



M E L A N E S I A

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Presidential Office

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H.E. U Thant
Secretary General of the United Nations
United Nations Secretariat - 38th Floor
New York, New York 10017

Your Excellency:

A most grave violation of the sacred trust vested in the United Nations has taken place in West Irian (Western New Guinea) under the administering authority of Indonesia. Even this shocking story - see opposite page - written by an English correspondent observing the situation at first hand is an understatement of the cruel injustice being visited upon the Papuan people.

Since the Trusteeship Council is about to meet, it is a matter of greatest urgency to have the Members acquainted with Indonesia's breach of conduct toward the people of West Irian whose affairs, according to the Charter, are meant to be administered in such a way as to achieve "the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants." Whether the annual report required by the Charter from the administering authority reflects such advancement, I do not know. I only know that to save my people from death or a life of torment quick action must be taken.

Throughout July, a so-called free choice plebiscite will be held to determine whether Papuans are to be free or forever under Indonesia's yoke. Fully anticipating victory in the tightly controlled election, Indonesia's President-General Suharto intends to proclaim, on August 17th, that West Irian is a permanent part of Indonesia!

This undemocratic election must be called off, the Indonesian Government deemed unworthy of further administration of West Irian, and the status of the country changed to that of a United Nations Trust Territory administered by the United Nations itself, until the people shall have had time to prepare themselves more fully for the responsibilities of self-government.

As the duly chosen head of the Papuan people, I earnestly urge you to consult with the President of the Trusteeship Council to have the West Irian item inscribed on the Agenda of the coming session with the opportunity for petitioners to be heard on behalf of the Papuans. Meanwhile, in order to end the massacre of my people, I beg of you to replace the Indonesian armed forces with a small peace-keeping guard of the United Nations Emergency Force.

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M E L A N E S I A

-2-

While this is one of many letters I have addressed to you, I feel confident that this one will reach you and be acted upon in the spirit of the United Nations Sacred Trust. Believe me, Your Excellency, with highest esteem,

Faithfully yours,

M.W. Kaisiepo.
President of the West Papuans
West New Guinea.

Temporary address:

304 East 42nd Street
Suite 233
New York, New York 10017.

June the 2nd, 1969.

W. IRIAN VOTE U.N. PROBLEM

From FRANK PALMOS

→ **JAKARTA, Today: The United Nations would need 100 observers for orthodox scrutiny of the Act of Free Choice in West Irian, the U.N. representative, Mr. Ortiz Sanz, said today.**

The U.N. has a staff of 10 in West Irian, none of whom speaks Dutch and only one Indonesian.

"The Netherlands and Indonesia asked the U.N. to keep costs at an absolute minimum," Mr. Sanz said. "It takes a week for my telegrams to get to their destinations and, if I'm lucky, I can get a plane a week to the hinterland."

"I must stress that Indonesian co-operation is needed if the Act of Free Choice preparations are to satisfy both sides.

With only five weeks to go and few signs of the formation of assemblies the Act of Free Choice along even limited lines, seems nearly impossible.

→ The U.N. staff has waited six weeks without any indication from the Indonesian Government that they may start assisting in the preparation of assemblies.

The grouping of Moluccans with Irianese strengthens fears that

stagnancy in the assemblies proposals and tension arise from ethnic differences and may not be soluble within weeks. The final day of the Act of Free Choice, says the Indonesian Government, is August 15, two days before the Victory of Independence celebrations.

Mr. Sanz said that, as far as he knew, the territory was now calm. He knew there was political motivation behind the Enarotali uprising and was trying to assess the extent of it.

He had asked the military commander, General Sarwo Edhie, to allow correspondents into West Irian to see for themselves.

Mr. Sanz denied Indonesian Press versions of his statements upon arrival in Jakarta from West Irian yesterday.

He was quoted as having said there was no cause for alarm in West Irian in future and that there was no need for postponing the Act of Free Choice.

Mr. Sanz said, "I said nothing of the sort."

The Indonesian Government was told that Mr. Sanz could not endorse the Musjawarah method planned for the Act of Free Choice.

Mr. Sanz said he told the Government he would like to see a one vote one man system wherever possible, but the Indonesians said they would use Musjawarah.

He said: "I had no authority to endorse their system."

(The Musjawarah system involves a vote for a group).

