REPORT
OF THE COMMITTEE
NEW GUINEA (IRIAN)
1950

PART III
TEXT AND APPENDIXES
OF THE INDONESIAN
MAIN CONSTITUENT

AUSTRALIAN SCHOOL OF PACIFIC ADMINISTRATION

PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE NETHERLANDS-INDONESIAN UNION
SETTLEMENT
OF THE
POINT AT ISSUE ABOUT WEST IRIAN
WEST NEW GUINEA

THE REPORT ABOUT THE STANDPOINT
OF THE INDONESIAN PART OF THE UNITED
COMMISSION FOR WEST NEW GUINEA,
APPOINTED BY THE UNITED STATES OF INDONESIA,
PARTNER IN THE
INDONESIAN-NETHERLANDS UNION,
1950

DONE AND RATIFIED AT SCHEVENINGEN ON AUGUST 1, 1950

III
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PART I

THE ATMOSPHERE OF IRIAN
THE ATMOSPHERE OF IRIAN

I. The point at issue

The territory about which the point at issue has arisen, namely West Irian, gained some distinction during the World War on account of the part it took in helping to uphold Democracy. In the first place it was there that the Japanese attack on Australia broke down, and secondly it was used by General Mac Arthur as the best place from which to launch his troops for the reconquest of the Philippines. This country has a hot climate. Its coastline runs longitudinally across the Pacific Ocean; in the North it runs actually parallel with the equator. It belongs with Greenland, Madagascar and Borneo, to the largest islands of our globe. It covers an area of 850 thousand km². The part west of the demarcation line running closely parallel to the 141° longitude has a surface of 413 thousand km²; this means three times the surface of Java (132 thousand km²; 12 times that of the Netherlands and it is almost as large as France). Therefore of the Indonesian country the area of which is 1,9 million km², 22% carrying a population of about one million, has not yet been transferred to the Indonesian government. It is not only for its size that this territory has become of so much importance in the XXth century. Its importance lies in the fact, that ever since the Spanish-Portuguese-Papal agreement of Tordesillas at the end of the XVth century it has been a bone of contention between the Western States of Europe. At present it is a point of political dissension between the governments of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Nationality is the basic principle on which Indonesia is founding its claims.

The Indonesian report starts from the point of view that the settlement of this dispute should be concerned entirely with the solution of the essential part of the difference of opinion about the transfer of sovereignty over this people and this country. Nevertheless we maintain that it seems to be of the greatest importance, that before anything else a true representation should be given of the atmosphere pervading the island, so that there can be no misunderstanding or errors, which might arise from the Netherlands report on Irian; and also that the manner in which the solution of this problem is brought about shall receive the place due to it in the interpretation and explanation of the transfer.

The object of the explanation given by the Indonesian party is to create an atmosphere of unbiased clearness so that this explanation may be a useful contribution to the satisfactory settlement of the difference now existing between the two participants in the Union.
II. The name Irian

In the first place about the name. The name New Guinea, used in the Netherlands text of the report on the results of the R.T.C. is derived from a Spanish-Latin word. In the Indonesian text the name Irian is used. The origin of this word is not formed by the first letters of the motto: „Ikt Republik Indonesia anti-Nederland” (volg de Republiek Indonesië anti-Nederland; Follow the Republic Indonesia anti-Netherlands) but a compound of two primitive words: In the Biak-Numfoor language Irian means Warland, because iri means land and an means warm. In the Serui tongue Irian means Native country, because iri means „pole” (mast) and an means „people” in that language, so the whole can be explained as: „Pole of the people” which means native country.

In the Merauke language Irian means Highly placed, elevated People and iri to lift up, to elevate. For all these words there are words of a similar meaning in he languages of West Indonesia. There is for instance the word an (Merauke-Biak-Numfoor) etymologically preserved in the Indonesian „hangat” (Javanese „angêt”) which means warm; we find iri (Biak) in the words (pe)sisir and pingir, meaning country, earth. Furthermore the attention is drawn to the fact that an in the meaning of „people” (Serui, Merauke) and the idea: highly elevated lifted high (Merauki: iri), has been preserved in the Indonesian apprehension angkatan, (expressing the notion: elevation) which means either descent from ancestors or people. The word Irian is originally an austronesian word, which was already used by the Indonesian population of the island as well as by the Indonesians who settled there from other parts. The name of the paper published by the progressive group is Warta Irian, whereas Suara Irian is the name of a periodical published by the Liberty groups. In this report the name Papua is not used, although it is well known that is was used as early as 1511 by the Portuguese Antonio d’Abreu and since 1517 by Francisco Rodríguez and also by a native of Vincenzo in Lombardy, called Antonio Pigafetta, who accompanied Magelhaen on his voyage round the world. Pigafetta has used the name Papua ever since he was in the Molucca’s in 1521. This name refers to the kind of hair of the inhabitants of Irian, and expresses how the population of the Molucca’s saw this hair. „Papua” in Malay means „woolly hair”, so M. W. Stirling informs us in his book: „The nature of New Guinea” 1843, p. 4, a publication of the Smithsonian Institute on War Backgroundstudies No. 9.

G. L. Tichelman says in the book by Verschuuren: New Guinea Uw naam is Wildernis, 1950 (New Guinea your name is Jungle) written by Verschuuren-Meuwese: „Some state that Papua is a contraction of the Malay word pua-pua, which means „crinkly or woolly hair”
and refers to the spirally curled hair, which is undoubtedly the most characteristic feature of these autochthonous people”. (p. 9).

The foreign name New Guinea composed by a Spaniard from Latin words, is not used in the Indonesian report, although it is a well-known fact that this name is a very old one and was used first by the Spaniard Ynigo Ortiz de Retes, who sailed in his ship „San Juan” in 1545 from Tidore to Mexico and landed on his way there at the mouth of the Mamberamo River in Irian.

In this report the name Irian is used. It was brought forward by the Indonesians themselves and was adopted for use in the resolutions taken by the R.T.C.

West-Irian that has become so important because it is located on the Western Pacific has, since the R.T.C. was dissolved, become a territory to which both parties lay claim. One of the parties is making preparations for acquiring the sovereignty, as the outcome of the discussions. The other party maintains its decision that it will promote and stimulate the interests of the original population of Irian.

III. Between the two claims

From the very beginning of the R.T.C., the Assembly which was to decide finally and conclusively about the complete, real and irrevocable transfer of the sovereignty, the Indonesian members have maintained their claim to the right according to which West Irian is a natural part of the Indonesian State. This right will be explained subsequently in greater detail in the chapter on the history of Irian.

This claim will be upheld, unaltered, until the people and the territory of West Irian shall have been placed under the sovereignty of Indonesia. The right on which the Netherlands Government, which has exercised the sovereignty de facto since December 1949, has based its power, is the right of usurpation and therefore it is only maintained in order to advance the Netherlands interests and not those of the original population. This will be explained on the basis of the course of history as stated below:

The policy followed by the Netherlands in West Irian was, in the very early days, that of recognising the right of Tidore to extend its power over this territory. After Tidore had taken possession of this area, it was told by the Dutch, that the right Tidore was supposed to have possessed in olden times, was an imaginary right, a fiction. Here follows what J. Tideman, late Governor of the Molucca’s during the Netherlands administration, wrote in his book „New Guinea” 1935 I page 4: „In 1545 Ortiz de Retes took possession of New Guinea in the name of the King of Spain. But the Spanish never did anything about it. So the island remained undisturbed in its isolation
from the rest of the world, and the Papua population went on living their ordinary lives, entirely unconscious of the threatening danger of Western invasion and usurpation”.

Further on he criticizes the right of Tidore in offensive terms and utters accusations against Indonesia, more especially against the Sultan of Tidore and the population of the Molucca’s. His words are: „It was only in the Western coastal area and in the islands West of New Guinea, that the Molucca rulers succeeded in making the population pay tribute. They had a regular slave trade and also took other valuable products during their raids. The Sultan of Tidore looked upon these raids on the Papua islands as being his right to which he was fully entitled. This was the basis of the legend that the Western part of New Guinea and the adjacent islands belonged to the territory of the Sultan of Tidore. But there is no vestige of any „governing” ever having been done in these parts. As a result of these repeated contacts with the outside world, the original inhabitants unavoidably absorbed a little culture under the influence of Tidore and Ternate, especially in the coastal districts. But the same thing happened in the East and the Eastern parts of the North Coast, where a Melanesian influence is easily recognisable. But these are the only elements of foreign origin in the cultural possessions of the Papua population until 1855, when the missionaries made their appearance in these islands”.

This is the opinion of the XXth century Dutch about events which took place hundreds of years ago and for which they now hold us responsible. But at the same time it is acknowledged that the Netherlands policy in the beginning was a policy of robbery and contracts (agreements); later on the Indonesian power and authority in the island were abolished completely up to the present day. The methods employed in the pursuit of profit and the raids carried out are described in the following statement by Tideman. Here is what he writes:

„When the East India Company made its first appearance in the Molucca’s and the Board of Seventeen wrote: „the islands Banda and the Molucca’s are the target we are aiming at”, it was only natural that their agents in these parts tried to add some of the booty that was to be got in New Guinea to their other spoils. Even in these days the Board of Seventeen warned their representatives to be careful. Their answer to the report sent by Carstensz in 1623 was, that in these „wild areas there was nothing to be done that would bring profit to the Company”. Nevertheless the Company’s agents looked upon all strangers in the Molucca Archipelago as undesirables, who should be kept at a safe distance from New Guinea”.

After the decline of the Spanish power, and after this nation had been ousted from the Indonesian Archipelago by the Portuguese and by the Dutch, the Netherlands East India Company made a „Union
and Eternal Alliance” with Ternate, Tidore and Batjan in 1660. This ruse was the beginning of their influence and power in the Archipelago of the Papua Islands, exercised to the advantage of the Netherlands, but certainly not to the advantage of the original inhabitants of Irian. This does not prevent Tideman from stating: „Although the Tidorese sovereignty in these parts was problematical, and nobody knows the full extent of the areas over which the Tidorese rights could be exercised, it was from this time that the claims of the Company on the Western half of New Guinea were recognised, and the supremacy of the Dutch over this territory began”. (New Guinea, 1935, I p. 4—5).

Since 1660 the Dutch and the Tidorese had been on terms of friendship with each other; but for the Dutch this amity was only a means to an end, viz. that of robbing that friend of his rights and his power, especially in view of profit might accrue to the Seven United Provinces, but never in consideration of the interests of the original inhabitants of Irian. In 1705 these friendly relations were strengthened anew, when the Dutch learned during a landing carried out at Rumengai on the North coast that the local population acknowledged the overlordship of Tidore.

A century later, in 1797, the Governor of the Molucca’s still recognised the right of Tidore in all the archipelago’s round Irian, the „Papua Islands”. Later on, during the English occupation of Indonesia, the British government also acknowledged these rights of Tidore.

When the Indonesian territory was returned to the Dutch by the British, according to the terms of the Conference of August 13, 1814, each of the contracting parties agreed to recognise: „the international title on which the possession of the colonies is based”, with the acknowledgement of the right which Tidore has on the Papua Archipelago and part of West Irian. This enabled the Dutch a few years later to confirm the sovereignty of Tidore by incorporating this territory in the residency Ternate. This was made operative by an agreement with Tidore.

The treaty of March 17, 1824, did not cancel this right of Tidore, so that it now obtained international sanction. (Tideman, Nieuw Guinea, 1935, I. p. 53 and W. A. Hovenkamp, late Resident of Ternate, in his book: Bestuur, Justitie etc. 1937, p. 29). In 1848 there was again an acknowledgement of the sovereign rights of Tidore. When on May 16, 1895 it had been settled that the frontier of West Irian was to run along the meridian at 141° 1'47” O.L. (Official Gazette 1895, N. 22), the Dutch resumed on several occasions their policy of causing the Indonesians to leave these districts as much as possible and to deprive them of their rights to this part of their native soil, i.e. the territory of West Irian. It is a well known fact, that the Netherlands Government wished, a few weeks before the R.T.C. to
make a precipitate use of the colonial regulations of 1904 to bring about a complete separation between the whole of West Irian and the Sultanate of Tidore. An offer of 50,000 guilders to the Sultan of Tidore as the price for the sale of this territory was declined. Up to the day of his death the Sultan refused to accept this money.

This action demonstrates once more that the Netherlands were only concerned with their own advantages without any consideration for the interest of the original population. In this way West Irian came under the administration of the Netherlands government, i.e. through the intermediary of the Sultan of Tidore, and by cession. Subsequently the Southern part became administratively part of the Residency of Amboina; but the Northern part remained under the rule of the Sultan of Tidore. These occurrences have been set down in *M. W. Stirling’s* book on „The Native People of New Guinea, (1943, ps. 7—8). In the chapter on the history of Irian this matter will be treated in greater detail in connection with the manner in which West Irian was brought under the rule of the Netherlands.

„The Dutch territory comprises one half of the island lying west of 141st meridian und the Fly River. The Dutch based their claim on the fact that the Sultan of Tidore considered New Guinea as part of his domain. This was ceded to the Dutch in 1714. In 1911 western and southwestern New Guinea was attached by the Dutch to the residency of Amboina, and northern New Guinea was placed under the administration at Ternate”.

It should be pointed out here, that the explanation of the Netherlands relations with Tidore in respect of New Guinea is given here only in order to show up the method the Netherlands used to found its authority, which is a basis for the colonial claims to a part of this territory. The national Indonesian claim differs in character and basis. The Netherlands rule de facto in West Irian is not a sovereign right, but is a mere act of occupation, after this territory had been received by cession from Indonesia in casu the Sultan of Tidore.

That this method of robbery cannot be reconciled to any conception of justice or civilisation, may be read in the volume: „The Netherlands Constitutional Law”, II, 1947, page 159, written by Professor R. Kranenburg, president of the Upper Chamber of the Netherlands Parliament and a well known and highly honoured legal light. He writes:

"Van Deventer was the first great champion of what has been called: "the ethical policy" in the Indies. Personally I prefer to qualify it as a legal policy, a policy the basic principle of which was the necessity to discard the policy of exploiting the Indies to the exclusive advantage of the Netherlands. He proclaims the need of governing the Indies for the benefit of the native population, and states that the only justification of the Netherlands governing the
Indies is that the Netherlands authorities shall serve the Indies in order to procure for this country culture, prosperity and the development of all its resources. Our "droit de conquête", the fact of our supremacy in former centuries is not sufficient title for the exercise of constitutional rights. The fact of conquest can never be a legal ground for the exercise of lawgiving authority; conquest has not a legal standard".

The only way to come to an agreement between the Indonesian and the Netherlands claims must be found in discussions and in taking council together on the basis of the Indonesian point of view, so that the sovereignty of Indonesia may be completed and perfected as soon as possible by adding West Irian to its territory.

In order to prove that the position of the Netherlands is weak because its claims are based on colonial injustice, and also in order to create an unbiased atmosphere for the settlement of this political conflict, we request your special attention for the following socio-geographical statement.

In this socio-geographic part it will be explained, that in the solution of the differences there is a feeling that the colonial rights on West Irian provide a very insecure basis to start from when we compare this with the grounds on which the Indonesian claims are founded. That is why the Netherlands point of view stresses the premise that the interests of the original population of Irian are paramount.

That the transfer of sovereignty to the Indonesian government means that this government will serve the interests of the original population of Irian, is the subject that will be elucidated in the socio-geographic chapter.

IV. Topography of West Irian

West Irian lies in the East of the Indonesian Archipelago; the North coast follows the borderline of the Pacific Ocean and the south coast is washed by the Arifura Sea. It is separated from the Australian continent by Torres Straits. The most widely known bay on the north coast is the bay of Saireri. On the south coast there are Macclure Bay and the bay of Bintuni at the foot of the Onin Range, which became known as the Wanin Mountains in the time of Gadjahmada. The island Irian is situated immediately north of Australia, so that the climate and the condition of the atmosphere are different from those of Australia. In the East the boundary follows a line, laid down on the political chessboard by people interested in such things and follows the 141° 1' 47.9" E.L., according to the terms of the Anglo-Dutch Convention signed in the Hague on May 16, 1895. Between May 17 and Juni 2, 1950, the entire area of West Irian was studied from the
air by the Irian Joint Commission, who also visited a number of other places in the islands Biak, Serui, on the island Japen, as well as Hollandia on Humboldt Bay and Tabi. An other visit was paid to Lake Sentani at the foot of the MacArthur Hill, Manokwari, Sorong and Dom. The commission paid all these visits by aeroplane, a Sky-master Catalina, an amphibian-aeroplane, or by ship. Besides being able to hear what the Netherlands officials, the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries and prominent true Irianese had to say, there was the advantage of hearing the results of the investigation about the topography, the fauna, the flora and the original inhabitants of West Irian. This territory may be divided into three areas, by a horizontal and a vertical line. In the first place there is Vogelkop (the Bird’s Head) west of a longitudinal line running from North to South, following the meridian between Etna Bay in the Arifula Sea and Waobu on the Bay of Saireri on the Pacific-coast and in the second place Tanah Besar (on the mainland) East of this imaginary line. The horizontal line runs from West to East following the parallel from Modowi on Etna Bay and East of the Charles Louis, Nassau, Orion and Star ranges, which means the whole of the Snow Mountain range. Here follow a few geographical names of the aboriginal population. The peninsula, now called the Vogelkop was called by the original Indonesian population Dore-ri (dore means duri, gigi = thornpoint or tooth; ri means lima or five), because the Indonesian navigators did not see this Irian head as a bird’s beak or head, but saw many pointed promontories reaching out into the sea, separated from each other by deep bays. Seen from the landslide the coast-line looked like a human hand with five fingers stretched out, viz: the Umar-, Wandamen-, Bintuni-, Arguni- and Etna Bay.

The Snow Mountains Range, which has been known since the early years of the Christian era, and which may be thought identical with the Land of Kusj in the Bible (populated by descendants of Cham; see Hermann Gunkel, Handkommentar zum alten Testament, 1901, p. 140—141) is now known by the name of Mawoka (Ma means kamu or you, wo is matahari or sun, Ka or kah is a suffix for the interrogative form; Mawoka therefore is mataharikah kamu, or are you the sun?; wo may also mean cold; the tops of the mountains seen from the beach are white or swathed in clouds).

The sea, nowadays called Geelvinck Bay, has also an original name, viz: Saireri, (sai means sea, rei means road) and it is the place where the Irians from Waropen crossed to the foot of the Arfak Mountain as is told in the story of the wandering of the great leader and fighter of the Tabi district Fakok Pasref. It may also mean waterway from the continent to the Pacific; the Pacific is called Kubira Manami. (Kubira means mandi, to bathe, wanami means angin or wind). This Pacific Ocean namely is not so tranquil and smooth as the European
name implies; on the contrary it is full of currents and can be very tumultuous. *Wanami* also means to hit a person with an arrow, as this ocean is much disturbed by sudden squalls, and which was subjugated or conquered in the past by the Austronesians during their voyages in their sampans from the western part towards the north and the east.

The division by these vertical and horizontal lines cuts Irian into three areas, differing from each other in shape and characteristics. The *southern part* has many rivers, as the Omba, Umar, Porongo, Uta, all of which have their sources in Lake Paniai (Wisselmeren), 1640 m² and irrigate the districts Mimika, Otakwa, Setakwa, Tjemara, Lorentz, Islands, Wildeman, Dojo-ussi, Uwamba, Digul and Muju, Bian, Kombe and Merauke.

The most important place in this area is the capital Merauke; of less importance are Modowi, Uta, Kokenan, Timare, Japero, Mappi, Tanahtinggi, Tanah-merah, Abemarre, Muting and Okaba. All the rivers mentioned have their sources south of the Snow Range and flow into the Arafura Sea; at the mouth they make the impression of a barrier. Geologically this southern territory is sinking, whilst the northern part rises and the coral reefs lie close to the coast.

The area north of the horizontal line is divided by two mountain ranges; they are the Nassau and Gautier mountains, and the Van Rees and Cyclops Ranges. These mountains meet in the islands Japen and Biak-Supiori. In the valley between these ranges runs a tributary to the Rouffaer and Idenburg river; they unite and form then the Mamberamo river, which flows into the Pacific close to Cape d'Urville west of Mataboor. The other rivers: Tami, Sekanto, Korime, Wiruwai, Biri, Tor, Apauar, Wair, Wapoga, Warenai and Wanggar. The best-known places are Hollandia, Ampas, Genjem, Armopa, Sarmi, Sawai Sasora, Demba, Waren, Napan, Nabire, Waobu and on the islands: Bosnik, Mokmer, Warsa, Korido, Serui, Sambereba; Wooi and Namber on the island Numfoor. The district Baliem or Hidden Valley lies north of the twin Orange mountains and south of Mount Doorman and Mount Angemuk.

*Dorori* (Vogelkop) is full of mountains and hills and along the coast are a number of bays, cutting deeply into the land, so that they form various promontories and capes. The most important mountains range in the south is the Kowiaia range and in the north the Arfak and the Tamrau mountains. The best known rivers are the Omba, Kaitero, Jakakai, Wasiyan, Sebjar, Wiragar, Waromge, Seremuk, Kais and Ransiki. Important places are Kaimana, Mnadiwa, Fak Fak, Kokas, Babo, Inawatan (Bira), Ajamura, Sorong, Sansapor, Wasior, Windehsi and Manokwari (capital of the district).

The geographical division described above points to unity in the physiography and is based on R. W. van Bemmelen's division of the
whole of the East Asiatic Archipelago (The Geology of Indonesia, vol. I.A. 1949) into 4 area’s i.e.:

A. *Sunda area*, viz. the small islands adjacent to the territory of Sunda; Borneo and the Malay Peninsula.

B. *The circum-Sunda orogenie systems* (The Philippines, the Molucca Archipelago, Celebes, the Lesser Sunda Islands, Java, Sumatra, the Andamans and the Nicobar groups).

C. *The circum Australian systems* (Irian and Christmas Island).

D. *The Sahul area* (Merauke and Aru Islands).

This division into four areas applies also to the areas outside the Indonesian territory, like the Philippines, Christmas Island, the Andamans, the Nicobar group and others. This division has no importance in regard to the rounding off of the Indonesian territory which is the point at issue at present. This division, which also includes areas under the political administration of other States, serves exclusively for the better understanding and elucidation of various exterior conditions and of problems of a scientific nature.

In a country where fascist principles are practised it may be possible to put science and research work illegitimately and to the detriment of science to political uses, but in countries, where science is honoured and respected, it is of the greatest importance that the results obtained in scientific research work, should be kept rigorously apart from political advantages and desires. These two factors are and will always remain absolutely irreconcilable.

V. The aboriginal population Indonesian

Only about one third of the one million original inhabitants of Irian has any contact with the Netherlands administration. The aboriginal people of Irian live near to or roam about in the coastal districts, the interior or the mountains. The greater part of these settlements has not yet been visited by the Netherlands officials, as f.i. the valley of Balem (Hidden Valley) and others. Now and again rivers, kampongs and tribes are discovered which have not yet been visited by western people previously. There are on the other hand a great number of tribes and hundreds of dialects of which only the names are known, but which have not yet found a place in the tables or registers drawn up for the study of Austronesian languages. (See: J. Gonda, Austrisch en Arisch, 1932; K. Wulff, Uber das Verhältnis des Malayo-Polynesischen zum Indo-Chinesischen, 1942; W. Schmidt. S.V.D., Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise der Erde, 1926 pp. 141—146; A. Maillet et M. Cohen, Les Langues du Monde, 1924; Codrington, Melan. Languages, 1885; H. Kern, Fidjitaal, Nufoorsch; *J. H. M. C. Boelaars*, The Linguistic position of S.W. New Guinea,
1950). The position of the tribe of Biak Numfoor is the most remarkable among the Indonesian tribes in W. Irian, populating the islands in the Bay of Saireri, and the beaches of the mainland of Irian from Mamberamo to Sorong and Halmahera. The population consists of about 30,000 souls and more than 90% of these are Protestants; the majority can read and write and speak the Indonesian language fluently.

The language of Biak Numfoor is used in this area quite as much as the Indonesian tongue. Most beautiful are their songs, as they are sung in Wardo, Sowek and Korido. According to the story named Meok Wundi or Mansren Mangundi, the Biak Numfoor language has its origin in Biak, whereas the legend about the wanderings of the heroes Fakok and Pasref (the Pandji story of Irian) tells us, that the people of Biak Numfoor comes from the Tabi district on the mainland situated between Tamy Bay (Humboldt Bay) and the mouth of the Mamberamo river.

A. In the area of North Irian the population lives, either as settlers or as nomads. The Moano, who have settled on the Mamberamo river, are best-known; furthermore there are: the Bakusi, the Sarmi, the Tabi Nimboran and the Waroppen.

B. In the Doreri peninsula (Bird’s Head) lives the Irian tribe called Arfaksi, at the foot of the Arfak mountains. They all speak the Biak Numfoor language. There are also the Sopen, the Manwor, the Sambor. On the North Coast are found the people of Biak; and at last those of Lake Anggi.

The inhabitants of the coastal district of Mac Cluer-Bay and of Bintuni Bay are the original population, who for a very long time lived in close contact with the people of the island Ceram and of the Sultanate of Tidore.

In the Inanwatan and Fak-Fak districts the people were protected by their rulers. The tribes Aitinju and Ajamaru lived in the mountains. It is of interest to note here that in Sorong the Oil-Company employs about 1500 Irians side by side with 4500 Indonesians from the Pasundan.

C. The population of the Radja Ampat islands is also of great interest. Their original name was the Kolana Fat, which reminds one of the four powers Waigeo, Salawasi, Waigama and Misool, which are now under Sorong rule. Formerly all these rulers were representatives of the Sultan of Tidore. But the Netherlands Government put an end to this connection. The people of Radja Ampat are famous pearlfishers and they even go further afield to exercise their craft. The people are mostly Mahomedans.

D. South Irian is very thinly populated. The best known tribe is that of the Mimika and of Manuwe, round Kokonao. They suffered
much from punitive expeditions because they were accused of making raids. In the south-east area round Merauke are found the Muju tribe, the Bian- and the Marind Anim tribe, which formerly were sometimes called the Kaya-Kaya. It was sometimes feared that the Marindi group was dying out, as they were infected with venereal granuloma and that they would succumb to the disastrous effects of pederasty and other tribal customs.

The following tables give a general idea of the density of the population:

According to the census the total population of W. Irian is 330 793.

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yapen</td>
<td>28 499</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollandia</td>
<td>165 130</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Irian</td>
<td>268 666</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-Irian</td>
<td>15 837</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irian-Dorneri</td>
<td>44 146</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West-Irian</td>
<td>328 649</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>1858</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For comparison with the population of East-Irian see some figures below, taken in 1933:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Britain</td>
<td>83 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Ireland</td>
<td>38 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Guinea</td>
<td>200 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Irian-territory</td>
<td>401 000</td>
<td>about 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>701 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of inhabitants in the mountains in Irian was at that moment 1 million. (Copied from New Guinea I, 1935, p. 260).

In Djakarta we obtained the following figures. They show the number of those who presented themselves for registration in 1947.
1. **Hollandia-area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sentani</td>
<td>6 463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nimboran</td>
<td>5 280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djapare</td>
<td>4 526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobati</td>
<td>2 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wembi</td>
<td>1 094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ampas</td>
<td>2 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Njan</td>
<td>669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotabaru</td>
<td>669</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total       | 23 122     |

2. **Sarmi-area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sarmi</td>
<td>4 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonggo</td>
<td>2 080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guy a.o.</td>
<td>5 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total       | 11 227     |

3. **Japan-area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serui a.o.</td>
<td>19 758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waren</td>
<td>2 907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaipuri</td>
<td>7 095</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total       | 29 760     |

4. **Biak-area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bosnik</td>
<td>8 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wardo Lor</td>
<td>4 097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsa</td>
<td>5 616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korido</td>
<td>4 516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numfoor</td>
<td>5 186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total       | 27 606     |

5. **Manokwari-area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manokwari Sidei</td>
<td>2 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amberbaken-Keber</td>
<td>2 685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waren</td>
<td>2 713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wei</td>
<td>5 523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danau Anggi</td>
<td>2 098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabire-Napen</td>
<td>2 308</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total       | 17 528     |

6. **Sorong-area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sorong</td>
<td>2 314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salawati</td>
<td>2 319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misool</td>
<td>2 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waigeo</td>
<td>2 946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seget</td>
<td>3 075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klamono</td>
<td>1 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luwelala a.o.</td>
<td>1 804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moraid a.o.</td>
<td>884</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total       | 17 090     |

7. **Inanwatan-area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inanwatan</td>
<td>3 923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampungbaru</td>
<td>2 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teminabuan</td>
<td>5 427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arandai</td>
<td>1 743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasain a.o.</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajamaru</td>
<td>5 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aitinju</td>
<td>3 708</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total       | 22 425     |

8. **Fak-Fak-area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fak-Fak</td>
<td>5 451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokas</td>
<td>4 706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babo</td>
<td>3 048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaimana</td>
<td>6 896</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total       | 20 101     |

9. **Merauke-area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merauke</td>
<td>6 338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okaba</td>
<td>4 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunaam</td>
<td>5 814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muting</td>
<td>2 438</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total       | 18 738     |

10. **Area of the upper course of the Digul River**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Digul Udik</td>
<td>5 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanah Merah</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mindiuptana</td>
<td>11 829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masin-Mappi</td>
<td>4 835</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total       | 21 844     |
11. Mimika-area ... 6 347

A. North-Irian-territory
Hollandia .......... 23 122
Sarmi ............. 11 227
Yapen ............. 29 760
Biak .............. 27 606

B. West-Irian-area
Manokwari .......... 17 528
Sorong ............ 17 090
Inanwatan .......... 22 425
Fak-Fak ........... 20 101

C. South-Irian-area
Merauke ............ 16 738
Digul Udik .......... 21 844
Mimika ............ 6 347

D. Paniai-area ......

215 788

It is impossible to give the correct number of persons per K.M.\(^2\). It is quite clear that the number is much lower than that indicating the density of the population in the Isle of Java or in the Netherlands (280 per K.M.\(^2\)).

Notwithstanding the fact that the Supiori, Japen and Numfoor districts are less fertile than others and that the sago palms are scarce, the population is here denser than anywhere else in all Irian, viz: 8 souls per km\(^2\).

This figure shows that during the last 20 years the population in Biak neither increased nor decreases, but remains stationary; this state of affairs is not the result of depopulation, or a decline in the number of births, but is caused by the fact, that the barrenness of the soil and the dearth of sago palms, compels the Biak people to leave their district and try to do better in other places. Many of these people became the victims of the measures taken for the suppression of the Mansren Mangundi movement in the time of the Japanese occupation. But the maintenance of the number of souls in the Biak-Numfoor area can be explained by economic causes. Data about the life, manners and customs of the Irians will be given in another part of this report. Those who are anxious to learn more about this subject should consult the following list of literature on the subject: Dr. P. Wirtz: Die Marind-anim von Holländisch Sud Neu-Guinea, 1925, Band I und II; Daomen und Wilde in Neu-Guinea, 1928; Dr. J. van Baal: Godsdienst en samenleving in Ned. Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea, 1934; Verschuren—Meuwese, Nieuw-Guinea, Uw naam is wildernis, 1950; Lloyd Rhys: 1947: Jungle Pimpernel; A. van Kempen: Jungle Pimpernel, 1950.

