Globalisation, governance and State-sponsored terror: The case of Indonesia
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 line of advance in Dutch East Indies, Portuguese Timor, and Netherlands New Guinea
1941: The Japanese arrival in Dutch East Indies was welcomed by Sukarno (Tropenmuseum)
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 Poetera, 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
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 with the ideology of Fascism in preparation for the Allied invasion.
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-
“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. Umeboshi, at least, can cure 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. They 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.

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.
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 Linggadjatti 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 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 of 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.
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

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1961: ‘Netherlands New Guinea’ was listed as a Non-Self-Governing Territory (UN Doc ST/TRI/SER.A/19)
This paper examines the shift in legal status that should have occurred, under the United Nations (‘UN’) Charter, with the transfer of West Papua or Trust Territory from the Netherlands to the United Nations in 1962 via the ‘Indonesia and
The UN Secretariat committed at least 19 covert breaches of international law.
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 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
The Free Papua Movement (GPK) is not the all-pervasive revolutionary organization some believe it to be. Other than a small leadership cadre operating in the Irianjaya area having cross-border contacts, anti-government elements 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-government sentiments are quite real, however, and there is little question that a substantial portion of the non-Stone Age Irianese favor a termination of Indonesian rule. Opposition to the GPK stems from economic deprivation over the years, military repression, and capitalization, and radicalization. Located efforts of the GPK to rectify these problems to date are generally too little and too late," and it is uncertain whether the Irianese will actually try to mete out 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 GPK 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.

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,

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.

Ondawame 2010:106-7
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
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.
Papuan children taken to Jakarta to be converted to Islam

The removal of children and instruction 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
The people have grown used to this cycle of military operations. That is why whenever it happens infrastructure decimated, the whole population abandons their villages to the safety of the cold mountains and the jungle. While in hiding, exposed to the elements, many of their members, especially the young and the old, will die from exposure and malnutrition. Their homes, churches, schools, clinics, including crops and animals will have been destroyed. The stories and intent are the same, a policy to annihilate the people considered the enemy of those in authority. Describing the horrifying methods used in these countries to eliminate people is benign to the level of subjugation and will take time to achieve maximum effect but will produce the same result, the obliteration of the Papuan people. The current military operations in Nduga District in the Highlands of West Papua (West New Guinea) is yet another operation of total obliteration of not only the people but also the resources that sustain their existence as a social unit. In the long run these methods will alter or destroy the social infrastructures that maintain the existence of the people.

Military operations are a major factor, but there are other contributing factors, such as colonial settlers called “newcomers” by the OPM (West Papua Independence Movement). They are allowed to enter the area to deliver humanitarian assistance. It is well-known that the TNI—led by Pol Pot’s successor, President SBY of Indonesia—is involved in business in West Papua. This is why the Indonesian government and authorities fight this war of resistance in Nduga District, a stronghold of the TPN (West Papuan Liberation Army). The program is called Operasi Tumpas—Annihilation. Spearheaded by the military, it is the legacy in West Papua for years and is the reason why the international media is banned from the territory. Direct requests for fact finding have been 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 army will produce one as a pretext to launch a major operation. dressing as civilians is part of their concealed strategy to secure success. Operations are run through Nduga District—a stronghold of the TPN (West Papuan Liberation Army). Since there have been many during the past 57 years.
Indonesian military take ‘trophy’ shots of murdered West Papuans
Mass graves are common ...
Nduga killings, Papua highlands circa February 2018
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
"Papuans 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.
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
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
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.

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.

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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.

fff
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

“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 Papuans forever.”

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.
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.

Probowo has been appointed Minister for Defence by President Widodo
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.
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.
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
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 Kencaca 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
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 Papue 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
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 destruction of a group, and the forcible removal of children to another group. Whereas previous examinations of the issue have failed to prove intent on the part of the Indonesian Government – a necessary prerequisite under the Convention – this article finds that such intent exists. The authors show that West Papua has suffered a military occupation since 1962-63 under which the West Papuan people have been treated as the enemy by the Indonesian armed forces. Explicit and implicit government policy has been consistently directed towards countering and eliminating Papuan attempts to create an independent state for their nation or enjoy political freedom on a par with other Indonesians. In this tightly controlled situation genocidal acts have been undertaken as government policy, effectively thwarting the Papuan nationalists in the era when information emerging from the province(s) could be tightly controlled. In this internet age, however, this is no longer possible, as evidence of both genocidal acts and government 'intent' is emerging. This augurs poorly for Indonesia and the region as the little known, but deeply entrenched, conflict in West Papua seeps into global consciousness as a 'slow-motion' Pacific genocide.

*Jim Elmslie is a Visiting Scholar at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at Sydney University and founding co-convener of CPAC's West Papua Project. His doctorate from Sydney University, Irian Jaya Under the Gun: Indonesian economic development versus West Papuan nationalism, was published by the University of Hawaii Press. Camellia Webb-Gannon is a Visiting Scholar at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney. She is the coordinator of the Centre's West Papua Project, and completed a PhD titled Birds of a Feather: Conflict and Unity within West Papua's Independence Movement in 2011.
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
No doubt Sukarno’s personal stock in Washington is at even a lower ebb than usual due to erratic performance during his trip. Nevertheless, it is the government of Indonesia which 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 and 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
ing 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:

1. Present American policy toward the West New Guinea area sets forth the disruption of the Dutch holdover.

Until a number of years, at the end of which time 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 proposed...

USA Department of State, Central Files, 656.56D13/5-2659. Secret.
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 façade behind which a turnover to the Indonesians could be effected.
The ambassador approached me as I was about to sit down at an official luncheon to ask whether we had taken steps to express our considerations on the disposal of the former German colonies in New Guinea. In answering him, I had to tell him that the ambassador had made his official request to take up the Unit's request.

I said that we had not yet acted upon this request. It was then under consideration, and the Minister was still absent from Australia and not in New Guinea. He had been in New Guinea, and we had to ask ourselves whether Australian officials were aware of the views we had put forward. I said to the ambassador that we were aware that we were expressing 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.
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
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

‘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
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SUBJ ASSESSMENT OF WEST IRIAN SITUATION

REF: A DJAKARTA 3614 B DJAKARTA A-282 MAY 26, 1969
C STATE 86198 D STATE 87881

1. SUMMARY. THE ACT OF FREE CHOICE (ACF) 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 OCMAP 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 ACF IN THE SENSITIVE EYEBALLS OF THE
NETHETLANDS, AUSTRALIA AND WITH U THANT. THE TEST OF THE
GOI'S CREDIBILITY VIS-À-VIS THE IRIANESE AS WELL AS INTER-
ATIONAL OPINION WILL COME LESS FROM THE ACF THAN FROM
POLICIES AND ACTIONS UNDERTAKEN AFTERWARD, UNLESS THE GOI

CONFIDENTIAL
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

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
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**
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**
Germany is complicit in Indonesia’s ongoing genocide in West Papua.
East Timor: turning a blind eye to inconvenient truth

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

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.

**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 DRAMATIC 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.
(a) **Killing members of the group;**
(b) **Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members**;
(c) **Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life designed 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 national 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
Freeport Indonesia heli-lifts accommodation blocks into the Grassberg mining concession in West Papua, New York Times, 1968, 12 months before the ‘Act of Free Choice’
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
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.

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
gras s roots  pe rs pe ctive s  from the  frontline s  of the  g lobal s trug g le  for re al de mocracy.

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.
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
The last Netherlands Report pursuant to Article 73 e in 1961
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
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 should more appropriately be called corporatism because it is the merger of state and corporate power." - Benito Mussolini
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. It's 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.