


WEST PAPUA, DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD


Our tree-plantings are about healing and renewal in the Congo and our responsibility for justice in West Papua

WEST PAPUA WOMENS OFFICE

putting
history
back into



curriculum
the social



Mr Hammar skjöld fought to protect the right of all nations to their Self-Determination including those blocked by the capitalist powers

JACOB RUMBIK, WEST PAPUA TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT


HAMMARSKJÖLD-WEST PAPUA LIVING MEMORIAL PROJECT

SUNDAY 26 MARCH 2023
838 Collins Street, Docklands


If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor

CLOVIS MWAMBA, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO


Presenting the documentation of 55 tree-planting ceremonies to Bishop Philip Huggins, for delivery to United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres on 18 September—the date in 1961 that the visionary UN Sec-General Hammar skjöld was killed.



MY LITTLE OKAPI SLEEPWALKS 2013



WEST PAPUA WOMENS OFFICE
211/838 COLLINS ST, DOCKLANDS 3008 (AUS)
0424 745 155; FRWPWOMENSOFFICE@GMAIL.COM
WWW.DFAIT.FEDERALREPUBLICOFWESTPAPUA.ORG



AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Our tree-plantings are about healing and renewal in the Congo, and our responsibility for justice in West Papua.

They are an inclusive spiritual and humanitarian endeavour to put history back into the social curriculum.

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Sleepwalks 2013

HAMMARSKJÖLD-WEST PAPUA LIVING MEMORIAL PROJECT

SOWING SEEDS FOR WEST PAPUA'S RETURN TO THE UNITED NATIONS



Hammar skjöld-West Papua Living Memorials recall the United Nations Secretary-General's Decolonisation (OPEX) Program for Nederlands Nieuw Guinea (West Papua) in 1961.

This photo-essay explains the OPEX program, and the effect of Hammar skjöld's death on the self-determination of the Non-Self-Governing Territory.

It also shows the West Papuans returning to the UN to take their place on the Decolonisation List, and why the Member-States should welcome the opportunity to rectify the terrible mistakes they made in the 1960s.



West Papua Womens Office in Docklands
211/838 Collins St, Docklands 3008 Victoria (AUS)
0424 745 155; FrwpWomensOffice@gmail.com
dfait.federalrepublicofwestpapua.org



Bishop Philip Huggins, President, National Council of Churches of Australia, planted the first Hammarskjöld-West Papua Living Memorial on 24 July 2020.

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Peter Vince from Facilities Management Victoria planting a Giant White Bird of Paradise (*Strelitzia Nicolai*) at 838 Collins St in Docklands with the gold shovel he made for the HAMMARSKJÖLD-WESTPAPUA LIVING MEMORIAL PROJECT.

Bibliography (with electronic links) for

- (i) Background photo-essays on Living Memorial Project and the two-minute videos of the 60 tree-planting ceremonies.
- (ii) Jacob Rumbiak's *West Papua 1942-2022: the legals, politics, and only way forward*.

INTRODUCTION

Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations from 1953 to 1961 mediated a wave of decolonization that changed the lives of some 750 million people (about a third of the world's population) in territories that were dependent on colonial powers. West Papua was one of these territories, having been a Non-Self-Governing Territory since 1950. So why, in 2023, is West Papua still a colony?

This photo-essay answers that question, but not completely, because the full story is a grim tome bursting with states and individuals, who with the death of Hammarskjöld in the Congo in 1961, found themselves untethered from the pillars of law and decency that he championed and insisted the UN uphold. There are reputable scholars now who argue that Hammarskjöld planned to raise his OPEX (decolonisation) Program for Nederlands Nieuw Guinea in the 1961 General Assembly, and that he was killed to prevent self-determination in the mineral-rich territory.

The essay also shows the West Papuans, sixty years later, returning to the UN to face member-states who used the legal and moral void created by Hammarskjöld's death to effect transfer of West Papua from Netherlands to Indonesia administration; from a well-funded well-organised self-determination program to the vagaries of a fragile state on the verge of political immolation and economic bankruptcy.

Between 2020 and 2023, the West Papua Womens Office in Docklands organised the planting of sixty living memorials (trees) that recall and honour the Secretary-General's effort to deliver self-determination for West Papuans and justice in the Democratic Republic of Congo. All the participants from around the world are listed on p25-26, and their two-minute videos of their tree-planting ceremonies can be viewed on the website (link in Bibliography).



“It is not our job to lower the ceiling ... the aim is to raise the floor”

From Hammarskjöld's address to the International Law Association at McGill University in Montreal on 30 May 1956, during which he outlined the principals of what became the United Nations OPEX program of operational, executive and administrative personnel for new and emerging states.

WHO WAS DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD? WHAT WAS OPEX? WHAT WAS OPEX IN WEST PAPUA?

Dag Hammarskjöld was the UN Secretary-General between 1953 and 18th September 1961 when he was killed at Nduga, on the border of Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, where he was scheduled to mediate a post-independence conflict.

Throughout his terms in office, Hammarskjöld ensured that UN Secretariat decisions were based on ‘respect for the laws by which human civilization has been built’ and ‘strict observance of the rules and principles in the UN Charter’.

In 1956 he created a bold form of UN assistance for new and emerging states in need of trained administrators and civil servants, wherein international experts *worked for—and were accountable to—the* new state's administration (rather than a donor-country's bilateral aid program). In 1958 the General Assembly approved OPEX as a pilot project, by July 1959 there were 90 requests from 28 countries, and in 1960 the General Assembly approved and financed OPEX on a continuing basis.

The Secretary-General was scheduled to introduce to the 1961 General Assembly an OPEX program that he had designed for the nascent state of West Papua. Typically, the program was based on the legal principle of ‘a peoples right of sovereignty over their land’. By invalidating both the Dutch and Indonesian claims of sovereignty, it was a legally derived preemptive strike against Indonesia's projected invasion and occupation of a UN Non-Self-Governing Territory.

DEVELOPMENT OF HAMMARSKJOLD'S OPEX PROGRAM TO ASSIST NEW EMERGING STATES

United Nations. Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organisation, 16 June 1960—15 June 1961.

(b) PROVISION OF OPERATIONAL AND EXECUTIVE PERSONNEL (OPEX)

The experimental programme for the provision of operational and executive personnel (OPEX) authorized by General Assembly resolution 1256 (XIII) of 14 November 1958 and continued for a further year by resolution 1385 (XIV) of 20 November 1959, was reviewed by the Economic and Social Council at its thirtieth session. The Council was satisfied that the experiment had proved itself; that there was a widespread demand for such assistance and no special difficulty in finding competent and acceptable experts to meet it. The Council accordingly recommended that the programme be placed on a continuing basis, with financial resources established at a level appropriate to the needs.

These recommendations were accepted by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session by resolution 1530 (XV) of 15 December 1960. At the same time, an allocation of \$850,000 was appropriated for the OPEX programme for the year 1961.