E. The number of Indonesian immigrants (not original inhabitants) is about 10 000; besides Indonesians from Kei, Sangir and Amboina, who are almost all Protestants, the Indonesian settlers from outside are Mahommedans. Five thousand of these are em-
ployed by the Oil-Company at Sorong; the others are spread over the Radja Ampat Islands, Manokwari, Fak-Fak, Babo and many live in Merauke, where they have a large Mosk. In the period just closed the anti-Republic group used the word „Amberi” and „Po-anin” for the Indonesian immigrants; the word „Amberi” which means „clothed aliens” was used for propaganda-purposes and stressed the feeling that the original population were Melanesians and not Indonesians and showed the wish to keep entirely apart from the Indonesian subjects. The word „Amberi” has now lost its hostile meaning as the Kingdom of the Netherlands has come to an agreement with the R.I. at the R.T.C. in which there is an official statement about the status of the assignment of the subjects, which proclaims that the Indonesians possess the Indonesian nationality. This new word „Amberi” has now an offensive meaning and is meant to stimulate hatred ad separatism.

There is a saying „The kris (Indonesian dirk) stabs its owner”. The Indonesians and the aboriginal inhabitants feel, that, in the first place „Amberi” means „stranger or alien”, which applies specially to white-skinned people, who are indeed strangers and belong to the group „new-comers”.

The colonial word Native and the conception fascisme „gendjumin” have failed and the word Amberi, which now is an insult, includes both these words.

F. The conditions under which the population live is still very primitive. More than two thirds of them have no contact whatever with the Dutch government administration.

Money is unknown in the mountain districts; payments are made with a kind of sea-shell (cyprea moneta).

The country is infested with malaria and this is a great menace to the population. Professor Swellengrebel gave some figures about this evil. Of the Irianese inhabitants of over 35 years of age living near Lake Sentani, 25% are infected by this disease Venerial deseases threaten the lives of the Marind-anim. The population is very scattered and comes to about two persons per km²; and this district covers a large area.

Nothing is known of the primitive life along the coast and in the interior. The economic relations do not extend as a rule beyond the barter of very simple articles. The government posts are like small islands, enclaves in the sea. All voices crying for liberty, are suppressed and so twisted, that they stimulate hate against the Republic. The administration is based on too little knowledge of the country and the people.

G. Irianese wearing clothes are only found round the government stations. In the interior or in the mountains and in other places along the coast, the whole population goes about without any clo-
thing, notwithstanding the fact, that the Netherlands administration has been established there for 122 years. The women wear a small kind of loincloth, the men a „Kodeka” an article made of the labu fruit (a kind of pumpkin). If culture is to be spread by the distribution of textile goods, at the rate the Netherlands Government is doing now, it will take about four times 122 years before the world has seen the last Irianese.

This is not in accordance with the pronouncement in the Manifesto of San Francisco, which states in art. 73 that: „The interests of the inhabitants of those territories are paramount, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territory”. This puts the Netherlands Government under the obligation to undertake the care for these people and putting their best efforts and strength into the fulfillment of this self-imposed task. But the government has been weak and negligent, its behaviour has been that of a conqueror; and after all, the original population here or anywhere else in Indonesia never asked for protection or care. The territory of West Irian and the people of West Irian have become, under the Dutch administration one of the ”badly administered” territories. It needs a new administration introduced by the National Government of this country and this people, for only under those conditions will the administration be carried out exclusively to the interest and benefit of the original population of Irian and of Democracy.

VI. Linguistics, Anthropology, Ethnology

In this report we will not enlarge unduly on the meaning and the position of the regions of West-Irian, neither will this be done in respect of Anthropology and Ethnology, as a scientific explanation would be rather out of place here. The object of this report is the settling of a political difference. These subjects could moreover only be touched upon superficially, because our knowledge of the languages, the investigation of the shapes of the skulls and the tribal customs of Irian has not yet progressed beyond the comparative philology of 40 or 50 years ago, when Professor Kern was still alive and the Austronesian languages, such as the Fiji-, the Numfoor, the Aneytum language, Old-Javanese and Madagaskers were fully examined; apart from this fact, the point of view set out in this report remains unaltered as often has been stressed, viz: that the establishment of a political state Indonesia will be strengthened by the wish for one national language, so that the anthropological and ethnological and linguistic differences will no longer seriously obstruct the formation of such a nation. In the Netherlands the difference between the languages spoken in Holland and in Friesland have never been an impediment in the way of their becoming one nation, one people. The population of 13 states
of the U.S.A., who were all, anthropologically, ethnologically and as regards languages, of European origin, and who came over to America to found colonies there, were able after the American revolution at the end of the 18th century, to form one American Nation, with English for its national language. The Swiss people, up to this very date, possess three languages, and form a strong Union. In the Philippine Republic, there are tens of different languages, but this has not prevented them from forming the Philippine Nation and State, because they have one original language in common, the Tagalog and the Visaja language, and for official international intercourse Spanish and English.

The circumstances in South East Asia are different from those in Europe; Europe is different from Asia and this difference carries many advantages in regard of philology.

Philology has found that all the groups of languages belonging to the Austria languages can be divided into two categories, viz: the Austro-Asiatic and the Austronesian languages, formerly united in the Malayo-polynesian group of languages. The Austronesian group is divided in: the Indonesian, Polynesian and Melanesian languages. This division is not meant to set them apart from each other, but rather to demonstrate the common basis from which they developed, and the tie that binds them into one group.


It is impossible as yet to decide whether the languages of Irian all belong to an Indonesian or a Melanesian group of languages or whether they must be looked upon as mixed languages.

In connection with the investigations made about the opinions of philologists such as Schmidt, Ray and Capell, who have done much good work for the languages of Irian, another philologist, Boelaars published his opinion about the languages of all Irian and of many of the adjacent islands. In his studies he made use of the results of the researches carried out by H. Geurtjens, m.s.c., and of P. Drabbe, m.s.c. Boelaars called this group the "group of Papuan languages".
The result of these researches fail however, to give any insight in the connection of this group with parts of groups of the Austronesian languages, as, f.i. Indonesian and Melanesian. When comparing the results of these investigations with the opinions of other philologists such as Kern and Schmidt, and seen the conditions prevailing in the Irianeese community, it becomes now possible to draw three conclusions.

The researches about West Irianeese languages have shown, that in the very beginning there was one Irianeese group of languages; this opinion is shared by Boelaars. This Irianeese group is directly and closely related to the group of East Indonesian languages, under the influence of Australia, and belongs moreover to the languages spoken in the islands of Timor and North Halmahera.

This proves, that West Irian cannot be separated from Indonesia without infringement of the unity in the field of Indonesian culture. Vide "map of languages". (Boelaars, 1950 etc. p. 215).

Although this conclusion is not connected with the grounds on which the claims of Indonesia, which only comprise the former territory of the Netherlands East-Indies, are based, the conclusion arrived at by Boelaars leads clearly to the conviction, that the Irianeese languages belongs neither to the Melanesian, nor to the Australian or the Polynesian languages.

In order to prevent that the above mentioned conclusion which wishes to consider all „Papuans“ as belonging to one group, and uses this as a ground for the policy which aims at a separation of West Irian from the Indonesian nation, should entail consequences which lead zum Teufel, it is only right to state plainly and clearly in this report that the Indonesian claims include the whole of West-Irian. This seems to be the place to quote the words of Professor Kern, as a warning: "It would be entirely premature to conclude, from the similarity of the language, that the peoples using it are of common origin. History teaches us that sometimes whole nations have adopted a foreign language. We know, with historical certainty, that the ancestors of the presentday French, Spanish, Portuguese, Roumanian and the majority of the Italian peoples dit not speak latin, neither were they Romans. But gradually they adopted the language of the great city on the Tiber; and out of the Latin language, which originally was confined to the small country Latium, a number of younger languages developed, Italian, Roumanian, Provençal, French, Spanish and Portuguese. As it is quite proper to call these Romanic or New Latin languages, the scientists have thought it also legitimate to say that the peoples speaking them belong also to the Romance (Roumanian) or Latin race. It is true that the nations mentioned here are in an ever lessening degree the physical descendants of the Latins, but they are surely entitled to be considered as the spiritual heirs of the Romans."
It is decidedly not without reason that, when dividing the people of this earth in races, great importance is attached to the language they speak, for the language exercises considerable influence on the character and spirit of a people, whereas in its turn, this character puts its stamp on the language.

Almost everything we know, think and feel, we owe to tradition. Tradition is our teacher who moulds our character and directs our spiritual life.” (Over den invloed der Indische, enz. beschaving op de volken v. d. Ind. Archipel, 1883, V.G. VI, p. 13).

Here follows the second conclusion.

The careful studies made of various Irian languages twenty years ago, have furnished irrefutable proof that many Indonesian elements are still to be found in these tongues, which show a great deal of similarity with the West-Indonesian language or at all events with the grammar of the Austronesian group of languages. This appears especially in the characteristic use of prefixes, primitive words (radical concepts), alterations in sounds, syntax and numerals.

This resemblance or similarity is found in the languages spoken in the mountainous districts as well as in the area round Lake Paniai (the Wisselmeren) or in the coastal districts of Saireri (Geelvinck Bay) and in the Hollandia country. For confirmation of this, one has only to read the works by Chesterton, Geurtjens and Drabbe on the Irianese languages. At the same time it should be remembered that at the hand of the investigations carried out by Professor Kern about the Numfoor-Biak and the Jotafa (in East-Irian) languages, it has been proved that these languages are related to the Austronesian group of languages. Boelaars does not mention this well founded conclusion of Professor Kern.

And here follows the third conclusion.

It is a well-proved fact that traffic and intercourse which cover a very wide area, as also mental development and cultural progress, the attendance at church services and the administrative activities, make one common language necessary. The need of this kind on language has been of great benefit to the use of the Indonesian language by sailors and riverine population, and also by the people living in the mountainis. Those who have had to do with the primitive Irianese or who have had the opportunity to listen to the elucidations and discussions of prominent Irianese people, which happened to the Irian Joint Commission on several occasions and in several places all over West Irian, in the ports as well as in the churches, they cannot fail to affirm that the modern sons of Irian have indeed given ample proof of their great proficiency in the use of the Indonesian language in word and in writing, and that this language is consistently used by them as if it were their own native tongue.
The Indonesian language was not used for the first time with the creation of the Indonesian Nation in the Knights' Hall in The Hague during the R.T.C., nor was it used as something new at the Embassies and Legations in other countries, for a long period this language had already occupied a splendid and important place among the languages spoken in these regions.

The progress in culture and civilisation of Irian is part of the spiritual and intellectual progress of Indonesia, stimulated and extended by the greater frequency of international relations. The conclusion, as set out above, provides an opportunity to show, that the word "Indonesia" has greater and more convincing significance on national and political grounds than according to philological, ethnological or anthropological grounds. For this word includes the descendants of all kinds of peoples and persons, on condition that their native country is Indonesia and that they possess the Indonesian nationality, and therefore also the Indonesian subjects who in accordance with the linguistic test may be said to belong to the "Papua" group of languages (West-Irian, Timor and North Halmahera) possess the Indonesian nationality.

There is no difference between the physique of the Irianese and the Indonesians; this is proved most strikingly when we compare the physical form of the former with that of the original inhabitants of Amboina, Ceram and Timor. There are not even the slightest noticeable gradual differences in the colour of the skin and the habits and customs, between the Central Indonesians and the West-Irianese.

Of still greater importance is the similarity of various conditions. This becomes more convincing when one knows that the customary laws of West-Irian show several points of kinship with those of Austronesia, of which Indonesia is a part. The peoples of the Philippines, Italy, India, Pakistan, Russia and China are excellent material for politicians for furnishing proofs how it is possible to form a nation on condition that there is sufficient similarity to counteract and eliminate the apparent dissimilarity of the subjects of these nations.

The entire Indonesian population belongs to the coloured race, so that there is no political importance in the melanodermic variations of the skin, or whether this is really black, dark brown or light brown. Politicians only know, that all Indonesians possess a head and attach no importance to the difference between a brachicephalic or dolichocephalic skull.

The same may be said of the type of hairgrowth and the average height of the body. These details are only of value for scientific work, but can never be accepted as reasons for setting aside or ignoring the political desires of one or more of the groups concerned.

Neither anthropology nor ethnology stands in the way of the progress to be made by the persons concerned; these sciences can
never be used to suppress the intellectual and spiritual whishes expressed by those who strive to form a free nation and a free native country. For the politicians who use the knowledge of the system and the methods in use among the Austrionic group of languages as the basis of their political intentions and plans to demonstrate the unity of the cultures of the coloured peoples of the East-Asiatic Archipelago, it is exceedingly instructive to give here four opinions (statements) which may serve as good advise so that they may restrain the urgent desires described above. We shall start with the latest advice; it was written when this report was already completed J. H. M. C. Boelaars, m.s.c. expressed himself prudently and with proper restraint when he draw attention to the many Indonesian influences on the Ekari language which is spoken round Lake Paniai, on the occasion of the defence of his thesis before the Utrecht Academic Faculty on June 7, 1950. What he said was this:

"The examination of the languages of S.W. New Guinea enabled us to state the characteristics common to all the languages or to a special group of them. It may be interesting to compare these results with the characteristics, which have been laid down by W. Schmidt S.V.D., S. H. Rey and A. Capell with regard to the two main language-groups, found in the eastern half of N. Guinea viz. the Melanesian and the non-Melanesian languages. Possibly we shall be able to determine the character of the languages we examined, and the linguistic position of South Western N. Guinea in the Austro-Asiatic language-group". p. 201).

Before the war there were also linguistic experts, viz. Professor C. C. Berg and J. Gonda, who have repeatedly given an exposé of the results of their researches in the field of philology and stated that the unity of language of the original populations of South-East-Asia came down to the present day through many generations. This was explained in a lecture called „Indië’s talenweelde en Indië’s talenproblemen". (The profusion of languages in the Indies and the linguistic problems in the Indies), 1939, and in a lecture „Austrico or Arian”, given in 1932.

Perhaps it will be sufficient to quote here a pronouncement made by explorers and experts in the field of philology, whose prestige and scholarship are recognized as such in the international world as f.i.: Father Schmidt, Brandes, Van der Tuuk, Codrington. It is one of the oldest statements about the relationship existing between the Irianese and Austronesian cultures, such as are also found between the Biak-Numfoor and the Malayo-Polynesian groups of languages.

The words are: "In the preceding pages about one third of the entire vocabulary of the Numfoor Language, as far as we know the words used in the writings of the missionaries, has been scrutinized. After deducting a number of words, which at first sight are recog-
nisable as being borrowed from the Malay vocabulary, and of others, which are probably of foreign origin, there remains an enormous number of stems (primitive words) and derivations which are identical with or closely related to Malayo-Polynesian words.

This group comprises the words expressing the simplest facts or notions, as f.i. terms for eating, drinking, sleeping, fish, bird, fire and numerales and pronouns. Furthermore the Numfoor tongue has with the MP. the most frequently occurring prefixes: a, ang, ma, ba or ber, mang, pa (fa); the interfixes in and um, m, the suffixes an, en and aken (épen) in common. Considering that the whole grammar of the MP. is built upon the proper use of the pre-, inter- and suffixes, it may be said that the Numfoor language (and as far as it it possible to judge about this up to date also the roots of the West-Papua language in general) had originally the same grammatical forms, which up to the present persist in the Malay-Polynesian group of languages.

But this does not yet give the exact determination of the relationship with the M.P. It is however an undeniable fact that the Numfoor tongue is no further removed from any M.P. language, than English is removed from Hindi or Swedisc from New Persian. The kinship of some of the Papua languages with those of the Malay-Polynesian tongues is therefore, in my opinion, incontroversible. It is of course possible to bring forward negative arguments of racial differences, and to explain the linguistic affinity by the supposition that the Papua were first taught speech by the Malayo-Polynesian people, or by some other hypothesis, but the fact of the affinity between the languages can never be ignored. (On the relationship between Numfoor and the Malayo-Polynesian languages, 1885, V.G. VI, p. 35—76).”

VII. Anthropology, Ethnology, Customary Laws

Occasionally there is a tendency to suggest a certain relevance between three entirely unrelated branches of science in connection with the building up of a free and sovereign Indonesia. This is especially noticeable in regard of the dispute about West-Irian.

This connection does not exist. Probing for such connections can only result in increasing the difficulties of the solution of this problem. Besides this, the knowledge acquired by the anthropologists and the ethnologists is still very restricted. The regular work of examination and researches in this field of science was only started at a comparatively recent date and the activities do not yet extend to the interior of Irian. Anyone wishing to know more about this should first read: Dr. H. J. T. Bijlmer: Bevolking dalam N.G.I., 1935 p. 219—270; Prof. Dr. J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan: De rassen van de Indische
Archipel, 1925; De Dwergvolken, 1942; Doelstelling en ontwikkeling
der Anthropologie, 1943; Prof. J. C. van Eerde: Inleiding tot de
Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1920; Koloniale Volkenkunde, 1926;
Over de verwanten van de Indonesiërs, 1917.

The customary laws which govern the lives of the people of Irian
are chiefly concerned with the right of disposal, the right of usufruct,
and the Indonesian rights of property. In Hollandia, Manokwari,
Merauke, Onin and Kowiai, the inhabitants claim the right to possess
the soil "from the sea-shore to the mountains". The Government
acknowledges that right of disposal. The right of usufruct and the
right to the use of the soil is upheld to its fullest extent, as long as
there is a large area of uncultivated land and as long as agriculture
preserves its character of huma's (dry fields) which are constantly
being moved on. Consequently the right of usufruct and the right of
use or the Indonesian right of property is very extensive, both rights
mentioned above are well-protected by the right of disposal within
the borders of the territory.

In the Humboldt Bay country this right of disposal also includes
water and sea, as the catching of fish in Jotafa can only be carried
out by permission of the village Headman, called Korosari. The
coconuts and the fish are distributed by the village Headman among
the members of his tribe (his subjects).

The village Headman in the region of Lake Sentani, called ondojoro
has the right to give permits for hunting pigs and he is entitled to a
certain portion of the forest-products and of the catches of fish
drawn from the lake. Read on this subject: F. J. F. van Hasselt: Uit
het volksleven van de bewoners van de Humboldttsbaai (B.T.L.V.,
1903, p. 216—266); Stoppelaar: Nieuw Guinea III, p. 1000—1021.

The West-Irian customary laws have the same character as the Indo-
nesian customary laws. For the settlement of the political differences
it would be a work of superogation to enlarge on anthropology,
ethnology and customary laws in this report, for there is not the sligh-
test connection between these branches of study and science and the
points at issue being discussed now.

There are many recent historical examples that States and groups
of people possessing many anthropological and ethnological charac-
teristics in common do not inevitably flock together, but on the
contrary often form different nations. The opposite also occurs occa-
sionally. The ethnological units with common anthropological quali-
ties, brought together under certain conditions, are no obstacle to
forming a nation and a state. This problem has, in connection
with the building up of a free and sovereign nation much similarity
with the problem of the languages. This becomes more evident when
we remember that there may be a number of anthropologists and
ethnologists who are of the opinion that the result of this would be
that the Indonesian people would be divided into various anthropological and ethnological units; but this is far removed from the wish to form an Indonesian nation, with a population possessing the Indonesian nationality and citizenship. At the time when the regulations for the assignment of Indonesian subjects were laid down and sanctioned, neither anthropological nor ethnological, nor any other consideration would be allowed to become a determining factor in the question of the acquisition of the Indonesian nationality by the population of Irian. The forming of the Indonesian Nationality or the making operative of the regulations as meant in the agreement about the assignment of Indonesian subjects (vide note at the end) which includes the entire autochthonous people of Irian, depends therefore entirely on the solution of the question of the political difference of opinion, i.e.: "Whether the sovereignty over West Irian is going to be transferred to the Indonesian Government".

VIII.—Geology, Fauna and Flora

In order to prevent a recurrence of possible misunderstandings it does not seem superfluous to repeat once more not only that the connection between the transfer of sovereignty and the geology, the Fauna and Flora in West-Irian is exceedingly remote, but also that the nature of the geological conditions, and those of the Fauna and the Flora there, have sometimes been used as an argument to cause a division between West Irian and the Indonesian State.

In refusation of a point of view founded on such ideas it is necessary on behalf of truth and science, to use arguments against it, based on researches and explorations not inspired by separatistic aims or political desires.

The atmosphere in which these discussions are to be held, should never be confused by considerations of a geological or biological nature. Therefore it seems only just to point out here once more, that the territory, which the Indonesian People claim its own, is exactly the same territory not more and not less as the territory, which formerly, before the R.T.C. was called the Netherlands-Indies territory.

The area, where Indonesian jurisdiction is in force, is one and unbroken unit, and is part of a larger unit, ethnologically, judicially (for customary laws), philologically, biologically and anthropologically as well as geopolitically, geographically and geologically.

The larger units, for which there is as yet no scientific terminology, are not all of the same size. Writers on scientific subjects are at liberty to use the scientific terms they prefer for the description and characterization of such a part, but they themselves only are to be
held responsible for the extent of the meaning they attach to these terms in connection with the Indonesian territory.

At the time when this report was being written, a book of 732 pages, The Geology of Indonesia was published by the Netherlands geologist R. W. van Bemmelen. It is a sequel to the work Prof. Dr. M. R. Rutten published 20 years ago. In van Bemmelen's book we find a detailed statement of what is meant geologically by the name of Indonesia. It says: "The Indonesian Archipelago with the former East Indies as its centre, comprises many other territories viz., the Philippines and the Island Irian". The maps in this book are called: The Indian Archipelago (in black) as treated in this book" and is explained in the chapter Denomination (ps. 1—2):

"This book deals with the complex archipelago between S.E.-Asia and Australia. We might call it the "Austrial-asiatic Archipelago" as was done by the Sarasin's, or the "Indo-Australian Archipelago" (Zeuner, 1943). However, these are somewhat uncommon names, and it is not clear that the Philippine Islands would belong geologically to this group. The term "Indian Archipelago" is easier to pronounce, but it neither clearly implies the Philippine Islands, nor New Guinea. Nevertheless, because of its shortness, this expression will often be used in this book for the whole of the islandsystem between the continents Asia and Australia.

The East Indies were called "Indonesia" by Logan in 1850 and by Bastian in 1884; this name has often been used in a political sense, but also as a geographical term in scientific papers. Since October 1948 "Indonesia" became the official name for the Netherlands East Indies. The name "Insulinde" was created for the East Indies by the author Douwes Dekker (Multatuli) in 1860.

The term "Malayan Archipelago" has often been used for the East Indies and the Philippine Islands. However, New Guinea, not being inhabited prehistorically by Malayans, does not belong to this unit. This name seems to be inadequate as a name for the whole area, although it is a suitable name for the belt of islands between the continent of Asia and New Guinea.

The name "Sunda Archipelago" also has a restricted meaning and should be used only for the islands grouped on and around he Sunda Shelf area of S.E.-Asia, and not for the whole region between Asia and Australia, as was done for instance by Cloos in his book "Einführung in die Geologie" (1936, p. 425).

The name "Sunda Seas" was given by Schott in 1935 to the water areas between the Strait of Malacca and the line Philippines-New Guinea. But the Moluccas lie outside the Sunda area, thus this name is inadequate. These seas between S.E.-Asia and Australia are more aptly called the "Austral-Asiatic Mediterranean" (Winkler Prins Encycl. Vth. edit., 1937 Vol. 12, p. 625).
The author decided to call this volume "The Geology of Indonesia and adjacent archipelagoes", thus laying stress on the East Indies as the central area, and indicating that also the neighbouring archipelagoes are treated in it."

It is possible to divide the unit, the jurisdiction of Indonesia according to another method, but each division as meant above should be made in conformity with the requirements imposed by each branch of science. To a small extent this also applies to the larger units; this makes it imperative that this matter should be handled with a judicial and well-considered understanding of the reality of the conditions in order to avoid misunderstandings about the term Indonesia, the interpretation of which has already been firmly established and acknowledged.

The results of the expedition of Snellius (1929—1930) and the maps which were prepared under the supervision of Van Kessel and Pannekoek are used by van Bemmelen for the better understanding of his book "The Indian Archipelago" in which he divides the Archipelago geologically in three physiographic smaller units. In this division consideration is given to the continental areas, the bottom of the ocean and the chains of volcano's, i.e.: In the first place: The Sunda area, which comprises the Sunda Shelf (a plain at the bottom of the ocean) and the small islands found there and the Great Sunda Islands, Borneo, Sumatra and Madura;

In the second place: the mountain ranges round Sunda (the circum-Sunda orogenic belts) consisting of the islands Celebes, the Molucca's, the lesser Sunda Islands, the islands south of Java and West of Sumatra and besides the Andamans, the Nicobar group, the islands in the southern Chinese Sea and the Philippines;

In the third place: the chains round Australia (the circum-Australian belt), which embraces all Irianese islands, Christmas Island and the flat plain or shelf at the bottom of the ocean called Sahul, with the Aru Islands. Van Bemmelen agrees that this is only a tentative division, because the actual conditions are much more complicated and difficult: "This grouping will be followed in this chapter. From this physiographic description it will appear that the structural relations are somewhat more complicated than this simple scheme suggests".

After this short explanation we think the moment has come to demonstrate how an unfair advantage is taken of the science of geography, by using it as a pretext to separate Irian from the unbroken unit of Indonesian jurisdiction.

The geological points of view which are inspired by a policy of aggression aiming at detaching West-Irian from Indonesia are explained as follows:

First: Irian does not lie within the borders of Indonesia, but in an area within the boundary of Oceania;
Second: The Indonesian Archipelago lies within the sphere of the Asiatic continent; but part of Irian lies partly within the ocean plain called Sahul, (the Sahul Shelf), while the remaining part belongs to the area of the Circum Australian system.

Third: The Indonesian Archipelago belongs to the Sunda Shelf (ocean plain) and consists of two groups of islands, i.e.: the Southern group, formed by the South-Molucca's, the Lesser Sunda Islands, Java, Sumatra and even the Brahmaputra-area in Assam, and the northern group which includes the Philippines.

Although the question of the transfer of sovereignty has nothing to do with these geographical problems, it seems a propitious moment to insist again that these three arbitrary suggestions should be contradicted on scientific grounds so that the settlement of the point at issue may be arrived at in an atmosphere of true justice, without bias or prejudice.

The first: The opinion that Irian belongs to the border regions is not supported by scientific geographical statements. This point of view is founded on the desire to separate Irian from the Indonesian territory, and therefore it has an entirely political tendency directed towards the curtailing of the area which forms the unbroken unit of the State of Indonesia. The persons entertaining these political thoughts need not appeal to or quote the works of Glaesner, for this author adheres to the opinion that West Irian lies within the borderline of Indonesia. What M. F. Glaessner writes in his work "Geotectonic position of New Guinea" (Bulletin of the American Association of Petroleum Geologists, Vol. 34 No. 5. May 1950), is the following:

"the present geographical unity of the islands of New Guinea does not reflect uniformity of geological structure".

He divides this area in 12 geotectonic units. We are greatly struck by the opinion of this geologist that the island Irian is not only connected in the East with the countries of the Pacific and towards the South with the mainland of Australia, but also by the fact that he confirms the general conviction that this island is connected in the West with East-Indonesia:

"Western New Guinea is at least strongly influenced by the system of structural trends of the East Indies if not actually incorporated in it. The manner in which the structures of the Vogelkop are linked through Halmahera with the Eastern Asiatic arcs and through the northern Molucca's and possibly the Kei Islands with the Banda arcs is a matter of very great importance. (p. 877, conclusions)."

Van Bemmelen takes the same view, viz.: that Irian is not a country within the borderline of Oceania. He is firmly convinced, that the Melanesian border regions lie East of the island Irian (The Geology, ps. 56); p. 714:

III

AUSTRALIAN SCHOOL OF PACIFIC ADMINISTRATION
"It seems that most of the miocene centres of volcanism were situated North of the present coastline. These volcanoes subsided below sealevel since the end of the Neogene, together with the Melanesian borderland"; e.a.

On Glaessner's map (p. 861) all the Indonesian groups of islands are locatet on the boundary of the Indonesian Archipelago, therefore Irian should not be looked upon as being a borderregion along the borderline of the Pacific, where on the West the Solomon Group forms the boundary (the Andesiteline). On the map "Volcanity and Seismicity of New Guinea" Irian is divided into 12 regions following lines running East-West or South West-South East. These lines also apply to the surrounding sea and the adjacent islands. See also the map on page 877.

The second opinion cannot be accepted without adverse criticism either. The view that Indonesia is divided in two plains under the sea (shelves), the Sunda Shelf and the Sahul shelf is geographically wrong, because in between these two plains there is Indonesian territory, enclosed on the West by Wallace's Line and on the South by Weber's Line. It comprises the islands Celebes, the Molucca's and the circum-Sunda Belts: "There can be distinguished a partly submerged land mass in the West, the Sunda Shelf area, and the partly submerged northern extension of the Australian Continent in the East, the Sahul Shelf area. These are separated by an intervening belt of deep-sea basins and islandsfestoons". (Van Bemmelen, p. 14).

The point of view that West Irian should be put apart because the Indonesian Archipelago or Indonesian territory only comprises the parts situated on the Sunda Shelf, whereas Irian does not lie within the boundary of this area because this island is located on the Sahul Shelf, is mixed with and full of wrong ideas which should be put right. A distinction ought to be made between the geological and geographical basic principles on which the conception "territory" is founded and the territory, designated by both parties as the Indonesian territory is i.e. a territory which includes West Irian. It should also be clearly understood that the division in Sahul and Sunda territories includes almost all the areas of the East Asiatic Archipelago as well as the mainland of Australia, and that these two territories are united by the area in between, which is enclosed by the Wallace-Weber lines: The consequences of the exclusion of West Irian from the Indonesian Archipelago would mean, that the separation of the Aru Islands from West-Irian is in the air whereas the Aru Islands have already been placed under the Indonesian sovereignty. Besides such a geological division would mean, that territories now under the sovereignty of other States, and to which Indonesia lays no claim whatever, would be drawn into the problem.
Van Bemmelen's advise (p. 1) is, that the East Indian Archipelago or the East Indian Islands should be looked upon geologically as a wide flung but properly demarcated territory. The advise runs as follows:

"The East Indian Archipelago in this sense compromises also: The Philippine Islands, British North Borneo, Brunei, Sarawak, Eastern New Guinea (the Mandated Territory and Papua), Christmas Island and the Andaman- and Nicobar Islands".

IX. Flora and Fauna

Irian has a hot climate; its vegetation is dense and rich, but its fauna is limited. In order to arrive at an explanation for the abundance of vegetation and the poverty of its animal life, it is necessary to have a look at the history of the manner of their distribution and to study the possibility of a geological connection between these two facts. But the Indonesian report insists that of course there can be no connection between the transfer of sovereignty and the Irianese Flora and Fauna.