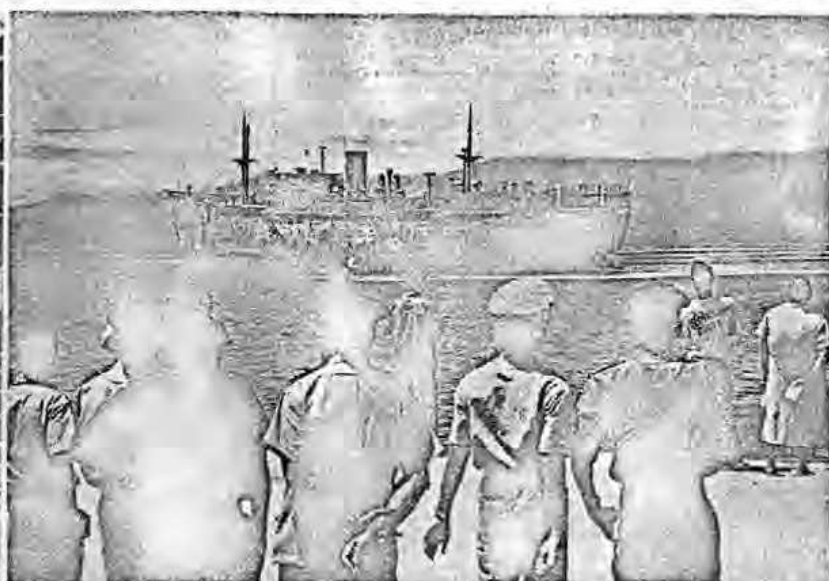
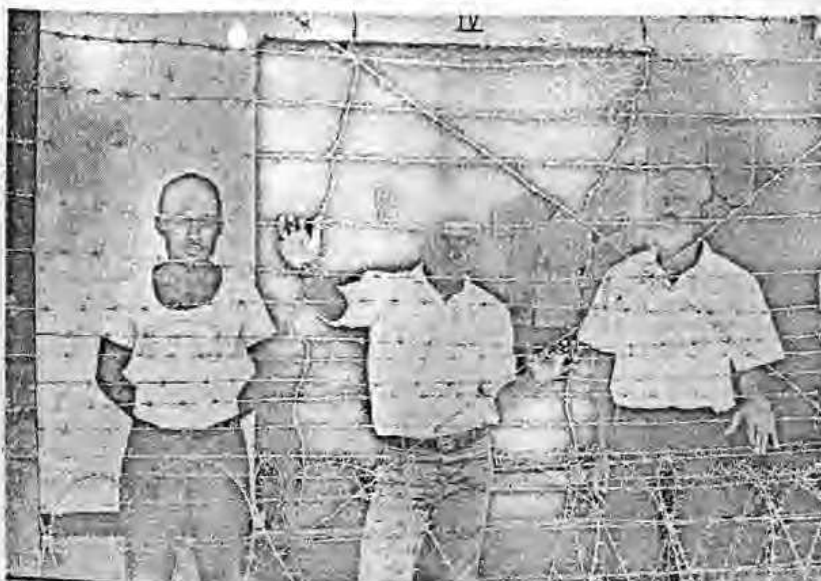
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DEWAN TERTINGGI PERWAKILAN
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THE OBSERVER

1 JUNE 1969



Left: Although Indonesian officials deny their existence, these political prisoners were photographed at a detention centre near the West Irian capital, Djajapura. One prisoner there, Amos Pattipeme, says he has been in prison for three years. Right: a prison ship—carrying prisoners bound for 'vocational training'—leaves a West Irian port for Sulawesi and Java, 2,200 miles away.

WEST IRIAN: Thousands of tribesmen killed

Tribes wiped out in secret war

by MICHAEL DONALD

THOUSANDS of primitive tribesmen preparing for an act of self-determination under United Nations observance have been slaughtered in West Irian, the western half of the Pacific island of New Guinea, in an unreported war with the Indonesian Army.

For three years Indonesia's bitter confrontation with the people of West Irian has been a closely guarded secret. Early this month unconfirmed Press reports forced the Jakarta Government to admit that rebels had captured five airstrips near the town of Enarotali and that several hundred parachute troops were being sent in to

Fear of chain reaction

The Indonesian Government has rejected the possibility of a one-man, one-vote plebiscite because, it says, West Irian's terrain and infrastructure are 'too primitive'—yet assembly elections were held in the identical Australian half of New Guinea in 1964 and 1968. Instead, the Government has announced that the future of West Irian will be decided by eight consultative councils, five-sixths of whose members will probably be elected by Government-appointed officials.

Half of the 1,100 'representatives' who will sit in the eight consultative councils (and have no individual vote, but decide *en bloc* for a single vote for the council) will be selected tribal leaders. One third of the remainder will be selected from district administrators and the remaining sixth will come from political groups (to which few Irianese belong), religious groups, including Muslims, religious groups, including Muslims—and youth organisations.

Indonesian officials have come to realise that the Irianese may actu-

250 killed in 'quiet year'

It is officially admitted that 250 Irianese rebels were killed in the 'quiet year' of 1968—with a loss of 'about 50' Indonesian soldiers. Actual figures may be very much higher; the rebels claim they have killed several hundred Indonesians since 1966.