By 15 June 1960, a total of 246 firm requests for OPEX assistance covering a variety of technical and administrative fields had been received from forty-six countries. Thirty-three officers were already working in the field or were expected to enter upon their duties very shortly, and recruitment for twenty-nine more posts was in progress. By the end of 1961, the total number of OPEX officers in the field is expected to reach ninety.

↔ UN General Assembly authorises OPEX pilot program
UNGA RES. 1256 (XIII), 14 NOVEMBER 1958

↔ UN General Assembly extends OPEX pilot program
UNGA RES. 1385 (XIV), 20 NOVEMBER 1959

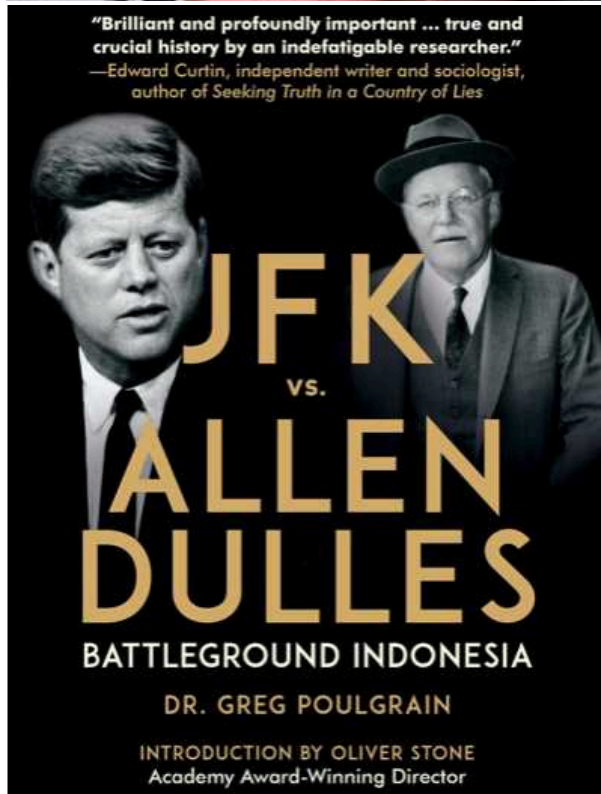
↔ UN Economic and Social Council recommends financing OPEX on a continuing basis (ECOSOC, 5 July—28 December 1960)

↔ UNGA accepts ECOSOC recommendations and allocates \$850,000 for OPEX 1961 (UNGA Res. 1530 (XV), 15 December 1960)

In response to Sec-General's request for more funds, UNGA provided additional 3.5 million for 1961 to raise the level of assistance and to place OPEX on a permanent and expanding basis (1961 President's Report to Congress on the Activities of the United Nations and the Participation of the United States).

↔ 1960 246 OPEX requests from 46 countries; 33 officers in the field; 29 more being recruited.

↔ 1961 214 OPEX requests from 48 countries; 90 officers in the field.
1963 200 OPEX requests unfilled due to finance limitations; 183 officers in the field.



HOW DO WE KNOW ABOUT UN SECRETARY-GENERAL HAMMARSKJÖLD'S OPEX PROGRAM FOR WEST PAPUA?

Dr Greg Poulgrain is a fastidious Australian academic who has focussed his intellectual life on investigating modern Indonesia, questioning, researching and documenting its history, and the role played by foreign states, principally the US and USSR, and international players like CIA Director Allen Dulles, in its formation and governance since.

Since 1983 he has authored hundreds of 'quiet' interviews, with relevant actors of the period between 1950 and 1970, including American politicians and bureaucrats, Indonesian Military generals, Russian dissidents, and UN bureaucrats, many of them now dead.

GREG POULGRAIN "During my interviews with George Ivan Smith he noted that his colleague and close friend Secretary-General Hammarskjöld "was very much focused on the plan [for West Papua] that he intended to launch at the UN General Assembly after dealing with the unrest in the Congo ... Hammarskjöld's radical OPEX initiative to reclaim Papua from past and future colonial rule—upgrading in the process the status of the UN to protect indigenous peoples—would have totally disrupted the Indonesia strategy of [CIA Director] Allen Dulles" (JFK VS ALLEN DULLES: BATTLEGROUND INDONESIA, SIMON & SCHUSTER 2020: CH 5)

"Reading Poulgrain's masterful analysis, one can clearly see how much of modern history is a struggle for control of the underworld where lies the fuel that runs the megamachine – oil, minerals, gold, copper, etc" (EDWARD CURTIN, 3 FEB 2021, *INDONESIAN SLAUGHTER, ALLEN DULLES, AND THE ASSASSINATION OF JFK: A REVIEW OF GREG POULGRAIN'S BOOK JFK VS. ALLEN DULLES: BATTLEGROUND INDONESIA*)



WHO WAS GEORGE IVAN SMITH AO

George Ivan Smith was an extraordinary but mostly unheralded Australian who devoted his life to public service at the international level. He spent much of his early life in the prisons in rural Australia where his father was an unusually enlightened governor. During his Boyer Lecture series (1964) *Along the Edge of Peace* he talked of the respect between his father and the prisoners, and of an enduring image of a great golden key between the teeth of a lion on the front gate of the prisons. “As a child I watched that key. I longed for it to come loose, for the gates to swing open and for the men to come out streaming across the hills”.

George Ivan Smith was educated at Goulburn and Bathurst High schools in New South Wales, worked in ground-breaking roles for the ABC and the BBC, then in the United Nations for forty years—fifteen alongside Secretary-General Hammarskjöld before his death in 1961.

Journalist and Media Producer

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1937—1941

Initiated and Produced ‘Australia Calling’ (Radio Australia)

British Broadcasting Corporation 1941—1946 Director, Pacific Service

United Nations 1947—1987

Spokesperson for Dag Hammarskjöld 1953—1961

Produced UN Information Service (which still exists)

UN Representative Katanga, 1961

UN Representative East & Central Africa 1962—66

Visiting Professor 1966-1968

Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy, Tufts University

Princeton University 1966—1968

left—George Ivan Smith, Sydney, 21 December 1962, at Sydney Airport; and with Dag Hammarskjöld in New Zealand in 1955.

UN RESOLUTION 448 (V), 12 DECEMBER 1950

The General Assembly,

Considering that Resolution 222 (III) adopted by the General Assembly on 3 November 1948, while welcoming any development of self-government in Non-Self-Governing Territories, considers that it is essential that the United Nations be informed of any change in the constitutional position and status of any such Territory as a result of which the responsible government concerned thinks it unnecessary to transmit information in respect of that Territory under Article 73e of the Charter,

Noting the communication 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 73e 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,

1. Takes note with satisfaction of the communication of the Government of the Netherlands with reference to the cessation of the transmission of information on Indonesia;

2. Requests the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter to examine such information as may be transmitted in future to the Secretary-General in pursuance of General Assembly Res. 222 (III), and to report thereon to the General Assembly.



This block of Indonesian stamps, dated 16 August 1961, twelve months before the New York Agreement, has Dutch Nieuw Guinea (but not Portuguese Timor and North Borneo) in the same colour as the rest of Indonesia.