According to Prof. Dr. H. J. Lam there is decidedly a connection between the flora in Irian and the flora in the adjacent areas. The Irianese vegetation can be divided into various categories, according to the origin of the elements they comprise. Most of the specimens occurring in the plains are of Asiatic (Malay) origin; in the mountain districts the vegetation is composed of Australian, Polynesian, South-American, Sub-Alpine, Arctic and European elements.

As an example of this Lam states that among the 970 kinds of Pleridophytes, which were known in 1920, the following numbers of these 970 kinds were found in:

- the rest of Indonesia ...... 249
- Philippines .................. 179
- Polynesia ....................... 165
- Australia ....................... 78

In the areas skirting or adjacent to the primaeval forests the Indonesian element is largest as may deduced from the 155 kinds from the Doorman Ranges in the interior and from the Irian Ranges close to the Mamberamo country:

- Arctic ....................... 19 %
- East-Asiatic ............... 37 %
- Endemic ..................... 4 %
- Australian ................. 16 %
- Polynesian Antarctie ...... 9 %
- Endemic ..................... 15 %
- Asiatic ...................... 60 %
- Non-Asiatic ............... 40 %

At the hand of these figures Lam concluded that the Irianese Flora has for the greater part the same origin as the Asiatic flora or at any rate is very closely related to it. The vegetation in the West of Irian
shows principally a similarity with that of the Molucca’s, Celebes and the Philippines. The flora in the hills has some non-asiatic elements (Australian, Polynesian, Arctic and Antarctic).

Prof. Dr. L. F. de Beaufort wrote about the fauna of Irian in his book „Zoögeographic van den Indischen Archipel“ (1926, p. 108). He states his opinion that the poor fauna may be distinguished into two strata or layers, viz. an Indian, younger stratum and an Australian, older one.

Many scientists have tried to explain the fauna and flora of West-Irian at the hand of various hypotheses built up by them.

The Netherlands have expressed no opinion about these geological, botanical and zoological hypotheses but maintained an unbroken silence. The cause for this lies in the wish to separate West Irian from Indonesia. But this will not be of any avail. Neither from the geological nor from the zoological or phytological point of view is this acceptable, and must be rejected because in a number of cases the results do not agree with the results achieved by these sciences.

As first objection it should be pointed out, that similarity in the field of history or geology is no guarantee that the similarity of flora and fauna in the two territories is to be explained on the same grounds. This applies also to the difference that may occur in the respective geology, fauna and flora. The many cases of similarity found between West-Irian and North Australia do not imply that in the field of geology, and that of flora and fauna Irian can be separated from Indonesia; the same applies to similarities or differences in economics or politics.

As a second objection we can say about the relationship and similarity between Irian and the adjacent parts of the world that these two conditions exist equally towards the South and the West of Irian.

A passage quoted here below from the book of N. W. Stirling, shows clearly that during the Pleistocene, Irian was indeed connected with Australia, but that this temporary tie did not mean that all the ties with Indonesia were broken:

"Having been connected with Australia as recently as Pleistocene times, New Guinea has a fauna and flora that is much more closely related to those of Australia than to those of Asia or the Western Islands of the East Indian Archipelago". (The native peoples of New Guinea, Washington 1943, p. 7–8).

Besides the possibility of a connection between Irian and the Australian Mainland, Sarasin suggests, that during the middle of the Tertiary epoch there was a connection between the island and Asia along the bridge East Asia and the Philippines. He needed this theory in order to explain the distribution of the Hydromyinae and Mallomys, which are found in Irian, Luzon in the Philippines, Celebes
and Flores. The scientist Sarasin is of opinion that this theory is also applicable to the distribution of the casuay and the emu from the Asiatic continent, because remains and vestiges of these animals are also found among the Fauna in the Siwalik Hills in India. Lam tries to explain the theory of an Indonesian element and an Australian-stratum in connection with the flora, by throwing doubts on the geological theory that the formation of the earth and the oceans had already been determined from the earliest beginnings (permanency theory) and has greater faith in the theory of Wegener, who furnishes proof that the Mainland of Australia and Irian originally during the Old-Oligocene era, had been cut off from the Antarctic territory, so that it may be assumed that the element in the Australian flora spread since the Miocene period towards the North and that the Asiatic element did the same towards the South. (Prof. Dr. H. J. Lam, De vegetatie en flora van Nieuw Guinea, in the book: Nieuw Guinea I, 1935, p. 191—198).

According to the theory that supposes the distribution of the fauna to have taken place along two roads, the Indonesian element reached Irian because, according to another theory, there was a continent of Gond wana, and via this there was a connection between India and Irian. Moreover there was a connection with South America by means of a Pacific bridge or via the Antarctic continent.

In the Caroon period (the fourth of the palaeozoicum) the distribution between land and water was, according to the geologists, such that the whole earth was surrounded by the Tethys Ocean. In the south was the country Gond wana. An earth bridge connected it with South America in the West and with Australia, Africa and India. The oceanic regions of the South Atlantic, Africa, Madagascar and India also belonged to this country. North of the Tethys Ocean was the Palaeo-arctic continent (Continent Angara), separated from each other by the Russian Sea. In this Caroon epoch Irian was not united with the present-day Australia, but floated about with parts of the entire Indonesian Archipelago in the Tethys Ocean (See Fritz, Palaeography, Erdkarten). According to Dr. L. F. de Beaufort it is possible to divide the whole of Indonesia as part of the South-Eastern-Asiatic Archipelago into four parts, viz.: The Greater Sunda Islands, the lesser Sunda Islands, in West-Indonesian Irian and the islands between the Sunda and the Sahul Shelves. The whole Zoögeographical area of Indonesia is used by the animals as a place of transit (therefore it cannot be a borderzone) between the animal world of India and the West and the fauna of Australia in the East. Geologists know and this knowledge is confirmed by exploration, that at present the Sunda Islands are connected with Asia through a plain not very far below the surface of the ocean, which is called the Sunda Shelf.
Irian is connected with the continent of Australia in the same way through the Sahul Shelf.

All these details and elucidations are only valuable and useful in as far as they help to explain the manner in which animals were distributed over the world in primaeval times; the division into four areas has nothing to do with an administrative frontier or the policy to be pursued for Indonesian territory, both points of difference in the present dispute. It does not weaken the strength of the Indonesian people and we persist in declaring, that, politically speaking, the boundary of the State of Indonesia is the same as the boundary of what formerly was called the Netherlands East Indies.

According to the Zoogeographical map, prepared by Mayer (van Bemmelen, The Geology of Indonesia p. 5). Indonesia and the Philippines are divided into four parts by means of three lines:

1. Wallace’s Line of Huxley between Bali-Lombok and Borneo-Celebes-Philippines;

2. The Weber Line, (Faunal Balance) between Australia, Timor and West of the Tanimber Islands, Buru-Halmahera;

3. The Limit of Australo-Papuan Mainland fauna, West of the Aru Islands, Irian and Misool and the Radja Ampat Islands.

In order to understand how Indonesia forms a dividing territory between two continents it is very helpful to read and study what Van Bemmelen writes on page 4 of his book. It is well worth while:

"The fact that the Malay Archipelago separates the Australian continent from the Asiatic territory makes it a favourable object for the study of faunal migrations. As A. R. Wallace stated in his classical essay of 1860 (which laid the foundation of the modern science of zoögeography): "The western and eastern islands of the Archipelago belong to regions more distinct and contrasted than any other of the great zoological divisions of the globe. South America and Africa, separated by the Atlantic, do not differ so widely as Asia and Australia". There is much truth in this statement. The boundary line between both fauna realms, known as "Wallace’s line" has since been much criticized as well as defended. Of the more comprehensive zoo-geographic publications on the East Indies we might mention the books bij de Beaufort (1926) and Rensch (1936), and the symposium by Scrivenor et al. (1943).

Some other recent papers are written by Zeuner (1942, 1943) and Mayer 1944 a&b). In relation with the faunistic boundary in this Archipelago, Mayer (1944 a) arrives at the following conclusions:

1. Wallace’s line is not the boundary between the Indo-Malayan and the Australian regions, but it rather indicates the edge of the area (Sunda Shelf) that was dry at the height of the pleistocene glaciations.
2. The equivalent line along the edge of the Sahul Shelf separates New Guinea and the Aru Islands from the Molucca's and Kei Islands.

3. Weber's line separates the islands in the West on which the Indo-Malayan element is predominant from the islands in the East on which the Australo-Papuan element has a numerical superiority”.

So not all geographical lines separate Irian from Indonesia, but they plainly indicate the different zoographical areas in the Malay Archipelago.

Contrary to the view that the distribution of the fauna moved from the East to the West is the opinion of the Palaonthologist Prof. G. H. R. von Koenigswald. In his book "Neue Pithecanthroposfunde, 1936-1938 (ps. 55—73), published in 1940, he states and explains very clearly that the fauna and the flora and more especially the Mammaliae entered Java in the earliest times from the north moving in a southern direction. They came in three consecutive waves. The first wave, which brought the Siwalik-Malayan fauna, the second one bringing with it the Sino-Malayan fauna and the third, which brought the Indo-Malayan fauna. Prof. Koenigswald's explanation ps. 69—73 of his book, is quoted here in extenso:

„Gerade mit Rücksicht auf das Problem des fossilen Menschen ist es besonders interessant, den Beziehungen der javanische Säugetierfauna und damit ihrer Herkunft nachzugehen.


Auff den Wege über die Philippinen haben wir wie van Steenis gezeigt hat, auch einen Teil der malayischen Bergflora erhalten („Luzon track“ van Steenis 1935, p. 357). Dabei ist es interessant dass diese Flora sich wohl über Celebes, nicht aber über Borneo verbreitet hat, was durch das Fehlen entsprechend hoher und anschliessender Gebirgzüge auf letzteren Insel zu erklären ist. Die floristischen Verhältnisse scheinen sehr bestimmt für die Avifauna von Celebes gewesen zu sein, die nach *Stresemann* (1939, p. 215) mehr als die Hälfte ihrer Arten von den Philippinen empfangen hat; jedenfalls zeichnet sich hierin, wenn die direkten Beziehungen Celebes-Borneo gering sind, die Verbindung Süd-China-Formosa-Philippinen deutlich ab.

Was die Insektenfauna betrifft, so können wir z.B. unter die Scoliiden, wie Betrem mitteilt, „in der Fauna der Grossen-Sunda-Inseln ein chinesisches und ein indisches Element unterscheiden“ (p. 373).

An weiteren, heute auf Java erloschenen Formen finden sich in Sampoeng *Elephas s. (vielleicht sumatranus), Felis rubiginosa, Felis cf. chaus* und *Felis nebula.*

Somit lassen sich innerhalb der javanischen Säugetierfauna eine ältere indische (Siva-Malayische), eine chinesische (Sino-Malayische) und eine jungere indische (Indo-Malayische) Einwanderung nachweisen."

The distribution of the fauna from North to South was executed from mid pleistocene to new Pleistocene which presumably occurred about three million years ago. (Dr. Alfred Wegener, Die entstehung der Kontinente und Ozeane, 1924, p. 24) with the note that Prof. v. Koenigswald said in his discourse in 1924 (aantekeningen bij het Pithencanthropus-vraagstuk p. 9—10): according to the specilization ....... must have an age of 5 hundred thousand years.

This summary of the geology, fauna and flora of West-Irian points to the fact that there is no question of geological or biological connection with Australia; neither is there any use in trying to prove that the connections existed only with North-Australia. If there should be connections with North-Australia, then there must also be connections between Irian and several Indonesian islands. There is more evidence that the territory discussed here is different from the territory about which the points at issue have arisen.

Meanwhile the geological conditions, even the very fauna and flora prove that there is a connection, a tie between West-Irian and the Indonesian Archipelago, especially in the Eastern parts of Indonesia.

The point of view that West-Irian is geologically and biologically belonging to the Australian area, because it is located on the Sahul Shelf within the circum-Australian system, is wrong. It may be taken as being symptomatic of a convenient fashion of thought to propagate this theory at this time when the crucial problem is being discussed. For it supports to a wrong extent politico-colonial aspirations, which are based enterely on a wrong political thought. The only thing it does is proving once more that there is no connection whatever with the Netherlands either biologically or geologically,
but on the contrary that this connection does exist definitely with Indonesia.

The arguments used in this report seem to confirm the fact that geology, the fauna and the flora throw indeed a revealing light on the history and the formation of Indonesia. But this does not imply that the geological investigations can be used as a reason for separating West-Irian from the State of Indonesia, the political frontiers of which have already been determined. The fact of using the results of scientific investigations for the propagation of an arbitrary separatistic policy is in itself a proof of weakness. The same may be said of the efforts to find in everything and anything a reason for forcing the discussions about the settlement of the dispute in a direction which endangers the free existence of the Indonesian population. For these specious reasonings might lead to a continued colonialism and there would be an end to Democracy and the unrestricted freedom of Indonesia. The joint Commission for Irian had an opportunity to get a general impression at fairly close range of the state of affairs in West-Irian during its fortnight's trip to this part of the country. The Indonesian group is indeed proud to be able to coöperate with the Netherlands group in the preparation of a report, which in the last instance is to be used as a basis in the final settlement of the point at issue in a Union-conference in this year 1950.

The Indonesian group, during its informative journey, received valuable assistance from the Netherlands Government officials in West-Irian. During our orientation visit to New Guinea we touched down on several places. Contrary to the agreements reached at the Joint Committee, namely that no demonstrations should be held by any of the parties, we were received at Biak, Hollandia and Serui, with, however small, demonstrations which were held with the knowledge of the police or the Dutch Civil administration. Furthermore we were being guarded night and day with guns and bayonets of the Dutch army in Sorong-Doom, which strengthened our conviction, that the atmosphere of the administration is a colonial one. A colonial administration which in character and nature is not executed at all for the benefit of the aboriginal population, but is clearly based on a colonial relationship to the advantage of the Netherlands. A colonial administration under which one does not feel safe and secure but still cherishes a feeling of anxiety filled with nearing uncertainties.

It is moreover quite certain that the final settlement of the conflict will be confused by theories, which the Netherlands members are sure to explain in the manner described above; in other words, they will undoubtedly make use of the results attained in different branches of science according to their own light and exclusively for the sake
of succeeding in separating the People and the territory of West-Irian from Indonesia.

In an other part of the report there will be found a more detailed description of the significance of West-Irian for the defence of Democracy and the freedom of Indonesia, a freedom already recognised by the international world and even by the Netherlands. The explanations concerning matters of defence and economy and the significance of the mission and the development of the Islam for the progress of the culture of the aboriginal inhabitants of this area, which together form the quint-essence of the dispute, will receive a fitting place in that part of the report, which treats the transfer of Government and the freedom of Irian.

X. Free Irian, Anti-Colonialism

The atmosphere in West-Irian bears the stamp of the presence and influence of a foreign country, which could be clearly indicated by the nature of the administration, and is also reflected in the economy, colonisation, and the progress in culture and civilisation of the original population. We may say that this atmosphere is wholly inspired by the spirit of colonialism. It goes without saying that the Dutch colonial influence will expand from day to day along the Pacific coast, and that it will also increase in East-Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia. This atmosphere, which is no longer thought admissible by the civilised world since "World War II", is not only directed against: "to promote social progress, and better standards of living in larger freedom" but then without "the fundamental rights of man, the dignity and worth of the human person" (Preamble Charter of U.N.) but it creates confusion in the economic conditions and disturbs the tranquillity and peace in West-Irian and in the adjacent areas. The colonial atmosphere must be wiped out for the benefit of civilisation, democracy and the progress of the original population. Did not the Israeli outside influence break up the Arabian peace in East Asia Minor? Is not the union of West-Irian and Indonesia being interfered with because the Dutch still have their sphere of influence on the Pacific Coast? And does not this make it still impossible "to practice tolerance and live in peace with one another as good neighbours and unite our strength to maintain international peace and security" (Charter U.N.O.), because we are faced with a union, broken up and destroyed, like Korea, which has been distorted and twisted into two parts, North- and South Korea under pressure of foreign powers who have turned it into their toy to do with as they please?

The national Indonesian claim to the territory of West-Irian is not founded on those of Ternate and Tidore or East Indonesia on
West-Irian territory, at the hand of which can be proved the fee-
bleness of the principle on which the Netherlands sovereignty is based
in this respect and how weak the Netherlands colonial claim to this
territory is. On the contrary, the national Indonesian claim aims to
release the people and the territory of West-Irian of the bonds and
regulations of the colonial Netherlands administration in order to
grant it freedom.

The national Indonesian claim is based entirely on the wish to
do away with all colonial bonds in West-Irian, so that a national
Indonesian administration may be instituted, which is based on
the 5 following principles, viz.:

1. the granting of extensive autonomic power to the original
population within the frame of the Indonesian government;

2. to open up the islands to exploitation and colonisation for
all peoples, who have broken with the principle of foreign economic
usurpation and imperialism;

3. to promote the civilisation and cultural progress of the abori-
ginal population through religion, where this is possible with the
assistance of the government;

4. to include the territory in the system for the defense and

5. to protect and maintain the freedom of Indonesia.

In the confusion of changing and conflicting opinions in regard
of the West-Irian problem it will not be amiss to remember what
was written in the newspaper „De Vlam“ of Juli 22, 1950, Nr. 29,
p. 3. "Irian is one of the world's dangerspots, carefully fostered and
kept smouldering by Netherlands colonialism. Until lately the Nether-
lands treated Irian with neglect, with the exception of the fever-
infested swampy Upper Digul district, where the concentration camp
for the Indonesian fighters for freedom was established. But now it
is exerting all its energy to keep possession of the island.

The arguments used are exceedingly remarkable. According to the
statement given, Irian does not belong to Indonesia, either geographi-
cally or ethnologically. This is extraordinary reasoning, for if the
Netherlands take this as their criterium, they annull automatically their
own claims. For up to the moment of the proclamation of the
Republic, the Netherlands Imperialists have included Irian in the
territory of the Netherlands Indies, therefore it must belong now to
the East Indian Archipelago. And this area, this Netherlands colonial
possession is not entirely free as long as a square inch of Irian soil
is kept under Netherlands authority.

Besides, the Netherlands policy in regard of Irian is, as Minister
van Maarseveen explained in the Upper Chamber of the Netherlands
Parliament, typically colonial. It is only natural that the R.I. cannot allow any colonial station post or settlement in the Archipelago.

The R.I. would feel that it had abandoned one of the regions of the territory of which it is legally the possessor, to a foreign power. What N.R.C. stated about Formosa applies equally to Irian, all the more so, as the transfer of sovereignty included the whole of the former Netherlands East Indies.

He, who observes how our colonial reaction up to this very day tries to separate the South Molucca’s from the R.I.S., he who knows how this reaction played with the thought to make of Irian a Dutch naval and military base, he knows that if the R.I.S. wishes to uproot this dangerspot, it must defend her rights in Irian and be staunched to her duties”.

In this way the chain of subjects linked with the point at issue concerning W. Irian as concluded in this part (atmosphere of W. Irian) forces on us the conclusion, that for many reasons and in particular on behalf of the area and the aboriginal population of Irian, which form a part and are not to be separated from country and population of Indonesia, it is considered necessary to transfer the sovereignty to the Indonesian Government. After this had been discussed, both partners in the Union had committed themselves:”

"To ensure by the acceptance of principles and institution of methods that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest”.

The transfer of sovereignty implies and is directed towards the complete abolition of colonial conditions and circumstances, and must result in the Indonesian Freedom and Democracy.

The national Indonesian claim is of importance for World Peace because through this the Indonesian Netherlands conflict will come to an end by rounding of and perfectioning the Indonesian Sovereignty. At the same time a statement with there be carried out made by the Netherlands Government itself at the second military (police) action:

„Comme je l’ai expliqué dès le début, il ne s’agit pas, en fait, de savoir si oui ou non l’Indonésie doit devenir indépendante. Toutes les parties s’accordent pour dire que ce qui constituait jadis les Indes orientales néerlandaises doit devenir un Etat indépendant aussitôt que possible.”


The atmosphere described in this report will become even more clear, when a still brighter light shall be thrown upon it by the explanations which are to follow later.
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HISTORY OF WEST IRIAN

Historical Grounds

West Irian, which since the Round Table Conference, has been a political apple of discord between the Netherlands and Indonesia, has already for several thousands of years passed through various stages of history as part of the Indonesian Mother-country. Although since the end of the Conference on November 2, 1949, the two Governments are no nearer agreement as regards the question of the transfer of sovereignty over West Irian, although both at the Round Table Conference at the Hague and at the First Union Conference at Djakarta, several arguments were advanced in support of the Indonesian claims, it is advisable again to stress in this Report that the western part of Irian, according to the history of more than two thousand years, has always formed an unalienable part of the Indonesian Mother-country.

The history of Indonesia in its relations to West Irian strengthens and justifies the Indonesian claims, which have not yet been conceded by the Netherlands Government by way of negotiation. In this Report, the historical grounds on which these claims rest will be briefly dealt with, as material which may contribute to a solution of this political dispute.

II. Austronesian Unity

The history of Irian as part of the history of Eastern Asia goes back to prehistoric times. The unity of the original population of these prehistoric periods was first made known and later demonstrated by the Austrian priest, P. W. Schmidt, in his book „Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen den Völkern zentralasiens und Austronesiens, 1906“. The researches of philologists and anthropologists, preceded as they were by researches made by other scholars, such as Wilhelm von Humboldt, v. d. Gabelentz, Fr. Müller, Codrington, Bopps and H. Kern, justify the conclusion that the languages of the original inhabitants of the territory known as Austronesia belong to one linguistic group. This territory includes the island of Madagascar, East Formosa, the Philippine Archipelago, Hawai, Rapuni (Easter Island), New Zealand, Pounmotu, Tonga, the Caroline and Marian Islands, and the whole of the Indonesian Archipelago, including West Irian. (See Map III, pages 70—71 in the book of Father Schmidt.) The opinion of the scholars of 40 years ago is confirmed by the results of the researches into the Tabi language in the Humboldt territory, the Kapauka language around the Paniai Lake, the language of the Marindanim in South Irian, also the Numfoor-Biak language and that of Serui in West Irian. In these, prefix and affix are used,
as is also the case in the East and West Indonesian languages. Further, the numerals are original Indonesian numerals, such as tai (one), roti (2), toru (3), awa, fat (4), rim (5), pitu (7), walu (8), and sie (9), (Balinese: Asia, Tagalogs siam), ghaati (100) See P. Drabbe H.S.C.: "Notes on two languages in the central mountainous district of Netherlands New Guinea, TL and V, Part 105, number 4, page 428."

The Austronesian language group, together with the Austro-Asiatic language group of the coast is cognate to the Austrian language. In this connection the words of Father Schmidt on pages 69—70 should be noted:


The question as to whether the unity of the Austronesian language group is of importance as regards the anthropological unity, is very cautiously answered by Father Schmidt on page 61 where he writes: „Die sprachliche Zusammengehörigkeit beider groszer Völkergruppen glaube ich mit vollgültigen Beweisen dargetan zu haben. Ob auch die Rasseneigentümlichkeiten der hier in Frage kommenden hinter- und vorderindischen Völker in qualitativ und quantitativ genügendem Masse bei den austronesischen Völkern vorhanden sind, muss noch als unausgemacht gelten. Ich glaube aber, man dorf sagen, die möglichkeit das den so sei, ist nicht ausgeschlossen, es liegen positive Momente vor, die für die Bejahung sprechen. Das ist aber sicher, wenn einmal die Frage bejaht werden kann, dann muss sowohl Name wie Begriiff der „malayischen Rasse“ gründlich reformiert werden. An Stelle derselben hätte der Name und Begriiff jener Rasse zu treten, deren Bestehen in Vorder- und Hinterindien jetzt schon nachgewiesen ist, und mehr noch als man das jetzt tut, müsste dann betont werden, dass die Abweichungen der Malaier, Javanesen, Philippiner usw. von dieser Rasse erst sekundärer Natur und aus der Beeninflussung durch mongolische Völkern entstanden seiein."
III. Irian, emigration field for Indonesia

Researches into the prehistoric culture of South East Asia, made after the discovery of various skulls in that region, led to the conclusion that a connection existed in the sphere of anthropology between that culture and the Austronesian race, explaining at the same time in what way the exodus of Austronesians from the coasts of the Asiatic mainland in the direction of the Austronesian Archipelago took place. Although in this Report the opinion is expressed that language or anthropological factors have no bearing on the formation of the State of Indonesia, it will do no harm to define the position with regard to the prehistory of Indonesia and more especially with respect to Irian.

According to researches in the prehistoric sphere and confirmed by the philologist N. Kern and the scholars Heine Geldern, Verneau, Callenfells and Koenigswald, the population exodus originally took place in various waves, from the region of Indo-China. In addition to this exodus of sections of the Indonesian people from Indo-China, a population drift of the Austronesian group of the population occurred in the same period in Indo-China from West to East in at least three waves. The first Austronesian group, which may be called the Irian (Melanese) population group emigrated via the peninsula Malacca and probably failed to reach the island of Sumatra. The Protoeneolithic people emigrated exclusively via the Malacca Peninsula, Borneo and Central Celebes; the Irian-Melanese wave which brought with in the stone-, bone- and horn culture passed via Java to the lesser Sunda Islands, whilst a part of the Irian wave from Indo-China reached the region of Irian. As a result of this cultural and population movement of these Indonesians and Irian Austronesians from Indo-China to the region of Austronesia, to Indonesia and also to the islands in the Pacific Ocean, cultural remains of Irian-Melanese origin are to be found in various places in Indonesia and also in Indo-China. In the Malacca Peninsula we find the grottos of Lang Cuom, Lang Gao, Khoe-Khiem and Cho-Ganh, Da-But, whilst remains are also found in Indonesia, more especially in the region East of the lesser Sunda Islands and Irian. The Austronesian unity found in the sphere of language, is also apparent in that of prehistoric culture, whilst researches made throw a still clearer light on the relations of the original Irian people with those of the Indonesian archipelago. The Indonesian people as it exists to-day is a result of the blending of the original tribes living in the Austronesian Archipelago with the migratory races who brought with them their own culture a process which has continued from prehistoric times. In confirmation of the fundamental idea with regard to a population drift from the West in an easterly direction, we think it desirable to give the
following extract from the book „The Megalitic of Melanesia” (1950) by A. Riesenfeld, page 668:

„Having summed up the culture of the light-skinned stone-using immigrants, we must now give a survey of the routes followed by them on their migrations. After leaving the mainland of South-East Asia, one wave passed through the southern island of Indonesia. This drift, with which we need not deal here, reached as far as the Moluccas and its latest influences extended to the western part of New Guinea as far as the Mamberamo River on the North coast. In the South, its influence made itself felt in the islands of Kei and Aru and the mainland opposite. These influences did not extend further east and this culture drift is therefore not of great importance as far as Melanesia is concerned.”

West Irian is not only a territory that cannot be separated from the Indonesian Mother-country. It also appears that in prehistoric times it formed „das Wanderungsgebiet” for the Indonesian people in their drifts from the West to the East to which it introduced its Indonesian culture and languages. Among others, we refer the reader to A. Riesenfeld, mentioned above and also to Dr. P. V. van Stein-Callenfals (Hanoi, March 1932, in the „Soerabajasche Handelsblad”, April 1932).

The prehistoric period in Indonesia ended at the moment when facts with regard to Indonesia, coming from abroad, became known to us.

IV. Ramajana c.a. 100 A.D. Gunung Sjisjira is Irian

At the beginning of the protohistoric period, Indonesia and Irian began to attract attention in other countries. The well known Sanscrit scholar Professor H. Kern, in an edition of the Ramajana, published in Bombay, found a verse which may be translated as follows:

„Examine thoroughly Yawadwipa, which is adorned with seven principalities; it is an island of gold and silver and rich in goldsmiths. At the end of the island Yawadwipa, the mountain Sjisjira will be found, the summit of which sweeps the heavens and is visited by gods and demons (danawa)”.

This song, written by the poet and scholar Walmiki, contains directions from Seri Rami to the ape Hanuman (the symbol of the monsoon wind), to seek diligently for Dewi Sita, his wife, and also to explore the Indonesian archipelago, famous for the gold and silver found there. When he arrived at the point of Indonesia, he would see the snow-mountain of Sjisjira, the top of which reached to the heavens. With this verse of Walmiki it should be noted that it is
known that Yawadwipa is the Indonesian archipelago (Nusantara) whilst Danawa, according to the Hindu conception, is the indigenous population of the southern part of that territory. How accurate and precise the report of the Hindus is regarding the presence of snow in Indonesia, with its hot climate, is confirmed by an entry in the logbook of the Dutch navigator Carstensz who in 1623 whilst sailing in his ship the "Pera" along the South coast, wrote about what he saw on the coast of the island of Irian:

"an enormously high mountain, in my opinion about 10 miles inland, and in many places covered with snow".

With respect to this reference to a snow mountain in Indonesia, as reported by the Hindu scholar in the Ramajana, we give a further extract from the book of Dr. H. J. P. Bylmer (Nieuw Guinea, 1950, page 14):

"In Netherland New Guinea is was not the lustre of gold that attracted travellers but a brilliance less tangible and more sublime: the snow.

Snow under the equator! Although nothing strange in South America (the Andes), and Africa (Kenya and Kiliman Djaro), it was something very exceptional in the Indies archipelago.

The story of captain Jan Carstensz who sailed down the South coast of New Guinea in 1623 and in which he mentions the snow mountain, was considered hardly credible. It was quite true, however. In 1935, when I sailed the same route in the motor boat "Schorpioen", after a few hours in pouring rain, we saw the mountain lying about 80 k.m. from the coast unwrapping itself from the mist, revealing the eternal snow on its summit as it had done three centuries ago. An imposing sight and a good omen on the first day of our expedition!

To a considerable extent we have to thank this snow for the opening up of the interior of New Guinea. Lorentz and van Nouhuys were the first (in 1907) who attempted to reach the snow. The expedition was not successful although they were able to view the Wilhelmina summit at no great distance. Two years later, another attempt was made by the same two men. On this occasion they were successful and they reached the eternal snows."

The historical unity of Irian with Indonesia was also apparent to the Hindus who gave the Molucca archipelago with Irian the name of "Samudranta" (extremity of the sea), a place from which spices originally came. All relevant data can be found in the work of Dr. D. van Hinlopen Labberton (Handbook of Insulinde, 1910, pages 1—6), also in: Prof. Dr. H. Kern (History XV, 1928, page 183), Prof. N. J. Krom (Hindu-Javanese History; and Prof. Dr. H. T. Colenbrander (Colonial History, 1925, II, pages 277—8).

After the protohistory the history of Indonesia begins, based on written works, both native and foreign. During the period reaching to
the beginning of the 16th century three empires were all-powerful, viz. the empire of Seriwidjaja, of Melaju and of Madjapahit.

