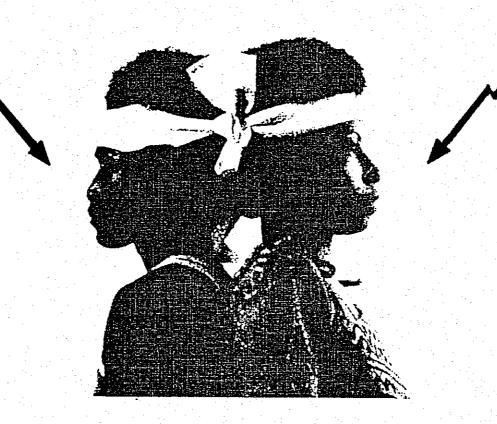
Occasional Paper #8

A Treaty for Genocide

Jakarta and Port Morseby Agree to Dismantle Melanesian Independence

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Indonesia's Silent Genocide Against Papuan Independence

Java-controlled Indonesia has launched a new intensified military and political effort to eradicate Papuan guerrilla resistance in West Furthermore, Indonesia now seeks to silence independence activists in the neighboring country of Papua New Guinea (PNG) which borders occupied West Papua. The centerpiece of Jakarta's silent genocide is the new Indonesia-PNG Treaty of Mutual Respect, Friendship and Cooperation, signed in Port Moresby, The treaty stipulates that Indonesia and Papua New Guinea "shall not cooperate with others in hostile or unlawful acts against the other nation or allow their territory to be used by others." The others are the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) resistance forces who are fighting Indonesia's military occupation of West Papua. The others are the OPM leaders, fighters and West Papuan refugees who are across the border in Papua New Guinea.

The day after the signing, John Giheno, a PNG opposition leader, denounced the treaty as "an international conspiracy to deny Melanesians of their existence and their heritage. The motives of the treaty are indeed sinister and it promotes passive genocide of the Melanesian race." Mr. Giheno said that the treaty prevents PNG from protesting the "inhuman treatment of Melanesians in Irian Jaya" [West Papua]. "This government has turned PNG into a puppet for Indonesian manipulation," he said. (Niugini Nius, October 29, 1986, p. 1) The purpose of the treaty is to deny PNG sanctuary to the OPM resistance by sealing the 800-km border to refugees and fighters and by sealing the lips of Papuan exiles.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr. Mochtar Kusmaatmadja stated after the signing that Indonesia would not give independence to Irian Jaya. "We wish the Papua New Guineans the best in their efforts to become a strong and independent nation, but we would not agree to give Irian Jayans a chance for independence because that would mean succession. We are one nation colonized by the Dutch and we adhere to the modern notion of nationhood, which is not built along racial lines. Irian Jayans are increasingly becoming Indonesians in feelings and we do not distinguish between Indonesians of Melanesian origins, or Malay origins or Arab origins." (The Times of Papua New Guinea, October 31— November 6, 1986).

Dr. Mochtar neglected to elaborate on the methods used to make people who have a different country, nationality, and identity feel Indonesian. He was silent on how a nation with a different economy, culture, history, and its own governments, religions and languages increasingly feels like Indonesians. This is how they do it. To take over West Papua and Papuan lands, resources and labor, Jakarta uses 1) crack army (XVIIth Divisional Command), paracommandos (Kospassandha) used in East Timor, airforce, police, and state security units to enforce submission, 2) Javanese settlers to occupy Papuan lands, 3) the displacement of Papuans into forced assimilation camps (translocal and PPM) where they undergo imposed Panscasila indoctrination of blind obedience to President Suharto and to the state, religious conversion to Islam and brainwashing to accept their place in Indonesia, and 4) an imposed legal system to suppress Papuan identity, leaders, even to forbid the use of the word Papuan.

Opposition to Indonesia's gulag approach to making Indonesians out of Papuans is met with brutal repression and reprisals: Arrests, torture, disappearances, atrocities, murders, rape, confiscation, destruction of property and entire communities, and indiscriminate air attacks (bombs, napalm and machine gun) against villages (Fourth World Journal, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1986; Cultural Survival Quarterly, Vol. 10. No. 2, 1986).

The new treaty is not about friendship, it is an agreement to be silent on genocide. Along with the treaty, Java has stepped up its repression of West Papuan civilians suspected of supporting the OPM. And, it struck a deal with PNG to forcibly "repatriate" refugees, jail OPM activists, seal off the press, and use military patrols to block border crossing points.