Irianese who have spoken publicly of independence from six years of economically disastrous Indonesian rule have been imprisoned, deported 2,000 miles to Java and even executed. They include members of the West Irian regional parliament and the Indonesian-appointed governor of the island-territory. Other political prisoners claim to have been tortured.

In the North-west corner of the island, 4,000 troops are hoarding tens of thousands of dissident refugees, who are seeking a lonely sanctuary in the thickly-forested interior. Along the border with Papua-New Guinea, Indonesian troops are driving natives into the Australian territory and destroying numerous rebel training camps. Bombing raids have been flown

from the hills' last January. He has also asked that the Irianese be given the freedoms of movement, speech and assembly, only to be told that they have the same rights as any Indonesian.

The Irianese, who look back with nostalgia to the eight months of United Nations temporary executive authority between the departure of the Dutch colonialists and the arrival of the Indonesian 'liberators' in 1963, believe the presence of the UN guarantees them justice in the 'act of free choice.' But UN experts are not so optimistic. One told me the 1962 agreement is so vaguely worded 'that you could drive a dozen tumbrels through it.'

But if the Irianese are filled with false hope, Mr Ortiz-Sanz appears to be surrounded with false information. He is physically surrounded by Indonesian officials, translators and intelligence officers and probably believes the military commander of West Irian, Brigadier-General Sarwo Edhie (whose plane was hit by ground-fire over Enarotali earlier this month) when he says there are no political prisoners in West Irian.

'Since I arrived here last year they have all been

from the hills' last January. But, Sarwo admits, many of the hundreds of prisoners who have been shipped to Java 'for interrogation and vocational training' during the last four years have not returned to West Irian. No one seems to know what has happened to them.

In one of many surreptitious notes slipped into my hand, my baggage and my hotel rooms during my five-week tour by Irianese who were too frightened to be seen talking to me, I was asked to open my eyes to 'this mad reign of terror.'

In the old capital, Abepura, I saw a young man who had been beaten for 30 minutes by four armed policemen because, when they had demanded to know if he wanted independence, he had dared reply 'Yes.'

In the 30,000-square-mile swamps of the southern Asmat area I saw children who would be starving if they had not been saved by local missionaries. A few months ago all sago-pounders were confiscated and burnt by the Army (because 'they could be used as weapons') and now no one in the area is able to prepare sago, which constitutes 85 per cent of the local diet. To prevent an instant famine,

sians posted there is low; military muscle is often the only way these men know how to keep control. Whether Jakarta likes it or not, there may come a point (if it has not come already) when only military might will keep West Irian inside the Indonesian Republic.

'We will eat stones to keep West Irian,' an influential soldier told me in Jakarta. 'It doesn't matter that the act of free choice is not democratic by Western standards. We must make sure of the result.'

He and his fellow-countrymen may have to fight pretty hard for these sentiments in two months' time, when the Irianese discover that the 'act of free choice' (as the UN still fondly calls it) has wedded them 'legally and forever' to Indonesia. It could be the signal for a really bloody holocaust.

More than a dozen freedom movements are presently operating throughout West Irian. The largest, the OPM or Papuan Freedom Movement, with a cabinet and 'president' in Holland, training camps along the Papuan-New Guinea border and an 'administrative' cabinet just over the Australian border, is the best

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For three years Indonesia's bitter confrontation with the people of West Irian has been a closely guarded secret. Early this month unconfirmed Press reports forced the Jakarta Government to admit that rebels had captured five airstrips near the town of Enarotali and that several hundred parachute troops were being sent in to recapture the area.

But the trouble at Enarotali is only the latest in a long string of secret military operations in West Irian which have been unreported until now because, until shortly before I went there, no foreign correspondents were allowed into the territory. Soon after I left West Irian the ban on correspondents was reimposed.

In an agreement with the Dutch, made in 1962 when Holland surrendered the territory, Indonesia promised the people of West Irian freedom of speech, movement and assembly. The agreement which was 'noted' by the United Nations, also promised the Irianese the right to self-determination 'before the end of 1969'.

The 'act of free choice' is due to take place in July, when the Irianese must decide whether or not they wish to remain part of Indonesia.

yet assembly elections were held in the identical Australian half of New Guinea in 1964 and 1968. Instead, the Government has announced that the future of West Irian will be decided by eight consultative councils, five-sixths of whose members will probably be elected by Government-appointed officials.

Half of the 1,100 'representatives' who will sit in the eight consultative councils (and have no individual vote, but decide *en bloc* for a single vote for the council) will be selected tribal leaders. One third of the remainder will be selected from district administrators and the remaining sixth will come from political groups (10 which few Irianese belong), religious groups, including Muslims, religious groups, including Muslims—and youth organisations.