V. Seriwidjaja Djanggi is Irian

The Indonesian Empire, known as Seriwidjaja was all powerful since the 6th century and disintegrated about the beginning of the 12th. As far back as the beginning of the 8th century the island Irian and Maluku (Molucca) were famous as the region where parrots were found and which was inhabited by naives with frizzy hair. The island of Irian went by the name Djanggi, a word that also occurs in old Javanese. During the reign of the Maharadja called Seri Indrawarman, over the Empire of Seriwidjaja, various ambassadors, in the years 702, 716 and 724 journeyed to the court of China, taking with them parrots and women from Djanggi. It is also possible that the sculpture work on the Boroboedoro (Sculpture of the Boroboedoro II B, page 33) made in the year 800, represents Indonesians from Irian and the Moluccas. Noteworthy also is the entry made by Chau Ju Kua in his logbook where he writes that at the beginning of the 13th century, the inhabitants of East Indonesia ate sago and had tattooed faces. This Chinese writer states further that a region called Tung-Ki existed as a part of the Moluccas, whilst in the opinion of Dr. Rouffaer, Tung-Ki is synonymous with Djanggi, the islands of Irian (See Rouffaer and Jlzerman: First Dutch navigation to East India, 1925, II page 410). The region Djanggi in the Seriwadjaja period is clearly indicated in Indonesian literature as a part of Indonesia that went by the name of Nusantara.

VI. Wanin ri Seran is Irian-Nusantara 1365

In the period of the Madjapahit Empire (1292-ca 1521) Irian formed a part of Indonesian territory and was called Dwipantara, a translation of the word ”Nusantara”. The frontiers of the territory Nusantara in the middle of the 14th century are given in the book of national history completed in the year 1365. This book was completed by the scholar Prapantja who lived during the reign of Perabu Hajam Wuruk, after the death a year previously of the Indonesian political expert Gadjah Mada. After enumerating the territories that formed West and Central Indonesia, one can read in stanza XIV of the region Maluku and Irian as a part of East Indonesia. It runs as follows:

„Muwah tanah i Bantayan pramuka Bantayan len Luwuk I tekeng Udamakatrayadhi nikanang sanusapupul I
Ikan sakasanusanusa Makasar Butun Banggawi I
Kunir Ggaliyao mwang i Salaya Sumba Solot Muar I
muwah tikang i Wandan Ambwan athawa Maloka Wwanin I 
ri Seran i Timur makadi ning angeka nusatutur I”.

The Prapantja song contains the name of Indonesian territories 
such as Bantayan (Bontain), Luwuk (Luwu), Udamakatraya (Pulau 
Talaud), Makasar, Butun (Buton), Banggawi (Banggai), Kunir (Pulau 
Kunjit), Galiyao (Kangean), Salaya (Saleier), Sumba, Solot (Solor), 
Muar (Honi-Moa or Saperuwa), Wandan (Banda), Ambwan (Ambon) 
and Maloka (Maluku; Ternate).

In the opinion of the historians Kern, Krom and Rouffaer, Wwanin 
is synonymous with Onin on the coast of West Irian, close to Kokas 
in the northwest of the Mac Cluer Bay; Seram is Kowiai, in the south 
of the island Irian. Timur is Timor or the district of Nusantara 
east of West Irian. In short, it can be said that in the middle of the 
14th century, the territory of West Irian was a part of the East Indian 
archipelago and was called Wanin ri Seran. (See Rouffaer, T.A.G., 
1908, 2,25, pages 310 and 342; Kern V History VII, page 241; Prof. 
N. J. Krom, H. J. Gesh, 1939, page 417.

Translations and extracts of this national song prove clearly that 
West Irian, since the time of Madjapahit, and Sriwidjaja is part of 
the territory of the Indonesian country of origin, from which it 
can not be separated whilst emphasis is laid on its constituting a part 
of the Molucca archipelago and of East Indonesia.

Irian after 1500

After the fall of the two Indonesian dynasties mentioned above, the 
new historical period begins which deals with the development of 
Western power in Asia. West European expansion was directed also to 
Indonesia, including the Eastern part of that country. The meeting of 
Europe and Asia at the beginning of the 16th century led to the 
creation of a colonial relationship between various West European 
States and Indonesia. Whatever the changes in the economic and 
political powers resulting in various parts of Indonesia being brought 
under the government of various foreign States, it was always clear 
either directly or indirectly, that Irian formed an integral part of the 
territory of the Indonesian peopole.

VII. The Tordesillas Pact, 1494

When the power of Madjapahit began to decline, a dispute arose in 
Europe between Spain and Portugal over the division of all countries 
of the world. What was then done towards solving the dispute proves 
a new that from the beginning of European expansion, the Indonesian 
Archipelago had never been divided into parts but that since the end of 
the 15-th century it had been regarded by Spain, Portugal and the Pope
as one territory. In the month of May in the year 1493, both the above mentioned States attempted to make good their colonial claims to the newly discovered territories. Pope Alexander VI was called in to act as arbiter in the controversy. A line of demarcation was drawn up from Pole to Pole. The region beginning a hundred miles west of the Azores was assigned to Spain and Spanish shipping and the region east of it to the jurisdiction of Portugal. A year later, in order to solve the dispute that had arisen, the rulers of Spain, Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, laid down a new demarcation line in accordance with the agreement of Tordesillas and ratified by a Bull of Pope Julius II. This agreement is contained in the book of Martens (Supplement 1, Page 372; New Netherlands yearbooks, anno 1788, Part II, page 1853 and in D.E. de Sturler, The Territory of the Netherlands East Indies, 1881, pages 60—62.

The meridian of Tordesillas resulted in Indonesia being divided between two foreign States with two jurisdictions for shipping as, according to the map made by Diago Ribeiro (c.a. 1553), the western part (according to the map) of Indonesia along the line over Bonthain (120° Grw) became a Portuguese sphere of power, whilst in the part of Indonesia east of the line (to which Irian also belonged), Spanish influence was predominant. The settlement of the dispute over the division of the earth did not end it, because after the death of Magellan, murdered in the Philippines, his fleet under the command of the circum-navigator Pfagetta, met the Portuguese merchant-ships just in Indonesia, in the harbour of Ternate (1521). Apart from the fact that information received proved that to the East of Halmahera lay an island called Irian which ten years previously had been given the name of Ilha de Papoa by the Portuguese, the division of the earth on paper, promulgated in Europe really led to a sharpening of the dispute over the conquest of territory by both States. Irian, thus, from the time of the agreement of Tordesillas till the settlement reached at the Round Table Conference has always been the object of political disputes, due to the desire of Western Europe to occupy the mother-country Indonesia.

The Hague agreement of November 2, 1949 gave rise to the hope that the political status of that territory would be determined within a year, whilst the agreement of Tordesillas stipulated that any trespass over the demarcation line would be punished by a denunciation of the trespasser as a „pirate, a vandal, a blusterer and a religious and political criminal“. (pugnir y castigar enteramente come cossarios violadores, que brantadores e mal hechures de fe y de par, Martens supplement I, page 398).

The Netherlands name Nieuw-Guinea is derived from the Spanish Nueva Guinee, a name coined by the navigator Ynigo Ortiz de Retes
(1545) and meaning New Guinea as opposed to old Guinea. The ideas of West European cartographers at the end of the 16th century may be seen from the map made by Laco (1590) where the island of Irian and the Solomon Islands are shown in the East and eastern Indonesia in the West, whilst Ambon, Banda and Alor are called the Molucca Islands, as they were named in the Indonesian song of Prapantja two hundred years before.

VIII. The Treaty of Munster, 1648

The Netherlands War of Independence against Spain led to the Peace of Munster which gave the Netherlands many privileges and had the result that the power of the Netherlands East India Company in the Indonesian Archipelago was firmly established in accordance with Article V of the Treaty: „Pax Monasteriensis”.

„Trade and shipping to the East and West Indies will be maintained in accordance and in conformity with the charters already granted or to be granted in the future …… and under the above-mentioned treaty will be understood Potentated Nations and Peoples. It is further discussed and stipulated that Spanish shipping shall be restricted in East India to what it now is, without extending it still further, whilst nationals of the United Netherlands shall also refrain from frequentation of Castilian places in East India.”

At the moment that the treaty was signed, the Spaniards had no navigation nor occupations in Indonesian territory. In accordance with the rules of international law uti possidetis, which formed the basis of the treaty, the power of Spain disappeared from the Indonesian Archipelago whilst the Netherlands acquired trade and shipping rights in the West Indies and in the whole of the East Indies and further all consequences arising from relationships with the native population, as indicated in the charter of the Netherlands East India Company (1602).

IX. The Treaty of Utrecht (1714) and of St. Ildefonso (1797)

The Treaty of Munster (1648), of Utrecht (1714) and of St. Ildefonso (1797) apportioned the shipping of Spain to Indonesia. In the Treaty of Utrecht between the Netherlands and Spain it was further stipulated that Spain might conduct trade and shipping „as during the reign of Charles II”. In view of the fact that since the Peace of Munster (1648), Spanish shipping in the direction of West Irian was forbidden, West Irian was no longer under the Spanish throne but had since the Treaty of Utrecht come within Netherlands sphere of influence. Henceforward only the Netherlands would maintain relat-
ionships with the Sultan of Tidore whose sovereignty in the East over
the territory of West Irian, was recognized by the State. (See Prof.

X. The Treaty of London, 1814 and 1824

In view of the fact that the Netherlands were involved in the Napol-
eonic war against England, Netherlands authority in the Indonesian
Archipelago disappeared for the period between 1795 and 1813.

After the war, which terminated with the defeat of Napoleon on
the battle-field, England, in accordance with the Treaty of London
(13 August, 1814, art. 1.) returned to the Netherlands Government
all colonies, factories and establishments as they existed of the status
quo ante bellum on January 1, 1803, with observance of that stipu-
lated in articles 6 and 9 of the Peace Treaty of May 30, 1814 and
also with regard to what was agreed upon at the Peace of Amiens
(art. III) March 27, 1802. The disjunction of the island of Irian can
be read in article VI in the clause: "The Unity of the territory of
the Eastern islands, which include Irian" (De Sturler: "The Territory
of Netherlands East Indies", page 292).

By a decree of the Netherlands Indian Government of August 24,
1824 and of July 30, 1848, the authority of the Sultan of Tidore who
was subject to the sovereignty of the King of the Netherlands was rec-
ognized in the region from the north-west part of the Island of
Irian situated west of a point at 140° 17 (O.L. Greenwich) on the
north coast to a point at 141° (O.L. Greenwich) on the south coast.
This territory was declared "feudal to the Prince of Tidore, of whom
Netherlands was suzerain lord". (Government almanac of Netherlands
Indies: Dr. J. E. de Sturler: The Territory of Netherlands East Indies,
1881, page 49).

The meridian of 141° O.L. as frontier of Indonesia in the East,
is not only recognized by history and by treaties but is also proved
by British parliamentary documents (July 1876), such as the "corre-
spondence respecting New Guinea", together with a supplementary
frontier map: "Boundaries of Netherlands New Guinea".

XI. West Irian in the Constitution

In all Netherlands and Indonesian constitutions, West Irian is
regarded as a part of Indonesia (Netherlands Indies) and there has
never been a question of any separation.

The Netherlands Constitution of 1801 (art. 21), of 1805 (art. 10)
and 1814 (art. 53) only mention the territory in Europe (territory
of the United Netherlands in Europe), with the object of demon-
strating that outside Europe, a Netherlands colonial territory existed.
The Constitution of 1814 refers only very briefly to the territory
of Indonesia and only so far as was necessary for the transfer of sovereignty to the King of the Netherlands. The Constitutions of 1815 and of 1840 (art. 1) mention the provinces which form a part of the Kingdom but say nothing of the fact that a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands lies outside Europe. Although it is apparent from articles 59 and 60 that a colonial realm exists, little or nothing is said of the relations of the same with Netherlands territory in Europe.

The Constitution of 1948 replaces the word „Netherlands Indies”, used in the Constitution of 1922 into the word „Indonesië” as one of the parts forming the Kingdom of the Netherlands, whilst at the same time the articles 208—211 dealing with the amendment with the object of creating a new organization and order in connection with the movement for the liberation of Indonesia, were ratified. This amendment changed the word „Netherlands Indies” to „Indonesia” whilst the word „possessions” was struck out, in conformity with the new consciousness of justice with regard to Indonesia, as illustrated in the words of Prof. Dr. R. Kranenburg: Netherlands Constitutional Law II, 1947, page 159):

„our right of conquest, the fact that the exercise of power in past centuries offers no sufficient title for constitutional authority; the fact of conquest is no legal argument for regulating authority; here also the fact does not constitute a legal norm”.

The Netherlands-Indies constitutional laws of 1854 and of 1925 were not amended and article 1 stated that the authority of the Governor-General extended over the whole of the Netherlands-Indies not excluding West Irian:

The exercise of the General Government in the Netherlands Indies with which the Governor-General is charged in the name of the King in virtue of the second paragraph of Article 60 of the constitution, will take place ...... (Article I, 1925), whilst 70 years previously the Constitutional Reglements (1854, Art. I, read:

„The Government of the colonies and possessions of the Realm in Asia, forming part of the territory of the Netherlands Indies will, by the Governor-General, in the name of the King, etc.”

The territory of the Netherlands Indies remained one whole and undismembered up to the day of the Proclamation of the Freedom of Indonesia on August 17, 1945; the Indonesian standpoint is made clear in the preamble of the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia declaring:

„Further, in order to establish a Government of the State of Indonesia which will include the whole of the Indonesian people and the whole fatherland in which the original inhabitants of West Irian
are included. And when Indonesia conferred with Netherland at the Hague from August till the beginning of the month of November 1949, both delegations that of the former B.F.O. and that of the Republic of Indonesia, initialed the constitution of the R.I.S. on October 29, 1949 which, in Article 2 reads:

„Republik Indonesia Serikat meliputi seluruh daerah Indonesia.” (The Republic of the United States of Indonesia comprises the whole territory of Indonesia), with the object of giving a basis to the national claims with respect to West Irian as given and contained in Article 2, letter C. which subject was discussed on that day at the Round Table Conference.

Drawing a conclusion from all Netherlands constitutions from the 19th century till the R.T.C. in 1949 it can be said that there has never been any question of a dismemberment of the unity of the territory of Indonesia whilst the Indonesian claims since the Declaration of Independence until the R.T.C. have never changed but have remained directed at the unity of territory. The transfer of which, with full sovereignty was promised; unconditionally and irrevocably.

The conception of not including West Irian in the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia was a temporary idea brought forward from Netherlands side at the R.T.C.

**XII. Tidore—Irian**

From the above historical exposition, it is further clear how close the relations were between the territory of West Irian and Tidore, which functioned as a bridge between East Indonesia and Irian. This historical relationship is strengthened by the conformity in the Austronesian adat law between Tidore and Jakja, Numfoor and Wonesier, whilst for a period of time the Radjas of Misool, Rumbiati, Radja Amap and Kowiai acted as a sort of harbourmaster for the Sultanate of Ternate. (Vollenhoven „Adat Law” I, page 428). The East India Company used Ternate as a bridge to extend its power over the territory of West Irian. As far back as 1660, the company signed a document by which the rights of the Sultan of Tidore to West Irian, were recognized. „The Papuas or all islands of the same”, whilst in the year 1705 it was established that Rumangay (on the north coast of West Irian), recognized the authority of „Tidore”.

At the end of the 18th century (1797), the Governor of the Moluccas recognized the authority of Tidore on all the islands of Irian and this was also the case during the British interregnum in Indonesia and supplemented with the recognition of authority over a part of the mainland of Irian. After this recognition had been given an international character as a result of the Convention of 1814, ten
years later the territory under the sovereignty of Tidore was incorporated with the Residency of Ternate, whilst the convention of 1814 was ratified anew. In order to resist an English tendency to occupy Irian, it was declared, although without effect, in the year 1848, that West Irian formed part of the territory of Tidore. In the year 1848, the southern part of West Irian passed into the hands of the Dutch Government against payment of a sum of fl. 6000. (see Colenbrander: „Colonial History“ II, page 278).

As explained above, the Government Directory of 1865 showed the great extent of the Netherlands Indies territory in West Irian, whilst in the Colonial Report of 1875, one may read of the recognition of the authority of Tidore which included the islands and the coast of West Irian, with the 141st meridian as boundary recognized by the British Government. In the year 1902, the southern part of West Irian became a district directly administered by the Government and with its own administration whilst the northerly and westerly parts were considered to belong to the self-government of Ternate. In order to acquire this territory and make it a directly administrated district the proprietary rights of Tidore were bought in 1905 for a sum of fl. 6000 although this agreement was never ratified. After van Heutz in the year 1903 had made customary the short Pronouncement, in the year 1909 the Ternate-model was signed for the self-governments of Ternate, Batjan and Tidore, which model contained the stipulation (art. 4) that the Netherlands Government could incorporate said self-governing district in the directly administrated territory, at any time. Before the beginning of the Second World war many changes were made in the sphere of self-government.

In the first place the Governor of the Moluccas implemented the Netherlands self-government policy, by which, according to supplement 14377, self government was re-introduced in districts where it had been abolished, such as in Bali and South Celebes. Another change affecting West Irian (North an West Irian) was that West Irian became a part of the eastern Moluccas and was administered by the self-government of Tidore.

Before the second world war a tendency already existed among the Netherlands B.B. officials, to make West Irian (Northerly and Southerly parts) directly administrated districts but the reason brought forward, that no relations existed with Tidore, was combatted from another side. Dr. W. A. Hovenkamp, former Resident of Ternate gives his views on this question is his book: „Administration, Justice, Police and Finances”, 1937, Page 30:

„Many (including L. van Sandick) have advocated administration by the Central Government for North and West New Guinea. The motive advanced by a few people for the taking over these districts
by the Central Government viz. that no link exists between Tidore and North and West New Guinea is, generally speaking, not correct. The link was there but was weakened rather than strengthened by our Government. That it existed, however, is clear from the circumstance that the Radjas (Heads of the Population) in the peninsula of Onin, derived their authority and importance from those of Misool and these again from the Sultan of Tidore. This influence is also felt in Kaimana and its neighbourhood, in the presence of the so-called Radja's Commission, whilst the southern part of the Vogelkop is divided as it were, into spheres of influence of a few Radja's of the peninsula of Onin.

Up to ten years ago, the Radja Ampat group have known the octoesans(ambassadors) of the Sultan of Tidore, whilst the trade of Saonek(subdistrict of Sorong), is largely in the hands of the Tidorese. As already stated, the link has been weakened by the government. One has endeavoured to meet the objections attached to the representation of the Sultan of Tidore, by restricting the power of these Radja’s and finally to eliminate them entirely instead of attempting to exchange the inherent advantages by wise and continual guidance”.

After the second world War, the Netherlands Government at the Conferences of Malino and Den Pasar came forward as the protector of self-government and its rights. At the end of the year 1944, the allied army had not yet occupied Indonesia, with the exception of Irian, so that naturally the Sultan of Tidore was not yet in a position to rule over the districts of Tidore. This temporary position, as regulated by a Decree of the Governor-General on November 22, 1944, No. 3, was revoked on December 15, 1945, with the understanding that West Irian would be separated from Tidore, notwithstanding the fact that the whole of Indonesia was already occupied by the Allied and Nica army.

According to the Statute Book, 1946, No. 5, various districts were returned as self-governing to Ternate and Batjan, although these districts had already been administered by the Central Government. Since 1947 there have repeatedly been disputes between East Indonesia and the Netherlands Government on the question of West Irian, claimed by East Indonesia as being situated within the territory of Tidore.

Five points must be carefully noted:

Firstly.

On the basis of the Statute Book 1946, No. 18 en 27, and on the arrangement reached at Den Pasar (art. 5, paragraph 3) together with the Decree of the Governor-General of June 9, 1947, No. 2, the Government of East Indonesia was not permitted to detach or reduce the territory of any self-governing district. On the basis of this
regulation and Decree West Irian must revert to the Sultanate of Tidore.

Secondly.

When Z. A. Alting was installed as Sultan of Tidore on February 17, 1947, it was hoped from Indonesian side, that West Irian would be returned to the Sultanate of Tidore, as it was thought that several self-governments, already abolished, would be reinstated and because the separation was only of a temporary nature in connection with the fact the whole of Indonesia had not yet been occupied by the allied army.

Thirdly.

Van Mook has taken some pains to compensate the Sultan, Z. A. Alting for the loss of West Irian (North and West.); when these attempts failed owing to the fact that His Highness, the Sultan of Tidore did not wish to sign the agreement, the colonial article in the Ternate model (art. 4, Statute Book, 1904) was hastily brought forward in Juli 1949, only a few days before he Royen-Roem-agreement.

In the application of this colonial measure the colonial tactic to hold West Irian as colony was clearly evident. This was contrary to the agreement of Den Pasar which stipulated that no change would be made in the status with respect to West Irian without preliminary discussions with East Indonesia.

Fourthly.

The committee Irian (Fact Finding Committee) of which only one Indonesian was a member has published no reports or results of its activities.

Fifth.

The decision of the H.V.K. on July 8, 1949 (No. 2u:180) with regard to West Irian was taken without previous discussion with East Indonesia and Tidore. Protests in Djakarta went unheeded.

On various occasions at the conference of Den Pasar and at the R.T.C. the relations between West Irian and Tidore and those with East Indonesia and Indonesia were referred to. Zainal Aidin Alting who was not Sultan at that time, advanced several reasons why West Irian (North and West) should again be joined to the Sultanate but all without result. When he was installed as Sultan in succession to his father, the Netherlands Government missed a good opportunity of granting his claims. Meanwhile after the R.T.C. the view was disseminated in Irian by the Information Service that former relations recognized by the Netherlands from the middle of the 17th till the middle of the 20th century would be broken off, by saying
that the Sultanate of Tidore formed a part of Indonesia and had been the friend of the Dutchers for 350 years, as if the population of Irian were not regarded amicably by the Indonesian people.

How close the relations were between Tidore and Irian as illustrated in history and legend has been described in the writings of Ds. F. C. Kamma: "The Relations between Tidore and the Papuan Islands, in Legend and History" I, II, III and IV of the periodical Indonesia" 1948 and 1949.

XIII. The Irian struggle for Freedom

The movement aiming at political independence which had repeatedly concentrated itself in the Biak district since the beginning of the Second World war had an economic background and was directed at liberating West Irian as part of the general struggle for the unity of Indonesia. This expressed itself in the form of a desire for a kind of millennium organized on the relief in a symbol such as that on Java under the leadership of Djajabaja or perhaps more correctly in the wish for unity with Indonesia expressed in organized political movements. The basis of this movement for liberty was a higher standard of living. This movement was strengthened at the end of the war when the Americans brought much money and commodities into the country whilst these goods were repeatedly taken from the native people by the Netherlands police. Further, in this war for democracy, there were many Irians who took up arms and fought with the allied army against the Japanese army. These were promised, orally and by means of pamphlets thrown from allied planes, a higher standard of living. After victory had been attained, this promise was not fulfilled, so that there reigned a spirit of discontent which resulted in outbursts against Netherlands. In this struggle between Irian and Netherlands, the Indonesian Romushas and the armed negro soldiers associated themselves with the movement for freedom. This movement for freedom had no clear form. It aimed simply at progress. In Irian, therefore, the struggle between those who desired freedom and those who aimed simply at progress, was great, more especially because the latter cooperated with the Netherlands Government and also because Marcus Kasiepo, for example, had formerly collaborated with Japan.

The Djajabaja Movement in Irian is derived from the native relief in a coming Millennium, free from the misery endured under the Netherlands rule.

As the Irians formed the opinion that the struggle of the Allied Forces against Japan would end in an American victory and as it was clear that the Americans had an abundance of money and everything else, the arrival of the american army was for them a
sign that the period of the millennium was approaching. The prophecy of Djajabaja would be fulfilled, this and the Messiah would make his appearance on earth.

This religious, supernatural movement was of the same kind as the Djajabaja movement in Java and is often compared with the Vallala madness in East Irian. In this connection, see the essay by Prof. C. Berg "Javanese Historical writings" 1939; "History of Netherlands India II" Weselius; Djajabaja, B.T.L.V. of Netherlands Indies, 1872, page 172—217 and Zorab, The so-called Prophesies of Djobobjo, the Javanese Nostrodamus", periodical of Para-psychoology, 1946, pages 146—153. For the Millennium movement, read Cyril Belshaw in the periodical "Pacific Affairs", June 1947.

Let us now give a brief description of the political movements and parties in West Irian. The Mansren Movement is related to the descendants of the prophet (Konoor), known as Mansren Mangundi who rules over a happy country (Koreri) where there is no room for Japanese and Netherlands foreigners and which warrants a happy existence to the population of Irian. The centre of this Mansaren Movement is in the island of Biak, Korido, Soepiori and P. Rani, Anganita. The leader is Stephanus. In 1941—42 this movement assumed great proportions.

During the Japanese occupation hundreds of followers of the Mansren movement were murdered cruelly.

After Japan had lost the war and the American army had left the country, prosperity declined. The result was that the movement flared up again and aimed at driving the Dutchmen out of the country. In the period after 1945, the Mansaren Mangundi movement was frequently charged with being associated with the Merah-Putih movement (red-white). In the Hollandia district there was the Simson movement which since the beginning of the war had resisted Netherlands rule, also with the object of founding the millennium. The leader, Simson, was himself killed by the Japanese but it revived in 1946 and 1947 with its centre in Kampung Tablasufoa and Tablanusu. This Simson movement works mostly underground since the Netherlands Government, in 1947, made numerous arrests in connection with the Merah-Putih movement, led by Marcus Indey, a native of Irian. In 1946—47, these leaders exercised great influence on the forming of the Komite Indonesia Merdeka (K.I.M.), Committee for Free Indonesia which aimed at attaining freedom by legal means. In the beginning, Indey cooperated with Kre and Jouwé. The revolt took place of a Papuan battalion in December 1945 in the Hollandia district whilst in the same district there was the Sugoro movement of ex-digoelists. This revolt aimed at liberating Irian as a part of Indonesia. The heart of the movement was the native population and the Papuan battalion which had been founded by the
Netherlands Government. Sugoro who played a great part in the revolt was afterwards sentenced to four years imprisonment, whilst the movement was suppressed as a result of many arrests. In spite of the fact that in the night of the 14th and 15th December, 250 Indonesians of Java and Sumatra were arrested with the help of a group (military) from Rabaul, during the period when Sugoro was in prison, two fresh revolts occurred (July 1946 and January 1947). The first revolt was suppressed by means of numerous arrests. Sugoro who was originally sentenced to four years imprisonment was while awaiting his trial in connection with other questions, removed from the prison at Hollandia to that of Merauke, from which he made his escape during the rainy season to the Australian frontier. After his escape he received a life sentence, together with tens of others who had been arrested. The revolt, planned to break out in December, 1946, was prevented by the Netherlands Government sending home to Sumatra all those inhabitants of Digoel who had been banished.

On various occasions revolts occurred in Hollandia but were all suppressed by means of arrests and sentences by the courts. In the town of Merauke, the population and the Digoelists who had returned from banishment repeatedly demonstrated their discontent (between the years 1945 and 1947) with petitions, broadcasts, motions and by means of protests generally to the affect that they wished to return to their kampongs, discontented as they were that their claims to a voice in the government or representation in the proposed Council, had led to no result.

At the end of 1946, many Indonesians, dissatisfied left Merauke for the Australian frontier.

In the month of February, 1947, the Merah-Putih movement was suppressed by military force. This movement was led by a native of Irian „Samuel Kawab”, who had done good work in the resistance to Japan and had assisted the Netherlands and the Allies, more especially those Australian pilots who had been taken prisoner. At the end of 1946 and the beginning of 1947, there were repeated outbursts of the Merah-Putih movement in Babo and Kokas (Mac Cluer Gulf) and also in Fak-fak and Sorong which were led by a native of Irian called Sengadji Malan in an attempt to overthrow Dutch rule. It was repeatedly imputed that this movement was organized by Indonesians not Irians but it was clear that the kernel of all these movements was formed by Irian leaders. The movement naturally also contained Indonesians as they favoured the standpoint that Irian formed a part of Indonesia.

One must know that the movement for freedom in Irian was against the occupation by Japan even before the Allied armies landed in West Irian. After the landing of the Allies it became evident that
the Netherlands had no intention of granting national liberty although such had been promised by pamphlets thrown from planes and also by broadcasting, so it was only natural that the movement for liberty should resist the colonial power that again attempted to install itself in Indonesia.

It should also be noted that the Netherlands Government organized a progressive movement which would resist the movement for freedom. This progressive movement had no influence on the people as it had no clear political aim and because it was evident that its purpose was subjection by bringing about cooperation in the colonial sphere. The Progressive Movement is a victim of Dutch propaganda and a movement of collaborators.

Naturally the Dutch could win only a few categories of persons for that group, viz. those who for opportunistic reasons wished to place themselves under the protection of the power as they already for the same reason collaborated with the Japanese.

J. Ariks and Jouwé were persons who had closely cooperated with the Fascist army at Manokwari, whilst M. Kasiepo until the landing of the Allied Armies, had worked together with the Kempetai. Jouwé cooperated with the Nefis a section of the Netherlands political intelligence service. Formerly, they worked with the Japanese and after that army had been completely defeated they proceeded to cooperate with the Netherlands colonial power. The contrast between the Progressive Movement and that for Freedom in the sphere of West Irian is nothing but the contrast between Netherlands colonial rule and the Indonesian Movement for liberty. In the political sphere, the movement for liberty is representative and is concentrated in the Partai Kemerdekaan Indonesia (Freedom Party of Indonesia Irian).

The organized Indonesian movement for freedom which is extremely active in various places in West Irian is the Partai Kemerdekaan Indonesia Irian, the leader of which is the Irian native Silas Papare. This party was founded on November 29, 1946, with its headquarters in Serui to which Dr. G. A. J. Ratulangi was banished. Its members are scattered over various places on the mainland and on various adjacent islands such as Biak, Sorong and Manokwari.

Silas Papare is a native of Irian who did excellent work in cooperation with the allies during the Japanese occupation in the sphere of public health as well as regards the transport of Romushas in the Vogelkop and in promoting the Allied Military plans.

The aim of the P.I.D.R.I.S. is to liberate West Irian and make it an inseparable part of Indonesian territory. This party works with full conviction and a clearly defined political and economic programme, based on the idea that Irian is Indonesian territory and further, that the Irian people is an Indonesian nation with Indonesian
as linguistic unit. Prominent members of the Party are Rumkoren, Kre, Kawab, Wettebossy Marebella, Rumsajor and M. Indey. The Indonesian flag, Sang Merah Putih is honoured not only in the Indonesian Party circles but far outside them, whilst further one longs for the day when the song, Indonesia Raya will be heard in the atmosphere of freedom. The names of the leaders such as Soekarno and Hatta are generally known whilst the Declaration of Independence of Indonesia and the Republic Indonesia are also well known. The leaders in the struggle for Indonesian liberty as a rule speak fluent Indonesian and they claim a free Indonesia as their Fatherland, also for their people, to which belongs West Irian and its population.

Their claim is in accordance with the purpose of the U.N.O. Charter, Chapter XI, in the matter of non-self-governing territories, Art. 73: „to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions”.

Conclusions

The above historical exposition affords an opportunity of drawing certain conclusions closely related to each other.