WEST PAPUA: UN NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY 1950—1962

12 December 1950 UN adopts West New Guinea as a Non-Self-Governing Territory (Res. 448 (V)) with the Netherlands as its Administering Power. Indonesia votes for the resolution!

For the twelve years between 1950 and 1962 the Netherlands fulfilled its Article 73(e) obligations—the annual reports to the United Nations Secretary-General on the political, social, economic, and education development in the Non-Self-Governing Territory.

During this period Indonesia—

- Argued that West New Guinea was not a Non-Self-Governing Territory under Netherlands Administration, but illegally occupied by the Dutch, because it had been part of the Republic since Indonesia's independence in 1945 when the right of self-determination was made on behalf of the Papuans; and therefore had to be transferred to Indonesia without consulting the Papuans. (The Netherlands, but not Indonesia, was willing to test the first assumption in the International Court of Justice. The second denied Self-determination and constituted an open violation of all the principles and obligations of the Charter and pertinent General Assembly resolutions).
- Sabotaged UN designated talks with the Dutch about Nederlands Nieuw Guinea, and joined the UN as a *unitary* republic in September 1950 (after razing the federal republic that signed the UN sponsored Sovereignty Transfer Agreement in 1949).
- Tried but failed four times—in 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957—to convince the UN states to recognise 'its' claim of sovereignty over West New Guinea.
- Mounted numerous military incursions into West New Guinea, and in 1957 after declaring in the UN that it was adopting a 'military solution' began buying military hardware from the USSR. By 1961 Indonesia was the most powerful military power in Southeast Asia outside China and ready to invade what it called a 'Dutch puppet state' with a policy of "total confrontation not only politically but also economically and militarily" (Foreign Minister Subandrio to UNGA on 9 October 1961).



Highlander greeting Dutch Franciscan nuns.



The washing machine comes to New Guinea (photo in 1962 newspaper article about oil ...

“In Sorong an oil company (40% Dutch Shell, 40% Stanvac, 20% Pacific Investments) has a concession of 2 million acres and supports 200 men and their families. Production had resumed in 1946, with a port at Sorong and a pipeline and road to the fields in Klamond 36 miles away

Ten million guilders has been spent on roads that were maintained after Klamono was abandoned in 1955. Now, with the search for more oil, helicopters are used. Holland spends 50 million guilders annually on development and 450 million on defense. Private investors are chary because the future of the territory is not clear.”

Some Development Data in Non-Self-Governing Territory of Nederlands Nieuw Guinea, 1950 to 1962

Education	1950	1955/56	1959/60	1961	1962
Elementary schools	25,791				32,686
Advanced primary	804				2,734
Secondary	20				430
Teacher training courses	95				504
Technical schools	70				212
Tertiary study in the Netherlands			29	50	
Tertiary study in Port Moresby				13 <i>Medicine, Radio, Engineering</i>	
Tertiary study in Fiji				2 <i>Medicine, Dentistry</i>	
Employment in the modern sector					
Graduates of the Administration School			50% of the 74 districts run by Papuan patrol officers		
Working Papuan civil servants		1,290	2,192		
Working Papuan village school teachers			966		
Papuan teachers in continuation schools			16		
Working Papuan nurses		270			
Type: Economy					
Production of logs		18,472m3	49,963m3		
Export of sawn timber (from Manokwari saw-mill)		51,000 guilders	1.118 million guilder		
Export of copal and damar			2.1 million guilders		
Export of copra (from coconut plantations)	2,945 tonnes		5,847 tonnes (3.9 million guilders)		
Nutmeg and mace		355 tonnes (1.9 m)	600 tonnes (3.45 million guilders)		
Export of cocoa			52 tonnes (90,800 guilders)		
Farming pilot programs					
Nimboran: food crops, fruit, export cocoa and coconuts				All 14 x 3-4ha pilot farms continue without financial aid	
Mappi: coconut, cocoa, rubber		75 families		1,000 hectares of coconut planted	
Yapen-Waropen: 880 farms				43 tonnes of cocoa	
Netherlands Budget for Development Program	f1 15 million			f1 91 million	
Papuans under direct administrative control		342,600	461,858 (+71,079 within radius of regular government patrol + 169,020 in Central Highlands still outside government umbrella)		
Plans for a plantation economy disbanded after findings that only 2 million (5%) of the 41.4 million hectares were arable; widely scattered in relatively small pockets					
Table prepared by Louise Byrne, 2015. Data Source Penders, CLM 2002: p391—400)					

WEST PAPUA: DEVELOPMENT IN THE NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY, 1950-1962



top—Money 1949–1962
centre—Road-making, interior, 1959
lower—Printing press, Hollandia, 1961



Mass immunisation program for yaws malaria and tuberculosis; with World Health Organisation and the UN Childrens Fund



Precision tractor-driving lessons in agriculture training school, 1955



May 1961 The Nieuw Guinea RAAD was formed after territory-wide elections in February 1961 that resulted in 23 Papuan members of the 28-member institution. The RAAD, which “acted as a parliament” (Governor Plateel) was launched on **5 April 1961** in front of representatives from every district in West Papua, an array of international media, and 135 officials from the South Pacific Commission including the governments of Britain, New Zealand, France and Australia.

19 October 1961 RAAD legislated its nascent state as Papua Barat (not Irian), the people as Papuan (not Irianese) and its national flag and anthem ‘in accord with the ardent desire and yearning of our people for our independence’. The RAAD was tasked with making known, within a year, the West Papuan peoples wishes on self-determination. (Queen Juliana had signed legislation anticipating no longer than 1971). Morning Star flag-raising ceremonies alongside the Dutch flag were re-scheduled from 1 November 1961 to 1 December to allow for the Dutch Decolonisation Motion in the UNGA in November.

“Hammar skjöld’s formula would have changed history, principally because it recognised Papuan sovereignty over Papuan land”
(Greg Poulgrain, 2020)



Still from “Cold Case Hammar skjöld.” (Trailer)

UN Sec-General Hammar skjöld found dead at Ndola on the Zambia–Democratic Republic of Congo border with an Ace of Spades playing card stuffed inside his collar (a recurring CIA motif). Seven UN staff as well as the Swedish air crew were also killed in the plane-crash.

The UN conducted its 3rd investigation after the publication of British scholar Susan William’s *WHO KILLED HAMMARSKJÖLD* (2011) and the Danish-Swedish documentary *COLD CASE HAMMARSKJÖLD* (2019).

On 30 December 2022, the UN announced a 4th investigation, after the publication of Greg Poulgrain’s *JFK VS ALLEN DULLES: BATTLEGROUND INDONESIA*.

British, American, and South African Intelligence Agencies have steadfastly refused to release their reports to any of the inquiries.

UN SEC-GENERAL’S OPEX PROGRAM FOR THE NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY OF NEDERLANDS NIEUW GUINEA

In 1961 UN Secretary-General Hammar skjöld, who was ultimately responsible for the Papuan people and their Non-Self-Governing Territory as well as the UN development agencies working in the territory, developed an OPEX program for Nederlands Nieuw Guinea.