Indonesian officials have come to realise that the Irianese may actually want independence—they certainly seem to, according to the findings of my 3,000-mile tour of the island. The officials are alarmed that a vote for independence could topple the progressive military regime of President-General Suharto by provoking violent disorders—or a chain reaction of secessionist movements—throughout Indonesia at the loss of almost a quarter of the republic.

It is this threat to the unity of 117 million people which has prompted Indonesia military commanders in West Irian to take steps to ensure the 'right' result from the 'act of free choice': it is, perhaps, a similar fear of chaos and civil war which has prompted member-States of the United Nations to close their eyes to some of the extraordinary moves which have been taken against a million 'Stone-Age' people.

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Irianese who have spoken publicly of independence from six years of economically disastrous Indonesian rule have been imprisoned, deported 2,000 miles to Java and even executed. They include members of the West Irian regional parliament and the Indonesian-appointed governor of the island-territory. Other political prisoners claim to have been tortured.

In the North-west corner of the island, 4,000 troops are hounding tens of thousands of disident refugees, who are seeking a lonely sanctuary in the thickly-forested interior. Along the border with Papua-New Guinea, Indonesian troops are driving natives into the Australian territory and destroying numerous rebel training camps. Bombing raids have been flown against some strongholds.

One of Indonesia's leading Army generals has told disgruntled Irianese to stop complaining—and get out of the country. He has even offered to pay their passage. The President himself is on record as saying that Irianese who vote for independence will be guilty of 'treason'.

There is clearly little that U Thant's special representative in West Irian, Mr Fernando Ortiz-Sanz, can do. However many thousands of petitions he may receive (and there have been thousands), the UN is not allowed, by the 1962 agreement, to do more than 'advise' in the act of free choice.

He tried to recommend that one man one-vote should be allowed in the developed coastal area, with representative councils restricted only to the less accessible regions of the interior. The sugges-

notes slipped into my hand, my baggage and my hotel rooms during my five-week tour by Irianese who were too frightened to be seen talking to me. I was asked to open my eyes to 'this mad reign of terror'.

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In the 20,000-square-mile swamps of the southern Asmat area I saw children who would be starving if they had not been saved by local missionaries. A few months ago all sago-pounders were confiscated and burnt by the Army (because 'they could be used as weapons') and now no one in the area is able to prepare sago, which constitutes 85 per cent of the local diet. To prevent an instant famine, missionaries are flying sago into the stricken areas.

In response to Mr Ortiz-Sanz's criticism that in most villages he found 'a complete lack of information' concerning the forthcoming 'act of free choice', the Indonesian Army and police now hold regular teach-ins. Once or twice a week they march into a village, assemble everyone in the open and make them sing—very loudly—Indonesia Raya (the national anthem). The tribesmen then salute the Indonesian flag and are asked to say, sometimes in English, 'Indonesia is our country'.

Even foreigners resident in West Irian are not free from fear and abusive treatment. American and Dutch missionaries have been stripped naked and searched in humiliating circumstances—and are terrified of being seen talking to reporters.

Jakarta officials are beginning to open their eyes to the outrageous discipline of the military and police in West Irian. 'We know what's going on,' Foreign Minister Adam Malik told me with genuine concern. 'They have been out there too long. They have gone mad stuck out there. We must replace them with fresh men.'

But both Malik and the Army know that this is easier said than done. Service in West Irian is arguably comparable to expulsion to Siberia and the calibre of Indone-

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More than a dozen freedom movements are presently operating throughout West Irian. The largest, the OPM or Papuan Freedom Movement, with a cabinet and 'president' in Holland, training camps along the Papua-New Guinea border and an 'administrative' cabinet just over the Australian border, is the best organised—but has no plan for an independent future.

Members of the administrative cabinet, who take their instructions from exiles in Holland, talked to me in fanciful terms of a Federation of Melanesia (including Papua and New Guinea and a liberated British Solomon Islands), but admitted they would need stupendous foreign aid and a large number of foreign experts to run their country 'for 10 or 20 years until we can look after ourselves'.

The Netherlands, which is handling the affair with kid gloves (even to the extent of barring all Dutch ships from calling on the island this year), has washed its hands of the whole business. The UN, on the other hand, feels that the Dutch Government is responsible whether it likes it or not.

Yet the final responsibility rests with the member States of the UN for not wishing to bring up the matter at the General Assembly. Western countries understandably do not want to rock Indonesia's solidly anti-Communist regime. Many nations (including some from the Communist bloc) are participating in Indonesia's economic recovery and few are presumably prepared to risk losing their burgeoning investments (£200 million since 1967) for the sake of a million blacks.

HIGH COURT OF THE CHAMBERS
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DIWAN TERKINI PERWAKILAN
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