In the first place it is clear that Irian (West Irian), for more than 2000 years has, geographically and historically and also in accordance with various treaties and regulations in the form of Netherlands and Indonesian constitutions, never was a territory than can be separated from Indonesia, that is known by various names such as Yawadwipa, Dwipantara, Nusantara, Inde orientale. East Indies and Netherlands East Indies.

This unity of territory is indicated in the Netherlands Report to the U.N.O. as given under Non-Self-Governing territories, 1949 II, pages 158—159, as follows:

„Indonesia consists of a series of island groups in the region of the equator, extending from the mainland of Asia to Australia. The principal groups are the Greater Sunda Islands, the Lesser Sunda Islands, the Moluccas and New Guinea west of 141 degrees E longitude” and further:

„Racially, the indigenous peoples may be broadly divided into Malays in the West and Papuans in the East. As these races have intermixed to a considerable extent, they are not separated by clearly defined boundaries”.

Till the day of the opening of the R.T.C. there was agreement between the respective standpoints of the Netherlands and the Indonesian Governments that West Irian, together with other Indonesian
territories, formed one inseparable whole with respect to which both parties could confer on the question of the transfer of sovereignty.

The theories which, after the R.T.C., assert that West Irian forms no part of Indonesia but that this territory bears absolutely the same character as Melanesia, Polynesia or Australia and which fail to recognize the relationship existing between that territory, with its indigenous population and the people of Indonesia, are all absolutely useless attempts to present such as the results of Western European Science during the last three quarters of a century and to place these results at the disposition of the arbitrary policy of the Netherlands, which is really in conflict with the lessons derived from any historical period if derived with sense of justice as regards laws and treaties. Such a policy is also in conflict with the results of researches in the sphere of philology, Adat Law and ethnology, and with the just Indonesian claims with respect to that part of the Fatherland which is called West Irian and also with the generally recognised standards of a true civilization.

As regards Austronesian unity which would place Indonesia in the sphere of Melanesia and Polynesia, we refer the reader to what has been written on the subject by Dr. H. K. J. Cowan in „Indonesian or Melanesian in North New Guinea” 1950, No. 4 pages 350—359 in the periodical „Indonesia”. The Dutch claims on West Irian are claims redolent with the colonial spirit and the will to extend the colonial system, although not perhaps in the form of Fascism, to the Pacific Coast, whilst the Indonesian claims to the territory are based on the desire to liberate the country and settle for good the political dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands, which will constitute the end of the Indonesian struggle for the freedom of the people and the Fatherland, thus carrying out the purpose of the United Nations as contained in the Charter of San Francisco, Article I, numbers 2: "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self determination of peoples and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace."

Another conclusion that can be drawn is that the attitude adopted by the Netherlands not to discuss the claims of Indonesia on the question of West Irian at the Conference, is not only detrimental to friendly cooperation between the Netherlands and Indonesia but is also in conflict with the sense of justice, as Indonesia, to which West Irian belongs, has always attempted to observe this sense of justice which forms the basis of all conditions of life, in the form of laws, written or unwritten in defence of vital interests or in a question like the birth of an Indonesian nation and Fatherland. The Netherlands of the 20th century might learn much from the lessons and the counsel of the jurist Hugo de Groot who combatted the claims of Portu-
gal to exercise proprietary rights or power over Java, Sumatra and many of the Molucca Islands. All the arguments he brought forward to refute the Portuguese claims could *mutatis mutandis* be taken to heart by the Netherlands, who are called upon to uphold the laws which have been in force in Indonesia for thousands of years and who must not regard this territory as completely effete.

Non esse autem Lusitanos earum partium dominos, ad suas Batavi accedunt, puta Javae, Tapobanae, partis maximae Moluccarum, certissimo argumento colligimus, quia dominus nemo est ejus rei, quam nec ipse umquam nec alter ipsius nomine possedit. Habent insulae istae, quas dicimus, et semper habuerunt suos reges, suam rempublicam, suas leges, sua jura: Lusitanis mercatus, ut alis gentibus conceditur: itaque et tributa cum pendant, et jus mercandi a Principibus exorant, dominos se non esse sed ut externos advenire satis testantur: ne habitant quidem nisi precario.


*Translation of above.*

„The Portuguese do not possess all the territories which are visited by the Netherlands, such as Java, Sumatra and a considerable part of the Moluccas and from this we may clearly adduce that no one is owner of any property that has hot been legally acquired either by himself of by someone acting on his behalf. All the above-mentioned islands have had established Princes, a State, laws and various rights of the same nature as those enjoyed by other peoples and gave the Portuguese permission to carry on trade with them. The fact that they paid tribute to, and requested permission from the Princes to carry on trade, is clear proof that they enjoyed no proprietary rights, that they were foreigners and that even when they remained within the country, they were only allowed to do so as a favour“. (Hugo Grotius: „Right of Conquest“, Chapter XII).

The exposition given above also demonstrates the fact that the boundary lines of the Indonesian Fatherland have been changed repeatedly under foreign political and economic pressure, which clearly agrees with the teaching of the writer on political science, Bluntschli („Allgemeine Statslehre“, p. 276) where he says: ”History knows no immutability in the compass of a State“. As regards the territory of Indonesia, however, a national claim to West Irian is made with the knowledge and the conviction that of all the peoples and States in the world, the Indonesian people and the Indonesian State enjoys the most relations both morally and materially with West Irian and that the Indonesian claim is most just as the relations with West Irian are the relations with its own Fatherland. The historical right which forms the basis of the national Indonesian claim to the
territory of West Irian, is the right to live and the right to liberty which creates the right of a people to possess a frank and free territory as recognized in international law.

With regard to this conclusion, therefore, it may safely be adduced that the claim to transfer of sovereignty also over West Irian is based on a just desire again to unite the proprietary rights and authority over the whole native country, or to employ the words of Hugo Grotius in his work „De jure belli ac pacis” (III page 2), again to unite dominion with imperium in the hands of Indonesia, two rights which for hundreds of years have been sundered. See Prof. Kranenburg’s „Nederlands Constitutional Law”, 1947 II p. 158. The national claims which can be based on basic principles contained in the above exposition, are greatly strengthened by the Austronesian agreements concluded between West Irian and the main Indonesian territory, for example, in the sphere of language, adat law, defence, anthropology and the use of one Indonesian language. All such, however, merely serves as a roof covering the question as to the constitutional relations between the State and its territory and this is greatly stimulated by the conviction that the Indonesian people wish to live in freedom as one nation which includes the original population of Irian.

It is not necessary in this exposition to quote from the book of Ernest Renan, ”Qu’est ce qu’une nation” or from that of Dr. Karl Renner, ”Nation and State” (1918). It will be sufficient to give the opinion of Prof. Kranenburg as to what constitutes a nation (Nederlands Constitutional Law II 1947, p. 149): ”More and more one seeks the criterion in the consciousness of belonging to an organized group, a consciousness which arises from the conviction of having, as a group suffered the same experiences and striven for the same ends; a consciousness that becomes stronger by suffering and joy jointly borne, great deeds jointly achieved, in other words historical memories deeply imprinted in the mind. The aftereffects of such are great”.

This consciousness is present in the Indonesian people, in those who live in Irian and those who live in other parts of the Indonesian State. Further, in order that the Indonesian State, already free and sovereign, should become strong and stable, and for the development of a free democracy in South East Asia, the political unity of Indonesia and West Irian is of importance. Not only would it mean an ending of the Netherlands colonial system in the Indonesian Fatherland but it would complete and fortify the unity in the sphere of economy and fiscal measures, in addition to strengthening democracy and national freedom in the Pacific, in Indonesia and in the whole world. The maintenance of democracy and liberty now established, is the duty of the whole and also of the Indonesian nation, so greatly concerned.
The exposition here given of the history of West Irian contains a warning. In prehistoric times the Austronesian people swarmed out over the South East Asiatic islands and a portion of them, sailing in canoes arrived in the Indonesian Fatherland of Irian. In the historical period the unity of Indonesian territory and people remained intact and materialised. After 1500 this unity was disturbed. The Head of the Kingdom of Seriwidjaja was forbidden by oath to eat rice and he promised to eat "sago", whilst Gadjah Mada, in the palmy days of Madjapahit, once took an oath to eat "pelapah" as long as Indonesia-Nusantara was not united with West Irian. Both their aims have been achieved. In the 20th century, both pledges have been redeemed in accordance with Indonesian adat law and are replaced by the effort full of hope and firm conviction, that West Irian, which is part of the fatherland and which is denied to the national claim of the Indonesian movement for Freedom, will be returned to the Indonesian fatherland as a result of the settling of the point at issue by discussions, so that the relations between both states, which relations are highly appreciated and elevated, will improve, and, so that the Indonesian sovereignty again will be fully and completely rounded off before the dawn of 1951.
PART THREE
POLITICAL POSITION OF WEST IRIAN
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POLITICAL POSITION OF WEST IRIAN

I. Point at issue

The basis of the Indonesian-Netherlands point at issue concerning West Irian is to be found in the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty, clause 2, dated 2nd November 1949, or in the resolution of the first Conference of Ministers of the Indonesian-Netherlands Union of 1st April 1950 (letter M.C. I/C II/G-T.), reading as follows:

„that the status quo of the Residency of New Guinea shall be maintained with the stipulation that within a year from he date of transfer of sovereignty to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, the question of the political status of New Guinea be determined through negotiations between the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands.”

The meaning of the status quo of the Residency of New Guinea is elucidated in the letter of 2nd November 1949, reading as follows:

„through continuing under the Government of the Netherlands”.

(R.T.C., No 2-E.L. No 875). The continuation of the authority has resulted in various measures having been taken by the Netherlands, bearing a provisional character, to remove a vacuum, e.g. in the shape of the Enabling Act New Guinea (22nd December 1949) and the Decree Regulation Government New Guinea (29th December 1949).

Both regulations are valid for the period of time during which the question has not yet been settled within the term of one year after 27th December 1949, which consequently clearly proves the provisional character and owing to which these resolutions will become automatically invalid, when the sovereignty over West Irian will be transferred to the Government of Indonesia.

The Netherlands Government repeatedly stated, at the Round Table Conference as well in the Netherlands Parliament and at the first Union-Conference, that in the settlement of this political controversy no third power was to be involved, it being in addition stated that, if the sovereignty were to be transferred to an other power, this shall be no other but the Indonesian Government. The point at issue is therefore to be read and settled in the sphere of this general elucidation.

II. Nucleus of the point at issue

The settlement of the point at issue through negotiations compels the Government of Indonesia to determine its standpoint of viz. which national demands shall be presented and which political status shall be rejected. For the solution of the problem it would not be
sufficient for the Netherlands to refute the motives given by Indonesia in such a way that, according to the Netherlands, they would no longer have any conclusive force; the question West Irian is a political controversy, whereby it would be wrong to take the previously outlined road to a solution: also the Netherlands has to produce in a righteous way its motives and its evidence for the motives that the title of the Netherlands to the territory concerned is stronger, firmer and more exalted than the title of Indonesia, so that it is, in its conception, free to execute, after a year of negotiations, its power on West Irian; if the Netherlands is not able to produce these reasons, the Netherlands status quo power automatically has to take an end. Neither can Indonesia get away from the obligation to produce reasons and give the desired information; after all Indonesia has always during all the negotiations held, declared itself prepared to bring the difficult problem to a solution. The standpoint that both parties have to prove the existence of a stronger and higher right and that they will also acquiesce in the same procedure, is an idea contained in the manner of settling the question West Irian in accordance with clause 2 of the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty.

Besides the same obligation of both parties to explain their demands, it is moreover also urgent to stress that, in the settlement of the question West Irian it would not be righteous and would have no sense to produce proof about the territory and the population of West Irian being or not being identical with the populace of Indonesia, in respect of philology, zoology, botany, geology and anthropology; such statements would be unfair to Indonesia and could undoubtedly confuse the settlement of the problem. It would be very easy, but Indonesia also considers it unfair, to bring forward indications that between the Netherlands and West Irian (in respect of the territory as well as its autochthonous population) in whatever field of science, except the field of a tie of colonial authority, neither linguistically, zoologically, botanically, ethnologically, nor geologically or anthropologically, a tie exists, the presence of such a tie, strengthened by various relations in an other field, it not being difficult to prove by striking evidence in every field of science between West Irian and Indonesia. It would however be unfair to the Netherlands to make such elucidations compulsory for both parties and besides these elucidations have nothing to do with the nucleus of the controversy. The Indonesian demand in respect of West Irian has as its direct content and aim the formation of a state and people, the Negara Indonesia Merdeka. In the course of the world’s history and taking the prevailing political situation into consideration, many parts of a territory have been united in one government, many different tribes having also been united in one
nation, such as the Swiss Republic, the U.S.A., Soviet Russia, China and Indonesia (Celebes, Timor and Java-Sumatra) and Australia, establishing a superstructure on different territories with a different fauna, flora and geological conditions.

The question West Irian is a political controversy and scientific researches are not directly connected with the nucleus of the point at issue and they would only take both parties further away from the settlement of the controversy.

According to the Indonesian standpoint the aim of its demand is, on various grounds, to unite the whole territory of the fatherland with the territory of West Irian and further to set free a part of its people in West Irian by making it possible for the original population of New Guinea to acquire the Indonesian citizenship, so that the complete sovereignty, as embodied in clause I of the Charter of the Transfer of Sovereignty, shall be obtained, clause 2 can be withdrawn and the last annotation in the Assignment of the Citizenship concerning the original inhabitants of West Irian shall be of no further importance. If in this report reasons are mentioned of a geological, zoological, botanical and suchlike nature about West Irian, this is only to present our viewpoint side by side with the viewpoint of the Netherlands, meaning that the material produced has nothing to do with the nucleus of the controversy, which is entirely of a political nature.

Indonesia has mentioned the previous standpoint, trusting and fully conscious that the transfer of sovereignty to West Irian would be complete and in particular in the interest of the progress of the original population of West Irian. West Irian would not only be freed to the extent that the colonial tie of the original population and territory would be discontinued, but in addition West Irian would soon be given the opportunity to aim in a sphere of complete freedom at the progress and at attaining a higher level of culture in many fields. The Netherlands has not been notified to bear the duty entrusted to it by the Charter of the Uno, chapter XI, because that duty already took an end by the coming into being of the R.I.S. and because the clauses contained in that chapter are entirely directed towards a disguised colonial attitude and position (Prof. Mr François Manual International Law, 1949, pp. 239—246), which is not at all wanted by Indonesia and as little by Democracy and Civilization.

The standpoint of the Netherlands contains a wrong idea because, as it professes, it would be more capable to educate and help West Irian on than Indonesia could; this standpoint is quite contrary to what has in the course of centuries actually happened in the island-realm of Indonesia, including the suffering of West Irian. The previously mentioned standpoint also implies the opinion that he who considers himself more capable than an other, should have the right
to rule a foreign territory in violation of democracy and justice as was customary in the fascism and the national-socialism of world war II, aiming at the formation of a "Grossraum". The standpoint of the Netherlands opens the possibility to make every frontier of a weak country disappear, e.g. on behalf of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. who are indeed more powerful and financially stronger than any other country in the world.

This is the reason why the standpoint of the Netherlands, that the most efficient people will rule or help on West Irian, is not to be considered as a criterium for any answer to the question concerning the nucleus of the point at issue. Such a standpoint only confuses the settlement of the controversy. According to the Indonesian standpoint, in the period of 122 years of Netherlands authority in West Irian, the Netherlands Government has done little for the progress of the people and for the territory of West Irian; it would therefore be very unjust if the Netherlands would in the previous case express itself in reading matter, the Press, Parliament or anywhere else that the Indonesian Government would, after having taken over the sovereignty, not be able to help the People and the country on. Indonesia has the intention to advance the interests of the original population of West Irian with the same sincerity and polity with which it looks after the interests of all parts of the fatherland and its people, and it is prepared to accept the necessary assistance of any other foreign country, which is now the case with the Netherlands, in the interests of West Irian. However this may be, to him who has a sense of justice and an objective judgement it will be very clear that, in case of a binding of West Irian with any other state, Indonesia lies closer to the disputed point than the Netherlands.

III. The Government in West Irian

I. The present situation of West Irian and the population

Without previous discussion having been had with the R.I.S. West Irian is now no longer a Residency, but it has been reshaped into a Government under a Governor; the Government is divided in 3 administrative territories, each under an Assistent Resident (North Irian with Hollandia as its capital; West Irian with Manokwari as its capital; South Irian with Merauke as its capital) and a territory round the Paniai Lake under a Controleur, directly under the Netherlands Government in Hollandia.

Since many centuries the Dutchers carry out the authority on West Irian and its people, but nobody will deny that the Netherlands Government has done practically nothing for the progress of the original population of West Irian, spiritually as well as materially.
And if anything has been done to ameliorate the state of the original population of West Irian, this has for the far greater part been done by the Missions (and this only) for the greater part of the coastal inhabitants. The population in the interior still has the same standard of living of the past, so that a great difference is noticeable for him who has lived amongst and associated with the coastal inhabitants, having an encounter with the inhabitants of the interior. The latter are still naked and still live in the stone age, having in general no contact with the inhabitants of the coastal area, still less with the world outside West Irian. Shortly, the inhabitants of the interior still live in a very primitive and old-fashioned way, which is to be found hardly anywhere else in the world. Or would it be argued that the presence of a station of government round the Paniai Lakes (Wisselmeren), a place in the mountains of West Irian, is contrary to the previously mentioned consideration? Certainly not, because the station of administration there is a charge and a stain in respect of the Netherlands Government and its obligations in respect of West Irian and its population, as the station of administration situated there is felt as "a drop of water on a melati leaf", meaning that between the two worlds, viz. the population on the one hand and the station of administration on the other, not a single spiritual tie exists.

The inhabitants remain naked and they remain in the primitive and old-fashioned conditions of living, and the presence of the Netherlands station of administration is looked upon as an understandable fact, and it is therefore considered to be of no value whatever. Quite right is the remark made by the well-known Netherlander Van Kol in his book, dated 1904, that:

"the number of civil servants is ridiculously small in connection with the wants; their means are insignificant, their authority is small, our administration a laughing stock in many parts."

The situation of the Netherlands Government as seen by Van Kol fifty years ago is still the same at present, i.e. at the Wisselmeren. Though the Netherlands civil servants in West Irian were not many, the greater part of the budget is meant for them and is not used for the progress in the economic field and in the field of development, politics, public health and education. As regards the coastal inhabitants it can be said that most of them through (the work) of the Missionaries, at present can read and write a little, having in general of course become Christians.

People's schools, where this knowledge can be acquired, are overcrowded with pupils, boys as well as girls. The youth of West Irian is glad to go to school and likes being taught. In the same way the churchresses are on Sunday crowded with the Christian part of the population, the church commandments being faithfully observed.
But apart from the knowledge acquired at the people's schools and during the religious ceremony, it is greatly deplorable that the inhabitants are still on the same social and economic level as two centuries hence, when the Netherlands started their government of West Irian. In the whole of West Irian not a single amelioration and progress are to be seen. The Netherlands Government has convincingly proved that the aim to educate the original population of West Irian to their obtaining autonomy and attaining a full and complete freedom is not at all true. What in the course of two hundred years has not been done, could now not possibly become at once a noble duty for the Netherlands, to be carried out in the interest of the autarchthonous population. The truth is that the Netherlands Government wants to form a colonial administration in the interest of the Netherlands.

Van Eechoud, Netherlands Resident in Hollandia, admits it in his book: "Op den drempel van een nieuwe toekomst" (On the threshold of a new future), where he says on page 15:

"We taught the Papuas to read, to write, to count, but we did not enable them to use this knowledge." In his report on the year 1946 concerning the education in Biak, he gives as his opinion that "the island is top heavy of primary education, it is saturated with it and it does not know what to do with it. This has not given economic progress to the island; the people's capital has not increased. Biak is still one of the poorest parts of New Guinea."

In his previously mentioned book is also to be found the elucidation of this Resident, reading as follows (page 1):

"In the spirit of the more or less already educated Papuas the war brought indeed a great change; but the country remained the same. Up to now still practically nobody escapes malaria. In many parts the civil servant still makes his tours with his finger on the trigger."

Further on page 2:

"Because New Guinea is a country which has remained for innumerable years benumbed in its primitive state and which now has to be awakened from its stiffness and set moving towards a new and still unknown social and spiritual destination."

On page 16:

"and finally all our activities brought no economic progress, no material prosperity, which has to be the visible award of our aims and which must form the basis on which a spiritual development can grow."

Also on page 16:

"The population has practically not been included in the process of production. The estimate of revenues 1949 excise on sea- and forest products only amounted to Fl. 143,280, a considerable part
of which comes however from the exportation of timber, in which
the autochthonous population has only a small share. The export of
coconut will amount to only an odd thousand tons in 1949.

The item wage-tax being an amount of Fl. 334 000 is merely exclu-
sively paid by the personnel of the oil company and the Foundation
Basis Goods, 3/4 of the personnel of which consists of non-autoch-
thons.

The item Income-tax consists preponderantly of an assessment per
head, a considerable part of which can only be paid from the wages,
earned by working for objects of administration.”

Under such circumstances where knowledge acquired at people’s
schools and from religious teaching, does not keep pace with the
physical development, such knowledge and religion are of no use
to the population. This statement detracts nothing from the apprecia-
tion for the work of the missions, which is very useful. Moreover
such a thing could become a very curse for the population if such
a situation leads it further away from an ordinary progress, based
on an original way of living or when such a situation detracts it
from its own country. In this connection it is right to draw the atten-
tion to the opinion of A.D.A. De Kat Angelino, in his book „Staat-
kundig Beleid en Bestuurszorg in Nederlandsch-Indië”, part I, p. 904:

„If these three aims the education of the people has to comply
with, are taken into account: adaptation to the surroundings, broade-
ning of the intellectual horizon as far outside the daily surroundings
as is feasible with the adaptation to it, and finally development of
personal independent thinking and acting, again as far as this is
possible within the frame of the first mentioned aim — in particular
with the maintenance of the veneration of what is sacred — the edu-
cation of the people will be an undivided blessing. It then prepares
the dynamic future by a civic spirit, active in the group, but already
beaming forth, it develops the personality only in so far that it con-
tinues feeling at home in its own surroundings and starts working
there as leaven, and it prevents that silly inclination which chases
away from the village whoever has learned to read, to write and to
count, because he considers himself too good for the honest manual
labour of his father.”

It is well-known that the inhabitants of West Irian who are willing
to get along in their work, very much like to imitate the foreigners in
their way of living, culture or civilization.

This is nothing new; also in other parts of Indonesia which have
had the Netherlands colonial administration, e.g. in the Ambon
Archipelago and the Minahassa, many inhabitants have become
detached, owing to their school knowledge and religion, which do
not agree, from their own way of living; in fact they should have
cultivated and enriched those habits of their own lives.
School knowledge and religion must be directed towards their own original habits of life and must be used as a social means to stimulate and to help on their own way of living. Only then knowledge can be considered and valued as a means for a new mode of living. Though serving to ameliorate the own living condition, the knowledge as given to the youth of West Irian is far from sufficient and it is not directed towards giving the youth a political forming in order to obtain a free and independent national government. This is explicitly admitted by the Study Committee New Guinea on 15th March 1948 in its report (page 72), reading as follows:

"Of the thousands of schoolchildren always the far greater part will therefore remain in the lower strata. And the best ones who rise above it and arrive in the position the lower amberi has now, become for the greater part top organs and do not draw up the Papua lower strata as a whole. Partly they are withdrawn from the kampong. Moreover it is expected that Papuas will be cheaper than amberis, so that even in the places they occupy then, they will not yet rise as high as the amberis. It is impossible for the school to help all the Papuas to an amberi job."

Is it then to be wondered that the thousands of young people of West Irian, having such a knowledge and nevertheless falling back into the old primitive way of living, which brings no progress spiritually as well as materially, feel dissatisfied with such a situation?

In this connection it is also important to draw the attention to the remarks made by the previously mentioned Resident Van Eechoud in his report of 1946 on the island Biak, in which he says i.a. that the education in Biak did not agree with the common progress of the people, and that the exited and unsafe situations of the more recent times have been a consequence of it. Has it not been the same Study Committee which has clearly stated in its well-known Report, page 72, that:

"The Papuas expect the school to teach them how to do everything themselves, so that they can immediately take over the task of the upper strata. This is out of the question, because the upper strata is above all an organ of the top (the supreme top) of civil servants, employers and missionaries. The top only needs the lower amoeri because otherwise it could get no contact at all with the Papua society. It is impossible for the school to bring the Papuas within reasonable time indeed to the top. For that top an appeal will for a long time have to be made to societies where one can be trained for higher positions. Engineers, doctors, civil servants, missionaries, are only obtainable by a higher training, which is only possible in more developed cultures."

This is a well-known song, often sung to the Indonesian people during the colonial period. In handling colonialism the Netherlands
often forgets that the colonized people cannot easily forget the fact that it has a sense of self-esteem, that it has a sense of becoming conscious which will run over in the demand to be its own master without awaiting the decision of an other people. It is therefore not to be wondered that in the years 1945—1947 amongst the population of West Irian various movements came into being, originating in Irian itself and aiming politically at or based on improvement of their fate, detached from the power of the Netherlands Government.

This incitement of the people has often been looked upon by the Netherlands as being provoked by agitators, assisted, at least according to the Netherlands, by adherents of the republic Indonesia; some people consider it to be the work of Indonesian immigrants. Such suppositions limp and are too simple. It looks as if the Netherlands are afraid to admit frankly the righteousness of these movements or that they don't possibly understand the aim of that unrest.

For, provocations made by only a few political persons, will never be able to create such a sphere of great excitement and unsafety in respect of the Netherlands. The movement of 1945—1947 in West Irian, which started in Hollandia and ran high there, spread like a torrent towards Biak, Serui, Manokwari, Wandamen, Sorong, the Mac Cluer Bay, Fak-Fak, the Arguni Bay, Kaimana and Merauke, in short in the whole of West Irian from North to South. It gave a close relationship to thousands of Irianese the lower classes as well as the upper strata of gurus, policemen, soldiers (the Papua bataljon) and civil servants. These thousands set fire to the radio-station Biak and surrounded the house and the office of the Resident van Echoud at Hollandia with the object to arrest him. It is clear that this movement was not caused by provocation of a few purely political agitators but in reality an insurrection of the whole West Irian population to liberate West Irian from the Netherlands domination. The number of 1000 Irianese, imprisoned at the time by the Netherlands administration, part of which is still in the prisons of Hollandia and in other places, is a clear proof that the movement of 1945—1947 was not one to be easily suppressed.

For the sake of clearness the attention may be drawn to the declarations of the inhabitants of Irian itself, with reference to the questions put by the Joint Committee Netherlands-Indonesia, reading as follows:

"Marcus Indey (Hollandia) declares:

(Question) which movement have you joined?

(Reply) I have just been released from prison, having been accused by the Netherlands of revolt against their power, because I am aiming at the independence of my Fatherland. From 14th December 1946 till March 1950 I was in prison; therefore I have not yet joined
any movement. At the time I was employed by the Netherlands Government and I belonged to the well-circumstanced group. But urged by the population, striving after independence, I gave up my employ, in consequence of which I was arrested and put in prison.

(Question) Were there many people imprisoned in those days?
(Reply) More than a thousand.

(Question) Who was in those days the leader of the independence movement?
(Reply) In 1946 I was the one who led the people's movement for independence for the first time and I knew that brother Jowe had at the Den Pasar Conference protested against the continuance of the Netherlands colonialism in Irian. That is why now I do not understand the reason why brother Jowe changed his course and chose the side of the Netherlands.

(Question) Could it be possible that the cautious steps of the government in respect of P.I.D.R.I.S. were caused by the events in 1946, when the people intended to oppose the government by force of arms?

(Reply) It is not at all true that the people's movement to obtain independence should have used force of arms against the government.
Further may be heard the declaration of an autochthonous Irianese Petrus Wetebossy, chairman P.I.D.R.I.S. (Hollandia).

(Question) What was your object when you resisted the Japanese during the war, apart from winning the war?
(Reply) My intentions were to set the people free from the oppression of an imperialistic government.

(Question) What was your capacity?
(Reply) I was a teacher. In 1947 I was arrested and punished by the Netherlands Government because I had become a supporter of the proclamation of independence of Indonesia.

It is also advisable to draw the attention to the reply given by Lukas Rumkoren, chairman of the Perserikatan Indonesia Merdeka (Biak).

(Question) What is the P.I.M.
(Reply) Its aim is to strive after independence and to be no longer a colony. First the Panitia Indonesia Merdeka was set up, but when later the autochthonous population proved to have much interest in this movement, the P.I.M. being an abbreviation of Perserikatan Indonesia Merdeka, was set up on 7th October 1945. The basis of the P.I.M. is to be found in the proclamation of 7th August 1945. Eventually I too was punished with an imprisonment of 2½ years
because I was accused to have incited to the murders of the government-assistants M. Kasiepo and F. Kasiepo.

Further may be heard the declaration by Rumbewas (Serui):

(Question) Are you a member of a political party?

(Reply) Yes, I am a member of the P.K.I.I. (Perserikatan Kemerdekaan Indonesia Irian) which was set up officially in 1946 and which has now members in Waropen and Japen. The aim of the P.K.I.I. is to obtain the independence of the whole Indonesia, including Irian, the whole Irian from Hollandia to the Humboldt Bay. This movement actually started on 26th January 1945, when 20 leaders were arrested and taken to Biak.

Finally special attention may be asked for the declaration by Abraham Karomat, delegate of the employees (Sorong), who declared: "The independence proclaimed in 1945 is a joint independence, including Irian, as Irian is a not to be refuted Indonesian territory" (vide further his declaration attached). Apart from the declarations of the autochthonous sons of Irian it would be also important to draw the attention to the question asked by the Netherlands members in the Joint Committee made through the intermediary of the secretary, Dr. Van Baal, and addressed to the previously mentioned Marcus Indey, during the interview of the Committee. This declaration contains the admittance on the Netherlands side that the movement of the Irian people in 1945—1947 was indeed resistance to the Netherlands Government. This question has already been mentioned before, however in another connection, so that it would be better to repeat it once more:

"Would it be possible that the cautious steps on the side of the Government in respect of the P.I.D.R.I.S. were caused by the events in 1946, when the people intended to oppose the Government by force of arms?"

IV. The repudiated status

At the R.T.C. the delegation of the republic Indonesia peremptorily refused every form of international status for West Irian, and the previously mentioned elucidation is once for all the everlasting reason why the R.I.S. remains unchanged in the present stage of the settlement of the dispute and is, up to now, still of the same opinion as, at the time, at the R.T.C. The reasons for refusal are further elucidated in this report, more or less to explain the standpoint and this could also serve to remove possible misunderstandings which could come up with reference to the Indonesian attitude.

a. West Irian a condominium?

Though the Charter of San Francisco does not mention the existence of a joint state-authority of different states in respect of a
certain territory (condominium or co-imperium) and does not acknowledge it either, international law knows in the course of political history the government form of condominium, as has been the case with the New Hebrides under the joint authority of England and France, based on the agreements of 1887, 1827 and 1935; the territory Tanger, the free state Triest and others (there are instances of these too). West Irian is not only no terra nullius, but in addition it is for the following reasons impossible, neither is it good, to apply the co-imperiumship to this territory. If the territory were dealt with as if it were a condominium, in such a case the state authority would be carried out by Indonesia and the Netherlands together. This would then mean that Indonesia gives its approval and considers it justified that the Netherlands should continue colonialism in the Fatherland Indonesia, which is not wanted by either party; moreover, in what way would the administrative power have to be applied?

