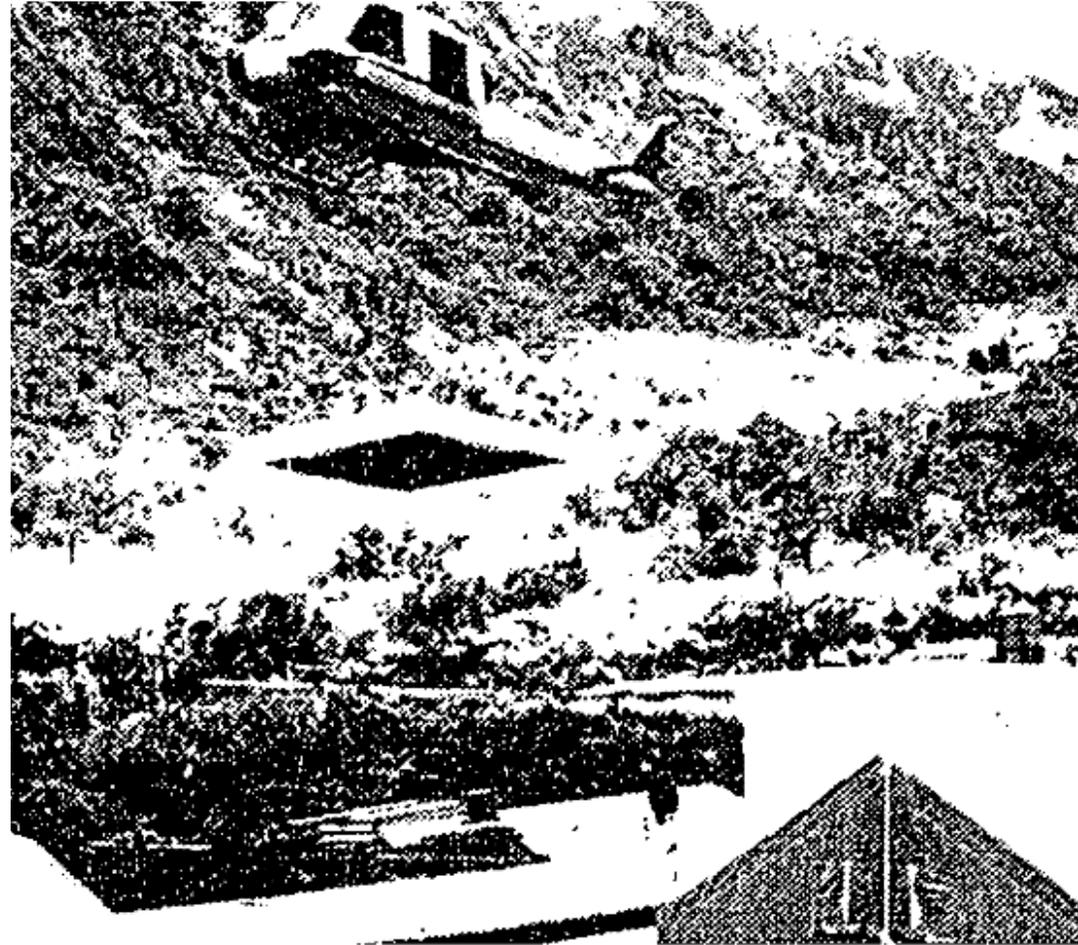
- Failed to uphold the Renville & Hague Agreements protecting the rights of the Territories within the Dutch East Indies
- Covertly facilitated the illegal transfer of West Papua to Indonesia via at least 19 breaches of international law
- Never put West Papua on the Trusteeship Council
- Never passed a resolution recognising the incorporation of West Papua into Indonesia

PART THREE

THE BENEFACTORS: THE CASE OF FREEPORT



1961: Rockefeller of Freeport with Kennedy. The Global Elites control US foreign policy



Accommodation blocks are delivered to a copper mine in West Irian
operated by Freeport Indonesia, a subsidiary of the Freeport

**Freeport Indonesia heli-lifts accommodation blocks into the Grasberg
mining concession in West Papua, New York Times, 1968, 12 months
before the 'Act of Free Choice'**



(Reuters/Pascal Lauener)

Henry Kissinger's genocidal legacy: Vietnam, Cambodia and the birth of American militarism

Nixon introduced us to permanent, extrajudicial war in Southeast Asia, and it continues today in the Middle East

Kissinger also complicit in genocide in West Papua

Kissinger's seamless transition between government and corporate interests:

- US Secretary of State
- Freeport Board of Directors (US\$500,000 / year)
- Accompanied President Ford on the evening prior to Indonesia's invasion of the Non-Self-Governing Territory of East Timor
- Advisor to the Indonesian government



The US owned Freeport Gold Mine, worth an estimated 2 trillion dollars, is at the heart of West Papua's illegal transfer to Indonesia



Freeport: The largest gold mine in the world has destroyed the sacred grounds of the Amungme people