What looks like rabid and irrational Javanese actions to expand Indonesia by annexing West Papua and to silence dissent can better be understood in the context of Third World imperialism.

Indonesia's Third World Imperialism

The state of Indonesia is an artificial colonial creation forced upon 300 different peoples. These peoples live on more than 13,000 islands. The Javanese replaced the Dutch colonialists in the late 1940s. They imposed their control and their people over all other peoples on distant islands often hundreds of miles away. To consolidate their power and to supply their economy the Javanese became imperialists. Backed by their army they took political and economic control of unconsenting island peoples: Sumatra, Celebes (Sulawesi), South Moluccas, West Papua, East Timor, and scores of others. With Southeast Asia's second largest army and a population of over 100 million (60 percent of Indonesia's 168 million), Java has regularly used force and threats of force to dominate the region. They slaughtered more than 500,000 people after a 1965 coup attempt, and gave covert support to the Moro Liberation Front (a Muslim guerrilla group fighting the Philippine Army for regional autonomy on Mindanao). Java briefly invaded Malaysia, and they have continued their invasion of East Timor and West Papua.

Java has waged a 24-year-long war against the Melanesian peoples of West Papua, the western half of the island of New Guinea. To annex, consolidate and

integrate this resource—rich region into Indonesia, Java has used the tactics of Third World imperialism. It has declared an unconsenting nation to be part of the state and claimed that the nation's natural resistance to the take over is due to white ex—colonialists, communists (or the CIA) or separatists to get international political support. It sounded an alarm about a "rebel threat" to get military hardware from some developed countries like the United States of America. Indonesia's government announced agricultural development plans to get money from the World Bank or other international organizations to pay for the moving of state peoples onto nation peoples lands. Finally, it promised multinational corporations very profitable resource rights so that they will take care behind the scenes to prevent potentially embarrassing revelations. Having created the proper facade, an all—expense— paid invasion is ready to go, Third World—style, with guns, credit, loans and lies.

Jakarta targeted World Bank-funded transmigration to move millions of Javanese to islands that have resisted the imposition of Java's Indonesia: Sumatra, Sulawesi, South Moluccas, and West Papua. In West Papua front line Javanese combat troops and settlers moved in to forcibly displace Melanesian peoples and to eradicate Papuan culture and identity. In addition to needed agricultural lands, Java has benefited from profits returned from corporate exploitation of West Papuan peoples' minerals, forests, oil and fisheries.

Opposition to Java's imperialist expansion into West Papua comes from four main sources: 1) the OPM (Free West Papua) resistance fighters, 2) news stories based on interviews with OPM leaders, West Papuan exiles and refugees who crossed the border to Papua New Guinea, 3) international concern over transnational destruction of West Papua's tropical forests, and 4) political exposure by Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea of Java's secret war.

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The Suharto government worries about sustaining its outside financial aid. Continued external financing of wars and the transmigration program may dry up as a result of increasing international concern over human rights violations and rain forest destruction. Environmental and human rights groups focus on the source of the money to influence the source of the problem. The World Bank is Indonesia's major supplier of funds for transmigration (invasion) and forestry (deforestation). And, the World Bank is more sensitive to criticism and cautious about the wisdom and expense of moving people up to two thousand miles to destroy rain forests. The rate of relocation hardly makes a dent in Java's annual population increase of 3,000,000. (For transmigration to stay even with Javanese population growth it would cost about \$600,000,000 the first year, with expenses compounding every year: i.e. six billion dollars by year five.)

If external funds were cut back due to foreign concern over Java's oppressive policies, the funds for imperialism would have to come more from internal sources. Java's oil revenues have declined drastically over recent years. Consequently, Java has gone on the offensive to wipe out embarrassing pockets of dissent and resistance within Imperial Indonesia and to plug leaks in the "Bamboo Curtain" and to silence the sanctuaries of criticism in adjacent countries.

For example, political prisoners imprisoned for more than 20 years for association with a 1965 coup attempt are now being executed (The New York Times, November 15, 1986, p. 15). It appears that the Suharto government is doing this to demonstrate that absolutely no dissent will be tolerated, even from prison. The Javanese government proclaims the invincibility of its political ideology over all of colonial Indonesia. It regards opposition of any kind as a matter of "national security" and deals ruthlessly with offenders. In a region of small states and nations, imperialist Java uses its superpower status to force internal submission and to stifle external protest.