If West Irian should be governed conjointly by the state Indonesia and the state the Netherlands, a part of the Fatherland Indonesia would be under a co-imperium — or a condominium government (territory of a community of states); such a status can only be acquired as a result of a conference. But not only Indonesia but also various currents peremptorily refute such a double authority.

The fact is that history does not know any satisfactory instances of such a co-imperium:

Sudan between Egypt and England since 1898,

Moresnet between Prussia and the Netherlands, 1814—1839, ending in an annexation of this territory by Belgium, 1920, the island Samoa, 1889—1899, under the co-imperium of England, Germany and the U.S.A., finishing by the island being divided in 1899.

the Oregon territory, as joint occupation between England and the U.S.A. from 1818 till 1846, and still some others.

Co-imperia were by the provisions of the Peace Treaty of Versailles applied during a certain period and they have in general during the period between the first and the second world accentuated the contrasts between the states and disturbed the world peace. (Saar territory, Triest, Tanger).

Neither is the political status in the form of a condominium of West Irian a decidedly satisfactory solution and in practice this would call into being an administration which would be far from satisfactory. In such a case there is no certitude in the decision as to which country will manipulate the sovereignty and which country will carry out the state authority and who will handle the nudum jus. (Bluntschli, Le Congrès de Berlin, 1881, p. 586; Laband, Das Staatsrecht des deutschen Reiches, 1911, p. 281; François, Manual International Law, 1949, p. 30). Division of authority in the manner
of a *condominium inégal*, the one state manipulating the sovereignty over West Irian, the other state carrying out the state authority, as dealt with by Chrétien (Principe de Droit International Public, 1893, p. 282), comprises in fact an undesired deed, because this would be equal to the cession of a territory of the fatherland to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The negotiations held between the two countries aim at a firm political status as the last stage of the unconditional and complete transfer of the sovereignty by the Netherlands Government to Indonesia.

Owing to the confusion in the government and the administration which would certainly be caused if such a decision of a co-imperium of West Irian were taken, the interests of the population would get into a corner and be disturbed which would impair the progress of the territory and the people of Irian.

Without paying attention to the reasons given by various Netherlands political currents as well as by the Delegation of the Republic Indonesia at the R.T.C. to refuse to carry out the joint authority in West Irian, it is sufficient to mention in this report that in the Netherlands Parlements in 1950 some people expressed the opinion that such a condominium should be refused. In this connection are also pointed out the Official Parliamentary Reports of 25th May 1950, p. 1877, giving Mr. Welters’s opinion: „If it is the intention properly to poison the relation between two countries, they should be given a condominium of a fairly large country. Condominium is therefore political suicide for the future.”

The previously mentioned reasons strengthen the standpoint of Indonesia to a not inconsiderable extent, viz. that a condominium of West Irian is to be flatly refused.

**b. West Irian trustee?**

On the Indonesian as well as on the Netherlands side the wish has indeed never been expressed to make West Irian a territory under the authority of an international trusteeship system, as embodied in the clauses 75-77 of the Charter of the Uno. It is possible that such an opinion has been voiced by a strange party, outside the two „dogs fighting for a bone”. There are many reasons why the Republic refused the previously mentioned trusteeship of West Irian at the R.T.C.

A definitive reason is that the Charter of the Uno has no say on the territory of West Irian, because this territory does not come under clause 77 of the Charter, where three kinds of trustees are known. From the day of the signing of the Charter up to now West Irian has not been a colony in the form of a mandatory territory, as has been determined in the Charter of the former League of Nations, reason why that clause 77 para. 1 under letter a. is not applicable to
the previously mentioned territory as: Territories now held under mandate.


Further, because West Irian was before the second world war already a part of the Netherlands Indies colonies and was not obtained from the enemy as a result of the second world war, it stands to reason that West Irian is moreover not to be made a trustee territory of category 2, as mentioned in clause 77, para. I, under letter b.: Territories which may be detached from enemy States as a result of the second world war.

For that matter, the history of the allied war against Japan on the Pacific Coast gives a clear proof that the people of West Irian has fought with guns on the side of the allies and has suffered thousands of victims for the victory of democracy, fully expecting that it should be given national independence as soon as victory was gained. West Irian is not a territory obtained by the Netherlands through the allied victory, but a colony with a people fighting for amelioration of their lot and for the independence of its people and fatherland.

Another serious consideration is here that Indonesia cannot possibly be made a trustee territory of the third category, viz a trustee territory, voluntarily set up by the responsible states, as explained in the Uno Charter, clause 77, para. I, letter c. The fundamental aim of this third category is, as is known, to extend the control of the administration in every colony, which would be made a mandatory territory, as the representative of Australia said at the San Francisco Conference, in order to make all badly administrated territories into trustees. For various reasons Indonesia could not be made a trustee, indubitably because the original Indonesian population amounts to tens of millions, has a high civilization and moreover aims at independence.

The oneness of the territory has never been contradicted. It is not only necessary to state once more that both states, the Netherlands and Indonesia, have never mentioned it in respect of West Irian, but besides the responsibility and the voluntariness, required in the clause concerned, are entirely contrary to the aim to liberate the fatherland, which Indonesia has at heart. This will become the more complicated if one bears in mind that Indonesia is a candidate member of the Uno and that the Kingdom of the Netherlands has from the very start been a member of that organization, this, in connection with the interdiction to make parts of any member trustees, as is explained in the Charter, clause 78.
(c.) According to the report received from the Uno Secretary General, the Netherlands Government had treated Indonesia since 1945 as a territory having no own administration or as a non self-governing territory, as meant in the Charter of the Uno chapter XI, clauses 73—74. After the coming into being of the R.I.S. and the acknowledgement by the Netherlands Government itself since 27th December 1949, there are signs that the latter government continues to take the standpoint in respect of West Irian to have this territory, though still being in a status of dispute, further treated as a non self-governing territory. Against such a standpoint many objections will be raised, first preceded however by a few elucidations.

Indonesia adheres to the standpoint that the original population of West Irian is a part of the Indonesian people from Sabang till Merauke, fighting for the formation of an Indonesian nation, the Netherlands being only able to claim the right of colonial property in respect of West Irian, which is at present covered by the word „non self-governing territory”. Indonesia is of the opinion that the standpoint of the Netherlands is not correct because the clauses about the non self-governing territory are not applicable to Indonesia, either as a whole or partly. Besides, the standpoint that the Netherlands would be better able than Indonesia to handle the authority in West Irian, can be no reason to occupy the part of the island permanently and to administrate it in deviation of the transfer to the Government of Indonesia which is entitled to it according to righteous and correct ideas. Clause 73 of the Uno Charter only gives the restrictions of the manner of carrying out the authority in colonies in general by those countries which are already a member of the Uno, by means of an interdiction or an arbitrary division of the territory into various parts and degrees of development. There are various colonies which, though the Uno acknowledges degrees of civilization, are nevertheless treated as a complete territory, without differentiating as the Government of the Netherlands has done in respect of West Irian.

The population of West Irian has made its voice heard and the Netherlands Government should thoroughly realize that there is an independance movement in Irian with the aim to attain a Free Indonesia. (vide the part about the history of West Irian and the hearings), as also the General Assembly of the Uno has fully realized.

(Resolutions, 9th February 1946; 27th plenary meeting):

"The problems and political aspirations of the peoples who have not yet attained a full measure of self-government and who are not directly represented here" and "They (members of the UNO) accept, as a sacred trust, the obligation to promote to the utmost the well-
being of the inhabitants of these territories, including the obligation to develop self-government and assist the inhabitants in the progressive development of their free political institutions”, and further in conclusion: "In conclusion the General Assembly expects that the realization of the objectives of chapters VI, XII and XIII will make possible the attainment of the political, economic, social and educational aspirations of non self-governing peoples”.

Further should be read the Uno book on non-self-governing terri-

V. The unsettled dispute

In case the dispute about West Irian is not settled "within a year after 27th December 1949”, this does not mean that the status quo remains after that date in the hands of the Netherlands. Such a conclusion cannot be formulated and drawn from or read in the passage concerned about the dispute. This sentence only enacts that the point at issue is to be settled within the time of one year, viz. through negotiations, but it does not determine at all that the status quo remains in the hands of the Netherlands in case the dispute could not be settled within one year. The whole sentence concerning the dispute is not to be broken in such various parts or conditions (inextricably interwoven), that a condition or a part of the dispute, contained therein, is separated from the other.

Clause 2 of the Charter of the transfer of sovereignty is only an invitation to settle the dispute about the political status of West Irian within the appointed time and by means of negotiations, so that after 27th December 1950 the political status would have been determined as a result of the negotiations held, and not, that the Netherlands Government is free to continue the status quo government one-sidedly according to the will and the conception of the government itself in case the dispute should not be settled within the appointed time. This report shall not deal with the question how the results of the R.T.C. shall be interpreted, in order that a pure significance can be attained.

In case the negotiations should not result in a transfer of the sovereignty over West Irian to the government of Indonesia, there would be a great possibility that in the territory concerned a political situation of vacuum and illegality would arise, which would be undesirable, even if the conference had taken this decision; if the result of the negotiations would be the transfer of the sovereignty of West Irian to the government of Indonesia, the Netherlands colonial status simultaneously ceases to exist and on the colonial ruins a government of Indonesia Merdeka would be formed for the welfare of the autochthonous population and the democracy of the world and that of Indonesia.
VI. The Indonesian attitude

That the Netherlands Government made the promise to make the whole Indonesia independent, including West Irian, is to be found in the speech made by the Ambassador Van Royen in the meeting of the Security Council during the discussions about Indonesia, three days after the military action against Jogjacarta, viz. in the meeting of 22nd December 1948 in the Palais Chaillot (Paris):

"As I explained at the outset, the dispute is not about the question of whether or not Indonesia will become independent. All parties agree that what used to be the Netherlands East Indies should become an independent State as soon as possible." For political, juridical, economical, historical and strategical reasons there is, according to Indonesia, only one way in which the question West Irian can be completely settled, viz. that the question concerning the nucleus of the point at issue is to be answered in such a way that the constitutional status of West Irian is determined by negotiations and its sovereignty is transferred by the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the government of Indonesia before 27th December 1950.

The Republic Indonesia has ordered the end of the guerilla fight and has with great pain been engaged in creating peace and legal security as the Netherlands expected in the meeting of the Security Council of the Uno of 7th May 1949 and in accordance with the joint declaration about the decisions of the joint conference at Jacarta under the auspices of the UNCI. The fulfilment of the previously mentioned obligations is the reason why the Delegation of the Republic Indonesia has acted conjointly with the Delegation of the B.F.O., the Delegation of the Netherlands being its opponent, having promised the Republic Indonesia "participation in a Round Table Conference at The Hague with a view to accelerate unconditional transfer of real and complete sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia" (Amos J. Peaslee, Constitutions of Nations, 1950, III p. 763, Indonesia), which is still clearer embodied in the Charter of the Transfer of Sovereignty, clause I, reading:

"The Kingdom of the Netherlands unconditionally and irrevocably transfers complete sovereignty over Indonesia to the R.U.S.I.". This sentence remains for Indonesia a demand, in connection with the transfer of the territory and the original population of West Irian; in the interest of the Indonesian independence, of Democracy and of the good relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands, the making complete and a whole in itself and the transfer of the sovereignty which is real, unconditional and irrevocable, a duty of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, if it wants to live up to its promise and its words addressed to the government of Indonesia.
PART FOUR
FREE IRIAN AND THE TRANSFER OF THE SOVEREIGNTY TO THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT
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FREE IRIAN AND THE TRANSFER OF THE SOVEREIGNTY TO THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT

I. Free Irian and Indonesian autonomy

The standpoint that the power during the status quo in respect of the West Irian dispute remains this year in the hands of the Netherlands Government until 27th December, means legally that the colonial government is given the opportunity to take in all fields colonial measures in a part of the Indonesian fatherland. It evinced considerable polity and unlimited self-confidence that the Indonesian government was prepared at the R.T.C. to solve the problem by way of negotiations and to agree to it, bearing in mind the determination of both parties to maintain the principle to solve all the disputes that could arise later, by peaceful and reasonable means. (Charter of the Transfer of Sovereignty 1949, clause 2, f; results of the first Conference of Ministers, 1950); the standpoint of Indonesia at the R.T.C. was still more valuable because the conference was a peaceful settlement of an armed conflict between two states. Though the status quo of the Netherlands power was determined only for the period of one year, the fact that West Irian was changing quickly since the second world war, not only in the field of progress in the Indonesian and Pacific countries but also by the urge to give freedom in these territories (Simson movement, Mansren Mangundi, P.K.I.I.) is the reason why the agreement to solve the dispute is checking the progress in those territories, though the period in which this had to be effectuated had been determined. Besides, in that agreement the words are used that it is desirable that the dispute shall be solved by way of consultation but in fact this passage contains the possibility or increases the possibility of many new disagreements. Prof. Dr. J. Romein's passage to be found in his book "De Machten van deze Tijd" contains a lesson indeed.

"The mistake of the Treaty of Washington and all similar treaties is therefore that they prepare new conflicts, because they only aim at the maintenance of the existing situation, though in agreement with the momentary most urgent interests of the contracting powers, not at all in agreement with the historical development, because the maintenance of a situation can never be in agreement with the demands of a development." (from: De Machten van deze Tijd, 1935, p. 423, 426.)

The people of Irian could since the transfer of the sovereignty have lived for a long time in a sphere of national freedom, if at that moment the sovereignty had also been transferred to West Irian together with the other islands, in which way the Indonesian-Netherlands disagreement would soon be liquidated and the friendship
between the two states would not have cooled off and stiffened, as has now happened. Though the Netherlands Government continuing its power de facto in accordance with the decision of the R.T.C., which power is based on an act of authorization (22nd December 1949), enacted with the assistance of its Parliaments and though it has been promised to make an alteration according to the programme embodied in the Decree Administration New Guinea (29th December 1949) and the expenditure for the year 1950 amounting in total to 30 million guilders has been voted, against all these alterations and provisions the correct objection is made that the progress on paper is not in the interest of the indigenous population, but exclusively serves to strengthen the colonial relations, the more so as the "New Guinea Council", which will have 21 members (10 Irianese, 9 Netherlanders and 2 foreigners) only exists on paper; though e.g. the whole regulation of the Government functions already, there is not yet a national government in that territory, apart, at the utmost, from a carrying out of the democracy in Indonesia, nearly equal to the colonial period in Indonesia before the second world war. The Budget and the Decree Administration New Guinea unite the colonial relations for the people of Irian. In anticipation of the reception of the report of the Joint Committee for Irian, and of the decision which will be taken at the second Union conference to be held in respect of the settlement of the dispute, Minister van Maarseveen has, on 20th June 1950, made an official speech in which i.a. he states as follows:

"The speed to which the First Chamber urged the Government in this respect, is possibly explained by the fact that the First Chamber has restricted its urge to the period it describes as the period in which the Netherlands responsibility in respect of New Guinea remains completely valid. This period described in this way is apparently to be the year within which the problem of the constitutional status of New Guinea is to be determined by negotiations between the Netherlands and Indonesia. The Netherlands Government is of the opinion that it would be little effective to make a one year plan for a country which still is in a little advanced stage of development, the more so because, as I have stated in the Second Chamber of the States General on behalf of the Government, the unaltered standpoint of the Government is that New Guinea is to remain also after the lapse of that year under Netherlands sovereignty."

Consequently the Netherlands Government wants to retain the power in West Irian also after 27th December 1950 under the proviso that according to the Netherlands polity the Irian people will, after that date, not be free and not a complete democracy, in spite of the fact that this Irian people has sacrificed so much good and blood to the world war, which maintained democracy. One of the statements
of the Netherlands Government in respect of the colony West Irian we know already, reading as follows:

"What will however be the outcome of the work of development by the Netherlands in respect of New Guinea? It will be the same aim as has characterized the Netherlands policy in respect of Indonesia in this century, viz. to bring the people of New Guinea to such a degree of cultural, social and political ripeness that it will be able to take its own lot in its own hands and to govern itself. As soon as the Netherlands have brought the people of New Guinea so far, this people shall be able to determine itself its political status in complete freedom. If in that case it should decide to join Indonesia, the Netherlands can raise no objections to it. If it wants to lead an own independent existence of the people, this will also have to be granted by the Netherlands. If it wants to perpetuate the tie with the Netherlands in any form, the Netherlands will also have to agree to this. Already at this moment the Netherlands and Indonesia can have fruitful discussions about the future status of New Guinea, which has to be based on the wish of the population of New Guinea, whereby the first condition is, that the population of New Guinea, once it has attained its full development, shall have to determine its own political status in full freedom."

The Netherlands promise that it is prepared to listen to the voice of the original Irian people, which is in fact already known from the Kemerdekaan Irian movement and from the Indonesian people itself, is much weaker than the colonial standpoint of the governor general Jonkheer De Graeff, who did not expect the Indonesian freedom until in an inmeasurable future, or than the way in which the Japanese fascism promised the Indonesian freedom at a later date. The experience of the Indonesian People during 350 years of subjection to the Netherlands can be a valuable warning that the present official statements have given birth to the idea that the Netherlands hides the colonial political measures in respect of West Irian again by promising mountains of gold, but that the pure aim is that the Irian people shall remain under colonial relationship and shall remain separated from the Indonesian people, which is already sovereign. Whether the Indonesian people is or is not already ripe for the desiderata of polity, will presently be determined by a foreign Government, this Government having already proved for tens of years up to now that it looks upon the territory concerned as a colonial interest. It is seriously regretted that there are currents in the country — though they are inconsiderable — being of the opinion that only the Netherlands are capable to give guidance and to govern it, and that the Indonesian nation is, without any reasons being given, considered not to be capable to give guidance and to govern this.
territory and can also not produce sufficient competent persons in this respect.

In this sphere we give the opinion of the Netherlands Government, officially stated by Minister Van Maarseveen on 20th June 1950 in the assembly of the First Chamber, viz:

"If one realizes in this connection the interest demanded by the people of New Guinea, it is not doubtful that this interest makes it essential for the Netherlands to continue its task in respect of New Guinea. For, provisionally Indonesia is entirely incapable to take over this task from the Netherlands. Also, in Indonesia there is, as the Netherlands Government has only recently explained in its Note to the Second Chamber of the States General, an alarming shortage of teachers, a shortage which threatens to increase in the near future because many Netherlands teachers are craving, on account of the bad material conditions under which they now have to work in Indonesia, for their return to the Netherlands. In the medical field there is in many parts of Indonesia a state of emergency, owing to a total shortage of physicians wanted. Also in the technical field the number of those available in Indonesia is at this moment far from sufficient. Under these circumstances it would not be in the interest of the population of New Guinea if the burden to develop New Guinea were shifted to Indonesia. By human reckoning the consequence of it would only be that the further development of New Guinea is provisionally shut off. In this connection I do not doubt that Indonesia is of good will in respect of New Guinea, but mere good will is not sufficient." This elucidation is, in respect of the political attitude of Indonesia and the sincerity of the aims of the Indonesian Liberty movement, already resulting in a Free Indonesian State, now a partner in the Union, very unjust. The experience and the consideration of this statement compel us to consider the report and the elucidation by the Netherlands Government as something valueless and silky. The shortage of teachers, physicians and technicians is a mistake of the Netherlands Government which has ruled Indonesia for 350 years in a colonial way and it is an honour to say in this very report that the interest of the people of Irian, which has, so to say, been left spiritually and the more so physically naked, can be served by doing away with all shortcomings of a colonial inheritance and for a considerable part by introducing new forces, from Indonesia as well as from outside.

West Irian shall in the first stage need few physicians, but many hospital attendants for the public health in the mountains and on the coast; it wants teachers for the schools of civilization and technicians to build houses, ships and harbours — does it not look as if the Netherlands wants to turn it into a colony of officials, as this was formerly the case in Indonesia — and only the Indonesian people can provide the new forces in sufficient number and suited to the demands
of West Irian. It is appropriate to quote here the words in Prof. Wertheim's book "Het Rassenprobleem" (1949, p. 9), a learned man who knows the Indonesian circumstances and promptings of the soul of the Netherlands people:

"Adolf Hitler has lost his fight. The Mythus des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts still haunts however many people in many forms and shapes, in the Netherlands we still meet this ghost in the form of colonial mentality, in involuntary looking down upon the dark-skinned Indonesian peoples. Every depreciating judgement on "those natives", who know nothing, at least not without "us", contains some racial delusion, which we thought we had to fight in Hitlerism." It is not necessary that the Netherlands Government wastes 20 million guilders, the figures of the expenditure being kept secret exclusively with the object of saving the prestige of the Cabinet in the Netherlands and of strengthening the colonial power in Irian. Though the figures of expenditure cannot be traced, as only the total figure is mentioned, the Netherlands Parliament itself has felt that the government of West Irian would be very heavily burdened by this expenditure, because it is the intention to form an organization in a colonial-functionary way or, to quote the words of the Provisional Report (23rd Juni 1950, No. 10; 1654):

"The heavy plan of the government of New Guinea".

And what does the Netherlands polity contain in respect of the original Irian people? It is good to consider the words of the Netherlands Government in the Memorandum of Reply (12th July 1950, 1654, No. 12, p. 12):

"The Government has, starting from the principle that its principal aim must be the raising of the spiritual, social, and economical level of the autochthonous population, taken as starting point for its general polity in respect of New Guinea:

a. a gradual extension of the Government across the whole territory, and

b. gradual intensification and extension of the Government care for the inhabitants, medical care and education taking an important place."

This polity shall be carried out here and taking into consideration the experiences gained in this respect in Indonesia, in the Councils as well as in the administration, the New Guinea Council shall start with 20 members, eleven of which are foreigners, no Irian natives, and the Government shall be gradually extended and shall soon take the form of a Netherlands administration with the native sons as clerks and policemen and only then the colonial aim will be attained, which will perhaps have taken an end in another 350 years, counting from to-day.
Even the progressive current, willing to cooperate with the Nether-
landers in Irian, is not content with the manner of education and the
duration of this period, because this progressive current too decidedly
aims in its pured form at an ultimate formation of a Free Irian.

History has taught that there is no people, heartily wanting to be
under foreign domination. For these reasons the aim of the Free
Irian movement is right and it can be justified opposite the outer
world, Democracy and Civilization; this movement urges that the
people obtains freedom now, united with the Indonesian people.
In connection with the sincerity and the magnanimity of the Indon-
esian Government it wants to solve the problem by way of consult-
ation and it is therefore so extraordinarily regrettable that this sphere
is being confused on the Netherlands side for various other reasons
and by all kinds of means; when the R.I.S. Government exerted itself
to fight the consequences of illegal and subversive actions on the
Netherlands side, in the form of actions of the former K.N.I.L., such
as those of Sultan Hamid, of Ande Abdul Aziz, of the action of the
Netherlander Westerling and of the action of the naturalized Nether-
lander Somoukil, it was trumpeted forth, that the Apris would infil-
trate into West Irian. Cf. in this respect the article under the heading
"Open Vizier" in the N.R. Courant of 14the July 1950:

"But besides there is serious reason to suspect that these military
preparations may develop into an action by degrees, the first stage of
which would be directed against Ambon, the second against New
Guinea. Many places in the previously mentioned territories of East
Indonesia, e.g. Tual and Dobo on the Kei- and Aru islands are a
jumping-board towards New Guinea. Infiltration, armed and other-
wise, via these sallyports into New Guinea would affect the Nether-
lands directly.

Further duplication of the previously mentioned aims would be the
tactics applied in these movements of troops. In the same way as the
Sultan of Jogja sent at the time less desirable and less disciplined
troops from Java to East Indonesia, this would now be the intention
for Celebes. Whereas only recently a number of restless elements
were eliminated from Java, the loyal troops being in this way relieved
of a possible task accruing to them to fight the former, the same
advantage would be connected to the sending of guerilleros (having
been turned into Apris units) from Celebes to the South Moluccas
and New Guinea. In this way one creates a fighting force and simul-
taneously purges the main islands. These tactics in themselves are of
course an internal Indonesian affair as far as they are conducive to
the peace and security in Java and elsewhere, the Western enterprises
and estates even benefit by it.

The Netherlands however does not fancy the aim: infiltration in
New Guinea. It appears desirable to us that the Netherlands side
should ask the Cabinet Hatta for a clarification about these movements.”

The sincerity of Indonesia in respect of the settlement of the political dispute is answered on the Netherlands side with a false accusation, viz. that this is preceded by a secret armed action in many parts of Indonesia. There is no Indonesian infiltration in West Irian, as also the Irian Committee has noticed during its visit; and the armed actions that are taking place in Indonesia are conducted by the followers of the Netherlands army and of reactionary Netherlands political currents from before or after the transfer of sovereignty.

Far removed from reality and truth is Minister Van Maarseveen’s statement:

"What will however be the outcome of the work of development by the Netherlands in respect of New Guinea?” etc. as has been quoted before. This statement is contrary to truth and reality. It proved that the Netherlands polity had stranded when Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed on 17th August the freedom of the Indonesian people; the setting up of the Republic Indonesia and the R.I.S. was not because the aim of the Netherlands polity was reached, but altogether in spite of the fact that an action with modern arms was carried out against the Indonesian people in the shape of a political and military action. The Netherlands polity is an imperialistic-colonial policy by tying Indonesia to the Netherlands in a political relation on behalf of the Netherlands.

This aim cannot be obscured by the promise:

"If in that case it should decide to join Indonesia, the Netherlands can raise no objections to it”.

The progressive current in Irian is a collaboristic movement and has at this moment no political programme at all. In consideration of former experiences in Indonesia it is clear to the Indonesian people that the progressive movement is only a concoction of the Netherlands Government, according to the well-known recipe. In Irian there is indeed a movement whose aim it is that Free Irian shall come in the frame of Free Indonesia and which consequently desires now the transfer of the complete and real sovereignty; if the effectuation of this transfer of sovereignty is once more postponed till an undefined moment, the checking of the transfer is an infringement of the interest of the indigenous population. The Indonesian people can understand that the aim and the desire of Colonialism and Imperialism still believe in an unconditional and lasting occupation, because the interests for the Netherlands itself urge such a spiritual mentality. The people of Irian has tried by its own measures and various motions to set West Irian free in the frame of Indonesia. The Indonesian nation is in no need of the Irian people as inhabitants of a non self-governing
territory and it will also not deceive the international world and the people of Irian by the promise of a New Guinea Council which, in spite of bearing a colonial character, will not be set up. The polity of the Indonesian Government as it is carried out since the day of the proclamation in 1945, meaning the standpoint of the Indonesian Nation which has proved to fight the real Colonial-Imperialism with the aim to liberate the Country and the People shall certainly prove and abolish every uncertainty that the Irian people will at the moment when the sovereignty of that territory is de facto and de jure in the hands of the Indonesian Government soon have in that territory an autonomous government inside the Indonesian State, based on the principles of decentralization.

Without chasing away from the territory of West Irian all the non indigenous Indonesians, as the Netherlands Government has done in accordance with the proverb: after having enjoyed the sweet part the mastication is thrown away. Just and equal protection shall be given to all strata of the Irian population, the Indonesian autonomous Government being assisted therein by various councils, all the members of which shall be Indonesian Citizens and shall for the greater part be indigenous sons of Irian. The relationship between West Irian and the other parts of Indonesia shall be an internal affair.

The Indonesian people wants to see on the day of the transfer of sovereignty the wish fulfilled:

"The political inspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions", by liberating the People and the Territory of West Irian from the grip of colonialism, Free Irian shall soon be realized by a free and sovereign organization of the Government, within the frame of Indonesia which has already attained it; the people of Irian shall then be treated as a fellow-people, which shall experience the blissful influence of the struggle for freedom against colonial-imperialism, free from the chains of a people of despots.

II. Exploitation

The economy of the original Irianese is very simple. Practically all of them eat and drink what God gives them. Import and inflation do not influence their economy. Circulation of goods exists not yet, excepting a few places and mainly there where the Netherlands Government has been established.

There a limited exchange of goods against money and labour against financial recompense occurs, but to a very limited extent. Barter in the interior or the mountains, as for instance round the Paniai-lake still takes place by means of shells as medium of exchange (cyprea moneta).
These Kauri shells come from the shore and it is very peculiar that this "coin" has such a large area of circulation as e.g. from the Paniai-lake up to the ravine of Sangrillah (Baliem, Hidden Valley) and, as reported, it is also current in the mountains of the Australian territory, which is a proof that there are roads between the settlements.

This very restricted currency-economy is not at all employed by the Irianese for the sake of possessing money, but they were compelled to use it because they needed some capital to buy all kinds of things such as simple clothing and iron implements.

The economy of the indigenous population is disturbed by the presence of enclaves, formed by the Netherlands stations of Government, because they force down the wage-level of these naked children of the country which come from the forest to buy clothes and implements. This is a reason to bring the whole territory under Netherlands administration, and not to bring the economic level to such a height that the relation between labour and wages lies in an economically open sphere, which is free from colonialistic influences, aiming at domination.

The transport by water, sea and air once more shows the oneness of the territory, since the communications of West Irian are mainly with the Moluccas or in general with the islands of Indonesia. The communications by proa on the coast and the rivers are of great importance to the trade, administration and the gathering of forest products. Skymaster, amphibian and Catalina can all be usefully employed in Irian, because country roads are only to be found in a few places. It is possible that in the future helicopters will be frequently employed in order to visit the mountainous parts which have no plains.

The communications by sea with the islands around Irian, Macassar, Dobo, Morotai, Aru, Ambon, also prove that Indonesia forms in respect of transport by water, by land and by air, a oneness of transport, which cannot be divided, because the entire Indonesian economy would be damaged if this were nevertheless to happen. Irian produces resin (copal), timber, coprah, pearls, various forest and sea products. Coal occurs in the Horna-mine, in the upper course of the Wasian and Nuturia rivers on the peninsula Dore-ri (Vogelkop). This mine was discovered in 1919 by an assistant of Wichmann, called Umar. This coal is of the same composition as the coal of the Umbilin mine. In the seventeenth century it was already known that coal also occurs at the Etna Bay on the island Lakakita. More important however than coal is the discovery of mineral oil in West Irian. The winning of oil in West Irian is in the hands of the Netherlands Nieuw Guinea Petroleum Maatschappij, a Netherlands company which has a concession for circa a fourth part of the whole territory concerned. After many explorations in various parts had
failed, the final result was nevertheless that oil was struck, viz. on
the peninsula Doreri (Vogelkop), at Klamono, near Sorong, and
Mosoi-Wasian on the Tembuniri river, discharging itself in the
Maccleu-Gulf. The N.N.G.P.M. started work in 1935 with a capital
of 170 million guilders and not until 1949 the first ship sailed with
oil from Sorong to have the crude oil refined in Balikpapan or
Pladju. 40% of the capital is from the B.P.M. (section Shell), which
company manages the whole technical staff, 40% of the capital is
from the Standard Vacuum Oil Company, and 20% is from the
Far Pacific Investments Inc. (Standard of California and Texas
Company). The number of workmen employed by the company is,
according to information the Committee received at Sorong and
according to the World Oil (1st February 1949), 6000, of which 4500
Indonesians are from West Java and 1500 indigenous Irianese and
further 400 Eurepeans and Americans. The prospects of this com-
pany are still an open question. In the beginning of the world war,
when the Japanese army started its attacks, 14 million dollars had
already been spent, not a ton of oil having been sold yet. Last year
the whole production (not the profit) was 5 million guilders. Taking
into consideration the fact that the situation of oil winning in West
Indonesia is good, where the export of oil is much higher than
before 1950, and in view of the fact that moreover thousands of
Indonesian workmen can work in this enterprise, it is not to be
surmised that after the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia the oil
winning would be obstructed in any way. The experience in Indo-
nesia and the Indonesian polity guarantee that those oil companies
which are conscious of the changed polity and of the transposition
of power can carry out their work fully.