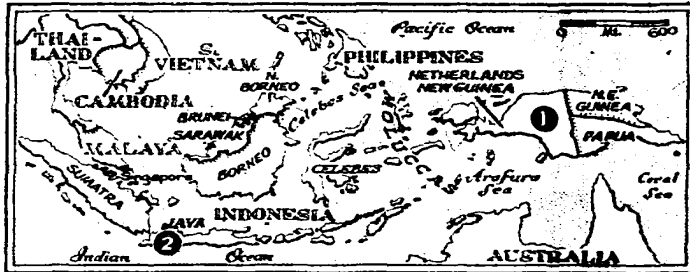
He developed the program within the regulations of the 1960 UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (‘the speedy and unconditional granting to all colonial peoples of the right of self-determination’). He consulted widely, including with President Kennedy, the New York Economic Council, and General MacArthur (commander of the military offensive against Japan in West Papua in 1944–1945).

The OPEX program which UN Secretary-General Hammar skjöld intended to raise in the UN 1961 General Assembly:

- i) Declared as invalid both the Dutch and Indonesian sovereignty claims over West Papua.
- ii) Recognised the West Papuan people as the sovereign owners of their land.
- iii) Inserted UN technical officers to assist the Nieuw Guinea RAAD administer its nascent state for five years.

UN Secretary-General Hammar skjöld was killed on 18 September 1961, three days before the Opening of the UN General Assembly on 21 September 1961.

Dutch Offer to Give U.N. Control Over Disputed New Guinea Area



The New York Times Sept. 27, 1961
The United Nations has been offered jurisdiction over Netherlands New Guinea (1), which Indonesia (2) claims.

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH
Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Sept. 26—The Netherlands offered today to give up all control over Netherlands New Guinea and put the disputed territory under United Nations jurisdiction.

The plan was placed before the General Assembly by Foreign Minister Joseph M. A. H. Luns, who called it a "new concept in the history of decolonization."

Netherlands New Guinea, an area of 151,000 square miles, has been the object of a twelve-year dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands. The area, called West Irian by Indonesia, was not included in the territories transferred to the new Indonesian republic when it became independent from the Netherlands in 1949.

Control of New Guinea is

divided between the Dutch, who hold the western half, and Australia, which controls the eastern sector under a United Nations trusteeship.

In offering to yield control the Dutch Foreign Minister proposed that as a first step the United Nations send an inquiry commission to New Guinea to organize a plebiscite.

Dr. Luns underscored his Government's willingness to help the Papuan population. He pledged continued financial help and also promised to urge Dutch officials to remain in their jobs as international civil servants.

The Netherlands Foreign Minister elaborated on the plan after his formal address. He said its aim was to make cer-

Continued on Page 4, Column 3

The New York Times 27 September 1961



The New York Times
OFFERS A NEW PLAN:
Foreign Minister J. M. A. H. Luns of the Netherlands addresses the United Nations on Netherlands New Guinea.

DUTCH OFFER U. N. NEW GUINEA RULE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

tain that a vacuum would not be left when the Netherlands pulled out, as happened a year ago when Belgian authorities abruptly left the Congo, which suffered a political and administrative collapse.

Netherlands officials said their plan offered these innovations: It provides for the withdrawal of the controlling government, but replaces it with the immediate introduction of the United Nations in an executive capacity. It provides for the Netherlands to continue to supply the help to keep the territory stable. Finally, its basic aim is to safeguard the right of the Papuans to decide their own future by self-determination.

Indonesia's initial reaction was to give a flat rejection to the new Dutch plan and assail it as an attempt at the "fragmentation" of Indonesian territory. This point was made by Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia who took the floor a few hours after Dr. Luns spoke.

He promised a fuller answer tomorrow, but he made it clear that Indonesia would oppose the program because she regards the territory as an integral part of Indonesia.

The Netherlands is known to have consulted at least forty governments about her general intentions. The Indonesians were not informed because the two countries do not have diplomatic relations.

In outlining the plan, Dr. Luns recalled in the Assembly that the Netherlands last year had supported a resolution urging an end to colonialism. He said that the present proposal

should indicate that the Netherlands vote was not a "cheap meaningless gesture." Netherlands delegates also have made no secret of their wish to be able to answer Soviet propaganda charges about European colonialists.

As explained by Dr. Luns, the key elements in the decolonization program would be that the Netherlands would relinquish sovereignty over the territory's 730,000 inhabitants. The administration and development of the territory would be brought under "active supervision of the United Nations."

To help insure stability, the Netherlands would continue her financial aid of \$30,000,000 yearly. Further, the Netherlands would ask her 2,800 citizens in the civil service to assist the territory as long as necessary.

Dr. Luns observed that the proposals were so new that the Assembly might wish for a complete and impartial report, which he suggested could be made by an inquiry commission.

UN states that voted for the Dutch motion on 15 November 1961 affirming West Papuan's right to self-determination:

Australia, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Togo, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, France, Gabon, Israel, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Sudan, Togo, Upper Volta, United States, Western Europe, most Latin American states.

UN states that voted for Indonesia's motion in November 1961, denying West Papuan's right to self-determination:

Albania, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Congo (Leopoldville) Cuba, Guinea, India, Jordan, Liberia, Mali, Mongolian People's Republic, Morocco, Nepal, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, Ukrainian SSR, United Arab Republic.

"In the view of the Australian Government, the Netherlands proposal has drawn from the UN Charter principles which provide an excellent basis for the settlement of the West New Guinea problem, and is in full accord with the principles of Res. 1514 (XV)" GARFIELD BARWICK, AUSTRALIA'S REPRESENTATIVE AT THE UNITED NATIONS, 15 NOVEMBER 1961.

"I am very favourably impressed by this new Dutch position which I think goes a long way towards establishing Dutch *bona fides* and exposing Indonesia's territorial ambitions" ADLAI STEVENSON, US AMBASSADOR TO UN, IN ANNETTE CULLEY 2016:P90.

A Non-Self-Governing Territory is one whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government. It is the task of the Administering Power to bring the people a full measure of self-government as a sovereign State, or in free association with an independent State, or through integration with an independent State ... after a free and voluntary choice by the peoples, acting in full knowledge of the change in their status, expressed through informed and democratic processes, impartially conducted and based on universal adult suffrage.

Chapter IX charges the Administering Power to safeguard and guarantee the inalienable rights of the peoples to their natural resources, including land, to establish and maintain the future development of those resources, and to assist them develop self-government and democratic political institutions.

UNITED NATIONS DEFEAT DUTCH MOTION WITH BLATANT BETRAYAL OF SELF-DETERMINATION, 15 NOVEMBER 1961

The debate on the Dutch decolonisation motion for West Papua took place in the context of the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial countries and Peoples (1960).

The Netherlands's motion:

1. Recalling Res. 1514 (XV), that the Netherlands had been administering Netherlands-Nieuw-Guinea under the terms of Ch XI;
2. Recognising that the Netherlands wanted to implement the Declaration on Decolonisation under UN supervision and assistance, and was prepared to transfer sovereignty to the people of the territory;
3. Understanding that the Netherlands powers would be exercised by a UN-designated international authority that would provide the territory with technical and economic assistance;
4. That the Netherlands would maintain its financial aid to the territory;
5. That a UN Commission investigate implementation of Res. 1514 (XV) and Declaration on Decolonisation; the political, economic, educational and social conditions in the Territory; the peoples' view of their present and future; the possibility of a plebiscite and an international development authority.