In summary

- US change in 'foreign policy' following Freeport's visit to the Grasberg deposit in mid 1959
- Mining license granted by Suharto before act of self-determination
- Freeport enjoys both Indonesian and US military protection
- US & others military equipment 'grants' (M16s, F-16s)
- Corporate interests govern US foreign policy
- Kissinger emulates the seamless transition of personnel between US Government & Corporations
- Loss of indigenous lands & sacred sites
- Increasing oppression & poverty
- Ongoing genocide of West Papuans

PART FOUR

THE ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM OF INDIGENOUS ANARCHISM / BIOREGIONAL AUTONOMY

Some examples of 'indigenous anarchism':

- Melanesian communities – communal ownership of lands, local laws / customs, autonomy, no police
- Zapatista agrarian communities, no police
- Kurdish Social Ecology communities, no police
- West Papua's decentralised village, regional, and national councils
- East Timor's Governance Committee advancing decentralised autonomy prior to UN derailment
- Mondragon Basque collectives, no police



April 12, 2019

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AUTONOMY & AUTHORITY

AUTHOR

Tikva
Honig-
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By building a “democracy from below,” the Zapatistas recognize the leadership of, and carry on a long tradition of resistance by Indigenous communities in Chiapas.

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On January 1, 1994, several thousand Indigenous Mayan people, organized as the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), rose up in Chiapas, Mexico’s poorest state, and took the world by surprise. They were members of the 21 or so ethnic groups who occupied the areas in and around the Lacandon forest near the border with Guatemala. Their weapons were limited to rifles—and some

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draw around 100,000 supporters who filled the city square, where Subcomandante Marcos proclaimed, "We are here to demand democracy, liberty and justice. The militant demonstrations and their harsh repressions continued up through 1992.

In March of that year, the violent repression of a meeting of Indigenous organizations provoked a six-week-long march by 400 people from Chiapas to Mexico City. In July, a group of women from Ecatepec, on the Western border of Chiapas, staged a sit-in protest in central Mexico City. On October 12, about 10,000 Indigenous people marched through San Cristobal. Other protests in Chiapas were broken up by armed gangs. Communal rights were ignored and the movement's leaders snatched and imprisoned.

The proposal to start the uprising on January 1994 "was passed to all the communities," says Marcos. "Everyone was asked what they thought. Then there was a direct vote. It was the same when the government proposed the ceasefire and started the peace talks. You have to go to every one of these communities because those who decided the war have to decide if it will stop. All military orders," he added, "emerge from this."

The Zapatista uprising in Chiapas took place amidst a militant resistance throughout the rest of Mexico. The Saturday following the uprising saw a crowd of 50,000 demonstrators in Mexico City's main square. On the anniversary of the assassination of revolutionary hero Emiliano Zapata even larger crowds marched through the city, attracting peasant and Indigenous organizations from all over the country.

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What the Syrian Kurds Have Wrought

The radical, unlikely, democratic experiment in northern Syria



Kurds establishing decentralised autonomous agrarian communes initiated by the teachings of Canadian Social Ecologist Murray Bookchin

REPORT

ON

NETHERLANDS NEW GUINEA

ON

NETHERLANDS NEW GUINEA

The last Netherlands Report pursuant to Article 73 e in 1961

Moreover, the policy of having the Papuans participate at all other levels of political and social life is being vigorously pursued, as is the further implementation of local decentralization. Accordingly, with a view to the further democratization of the administration, also at local level, the above-mentioned revision of the Decree for the Regulation of the Administration of Netherlands New Guinea also provided for the institution of further territorial communities, at village, town and regional levels.

When the Netherlands promoted independence the West Papuan people developed a unique system of decentralised governance emanating from village councils to regional councils, and a national council

East Timor 2000 UNTAET

- Committee established to liaise with tribal groups and discuss systems of inclusive representation
- Decentralised system recognising local customs, laws, language groups established
- No centralised 'Party System'
- UN Minister for Governance and Elections Peter Galbraith disbanded the Committee & imposed a European centralised system

2621 (XXV). Programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

The General Assembly,

1. *Declares* the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principles of international law;

2. *Reaffirms* the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial Powers which suppress their aspiration for freedom and independence;

1970: UN General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) reaffirms the rights of colonial peoples to attain complete freedom and independence
by all necessary means at their disposal

Fascism??

"Fascism should more appropriately be called corporatism because it is the merger of state and corporate power." - Benito Mussolini

**Academics argue endlessly over the definition of Fascism.
The case of the US government's actions over Indonesia, West Papua,
and East Timor highlight the mergance of state and corporate power:
Fascism**

CLOSING REMARKS

- 1. These breaches of international law have resulted in the death of 500,000 people in West Papua and 300,000 in East Timor.**
- 2. Its time to dissolve the “glue” (military) that oppresses the people of the Indonesian archipelago and allow all Territories the right to self-determination in line with international law.**
- 3. Like Fascist Germany, Italy, and Japan, Indonesian war criminals and those Western leaders complicit need to be held to account.**
- 4. The UN must be held to account for its covert role and we must end UN employees impunity from prosecution.**
- 5. Given the plight of our environment with exponential extinction rates, mass inequality, and increasing human rights violations as a consequence of neoliberal globalisation, the emergent paradigm of ‘indigenous anarchism’ offers a far more compassionate, inclusive, and sustainable alternative.**