The exploitation of West Irian can proceed undisturbed by the
political changes, viz. from a polity in the sphere of domination to
a polity in the sphere of freedom. Also foreign enterprises can invest
their capital, either direct by themselves or in connection with the
Indonesian Government, or together with the ordinary Indonesian
citizens. Joint exploitation can take place under the protection of the
Indonesian Government; Indonesia refutes however a political
position of power connected with a condominium, for the fundamen-
tal reasons which have been elucidated previously. In order to obtain
in the economic field cooperation between the management, technical
matters, capital and the Indonesian workmen, so that this be indeed
for the benefit of the indigenous population, Indonesia and the
World, it is necessary to enable the West Irian economy inwardly to
abandon its very simple sphere and to arrive from a closed economy
of goods at an economy of money, having no longer shells as legal
currency, but being in respect of third parties free from a colonial
binding, exclusively for the benefit of the Netherlands interest.
III. Colonization

Since the day of the transfer of sovereignty the inclination of Indo-Europeans and of pure-bred Europeans to emigrate to Irian has cooled off considerably, though it has not yet disappeared entirely. There is no need to go further into the immigration problem of Irian in this report. It is sufficient to bring forward three undisputed opinions confirmed by facts.

Firstly. At the present moment there is no Indo-immigration movement to Irian, the main reasons for the Indo-Europeans being in this respect that emigration from Java to Irian gives them no guarantees for an improvement of their lot, their emigration to Irian giving them no solution of the problem whether they will or will not adopt the Indonesian citizenship.

Secondly. A question which has not yet been stressed sufficiently is the overpopulation on the island Java, so that emigration to territories outside Java can become potentially more acute.

Thirdly. Voices have been heard to have West Irian reserved by the Netherlands Government as a land of immigration for pure-bred Dutchers. In connection with the hot climate and the fact that Irian has not yet been explored, and the question that it is not fertile and also in connection with the many diseases endemic there, the opinion given in this report is, that the intention of immigration of pure-breds (totoks) is only wishful thinking; and if this is carried out, with the observance of human responsibility in respect of those who are prepared to do so, it only means a totally useless physical and spiritual annihilation.

As long as the territory of Irian has not yet been explored and no reliable data are available in the social, economic, or any other field, this territory is not to be made a grave for the pure-bred Dutchers. Humanity demands this warning. By advancing these three previously mentioned opinions it is easy to understand that the Indonesian people objects to West Irian being made a territory of colonization under a colonial power, which disturbs the international peace and calm; the Indonesian people has however no objections to this territory being opened up for immigration of persons of all nationalities, provided this only happens along lines traced by the Indonesian Government, having the power there, and provided the rights and the interests of the original Irian population be observed. This standpoint has an other consequence, viz. that the plans of all kinds of groups and nationalities, whether they are or are not national Indonesian to immigrate in Irian are never to be an objection to the transfer of sovereignty to the Indonesian Government, which will favour the immigration. The red and white policy of the Indo-
nesian people in respect of Irian means that this territory shall be open to any people of whatever colour of the skin and that never a black policy is to be carried out in the Indonesian territory concerned.

IV. Civilisation

The exceptional spiritual and physical development is the point which draws the attention in the civilisation of the original Irian. Both have been very much neglected by the Netherlands Government: the consequence of neglecting the duty to help on the original population is, that up to this day the greater part of this people is still entirely naked, very few attend school and that there is no medical attendance however simple.

According to the opinion expressed in this report the original Irianese has the hereditary characteristic of being able to attain a high civilisation and a high spiritual development, and if they were given the same opportunity as other nations have they would not be inferior to any of them. In this report three points of civilisation shall be considered, viz. in respect of education, religion and public health.

A. Education

The Irian youth had until the end of the second world war no opportunity to attend the High School, secondary school or continuation school: primary education too was very primitive, viz. at the „civilisation schools‟.

The Government looked practically nowhere after this education, but the Missions were exclusively active in this respect.

In order to prove to what extent this education fell short in West Irian, having a population of circa one million heads, a few figures concerning the year 1947 are given here:

I. Number of schools: 499

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>civilisation schools</th>
<th>people schools</th>
<th>etc.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>303</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Number of pupils: 24.964

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>..........................</td>
<td>19.473</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>..........................</td>
<td>6.723</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>..........................</td>
<td>7.768</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>..........................</td>
<td>24.964</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III. Total of teachers: 644

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>qualified</th>
<th>unqualified</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>398</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>644</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As regards the origin of these teachers in this report the following figures are given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Tot.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Irianese</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesians coming from elsewhere</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>58.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The previously mentioned figures show that the far greater part of education is in the hands of the Missions. Education looked after by the Government appears from the following statement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 1,2 %</td>
<td>60 9,3 %</td>
<td>2140 8,5 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The previously mentioned figures make it possible to draw valuable conclusions.

Firstly,

It is clear that the Netherlands Government has greatly neglected the promotion of civilisation and the development of schools for the original Irian population; even of the very small number of schools it can be said that the Government has taken no interest in their respect: only 1,2 % of the total number of schools and 9,3 % of the number of teachers and 8,5 % of the total number of pupils are for direct account of the Government.

Secondly

The total number of schools is very small, though this country has already been under Netherlands government for more than 122 years; everything is still on the level of the civilisation school, a level which is even lower than education in the U.S.A. in the Red Skin Reserves, lower still than education in the countries situated south of the Sahara.

Thirdly

There is not a single Netherlander who is a teacher of the Irian youth, neither will this be possible in future. On the contrary the
Indonesians prove to be willing to become teachers in all elementary schools, in order to promote in this way the civilisation of the indigenous Irianese, as appears from the figures in respect of the year 1947, viz. that 41.3% of the total number of teachers were indigenous Irianese, 58.7% being Indonesians from elsewhere, so that it is hoped in the interest of the progress of the Irian youth that the Indonesian teachers be given the greatest opportunity to cooperate in the civilisation and the development of the population itself. Do not chase the Indonesian teachers coming from elsewhere away from Irian as they do their utmost and work with conviction for the spiritual and physical development of the population of those areas.

Though the Netherlands has neglected its duty, it nevertheless looks for an opportunity to make various statements offending the honour of Indonesia.

The words of the Netherlands Government expressed on 20th June 1950 clearly prove the clouded viewpoint if it is said that the Indonesian sovereignty over West Irian shall lastingly be prevented by motivating that Indonesia lacks the teachers to educate West Irian. These words are:

"If one realizes in this connection the interest of the population of New Guinea, it is not doubtful that this interest demands that the Netherlands continues its task in respect of New Guinea. For Indonesia is provisionally not at all capable to take over this task from the Netherlands. Thus, as the Netherlands Government has only recently elucidated in its Note to the Second Chamber of the States General, there is an appalling shortage of teachers, a shortage which threatens to become larger in the near future because many Netherlands teachers crave to return to the Netherlands on account of the bad material position in which they now have to do their work in Indonesia."

West Irian is not be transferred because Indonesia lacks teachers and this deficiency shall still be enlarged because many Netherlands teachers want to return home on account of the deteriorated material conditions under which they are compelled to live. That one need not worry about the assistance given to the schools in the hands of the Missions and the Islam organizations, where this assistance might be necessary after the transfer of sovereignty, can be proved by instances where this assistance in Indonesia is given to churches and the Islam community with the aim to raise the level of civilisation, and this will be further elucidated in the following.

The State Indonesia is based on the "Pantja sila" (five pillars), in accordance with the principle of Divinity and also humanism, so that in consequence of the mere principles it is a duty of the state to assist the entire development of schools and biblical religions
and make Humanism and Universalism become a reality for all the followers of these religions and for their children. The preceding proves that there is no reason at all to check the sovereignty for various obviously wrong reasons, as the previously mentioned figures prove that it is the Netherlands Government which has not been capable and has not carried out the right policy to promote education for the benefit of the Irian youth; it is further proved that no Netherlander will, even in a sphere of domination, stand before a class of Irian pupils, the number of Indonesians, prepared to become teachers in Irian having been satisfactory, the more so presently in a national and free sphere. Provisionally Irian wants no professors at the universities or teachers at secondary schools, so that the word „appalling shortage" in respect of the number of teachers wanted by Irian is strongly coloured and exaggerated and also contains an unjust accusation in respect of the demand of the transfer of sovereignty.

Indonesia accepts and it is prepared to raise the number of teachers for elementary education and the civilisation schools; this question is not to be a reason to check the fulfilment of the claims. Besides there can be serious expectation that the Indonesian Government will assist in the setting up of schools by the Missions and the Islam in the Irian territory wherever and in whatever number this is necessary for the original population. The Netherlands Government has no reason at all to cover up its negligence of its duty to promote schools for the Irian youth, with which it has not concerned itself, by an attack containing an accusation contrary to truth. The Indonesians shall show that by their activity the Indonesian people shall be helped on, when there is an opportunity to do so in a sphere of national freedom after the transfer of the sovereignty to them.

B. Spreading of the religion

At present more than circa two thirds of the total number of West Irian are still pagans, one third having already adopted the Roman Catholic faith, Protestantism or the Islam.

a. Islam. The spreading of the Islam has already for many centuries taken place along the coast of West Irian by people from Ternate-Tidore, Buton and the South Moluccas. The spreading of the Islam took place in the manner customary for that religion; there are now more than 10,000 Irianese, professing the Islam and living dispersed in Merauke, Sorong-Dom, Fakfak, Onin and in the Radja Ampat archipelago. The islamitic religious current works harmoniously and in peace with the inhabitants professing other religions, and it connects Irian with the Islam world in Indonesia and with the international world. In Merauke and in other places
members and sections of the political organization, the Masjumi, are
to be found, in particular amongst those who were previously mem-
bers of the Muhammadiah association. On the side of the inhabitants
who are Islamites there will be no objection to receive the transfer
of the sovereignty over West Irian.

The Missions

As regards our question in itself, this is a political dispute between
Indonesia and the Netherlands in respect of the political status of
Irian; and the question of the Missions does not touch the nucleus
of the question.

This has already been clearly brought forward by the Indonesian
group of the joint Irian Committee in its statement as read by the
Indonesian group in the eighth formal meeting on 28th June 1950.
In the ninth formal meeting of the Committee on 30th June the
Indonesian side said that, without altering its opinion, it will give
its considerations in respect of other points with reference to the
Notes presented by the Netherlands side. As it can be surmised that
the Netherlands Note — as has also taken place in the debates at
the R.T.C. — will also make its remarks in respect of the Missions,
the Indonesian side has decided to elucidate this question in its Note,
taking into consideration what has been previously said.

Fundamental principle

According to the opinion of the Indonesian side and in connection
with the character of the Missions not to take the side of an other
nation, they will also have to take a neutral attitude in the political
dispute concerning the future status of Irian. The principle that the
Missions take no sides in favour of any nation and that they therefore
have to take a neutral attitude in respect of the political dispute about
Irian, appears i.a. from the following:

1. The Papal declaration "Maximum Illud" of the Holy Father
Benedictus XV on 30th November 1919: "Les missionnaires ont une
patrie à peupler, non celle de la terre, mais celle du ciel. Leur action
ne doit pas témoigner d'un zèle indiscret pour le développement de
la puissance de leur pays, le rayament et l'extension de sa gloire audes-
sus de tout. Sinon l'indigène pourrait croire que se faire chrétien c'est
accepter la tutelle et la domination d'une puissance étrangère et
renier à sa propre patrie."

2. The Epistola of Pius XI: „Unigentibus Dei Filius“ of 19th
March 1924: „à tous les superieurs généraux des ordres religieuses:
dans les missions il faut être attentifs ...... à ne pas transformer la
propagation de l'évangèle en un oeuvre de propagande en faveur de
l'influence ou du patriotisme de leur patrie.”

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3. Protestant Mission. The principle "separation of Church from State" proves clearly that the church turns away from the political point at issue as it exists at present. Apart from this it was stated in various communications of the protestant Mission that it was not going to take part in polity, so that it has to take a neutral attitude in respect of the question of the political dispute about the position of Irian.

Practice

That the Missions adhere to the previously mentioned principles in respect of the political dispute and also carry them out in practice, appears from the following facts: in the Netherlands paper "De Telegraaf" of 21st October 1949 (therefore at the moment when in the R.I.C. the dispute about the position of Irian had already reached an acute stage) an article was published about Irian in which it was wrongly argued that the Missions were of the opinion that it would be better if Irian remained under the continued sovereignty and power of the Netherlands. But a few days later in the Netherlands paper "De Tijd" a démenti was given of this statement, received from the Mission-Bureau in The Hague.

b. A person familiar with Irian and a missionary-pioneer from Irian, being interviewed on this question, declared that the Mission was right in not taking part in the dispute about the status of Irian.

Conclusion.

It is repeatedly said on the Netherlands side that the Missions are of the opinion that Irian is to remain under Netherlands sovereignty and government; but the previously mentioned elucidation shows that this viewpoint is wrong. Such statements are quite contrary to the reality as this appears now in general from the work of the Missions all over the world and in particular in Indonesia. Corporations of the Missions and missionaries of all nations work in China, Japan, Africa and America. If everyone of them should promote the political interests of his own nation, the more so if everyone of them should take part in a political dispute about the territory of each Mission, this would involve disturbing and harmful consequences to these corporations themselves. This is the reason why practice is different and why the Missions remain neutral in respect of the political status of the territory of each Mission, so that these corporations have always taken a neutral standpoint in respect of alterations of the borders between different countries which have come into being after the war and also in respect of disputes in this regard. See the alteration in the status of German New Guinea which took place at the time and is now Australian territory, "the territory of New Guinea". The Missions have continued working there up to this day after the alteration of the status.
Now a clarification of the Missions in Irian in the social and charitable field. Though the activity and the merits of the Missions are of an inestimable value for the interests of the Irian population, they do not affect the political dispute of Irian directly but it is desirable to explain a few points in this regard, not only to depict here the great merits of these corporations in respect of the social and the moral progress, but also to clarify that the Netherlands occupation has during the Netherlands domination of Irian and the Irian people since 1828 done nothing important to promote the moral and social development of the Irian people, and that in the social field nothing has been done for the people which is underdeveloped and often lives under primitive conditions, even less for the prosperity of the population. Nearly all measures to raise the standard of civilisation, education and hygiene of the population, including also the fight against endemic diseases which could extirpate them, such as venereal diseases (granulom), have been taken for the greater part through the care or on the initiative or by the strong urge on the side of the Missions, without any interest shown by the Netherlands. In order to be able to carry out this work these corporations received from the Government only rarely or too insufficient support. On the other hand they were repeatedly hindered by that government, in particular by stipulating conditions — as this was known in clause 177 of the former Indies Constitutional Regulation — and by making agreements when the subsidy, requested by the Missions, for schools and the Irian people was prolonged. (See New Guinea, Edition of the Moluccas-Institution, vol. 1: „Zending in Nieuw Guinea”, p. 324 and 326 and also „De Rooms-Katholieke Missie in Nieuw Guinea”, p. 370, p. 371 in fine, p. 372 and 374).

A prominent person of the Mission writes: "The whole education is in the hands of the Missions, who receive therefore indeed a subsidy from the Netherlands Government, but this allowance is entirely insufficient to cover the costs. If we except the fight against the venereal granuloma, which has extirpated the Marind tribe nearly entirely, this fight only having been taken in hand on the urge of the Mission (action P. Vertenten), also the care for sick people is nearly entirely attended to by the Missions”.

The question has also been put whether the Missions in Irian shall have freedom of religion and also a subsidy for their social and charitable activity in respect of the Irian people, if the former Netherlands sovereignty over this island is to be transferred to Indonesia. Though this question has nothing to do with the nucleus of the dispute about the political status of Irian, the question is unfounded and improper. Not only those who pretend that the Missions shall, if Irian is to belong to Indonesia, be at a disadvantage, will have
to prove this assertion, but besides Indonesia has already proved
that it honours the freedom of religion.

Though during the first difficult months after the coming into
being of the new state many difficulties were encountered, during
that period no measures were taken to oppose the work of the
Missions, such as those of the former clause 177. On the contrary,
there was acknowledgement, appreciation and subsidy of education
and nursing of the sick by the Misions, which was continued and
in many place even raised and extended (see the increase of their
schools and hospitals, which receive subsidy in Jogja and its envir-
on. See also the subsidy granted to the hundreds of schools and
hospitals of the Missions in Celebes, the Moluccas and the lesser
Sunda islands.)

C. Health

Health is of great significance for the progress and the civilisation
of a people. A people that is not thoroughly healthy will have diffi-
culty in obtaining spiritual and physical development. When the
question of the health of the people of West Irian is being studied,
it should be borne in mind that the attention paid by the Nether-
lands Government to this question is extremely small. Taking into
consideration that West Irian is known as a territory with a great
many kinds of diseases, the neglect of this question by the Govern-
ment is an irresponsible omission in respect of the inhabitants of
West Irian as well as of the international world. The best-known
diseases of West Irian are malaria, beri-beri, filariasis, and granu-
loma venereum. This report shall deal with malaria and granuloma
venereum only, which threaten the health of the whole Irian people.

Malaria.

Malaria occurs in West Irian everywhere on the coast and in the
plains and it spreads along the whole North coast of West Irian
and along the West coast of the Vogelkop, and also in the Maccluer
Gulf and in the Arguni Bay.

In the interior this disease holds fierce sway in the plains of the
Mamberamo and in Upper-Digul, the occurrence of this disease not
having yet been investigated in the mountainous parts. That the
malaria in West Irian is very dangerous can be proved by the bitter
experiences of those who were in 1828 part of the military garrison
of the Triton Bay. In connection with the many people suffering
from and killed by malaria in the garrison it was compulsory to
discontinue the garrison in 1835. Also the military expeditions in
later years between 1907 and 1910 suffered in West Irian much of
the consequences of this disease, and still to a greater extent the
military expedition to the banks of the Mamberamo river in 1909
and 1910, which were not only inaccommodated by malaria, but also
by beri-beri, so that this expedition had to be discontinued. (See the
book New Guinea volume III). In order to have some kind of idea
of how dangerous malaria is, it is good to pay attention to the
schedules of the investigation of this disease in many places, as
also mentioned in the book New Guinea. Though the malaria in
West Irian is known to be very dangerous, up to this day no
definite or intrinsic research has yet been made in respect of this
disease. Therefore it is not known how this disease affects the
health of the population in general. The measures taken by the
Netherlands Government to prevent the spreading of the disease are
very incidental. And this is all the Netherlands have done during
their whole sojourn in West Irian. The health of the population
was an item which had not or hardly had the attention. Under the
Netherlands Government a part of the Irian population was even
awaiting death.

Venereal diseases.

A very dangerous venereal disease which is actively destroying the
inhabitants of the Southern part of West Irian, physically and spiritu-
ally, is the granuloma venereum. This Southern part between the
Digul river, the Australian border and the Arafura Sea, has a surface
of circa 43,000 square kilometres and it is inhabited by a part of
the population of West Irian, better known as the Marindinese, also
called the Kaja-Kajas.

These Marindinese were prosperous. Their territory was full of
cocoanut trees and sago palms, the kernel of which is used, as is
known, as food; this also applies to Irianese of other territories
and also to the whole Moluccan archipelago, where sago is the main
food. Further, seaish or boar and all kinds of vegetables, growing
abundantly in the forest and being moreover within easy reach.

They had no other wants or interests than amuse themselves in
gatherings or roam from one place to another. At a certain
moment there was a change to their disadvantage in the lives of
the Marindinese. Their amusements and their prosperity took an
end. In the beginning of this century the Marindinese were visited
by a bad disease, the granuloma venereum. Many Marindinese
died of this venereal disease. The total number of heads diminished
from day to day, so that it was feared that the Marindinese would
soon have disappeared from this world.

Dr Paul Wirz, an ethnographer who is well-known in the Nether-
lands Indies, states in his book „Die Marind-Anim von Holländisch
Süd-Neu Guinea, 1922, pag. 27, Band I, the following:

„Die dreijährige Volkszählung zeigt, dass die Bevölkerung sehr
rasch abnimmt. Schon bald nach der Gründung von Merauke unter
Einführung regelmässiger Postdampfer Verbindungen, der ein Zu-
drang allerhand fremder Einwanderer folgte, wurde schon gleich in
den ersten Jahren der Eröffnung des Landes Syphillis eingeschleppt,
welche bei den Sitten der Eingeborenen wie ein Lauffeuer um sich
griff. Schon nach wenigen Jahren konnte man annehmen, dass die
ganze Küstenbevölkerung durchseucht war; und mit der Erschlies-
sung des Landes, der Freigabe der Paradiesvogeljagd begann die
Seuche sich ins Innere vorzudringen. Es dauerte aber ca. 10 Jahre
bis die Krankheit merkbar zum Ausbruch kam, und die Regierung
ihre Massnahmen zu ergreifen versuchte. Dann aber war es zu
spät, und die Bevölkerung ging rasch dem Absterben entgegen.”

The Irianese in general and the Marindinese in particular did not
suffer from venereal diseases. This is explained by the Study Com-
mittee New Guinea, mentioning already in the first part of its report
on page 95 as follows:

„As regards venereal diseases the following still has to be remar-
ked. The well-known venereal diseases (gonorrhoe, syphillis, ulcer
molle) were not often encountered amongst the Papuas, and then
only amongst persons who have lived in or near a port”.

The finding of Prof. Dr. M. U. Thierfelder, who was commissioned
by the Netherlands Indies Government in 1922 to investigate
these venereal diseases is to be found in his book „De Bestrijding van
Granuloma Venerum onder de Marindinezen in Nederlandsch Zuid-
Nieuw-Guinea” 1928, p. 14, reading as follows:

„As however even up to the present day syphilis is not of any
importance amongst the Kaja-kajas .......”

In connection with this opinion the conclusion can be drawn that
this disease has been taken to the Marindi territory and introduced
there from the moment when the Netherlands Government opened
relations there and opened the country for the trade with the territo-
ries outside West Irian (export of copra and birds of paradise). This
circumstance has not only been mentioned by Dr. Wirz in his pre-
viously mentioned statement:

„Schon bald nach der Gründung von Merauke unter Einführung
regelmässiger Postdampfer-Verbindungen, der ein Zudrang allerhand
fremder Einwanderer folgte, wurde schon gleich in den ersten Jahren
der Eröffnung des Landes Syphillis eingeschleppt, welche bei den
Sitten der Eingeborenen wie Lauffeuer um sich griff”, but Prof. Dr.
Thierfelder’s opinion is also to be found in his previously mentioned
book on page 7, reading as follows:

„It is therefore to be presumed that in the beginning of this
century extremely unfavourable circumstances have played a part
in respect of these people. The most radical event experienced in
those days by a people was undoubtedly the closer relationship with
the Netherlands Indies Government. These unfavourable circumstances are therefore to be looked for in that direction."

This may prove that the Netherlands Government has paid no attention whatever to the original inhabitants of Irian, who were fatally ill, and did not even care whether they would disappear altogether from this earth. In this connection it is advisable to draw the attention to the words in Dr. Wirz’s previously mentioned book, volume 1, p. 28:

"Wie wenig die Interessen der Eingeborenen selbst bei den Regierungsbeamten in Betracht kamen, geht aus einem Schreiben eines früheren Assistenz-Residenten, in dem er u. a. sagt, dass er angesichts des äusserst konservativen Verhaltens der Eingeborenen das Aussterben der Bevölkerung nicht als grossen Schaden ansehe, im Gegenteil, wenn die Bevölkerung die in jeder Beziehung der Entwicklung der Kolonie hemmend entgegenstehe, ausgestorben sei, würde diese voraussichtlich einen günstigen Aufschwung nehmen. Genau ebenso had men auch vor 400 Jahren geredet."

Side by side with this statement by Dr Wirz quoted here, it is right to consider the actual intention of an Assistant-Resident in Merauke, M. L. F. Plate (Kol. Tijdschrift 1916, No. 5, p. 605):

"An other question is whether something can still be made of South New Guinea without its Kaja-kajas. This question is difficult to answer; and I am inclined to answer it in the affirmative; the dying out of the indigenous population need at least not be an impediment for the possible progress of the country; what is more is that sometimes I think that this progress is checked by the Kaja-kaja, being very conservative. The large stretches of coconut groves on the coast could in European or other hands produce much more than is the case now. Hundreds of coconuts rot away on the ground as being superfluous. A systematic thinning out of these groves, draining, in brief a proper care would be to the benefit of the quality and the quantity.

Owing to the fact that the Kaja-kaja is so conservative, has no need of more wealth and luxury, and that the people has an abundance of food, being his sago and coconuts in the forest, his fish in the sea and his canegon or pig in the plains, he does not work, he is at peace with his living conditions.

The coprah trade is ailing because the Kaja-kaja is not inclined to exchange more coconuts than he wants to obtain tobacco and ornaments."

It is generally known that the venereal diseases have been taken to the territory of the Marindinese by the fowlers of birds of paradise. These birds are exceptionally beautiful and fetched a great price at the time; they were abundant in the Southern part of West
Irian. Every year about a thousand fowlers were officially allowed by the Netherlands Government to enter that territory. It is also known that these fowlers belong to the lowest strata of the population and that they were not averse, besides their shooting these beautiful birds, also from raping the Marindinese women, so that within a short time the whole Marindinese territory was infected with that disease. In Dr. Wirtz's previously mentioned book (vol. 1, p. 27) it is said:


Read also Vertenten „De Vogeljacht“, „Java Post“ 1922, and „De Waarheid over de Vogeljacht“, „Java Post“, March 1922.

The Netherlands Indies Government had already been frequently warned to interdict the fowling of birds of paradise and to put it to an end, proving to have such shameful and harmful consequences for the Marindinese, but the Netherlands Indies Government was very late in taking the necessary measures, because a prohibition as had been asked for would mean that a source of revenue for the Exchequer would be cut off, the emount involved not being inconsiderable.

The declaration of Wirz:
„Es dauerte aber noch cs. 10 Jahre, bis die Krankheit merkbar zum Ausbruch kam, und die Regierung ihre Massnahmen zu ergreifen versuchte. Dann war es aber zu spät und die Bevölkerung ging rasch dem Absterben entgegen.”

In order to elucidate the standpoint of the Netherlands Indies Government at that moment the opinion of Prof. Thierfelder in his previously mentioned book, page 14, can be added, viz:

„The first intimation about the occurrence of venereal diseases amongst the population of South New Guinea I have found in the report of the Assistent Resident Hellwig to the Government, dated 30th Juni 1906, No. 512-I: State of public health: the Kaja-kajas are in general a healthy and hardy race, relatively many cases of skin diseases, lepra, syphilis and elephantiasis occur however amongst them.” And on the same page:

"In the sick-lists of Merauke descriptions of a venereal disease appear for the first time in 1910, granuloma venereum being easily
recognized. From 1910 till 1914 another 8 similar cases are mentioned in the sick-lists. In the year 1915 28 cases are observed and in the same year in the month of November the diagnosis granuloma appears for the first time, (Dr Sitanala). In the following years about eighty cases from the vicinity of Merauke are treated. As then however the general fight could not yet be started, the number of cases observed diminishes again. The disease became meanwhile so virulent that the Government commissioned in October 1920 Dr Cnopius to investigate further possibilities of fighting it . . . . The author of this report was commissioned in December 1922 to organize the fight against the venereal diseases amongst the Kaja-kajas in South New Guinea". It is also advisable to study Vertenten's "De Waarheid over de Vogeljacht". In order to know the work and the results of Prof. Dr. Thierfelder it is desirable to take notice of his own opinion in this respect, reading in his previously mentioned book as follows:

"We therefore had to try along other roads to protect the people from this disease, viz, by visiting those who were ill and to seclude them and to inform the people about the origin and the contagiousness of the granuloma venereum. And further by bringing the people to a higher moral standard by their practicing monogamy, by building houses in accordance with a standard model and by fighting superstition and sexual excesses.

Tracking those who were ill was a very strenuous and time-devouring work. As the population lives very dispersed and is often still shy, this was only possible by visiting for days and weeks the one village after the other in the country and to examine the whole population so far as we could get hold of them. Though travelling in the dry season is not so difficult, the population is then not in the villages, but in the sago and banana groves, often many days of travelling away, so that from all sides patrols had to be sent out to bring them from these plantations to the village. In this way much time is lost for every village.

Though in the rainy season these people are in or in the neighbourhood of their villages, the research troop has to conquer the greatest difficulties of transport to reach them. It is then necessary to wade for many days up to the chest between water and swamp, not to mention the terrible mosquito plague. If at last those who are ill have been selected, they have to be transferred to the nearest hospital, a difficult work, where ill people are concerned, in the wet season.

Under such conditions of traffic there could be no question of any appropriate treatment in policlinics as Cnopius surmised. A great number of personnel would have been necessary to set up a policlinic in every village ...........................................
We have therefore tried to keep the character of a policlinical treatment in so far that in many suitable spots so-called hospital stations were set up, viz. large bamboo sheds covered with palm leaves, where the sick lived in accordance with their habits.

The previously mentioned centers for treatment were built by the population itself and by the sick who were able to work. As a rule not more than 4 such sheds were simultaneously in use. This was compulsory in view of the available personnel and the necessity of permanent control by the physician.

The personnel of each center of treatment consisted of three men (Malay hospital assistants).

In the initial stage of the fight (December 1922) there was only one hospital, viz. the government's hospital at Merauke for the whole Netherlands South New Guinea. It has a capacity of 50 beds, mostly occupied by non-indigenous people (Chinese, Ambonese, Timorese, prisoners and inferior armed police). Apart from these there were at the time also 100 Kaja-kajas.

As the first expedition to Kondomiraw yielded already circa 90 patients, there was not sufficient room in the government hospital. Most obligingly Mr. Wenting immediately made a few large rooms in the prison available, where then the first provisional hospital for the fight against the disease was set up, of course outside any relation with the prison. At the same time, in order to increase the capacity in the government hospital, a few bamboo sheds were added to it. In this way it became possible to treat already in the beginning of February 400 patients at the same time. The tour of duty in February had already shown the necessity to have a center of treatment set up as soon as possible at Okaba. Besides alarming reports reached us from the villages Komadeau, Jawar, Dongeap and Erambu, situated at the upper course of the Merauke river. The center of these villages is Turui.