The Brazzaville Motion:

Thirteen African states keen to pass the Dutch motion, suggested an amendment that would also counter Indonesia's numerous and contradictory objections:

1. Recalling the principles in Resolution 1514 (XV);
2. Recommending the dispute could be ended by negotiated settlement under the Secretary-General, with respect for the will and self-determination of the people;
3. If the parties hadn't reached a settlement by 1 March 1962, a UN appointed commission of five to investigate conditions in the territory and the possibility of establishing an international system of administration without prejudice to the right of the population to decide the status of the territory.

The Brazzaville Group of thirteen African States

Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Upper Volta.

Indonesia objected to the Brazzaville Amendment's stress on self-determination, arguing that self-determination had already been exercised for all of Indonesia in 1945 and that West New Guinea could not be "amputated" from Indonesia.

Indonesia demanded support from other Third World countries and was able to call in debts from many in Asia and Africa, threatening in one case to break diplomatic relations (David Webster *Self-determination abandoned: The road to the New York Agreement on West New Guinea (Papua) 1960–1962*).

On 27 November 1961, after a motion led by Indonesia, a Special Committee on Decolonisation was created (Res. 1654 (XVI)), which today is more commonly called the C-24.



Justice George Lambert, International Commission of Jurists, Yumi Wantaim Seminar for West Papua, Melbourne 2001.
Photo—Kel Dummett, AWP—Melbourne

Such was the level of debate without Dag Hammarskjöld's leadership that a paragraph in the amendment, which was voted on separately, failed (53-36, 14)! The sentence read "the General Assembly to state its conviction that any solution affecting the final destiny of a Non-Self-Governing Territory must be based on the self-determination of the people in accordance with the UN Charter".

The Brazzaville Amendment won a simple majority (53-41, 9) but not two-thirds majority. Indonesia's counter motion also failed (41-40, 21).

from UN Legal Records, Ch XI, Art 73, Pars 846-868)

The Nigerian Delegate

"What has greatly surprised us in this dispute is that one of the parties is not asking for the opinion of the people of New Guinea, although that would have been a good starting point in order to remove any possible misunderstanding. It is for the people of New Guinea themselves to say, in the present circumstances, who is entitled to claim sovereignty over their territory until they themselves, by referendum or by some other means, decide their own fate" (UNGA Debate, 1055th Plenary Meeting 15/11/61; pp. 76-77).

George Lambert, International Commission of Jurists

"Since the Member States at the Sixteenth Session were unable to reach any consensus upon the facts in dispute, the resolutions presented, or the legal merits of the competing claims, the situation clearly called for a debate upon a Resolution requesting the International Court of Justice to furnish an advisory opinion to the General Assembly upon legal questions designed to secure the Court's opinion on the key issue of whether The Netherlands or Indonesia holds lawful sovereignty over the territory of West Papua.

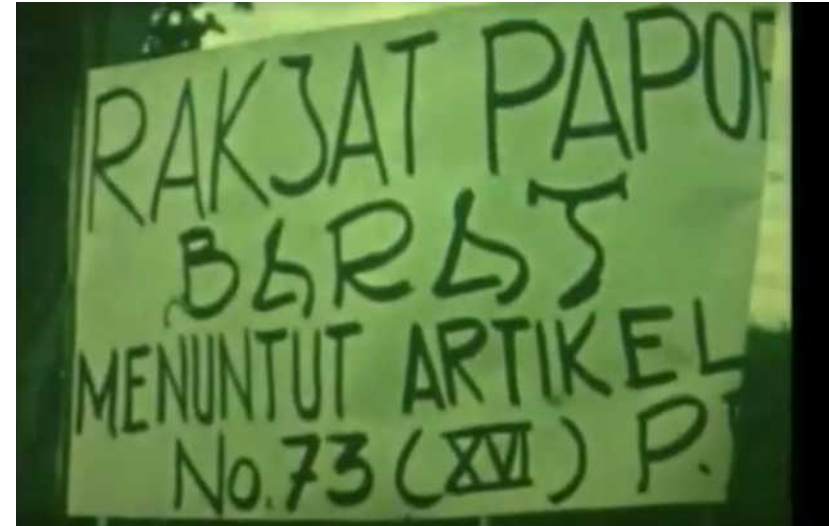
As that option was not considered it left the way open for an American diplomat, Ellsworth Bunker, appointed by Secretary-General U Thant, to enter the arena as a mediator and broker the adoption, on 15 August 1962, of an Agreement between the States party to the dispute that was in accord with the USA agenda of accommodating Indonesia" (LAMBERT, G 2000:5).

1 DECEMBER 1961 CEREMONIES: MILESTONE IN THE NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY'S INDEPENDENCE

Manokwari hijsen van de NG vlag 1-12-1961 (Ruud Bauwens)



Ruud Bauwens 2006



1 December 1961 Decolonisation Ceremonies in Manokwari and Hollandia organised by Nieuw-Guinea RAAD. The Morning Star flag was raised alongside the Netherlands flag, the two national anthems were played, and the Papua Volunteer Korp (PVK) marched alongside the Netherlands Army. *Words on the banners 'West Papua people demand Article 73' and 'Indonesia government rejected', show that West Papuans were aware of the treacherous result of the UN General Assembly vote (two weeks before on 15 November 1961) that paved path for the Indonesian occupation.*



STATEMENT BY NEW GUINEA RAAD (COUNCIL)

Public meeting in Hollandia on 16 February 1962, a month after the Indonesia's attempt to invade West Papua on 15 January 1962

Invited by the Netherlands Government through the State Secretary of Home Affairs on the occasion of the inaugural meeting of the Council on April 5, 1961, to inform the Government of Netherlands New Guinea of its views of the manner in which the right to self-determination of the people of this Territory could be effected, as well as of the question of the desirability of setting a date for this purpose, taking into consideration the actual consequences thereof for the economic, social and cultural building-up of the country, Considers its position with regard to the concomitant problems as follows:

I. The Papuan people as an ethnological unit has the right to decide its own fate in pursuance of item 2 of the decolonisation resolution 1514 (XV), which says:

"All people have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development". The fact that the western part of the island of New Guinea was brought under the central administration of the former Netherlands Indies Government can hardly be adduced in evidence that the Papuan inhabitants of the western half of the island have consequently become Indonesians.

The Netherlands has since December 27, 1949 administered Netherlands New Guinea in conformity with the provisions of the U.N. Charter. Accordingly, the annual representative reports referred to in Article 73e of the Charter have not only been submitted by the Netherlands, but have also been accepted by the United Nations on the strength of the resolution of the General Assembly Resolution 448 (V), dated December 12, 1950.

The people of West Papua have therefore a right to the continuation of their development to self-government, and the Netherlands as a member of the United Nations is bound to promote this development to the best of its ability pursuant to Article 73e of the U.N. Charter, and has a right to the support of the United Nations in fulfilling this obligation.