A Treaty With a Trigger

The new Indonesia—PNG treaty recognizes that neither country will interfere in the domestic affairs of the other. PNG opposition and OPM leaders say this means silence on human rights violations in West Papua, East Timor and in Indonesia. The treaty states that the "contracting parties shall not threaten or use force against each other." Indonesia hardly needs a treaty to protect its 169 million people from Papua New Guinea. It has Southeast Asia's second largest army which could easily overwhelm tiny Papua New Guinea's 3.2 million people. What this treaty language means is that Java will not use force as long as Port Moresby silences the OPM in Papua New Guinea. Another aspect of the treaty is the mutual recognition of respective national interests along the 800—km border. This translates to mean that Papua New Guinea will close down the border area sanctuary used by the OPM resistance forces.

Why would the current government of PNG sign a bilateral treaty that requires unilateral obligations? One reason is that it hopes to avert potential Indonesian territorial aggression by agreeing to Jakarta's demands. Java has sent several army and airforce missions across the border to demonstrate disdain for PNG territorial sovereignty. Another reason is that PNG Prime Minister Paias Wingti hopes Indonesia will sponsor his country's membership in ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations). This would increase its regional status as an important state. Whatever the reason, the treaty is being widely regarded as nothing more than an edict forced by a strong government upon a weak government. Many believe the agreement sacrifices the natural unity of Papuan peoples in West Papua and Papua New Guinea. In effect, PNG's government has caved into Indonesian pressure and recognized the illegal military invasion and occupation of West Papua. It is quite likely that Port Moresby's sell out of West Papuan independence aspirations will result in the downfall of the Wingti government.



The Bamboo Curtain

Access to an international border is of vital importance for an independence movement based on guerrilla warfare and world opinion. Other than the sea which is difficult to cross because of sophisticated Indonesian patrol vessels, West Papua's only border is Papua New Guinea. In the past this border has separated tyranny and freedom, persecution and refuge, total censorship and a voice to the world, and being hunted and being rested. The PNG side of the 800-km border serves as a sanctuary for OPM fighters and refugees. Journalists, church people and human rights specialists have come to the border area to gather firsthand information on Java's secret war.

Javanese occupation forces seek to deny the OPM access to Papua New Guinea by sealing off the border. They do this by concentrating army units and paramilitary settlers (transmigrasi saptamarga) at border crossing points. Extending a Jayapura link in the proposed Trans-Irian Highway will increase surveillance and military mobility. The construction of eight airstrips and more security posts are also planned. (Post-Courier [PNG], October 14, 1986, p.2).

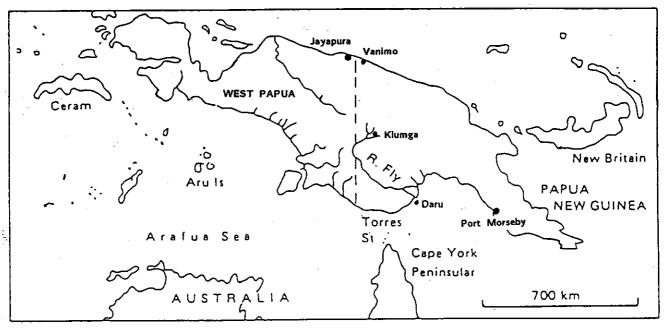
Indonesian army units have made many "Psy Ops" (Psychological Warfare Operations) incursions into PNG. Cross—border forays permit the army to distribute leaflets that denounce the OPM as terrorists. They claim that the Papuans are dangerous to local people who should report them and receive a reward. Indonesian "park rangers" regularly cross the border looking for poachers. Many PNG people have abandoned hunting because they are afraid of being mistaken for OPM and shot by these Indonesian "park rangers."

Forced Removal of Refugees

Papua New Guinea is cooperating with Indonesia to force the removal and

return of refugees to Irian Jaya (West Papua). The main refugee exodus from West Papua began with Java's 1984 army and airforce attacks against villages. At first PNG tried to ignore the problem. Then, as 10,000 refugees piled up, Port Moresby reluctantly agreed to permit church groups and the League of Red Cross Societies to assist. By late 1985 some 15,000 refugees were crowded into 16 makeshift and substandard camps. Meanwhile, Java refused to admit that these refugees existed. State officials called them "illegal border crossers" who were an "internal matter" and not subject to international concern or assistance. Nevertheless, Mr. Wingti's new government requested the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to oversee the camps. To appease Jakarta, Wingti also promised to work toward the return of refugees to Irian Jaya (West Papua).