The Indonesian claim that the right to self-determination of the people of West Papua was brought into effect by the Proclamation of the Indonesian Republic on 17 August 1945 is rejected. The people of West Papua were not represented at the issuance of the proclamation; and the proclamation took place during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia at a time when New Guinea had already been liberated by the Allies.

It is not the real or fictitious unity of a people, but the voluntary combination of all component parts, on which a modern state should be based. And it is in this special sense that the Council wants to consider the right to self-determination of the people of West Papua. Whether or not West Papua by virtue of the right to self-determination will enter into a voluntary association of interests with another country, and if so, with what country, will have to be decided by the West Papuan people. The essential point at present is that the right to freely decide on the matter be given to this people.

II. As set out in item 6 of the UN Decolonisation Resolution No. 1514 (XV), an insufficient economic or social development of the population should not justify the prevention of the right to self-determination from being exercised. On the other hand, there are certain minimum requirements which the development of a people must meet in order to guarantee a purposeful and justified decision. Areas not yet under control should be brought under government control as soon as possible, while the introduction of primary education and illiteracy eradication courses should keep pace with the opening-up process. As the progress of a country

is dependent on the educational system applied, measures for the reinforcement as well as the extension of primary education, which are the necessary basis for further education and the general condition to increase the present level of development, are insisted upon with a view to accelerating the development of New Guinea.

In this connection it is also urged, in addition to the possibilities of education available to West Papuans students in the Netherlands, the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Fiji and the other Pacific Islands, to make use of Resolution No. 1540 (XV) concerning the possibilities for study and training offered by member countries to the inhabitants of Non-self-governing territories.

The process of 'papuaisation' for which a ten year plan has been drawn up should be accelerated as much as possible and by all available means. It will be necessary to forego to some extent the current conditions of appointment consisting of a university training and many years of experience, while for a number of political appointments preference will have to be given to those who have distinguished themselves in terms of wisdom, integrity, resoluteness, and by a political backing. Decentralisation and democratisation should be developed with unflagging zeal, both for reasons of principle and in order to give as many individuals as possible some idea of the problems of government.

No self-governing territory can prosper without a sound economic basis, so much activity should be generated around the national resources of the country. More than half of the budget should, in principle, be financed from national means or from unconditional financial support.

III. For the purpose of acquainting themselves with the methods used in the decolonisation process elsewhere and for a better understanding of and more goodwill for West Papua among other nations, a missions composed of New Guinea Council Members and prominent Papuans should without delay be sent abroad, especially to the Afro-Asian countries, including Indonesia. Missions from other countries could be invited for a better acquaintance of West Papua.

IV. The consideration mentioned fills such an extensive program that an estimate of time can't be given. However, the New Guinea Council believes 1970 is deadline for the realisation of the right to self-determination of the people of West Papua. The precise time and concomitant technical problems should be reviewed by the NG Council every two years.

V. As to the administration of West Papua, which has frequently been discussed at United Nations meetings, the Council considers its position as follows:

From an international view it would seem immaterial by whom West Papua is administered until this country can exercise its right to self-determination, as long as its people is guaranteed the right to make a free decision. Yet there are objections to certain forms of administration:

a. **Administration by Indonesia is rejected**, because Indonesia is the claiming party and is therefore not neutral, and consequently will not enable the Papuan people to exercise their right to self-determination in freedom.

b. In practice, any administration that is different to the current government will inevitably slow down the present rate of development.

c. The desire for international acknowledgement of the right to self-determination may result in a certain form of internationalisation, but in view of the drawback in (b) preference is for a Netherlands administration rather than another Power or direct by the United Nations.

d. The Council considers it of utmost importance, as expressed in its motion of 22 January 1962, that the United Nations send a commission to West Papua as soon as possible so that it may learn direct of the views and wishes of the Papuan people.

(sgd.) J.H.F. Sollewijn Gelpke, Chairman; W. Trouw, LL.M., Clerk of the Council



24 April 1961 Indonesian President Sukarno and American President Kennedy at Andrews Air Force Base, USA.

For a \$900,000 helicopter and \$100 million aid package President Sukarno promised to rein in the Indonesian Communist Party, and agreed to 'a short interim UN Trusteeship followed by an Indonesian takeover of West Papua'.

The handshake arrangement became the core of the New York Agreement—brokered initially by the UN Secretary-General U Thant and then American diplomat Ellsworth Bunker—and signed at the UN Building in New York on 15 August 1962.

HANDSHAKE BETWEEN TWO PRESIDENTS OVER-RIDES WEST PAPUANS RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

The appalling betrayal by the UN Member-States of Self-determination—the founding principle of their organisation—in the context of Nederlands Nieuw Guinea, on 15 November 1961, cannot be considered in isolation from President Sukarno's meeting with President Kennedy seven months earlier during which certain understandings were established (*left*).

Despite these understandings, a month after the unholy drama in the General Assembly, Indonesia declared war (19 December 1961) and then attempted to invade Nederlands Nieuw Guinea (15 January 1962).

Secretary-General U Thant didn't condemn Indonesia for its threat and use of military force (that breached Article 2 of the UN Charter). Instead he chaired a 'peace treaty' between Indonesia and the Netherlands that was tied, through Article I, to UN authorisation (New York Agreement, 15 August 1962). And five weeks later, on 21 September 1962, the UNGA authorized (89-o, 14) the Secretary-General to carry out the tasks entrusted to him (UNGA Res. 1752 (XVII)). Those tasks included transferring the administration of the West Papuans' Non-Self-Governing Territory from the Netherlands to the United Nations for six months, and then to Indonesia.

The Netherlands did manage to have 'self-determination' mentioned in the New York Agreement. However all the UN members knew that Indonesia didn't recognise the principle (and still doesn't, even if its constitution declares every nation's right to it). **Consequently there's never been an act of self-determination in West Papua.**

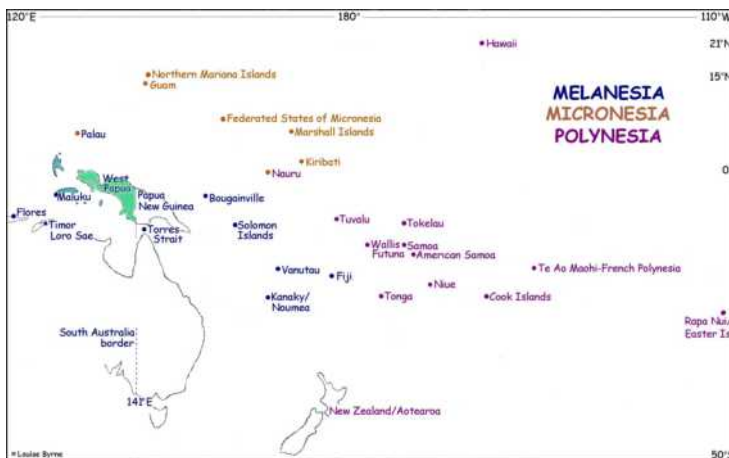
As Dr Soekarno stepped ashore on West Irian for the first time he took the salute from the Indonesian army, the Indonesian air force, the Indonesian navy, the Indonesian police, and his deputy, Dr Sudharjo Tjondjonegoro.

A West Irian Papuan He said this would include

territories to be put into the territory was granted previously by the Indonesian government.

(The Sun-Herald, 5 May 1963).

19/



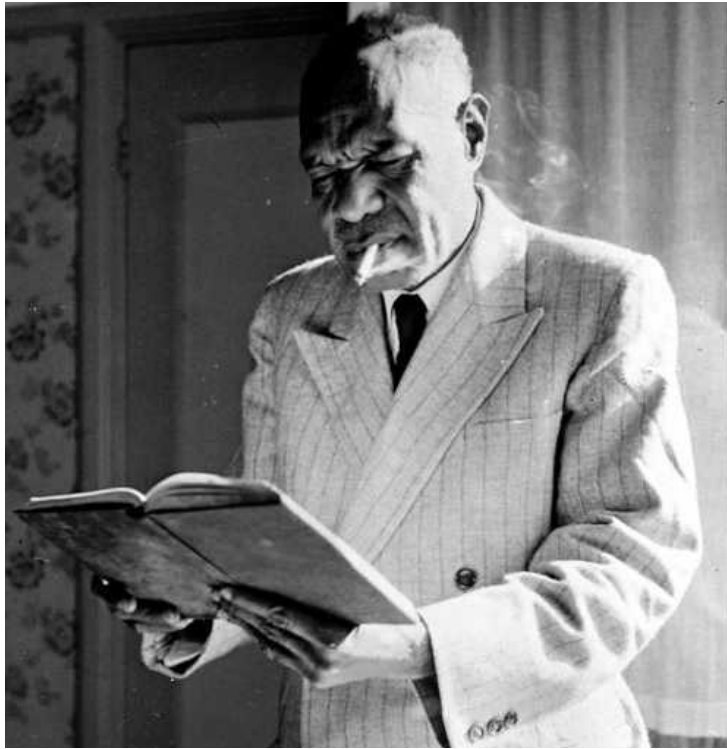
WEST PAPUA ACCORDING TO INTERNATIONAL LAW

1. West Papua under international law is an Indonesian colony, and West Papuans are under illegal alien rule.
2. Colonialism is illegal under international law. West Papua has a legal right to be free and a legal right to independence. This is not just a moral right, or a political right.
3. The legal right to self-determination is guaranteed by the UN Charter, under customary international law, and in the New York Agreement that Indonesia signed with the Netherlands in 1962

Melinda Jenki, International Commission of Jurists, 2010.

“Self-determination has never simply meant independence. It has meant the free choice of people. The job of the international lawyer is to look at the facts of the present case and at the policy issues involved, and to find the preferred and better answer.”

Rosalyn Higgins, Professor of International Law at the University of London (1981—1995), Member of the International Court of Justice (1995—2009) including as the first female President of the Court.



Johan Ariks was an Arfak man from the Kebar Plains in the Birds Head, educated at a theology school in West Java; pastor of Mansinem Island from 1914; and from 1931 lecturer at the Mei teacher-training college where the first generation of Papuan nationalists were educated. On 1 July 1965, two years after the UN transferred the administration of West Papua to Indonesia, Johan Ariks was jailed for 'anti-Indonesian' speech. He died in prison in 1967 aged 70.

WEST PAPUA PETITIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Since 1 December 1961 the Morning Star flag has signalled the West Papuans commitment to their self-determination. Half-a-century later it still incurs convictions of treason and 15-year jail sentences.

Intellectual arguments in the form of petitions to the United Nations are lesser known but nevertheless as important. The first to direct international attention to the Papuan cause of independence, as distinct from Indonesia's were from Johan Ariks, then a lecturer at the Mei teacher-training college in the Birdshead of West Papua.

On **15 June 1949** Ariks wrote to the UN Commission for Indonesia:

- i) Condemning Indonesia's involvement in deliberations about the political future of West New Guinea as an attack on the Papuan right of self-determination; and
- ii) Arguing that while West Papuans were not ready for full independence they were quite capable of giving a valid opinion about political ties with Indonesia.

On **28 August 1949** Ariks wrote to the President of the UN General Assembly:

"Irian opposes with all its might the imperialistic inclinations of Indonesian leaders who aim to bring our country and our people under the domination of a foreign people and foreign state with which it has never kept up friendly relations and cooperation of any kind. It determinedly and resolutely refuses to be negotiated on as a piece of merchandise without being heard".



ULMWP PRESENTS PETITION TO FMM

By Carol-Anne Galo | June 23, 2015



Honiara, Solomon Islands, 22 June 2015

The Executive of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) presents a petition of 115,000 Papuan signatures to the Foreign Ministers of the Melanesian Spearhead Group before the MSG Summit.

In 2015, the Melanesian Spearhead Group, galvanised by a petition of 115,000 Papuan signatures, admitted West Papua to its inter-governmental organisation with Observer status. The petition called for the UN to **uphold the right to self-determination** and list West Papua with its Decolonisation Committee.

By 2017, the number of [hand-signed] petitions signed in West Papua had increased from 115,000 to 1.8million, 70% of the population, a remarkable feat of courage and organisation. On 30 September 2017 Benny Wenda (Chair, United Liberation Movement for West Papua) presented the petition to Rafael Ramirez Carreño (Chair, UN Decolonisation Committee) as “hard hitting evidence of the will of our people for our fundamental right to self-determination ... and a firm rejection of Indonesia’s claims over our sovereignty.”

The Indonesian government banned the petition-hosting website (Avaaz), arrested and tortured 57 people for supporting the petition, and jailed a West Papuan leader Yanto Awerkion on charges of treason.



UN Building, New York, 30 September 2017

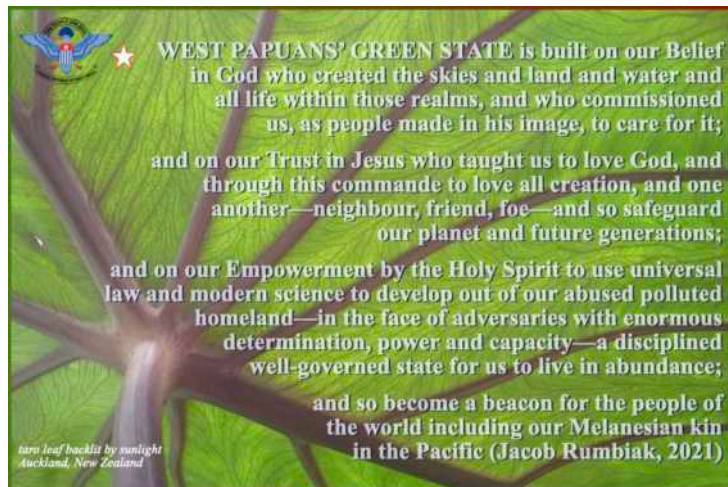
ULMWP Chair Benny Wenda preparing to present a petition with 1.8M signatures, to Rafael Ramirez Carreño, Chair of the UN Decolonisation Committee.