In 1985 PNG Prime Minister Michael Somare's government bowed to Java's demands to return "Indonesian citizens." Port Moresby chartered airplanes to repatriate refugees to Jayapura, Java's stronghold in West Papua. Of one group of 16 refugees who were forcibly returned, at least four were tortured by Indonesian state security. Aboard one charter flight (October 12, 1985), 12 West Papuans learned they were being taken to Jayapura. They hijacked the plane and forced the pilot to return them to Vanimo in PNG. After landing, they were taken into custody, tied up and flown to Jayapura where they were put in an Indonesian jail (The Economist, October 26, 1985, pp. 45-46).



The Suharto regime claims that 5,000 "illegal border crossers" have "voluntarily returned" to Indonesia. The Wingti government puts the figure at 1,000, leaving 9,000 to 14,000 more West Papuan refugees. The remaining refugees are being given inadequate food, shelter and medical treatment to encourage them to return to Indonesian authorities.

On October 28, 1986 in Port Moresby, Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr. Mochtar again restated Jakarta's opposition to the Red Cross or United Nations monitoring the return of refugees. "We have always said people are free to have a look for themselves at what has happened to people who have come back. But we

don't like the word monitoring. We are an independent sovereign nation." (The Times of Papua New Guinea, October 31— November 6, 1986)

The UN High Commissioner on Refugees recognizes several different groups of West Papuans in PNG: 1) politically involved refugees (OPM), 2) politically opposed refugees (don't follow the OPM but are against Indonesia), 3) displaced persons (displaced from traditional lands by transmigration projects, forestry projects and National Parks and Nature Reserves), 4) traditional border crossers (those who seasonally cross the border for hunting, gardening and trade), and 5) OPM spokespersons sent to supply information on atrocities committed by Indonesian troops. The PNG government sent Group 1 and some from Group 2 to the Bomana jail in Port Moresby (this is where OPM leader James Nyaro is held incommunicado). Group 2, 3 and 4 people are kept in the border refugee camps to await relocation. Group 5 people are selected for return to Jayapura.

OPM members are trying to save children from Indonesian troop reprisals and Indonesia assimilation camps. Large numbers of children are coming across the border into Papua New Guinea.

In early September, 900 more refugees fled to PNG. These people had been forced from their land. Port Moresby mobilized police and defense force helicopters, patrol boats and beach patrols to block and turn back other West Papuans who sought safety. The Wingti government hushed up all public disclosure about this exodus.

Strangulate the OPM

Pressured by Jakarta, Papua New Guinea is now doing everything it can to silence and eradicate the OPM resistance. OPM leaders are kept incommunicado in jail, the border area and refugee camps are off limits to news media people, and PNG Defense Force activities have been stepped up.

The Ok Tedi Mining Company is considering selling one of its old camps in Kiunga to the PNG Defense Force which will use it as a border control base for 1500 to 2000 PNGDF personnel. Now stationed in Kiunga on the Fly River are two PNGDF "river trucks" (boats with stainless steel flatbottomed hulls for shallow rivers) equipped with 70-hp jet engines and twin 30-caliber M-60 machine guns. U.S. supplied Huey and Bell 206 helicopters armed with M-60 machine guns (the Vietnam models) make two to three weekly patrols along the border from Daru to Kiunga and from Vanimo to Kiunga.

The New Imperialism

Many Third World states have become the new imperialists. Indonesia, Ethiopia, Morocco, India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Brazil, Mexico, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Chile, Argentina and others have economies based on armed colonial occupation of Fourth World nations. Third World imperialism is increasing because First and Second world states supply arms and funds used to militarily annex land and resources. These new imperialist states have become regional superpowers and cast long shadows over smaller, less aggressive neighbors. The power of this "shadow effect" is demonstrated by the recent near capitulation of the Papua New

Guinea government to demands made by Java-dominated Indonesia.

As strong as the new imperialism may be, the real power comes from the OPM and other similar Fourth World national movements. Armed with bows and arrows, spears, wired—together shotguns, .22s, .303 Enfields, WWII M—1s, a few Ak—47s and M—16s, the OPM has resisted the region's superpower for 24 years. The new development is that a once supportive Papuan government has submitted to Indonesian pressure and has become just another puppet state.