On 25 January 2019 Benny Wenda presented the petition to Michelle Bachelet, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva. The UNHCR was in no mood for Indonesia's typical angry denials and publicly announced it had received the petition. Indonesia is frustrating the United Nations with its refusal to issue a permit entry for a UNHCR Fact-Finding mission to West Papua, which Indonesian agreed to six years ago, in 2017.



UN Building, New York, 12 September 2019. Another petition of signatures, from the West Papua diaspora, organised by the West Papua (FRWP) Womens Office in Docklands (Victoria, Australia) lands in the United Nations in New York.



THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED LIBERATION MOVEMENT FOR WEST PAPUA

On 1 December 2020, after a petition hand-signed by 1.8 million West Papuans was presented to the United Nations in 2017, and again in 2019, the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) announced the formation of a Provisional Government.

The Provisional Government of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua is accountable to the people's key political organisations—Federal Republic of West Papua, West Papua National Parliament and the Coalition for the Liberation of West Papua—and to their ADAT (tribal) Councils and the West Papua Council of Churches. The parliamentary system has a President and a Prime Minister, twelve Cabinet Ministers of working bureaucracies, as well as Governors of the territory's seven states.

On 1 December 2021, during the 2021 UN Climate Summit in Glasgow, the Provisional Government launched its 'Green State' initiative, President Benny Wenda telling the assembled media, politicians, and NGOs **"We have a constitution, government, cabinet, and a Green State policy framework to restore balance between the human and non-humans in our homeland"**.

Since 2019 West Papua has attracted the support of the Pacific Islands Forum (18 UN member-states, including Australia and New Zealand); the African Caribbean Pacific Group (79 UN member-states); the European Union, and the Parliaments of the UK, Poland, the Netherlands and Spain. All of this support may mean that Indonesia has squandered its opportunities to negotiate directly with the Papuans and will now have to suffer exposure of its occupation during **international mediation** of the long-standing conflict.

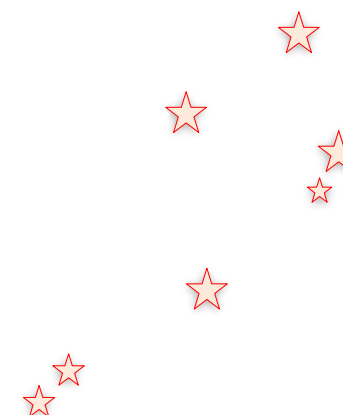


Hammar skjöld-West Papua tree-planting ceremonies p1/

Association of Women Teachers from Catholic Schools (DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO)
 Dom Boaventura Youth Centre, Centro Foinsae Dom Boaventura (TIMOR LORO SAE)
 Cablaqui Community Development Centre, Manufahi, Same (TIMOR LORO SAE)
 Mikaela Goulding & Pauline Simpson, Northwest Victoria (FIJI-AUS)
 Ucuk Felle, Adolf Mora, Piter Elaby, Feki Perimapun (WEST PAPUA)
 Pass New Nation Secondary School, Kangi (SOUTH SUDAN)
 St Martin de Porres Apostolate, Glanmire, Cork (IRELAND)
 Gil Santos, Mystic Trio, Dili All Stars (TIMOR LORO SA'E)
 Barbara Toiya, Kair, Womkama (PAPUA NEW GUINEA)
 Robert Young from Fiji, Bass Coast, Victoria (FIJI-AUS)
 Tongoa Shepherds Women's Association (VANUATU)
 Honiara Solidarity (SOLOMON ISLANDS)
 Iona, Scottish Bordertown (SCOTLAND)
 Goulding Family, Victoria (FIJI-AUS)
 Cyrus Jenson (LIBERIA)

Eziz Bawermend (KURDISH LOBBY AUSTRALIA)
 Ashan Mantoo (STAND WITH KASHMIR AUSTRALIA)
 Mr Charles Mphande (MALAWI COMMUNITY, AUS)
 Hafir Bassy Darfur International Organisation (DARFUR-AUS)
 Kangi community, Western Bahr El Ghazal (SOUTH SUDAN)
 Mesake Saqanamua, Nausori (FIJI)

Bishop Philip Huggins, President, National Council of Churches (AUS)
 Divine You Contemplative and Spirituality Centre, Narrogin (AUS)
 St Joseph's Spirituality and Education Centre, Kincumber (AUS)
 Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, Perth (AUS)
 The Calvary Church of All Nations, Heidelberg (AUS)
 Rev. Dr Robert Stringer, Uniting Church (AUS)
 Holy Trinity Church, Williams (AUS)
 Uniting Church, Surrey Hills (AUS)
 Ian Wallbridge, Anglicare (AUS)





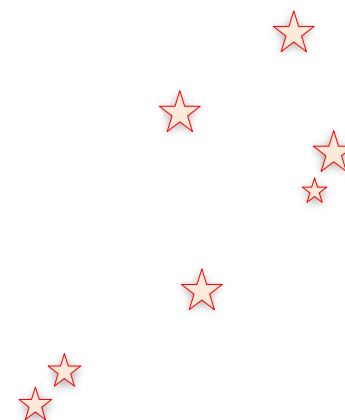
Hammar skjöld-West Papua tree-planting ceremonies p2/

Jacob Rumbiak, United Liberation Movement of West Papua, St Kilda (AUS)
Babuan Mirino, West Papua (FRWP) Womens Office, Docklands (AUS)
Aretha Brown, National Indigenous Youth Parliament (AUS)
Melbourne West Papua Assoc., Boroondara (AUS)
University of Wollongong, New South Wales (AUS)
Australia West Papua Association, Sydney (AUS)
Australia West Papua Assoc—WA (AUS)

Moreland City Council, Victoria (AUS)
Ballarat City Council, Victoria (AUS)
Yarra City Council, Victoria (AUS)

Faye Gregson, West Papua Womens Office, Docklands (AUS)
Jacqui Young, Jabiru, Kakadu, Northern Territory (FIJI-AUS)
Lifestyle Working, 818 Collins St, Docklands (AUS)
Rev. Peter and Mrs Jeanette Woods, Bittern (AUS)
John & Trish Grattan-Wilson, Warrnambool (AUS)
Peter Vince, Facility Management Victoria (AUS)
Robert Young, Bass Coast, Victoria (FIJI-AUS)
Barbara Tipper, Mornington Peninsula (AUS)
Kim Wilson, Jazz musician, Victoria (AUS)
Marcus Byrne Family, Bribie Island (AUS)
Ronny Kareni Family, Canberra (AUS)
Karina Davies, Fitzroy, Victoria (AUS)
John MacInnes, Warrnambool (AUS)
Mountmorency Bush Reserve (AUS)
Mr & Mrs Woodward, Victoria (AUS)

Hepzibah Farm, Stratham (AUS)
Aldyth Williams, Victoria (AUS)
Lorna Archer, Rosanna (AUS)
Anonymous, Gisborne (AUS)
Karina Davies, Fitzroy (AUS)



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