The training of personnel was therefore started as soon as possible, so that Okaba could be provided with personnel already in May, and Turui in the end of July. But Frederik-Hendrik island could not yet be dealt with and in the beginning from Eromka (the country to the West from Okaba to Marianne Strait) only a few cases were treated. In the following months the number of patients from Eromka increased. In March 1924 the area from Merauke till the English border was repeatedly accurately inspected, giving a small increase for the Merauke hospital. The hospital in the territory of the upper-Kumbu was set up in the end of September in Bade and justified its existence by an immediately quickly increasing number of patients.

In the end of February enough personnel was available to reoccupy
Okaba. The necessity of this measure may appear from the satisfactory run of patients at Okaba in March and April. Starting from March 1925 all the five hospitals were therefore simultaneously functioning.

The total number of patients being treated remains accordingly for some time at the same level. The entire South New Guinea was then being treated, with the exception of the territory of the Bulaka river, the island Komolan and Frederik Hendrik island. These extensive but relatively sparsely populated areas could up to then not yet be treated, on the one hand because for these parts which are difficult to reach no sufficient means of transport were available, on the other because again not sufficient trained personnel, being able to work independently, was available ..................

Following a new search of the whole country in the East monsoon, viz. from August till October 1925, in October and November the first systematic researches were carried out in the territory of the Bulaka river, Frederik Hendrik island and the island Komolan .............

I may be allowed at the end of this report to draw in particular for a moment the attention to the following. It is certain that the population of South New Guinea, the Marindinese (Kaja-kajas) were dying out. Dr Wirz writes in this respect in his previously mentioned book on page 29:

"Thus the population which is still alive shows a poor remnant of the tribe, until a short while ago still strong and fierce, which is hurrying to its doom. At present nobody doubts it any longer......

Of the formerly so strong and feared tribe soon the very last ones will have died and other people shall settle down in the country of the Marind-Anim”.

Dr Wirz gives here an opinion which I heard everywhere on my arrival at Merauke in 1922. This dying-out was caused on the one hand by the bad hygienic conditions under which the people lived, on the other by the granuloma venereum epidemic, raging there......

It was therefore an imperative demand of humanity and civilisation to lend a helping hand here, irrespective of the financial and other sacrifices connected with it.

The expedition, initially exclusively intended to fight venereal diseases, had consequently to face straightaway the solution of a problem of a much greater extent, whereby during the first years a well founded study of the morals and habits of the people had to be made.

This preliminary work was greatly facilitated by the knowledge the priests of the Roman Catholic Mission had of the language. Sincere thanks may here be offered to them for their assistance they always lent so obligingly and friendly.
It is to be regretted that the valuable and profound studies of Dr Wirz were published only later.

In connection with what Prof. Dr. Thierfelder said before, the conclusion can be drawn that, though already much had been achieved by him in his attempts to fight these venereal diseases, the only hope to make them disappear altogether was, if beside the medical attendance also care were taken to help on the Marindinese in their way of living, spiritually as well as physically and also socially and economically.

It is difficult to expect the compliance with the very first demands from the Netherlands Government, taking into consideration its attitude opposite amelioration and progress in the lives of the Irian inhabitants in general. A change has indeed come into the lives of the Marindinese, e.g. in respect of housing etc., but considering the manner in which the Government carries out these alterations, it is difficult to expect the population to show an interest in these alterations. It is desirable to draw in this connection the attention to what Dr Wirz writes in his book "Dämonen und Wilde", 1928, page 303. The opinion of Dr Wirz is also to be found in his book "Die Marin-Anim von Holländisch Süd-Neu-Guinea", 1922, page 28, reading as follows:

„das Aussterben der Bevölkerung war nur noch eine Frage der Zeit. Es wurde nun auch dem Ausbreiten der Seuche von der holländischen Regierung mehr Aufmerksamkeit zugewendet; aber alle Massnahmen, die man nun zu ergreifen versuchte, kamen zu spät. Mit Abschaffung der Feste und Zusammenkünfte und der obszönen Sitten war nichts mehr zu machen. Die Sorge um bessere Wohnverhältnisse und Ernährung der Eingeborenen, sowie um ihre Beschäftigung waren nutzlose Bemühungen die die Eingeborenen blosz erbitterten." There is little hope that the Government will be able to extirpate the disease; also the previously mentioned Study Committee 1948, including many medical experts who knew the public health in West Irian, is doubtful as regards the extirpation of that disease. Their opinion is embodied in their report page 95, reading as follows.

„After that the disease has decreased considerably, especially in the territory which was easily accessible and where the influence of the Government and of the Mission had been strong. In Frederik Hendrik island and Komoran island the infliction still occurred to a considerable extent. During the war the fight was at a standstill. Whether the disease has remained at the same level we do not know. The fact that the fight has again to be started seriously, is anyhow to be considered”.

It is clear that the Netherlands Government, has been neglectful in taking measures in respect of the health of the Irian inhabitants,
so that they are imprisoned in the misfortune of this venereal disease and no improvement is to be expected. And the fact of breaking in this way the physical strength of the Marindinese, so that they were not able to withstand this venereal disease and were left to their lot by the Government, is very shameful. It is generally known that the Government has granted land concessions to Netherland traders in Merauke, whereas it appeared later that the concessions referred to a territory which was situated in the plantations of the Marindinese, being full of sago palms and coconut trees, which is the daily food of the population.

The objections of the population which considered itself deceived by the granting of these concessions, were repeatedly reported to the Government at Merauke, however without any result.

They were even frightened by imprisonment.

It is good to study the declarations in the meetings of the People’s Council made in respect of the events in West Irian by the members and also by representatives of the Government, following here. Also should be read Vertenten’s: „Naar Sanggase, Okaba en Wambi”, „De Vogeljacht, Klapperconcessies, De Waarheid over de Vogeljacht”, Java Post, 1922, Dr Wirz, Dämonen und Wilde, 1928.

APPENDIX TO THE OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE PEOPLE’S COUNCIL CONCERNING THE SECOND ORDINARY SESSION 1923

19. Question by Mr Bürer presented 27th July 1923.

With reference to the article under the heading „De arme Kaja-Kaja” published in the „Archipel Post” of 22nd July 1922, I may be allowed to put the following questions:

a. Does the Government know the abuses referred to in that article in respect of granting heritable long leases of lots situated in the section New Guinea to Europeans, where the Kaja-Kaja population has its sago- and coconut plantations?

b. If so, is the Government prepared to give the People’s Council information in this respect and also to tell which measures it intends to take in order to put an end to such abuses, in particular to protect the Kaja-Kaja whose only property are his pigs, coconut trees and sago palms, against sweating by industrials who care more for making big profits than for the interests of the population?

c. Is the Government, with the undersigned, not of the opinion that, as long as the Kaja-Kaja population has not yet — by the diligent endeavours of the Christian Missionaries working devotedly and unselfishly amongst this people — been brought to love of
labour, without which no people can develop itself, to regular systematic agriculture and gardening, it should be left undisturbed to enjoy the products of its coconut plantations, though they be laid out by irregular work and unsystematically, in order that not all the fruit of its primitive work be lost to it and this population, shy of work, eventually, at their wit's end, gives up work altogether?

\[d\] Is the Government not of the opinion that the fowling of birds of paradise in Netherlands New Guinea is to be discontinued in the interest of the population in this territory, in view of its extremely demoralizing consequences?


\[a, b, c\] The prevailing principle in granting heritable long leases in South New Guinea is that the gardens laid out by the population (sago and coconut plantations) have to be excluded from the grant, only coconut groves situated at a great distance from the settlements of the population possibly to be put at the disposal of the estate concerned.

An investigation made in this respect has however proved that the accuracy with which applications for heritable long leases have to be dealt with, was unsatisfactory during the administration of the preceding Assistent Resident, the result of which is that, contrary to the previously mentioned principle, a few small coconut gardens or coconut groves in the vicinity of kampongs are included in the heritable long lease.

Nevertheless the population of South New Guinea has at present still sufficient coconut plantations to provide for its living. Measures are being taken to prevent a reoccurrence of the irregularities mentioned. The present administration carries out its duties in this section strongly and impartially in the administrative and judicial field and carries out its task to raise the standard of the Kaja-Kaja population diligently and devotedly, the support of the Christian Missionaries being gratefully used.

\[d\] Such a radical measure as the discontinuance of the fowling of birds of paradise in the entire Netherlands New Guinea, the Government considers provisionally not justified. It does consider this to be the case for the territory in the section New Guinea inhabited by the Marindinese, better known as the Kaja-Kajas, the borders being: in the South and the West up to the mouth of the Digul river till Assike, and from here a line straight to the East till the Fly river, in the East the frontier between the Netherlands and Australian territory. This territory was therefore in the end of 1923 entirely closed for the fowling of birds of paradise. In the entire Netherlands New Guinea the fowling of birds of paradise is now
exclusively allowed by employing indigenous (Papuan) fowlers, the use of breech-loading guns being prohibited.

Second ordinary session 1924; sub. I, section IV,-st. 2nd section report.

In reply to Mr Bürer’s question (notes reports 2nd session 1923, pp. 13—14) in respect of heritable long leases in South New Guinea on land cultivated with coconut trees and private property of the native population, the Government has admitted that a previous local administration has not adhered to the conceptions the Government has in this respect. In spite of the statement that measures were taken to prevent a reoccurrence of the irregularities, still more complexes of coconut trees are being applied for, with which the population cannot or does not want to do without. The lots officially granted in heritable long lease have, as it was surmized, just been marked out. The indigenous population was constantly accused of theft, they themselves complaining of still greater theft in the plots still belonging to them. For a great part of the concessions it was decided — without the population having been consulted — that the indemnification to be paid to the population was to be Fl. 1 "per bouw" (native measure). The estate concerned however is only willing to pay Fl. 0.35 per bouw, pretending that the Government agrees to it. It is asked whether this is correct.

Eighth meeting — Friday 19th July 1925 Budget 1926

Section IV. Dept. of C.S.

Mr Kayadu:

The last item I want to deal with here is the question of the irregularities in respect of the granting of heritable long leases in New Guinea.

In the autumn session of 1924 my distinguished co-member, Dr Schmützer, has brought up for discussion the question which had actually already been mentioned in July by Mr Bürer. Mr Schmützer has added in his consideration the question as to what the Government has done to redress the injustice committed in its name in respect of the population.

We now read in the Memorandum in Reply to section IV that: "the governor of Amboina has made a local investigation which has proved that not only the population, but also the company has been wronged owing to the fact that native plots were incorrectly granted in heritable long lease".

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Mr Chairman

I am surprised that the Government always has some palliative in respect of gross unadmittable acts, caused by condemnable lust of gain of great enterprises. It has done so already at the time in its answer given to Mr Bürer. Its disculpation was then:

„The accuracy with which applications for heritable long leases should have been considered during the administration of the previous Assistent-Resident, left much to be desired, with the result that contrary to the previously mentioned principle a few small coconut gardens — mind, Mr. Chairman, what I say, small coconut gardens — or coconut groves in the vicinity of kampongs, were included in the heritable long lease. Nevertheless the population of South New Guinea has still sufficient coconut plantations at its disposal to provide for its living”.

Mr. Schmutzer has already clearly proved that there is no further question of sufficient coconut plantations to provide for the living of the population. These so-called small coconut gardens comprise in fact all the beautiful coconut gardens the population possessed. The estate has consciously appropriated these gardens, assisted or not assisted by bad civil servants. And the Government now says: no, not only the population but also the company suffers a loss! As if the loss suffered by the company was the fault of the population! When a commercial enterprise is started, one can not only expect to make a profit, but one can also suffer a loss. This is the risk of enterprise. That the estate suffers a loss owing to its own faults, is her business, but that it willfully robs these stupid people is to be condemned thoroughly. By way of comparison the Government says: not only the population but also the company — that poor company! — suffers a loss. Mr. Chairman, I too have always said that we here in the Indies cannot do without big capital, but if one has such bitter experiences on the side of that big capital, one would wish that it stays away. The reply of the Government further says: „An attempt has been made to pay the population the indemnification stipulated in the resolutions of granting some lots in the presence of traders who had displayed their goods for sale. The population refused however the indemnification and demanded the restitution of their plots. Negotiations are now being held with the company about an amiable settlement, the interests of the two parties being considered.

That the population refuses to accept the indemnification proves sufficiently that they want their gardens back. They want no money, but their gardens, which they need for their living because they have no longer sufficient coconut trees. The money is spent, but the gardens remain. And then that amiable settlement, where the
interests of both parties are being considered .... Well, Mr. Chairman, we know quite well that these virtuous gentlemen of the estates shall take care that their interests are properly looked after, but those poor Kaja-Kajas! In the sectional report the production of the report of the Governor of Ambon was requested, but this was refused. I thoroughly understand this, Mr. Chairman, if that report gives the real situation prevailing there — and I do not doubt this for a moment — it will be difficult for the Government to protect the estate and it will at least not be able to give an answer by way of an excuse, as it has done. It would then prove that also amongst the civil servants there are people who neglect their duties in a terrible way and who would perhaps sell their right of primogeniture for a plate of lentils.

I will not tell what I know of this shady question. I shall only mention a few things by way of illustration. Firstly, that of the lot Bahore I a false map has been made without mentioning the name of its author, without mentioning the borders and signed as correct by the Assistent Resident. Secondly, that the attorney Buitendorp shifted on his own initiative the border posts. When the population made any remark, it was being frightened with exile and imprisonment. And the Assistent Resident turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the population.

Thirdly, in this lot never anything is done which is contrary to the provisions of the Government Decree of January 1919. Fourthly, in lot Sanggasee the coconut trees of the population are seized. The company wanted to compel the population to receive 35 cents per bouw by way of indemnification, which is ridiculously cheap.

Fifthly, in Kumbe, Onggari, the population first had to be indemnified before the registration of the lot. This lot has been registered, but the indemnification has not been effectuated.

Sixthly: according to the notarial deed the company has to pay one guilder per bouw. The company now forces the population to receive 35 cents. Mr Chairman, there is still more, but I shall leave it at this. I only wonder what idea these primitive Kaja-Kajas will now have of the Dutch, since in the very beginning of their development they see such a heaven-wide difference of treatment.

The Mission starts to bring them light in the darkness, teaches them to walk on the right road, teaches them to realize the work of mercy and justice, and on the other side they see that people of the same race about whom they have been told such good and beautiful things, steal without being punished and usurp their rights.

I would therefore seriously request the Government to take the necessary measures to redress the injustice the population there has suffered under Its name and is suffering still.
9th Meeting — Saturday 29th July 1925.

Budget 1926: Dept of Civil Service. (Schmützer):

Is it correct that here all the trees and garden plots are private property of the population? And that, nevertheless, they were taken away from the population (against its explicit will) for the benefit of the company Kalapa under the Assistent Residents Berkhout and Lublink Weddik?

Is it correct that the population has only acquiesced, from fear of imprisonment and exile?

Is it correct that the record of the Committee of Investigation of the lots, dated 1st April 1919, is not in order?

Is it correct that, as regards the lot Sanggasee the „wild country“ granted in heritable long lease, and referred to in the Government decree of 14th June 1917 No 24, consists of two sandy ridges, bearing thousands of coconut trees, separated by a swampy part; with sago gardens of the population?

Is it correct that against the will of the population the whole territory to the interior from the first sandy ridge, which the population had never wanted to give up because it could not do without it for its living, was included in the concession?

Is it correct that the border post which first stood near Sanggasee on the first sandy ridge, was later, to the great indignation of the population, shifted so far into the interior that they had lost all the coconuts here?

Is it correct that the Assistent Resident Lublink Weddik has paid no attention to the complaints of the population about the arbitrary shifting of the border posts by the attorney of the company Kalapa?

Is it therefore in connection with the preceding correct that the information given by the Government in the previous autumn session (M. in R. to section IV p. 4, 1st column at the bottom) that some border posts were deliberately shifted and it will be further investigated whether there are terms to bring an action against the perpetrators, is to be thus understood that not the population but the company is guilty?

Is it correct that on the lot Bahore up to now the land has not at all been opened up, so that the Government could withdraw this concession automatically, since the conditions of the concession are that within a period of five years starting from the date of the establishment of the legal title concerned (1919) at least 1/10th of the whole surface of the area granted in heritable long lease must have been opened up?
15th Meeting, Saturday 27th, June 1925.
Budget 1926. Section IV, Dept C.S.

Kayadu:
I have an other explanation for it. You know that the population absolutely refused to receive money, they explicitly wanted the country back; it is also known that this population is very fond of beautiful images, beautiful beads etc. The idea was therefore: if we pay that indemnification in the presence of the people who offer their goods for sale, the Kaja-Kajas may yield to the temptation of possessing all these beautiful things, so that perhaps they might decide to accept that indemnification. There is a bit of policy at the back of it, as you see, Mr Chairman."

In this way the Marindinese whose bodies were destroyed and weakened by the granuloma venereum and weakened by the absence of their daily food, became a living accusation against the Netherlands Government in West Irian. On the other hand it is proper to raise and thank the Roman Catholic Mission for the economic activity and its work, relieving in this way the burdens and the difficult living conditions of the Marindinese.
If this part can be summarized in a partial conclusion, it is certain that the Netherlands Government which had the power in West Irian, does not observe the principle that „the interests of the inhabitants are paramount” and has not accepted and carried out the task of „a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants”, as it has not proved to have the sense of honour to help on the People in the field of „political, economic, social and educational advancement” and to fulfil other duties in respect of which the Netherlands Government says that it wants to undertake them in accordance with the wording and contents of clause 73 of the Charter of San Francisco. The administration of the Netherlands Government and the measures carried out in respect of the Irian people is in its attitude and trend like the Government of a dominating-against a dominated people. This form of administration and these measures are only then in agreement with real humanity when that colonialism will have disappeared and be replaced by a just and correct attitude in a sphere of national freedom, as those who think will understand.

V. Defence
West Irian or the whole Indonesia in general has — because it is situated at an intersection of two oceans, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean and two continents, Asia and Australia, and because it produces oil for ocean-going vessels and aeroplanes — a very high strategic value for the defence, inwardly as well as outwardly.
In order to take care that the communications are not broken during a defence or an attack, the strategic defence in Irian and also in the whole Indonesia needs ports for ocean-going ships, airfields and barracks for the army, victuals and arms. About how important West Irian has been for the defence of Democracy and Freedom, no more will be said in this report. It is sufficient to draw the attention to the publications from before the second world war, *G. A. Dunlop* (International Position of New Guinea) and *H. Th. de Booy* (The Strategic Position of New Guinea) and in the book „New Guinea III, 1938, pp. 1162—1209 and to the literature mentioned therein. And how important West Irian was during the second world was for the defense of the democracy and the national freedom of the whole oneness of Indonesia, can be defined bij three items:

*Firstly,* referring to the merits of the Indonesian and the Irian nation during the past world war,

*secondly,* referring to the part Indonesia had during the attack from outside and in the resistance,

*thirdly,* referring to the significance of Irian as a basis for the whole defence of the Democracy and the Freedom of Indonesia.

First a short summary will be given of the development of the second world war in the West Pacific from 1942 till the middle of 1945 with attacks round West Irian on the island under dispute.

I. 1941. Attack on Pearl Harbour, 8th December 1941; the Japanese army disembarks at Rabaul (23rd January 1942); occupies the Solomon Archipelago (23rd January 1942); takes Lae in East Irian (8th March 1942); Japanese convoy cruises in the Coral Sea between 4th and 8th May 1942; takes Bima in East Irian (22nd July 1942).

II. 1942. The U.S. Navy enters Guadalcanal (7th August 1942 and fights till 9th February 1943; fighting on the island Savo and a Japanese victory (9th August 1942; the Japanese army disembarks in the Gulf of Milne on the point of East Irian and is destroyed on 8th September 1942; Japan approaches Port Moresby but is kept back on 25th September 1942.


IV. 1944. The allied army disembarks in Nadzab and sails to Lae Salamua (5th September 1943) and remains there (12th—16th September 1943); the Australian army takes Finschhafen (2nd October

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1943) and bombards Rabaul from the sea and from the land (October 1943—February 1944). The U.S. Navy attacks the island Bougainville (1st November 1943; the U.S. Army takes Arawe on the island New Britain (15th December 1943; the U.S. Navy disembarks on the point of Gloucester (26th December 1943); the allied army attacks the island Green (24th February 1944) and completely takes the Solomon Archipelago; the army of the U.S. attacks the Admiralty islands (29th February 1944).

V. 1945. The Australian army occupies Madang (24th April 1945) and Alexishafen (26th April 1945). The allied army takes Hollandia in West Irian and Aitape (27th April 1945); the army of the U.S.A. enters Biak (27th May 1945); the army of the U.S.A. disembarks near Sansapor on the West coast of the peninsula Doreri (30th July 1945); the army of the U.S.A. disembarks in Leyte; attack on Hiroshima (6th August 1945); Tokio surrenders (15th August 1945); Proclamation of the Freedom of Indonesia (17th August 1945).

The previous sketch of the course of the war shows how important the island Irian has been for the allied conduct of war in order to be able to destroy the Japanese army in many fights on the border of the Pacific in the East and the North of the whole island Irian. A map in the book „Eventful Years“ (Enc. Brit. III p. 31) clearly shows that the line of defence of the Japanese army started in Indonesia, in the South from the Tanimbar and Aru islands till the Casuarina coast North of Merauke and from the center of the 141st Meridian parallel with the coast of North Irian till the Milne Gulf on the point of the island Irian and till the Corsiade and towards Guadalcanal. As regards the merits of the Indonesian people, it weakened the strength of the Japanese army and offered on the battlefield not only its good and blood to the allies, but it revolted in particular against the fascist army behind the frontline, as in Pontianak, Belitar, Singaparna, Hollandia, Simeon and Biak (Mansren Mangundi). By these revolts the safety of the Japanese army was endangered and the aim of the population to set up a democracy and to obtain national freedom proved to be equal to the war aim of the Allies. In the resisting of attacks on democracy coming from outside and in the carrying out of counter attacks which weakened the fascist power, Indonesia together with the Irian people had a clear and evident share. A part of the island and of the people of Irian has therefore been a stumbling stone for the progress of the Japanese army in its desire to conquer Australia; is is good to point out clearly the reason why the island Irian has not entirely fallen into the hands of the Japanese (i.e. not: Merauke, Papua territory, Port Moresby), viz. that in the very beginning a part of the attack could be checked in Indonesia, so that Australia was helped
and was saved from becoming a victim of the war. The meaning and influence of Irian in the strategy of the war, as a stronghold for the defence of the whole of Indonesia, can be read in the following passage (Ten Eventful Years, X. Enc. Brit. 1947, p. 317):

"If the Japanese forces had not been delayed by the gallant defence in the Philippines, in the Netherlands Indies and in Malaya, where Americans, Netherlands and Britons fought side by side with Philipinos, Indonesians and Malays, there seems to be little doubt that the whole of New Guinea would have fallen a prey to the Japanese and that Australia would have suffered invasion."

The second world war has therefore proved that, during the attack by Japan from the North to the South with the ultimate aim to carry out a disembarkation in Australia, West Irian was not only of importance in respect of checking the attack, but of greater importance in respect of counterattacks. In both cases it is proved that the victory of the Allies achieved by the collapse of the force of the fascist army of Japan has been gained because the Indonesian People had an important share in it.

The people of Irian intervened in this struggle for Democracy and for Freedom of Indonesia, sacrificing its men, as is depicted in the following; in addition there was the Liberty Movement, led by Simson-Sugoro-Mansren Mangundi, which caused disturbances against the occupation before and after the Allied army disembarked in West Irian:

"The native population, maltreated by the Japanese, turned against them. In almost all the Japanese base retaken by the Allies, the sorry lot of labour forces from Java came to light. At Manokwari an original force of 1 700 Javanese was reduced to 217 emaciated survivors" (Ten eventful years, III, p. 318).

Situated on the border of the Pacific, Irian is a firm stepping stone from the South-East to the North-West, the direction of the disembarkations of MacArthur from Hollandia. Biak and Morotai to Leyte on the Philippines; West Irian is a base which is of great importance for the defence of Democracy along the shores of the Pacific. Attention be drawn to the following passage:

"When Hollandia, township on the northern coast of N. New Guinea, was occupied in April 1944 by the leapf strategy, a military base of the first order was established for the forces destined to invade the Philippines. Never in history had more modern and extended bases been built in a land as primitive as New Guinea." (Ten Eventful Years, III p. 318).

Not only West Irian is important as a base for the Navy and the Air Force of the Democratic States along the Pacific, such as America and Australia, but all the islands of Indonesia are
important as a unit of defence between two world oceans; the
stronger the democratic defence is in these intermediate islands, the
more the national freedom of the two republics in that area is safe-
guarded, and only then it is possible to turn it into a stronghold
which is strong in all directions. Is is in the interest of Australia and
America that the unity of defence in Indonesia be rounded off
unconditionally, without separating West Irian from it. The Indo-
nesian defence can only be rounded off when West Irian is included
and only then there is possibility to make complete, so that the
Democracy and the national Freedom shall be guaranteed, which
can safe guard Peace and Order and Stability in the whole Indonesia;
and such a situation is also in the interest of the peace in the Pacific
and the World.

On this day, five years after the world war has taken an end, the
previously mentioned vision has not changed. Asia in the East and
Australia in the Southeast are connected by a „line of defence‟,
comprising the Nippon archipelago, the Philippines, Formosa, Indo-
esia, East Irian and the islands to the Southeast; in the second
world, war, during the defence of democracy, it appeared that on
this line of defence various bases are necessary in the form of ports,
such as in Ambon, Morotai, Sorong, Biak and Hollandia. Placing
the crux of the defence there gives proper sense to a strong defence
only then when all these bases are fortified by the Indonesian
People behind the line of defence, and when these bases are in
accordance with the demands; for these interests it is essential that
peace reigns around these bases. This peace will only then be there
if there is a oneness between the power which leads the defence and
the Indonesian People itself. For the defence of democracy it is
necessary that first the sovereignty over the whole West Irian be
transferred to the Government of Indonesia, thus putting the power
to maintain peace and order in one hand. All foreign States, suppor-
ting the neutral polity of Indonesia and wanting the previously men-
tioned areas of defence, either in Morotai, Ambon etc., or in West-
Irian, can contact the Indonesian Government, acknowledging its
sovereignty over these areas.

Only by including the whole of West Irian an Indonesian defence
can be attained, forming a rounded off entity, being a part of a
strong line of defence between two continents and two oceans, as
has been elucidated in the foregoing; the Indonesian Freedom as a
result of the struggle of the Democracy, shall only be fully guaranteed
by acknowledging Indonesia as a unity of defence, so that the transfer
of the sovereignty over West Irian is in the interest of Democracy,
the Freedom of the Peoples and World Peace.
Conclusion

Having thoroughly gone into the five previously mentioned items in this report, we consider it necessary to draw up a summary conclusion.

In view of the present situation of West Irian and in view of the programme drawn up by the Netherlands Government, alleged to be for the benefit of the autochthonous population of West Irian, the makers of this report are convinced that (taking into consideration the analysis of Raymond Kennedy, Associate Professor of Yale University in his treatise "The science of man in the world crisis", under the supervision of Prof. Ralph Linton, a renowned anthropologist) West Irian is a colony and will remain a colony as long as it is under the administration of the Netherlands Government, since it has clearly proved that the Netherlands political power, the economic situation, which is dependent on the Netherlands, the lack of interest in the education and training of the population, and the disappearance of the ties between those who rule and the people which is being ruled, bear the character of what is called "the colour line". (read A. D. A. de Kat Angelino, Staatkundig Beleid en Bestuurszorg in Nederlandsch-Indië, 1929; S. J. Rutgers, Indonesië, 1946 and Prof. Dr W. F. Wertheim, Het Rassenprobleem, 1949, pp. 64—70).

By the abolishment of the colonial ties in West Irian, with the object to realize a free West Irian being part of the Free Indonesian State, by liberating the People and the Country of West Irian, the colonial situation would take an end, and the colonial tie with the Netherlands in the whole Indonesia would be severed, so that the programme of the Indonesian nation for the benefit of the autochthonous Population of West Irian, Democracy and the Indonesian Freedom, as previously advanced, could be carried out with a national constitution in a sphere of freedom and sovereignty as this was carried out since a few months in Indonesia after the transfer of sovereignty.

The final conclusion of this report is therefore that the Netherlands-Indonesian dispute, which was already submitted to the UNO, when the discussions were attended by a representative of Indonesia, though not being a member in accordance with the Charter of San Francisco, be solved in unanimous and peaceful manner in a sphere of fraternity between the two partners in the Union.

That the solution may be reached after discussions have been held and that it may contain the decision on the grounds embodied in this report, that the Sovereignty (power) over West Irian be transferred before the year 1951 by the Netherland Government to the Indonesian Government.
PART FIVE
CONCLUSION OF THE INDONESIAN REPORT
CONCLUSION OF THE INDONESIAN REPORT

We, the Indonesian members of the Irian Committee draw up a synopsis, based on the grounds which are embodied in the preceding written report, reading as follows:

A. Knowing:

(1) that the Proclamation pronounced by the leaders Sukarno-Hatta on 17 August 1945 has realized the freedom of the whole Fatherland and the whole Indonesian people undivided in its oneness, and that the national claim in respect of West Irian is borne by the will of the Movement for the Freedom of Indonesia (Pergerakan Kemerdekaan Indonesia), because it is officially approved by the Government, Parliament and the whole Indonesian people, in particular all organizations and national institutions and further all political parties in Indonesia including the Partai Kemerdekaan Indonesia Irian (Indonesian Freedom Party Irian), which party has come into being out of the autochthonous population of Irian, being established in Serui and taking the standpoint that the territory West Irian is a part of the Territory Indonesia, the West Irian People is also a part of the Indonesian People; which party honours the Indonesian language as the unitarian language and politically aims at attaining Irian Merdeka (Free Irian) in the sphere of the Country and People of Free Indonesia,

(2) that a part of the dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands since the day of the Proclamation of the Independence of Indonesia has already been settled at the Round Table Conference in the Hague, which was concluded on the 2nd of November 1949, with the exception of one part, viz. a dispute about the political position of the territory of the Residency New Guinea (Irian) which will be settled further by means of negotiations between the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands not later than the 27th December 1950,

(3) that the settlement of only a part of the dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands has not yet cleared away the dispute completely, so that it can not be withdrawn entirely and permanently from the agenda of the Security Council of the United Nations, because, according to the Charter of San Francisco clauses 31—32, Indonesia, in spite of not being a member, it is always allowed to discuss every question concerning the interests of that State,

(4) that it is fully realized in this report that the dispute Indonesia—the Netherlands about West Irian can be settled in harmony and peace, though the agreement reached in a peaceful way at the Round Table Conference has factually been a settlement of an armed
conflict between the two States, the dispute Indonesia-the Netherlands continuously threatening peace and international calm, which is to be prevented in accordance with the advice and in the manner of the Charter of San Francisco, clauses 33—38,

(5) that at the first Ministers Conference the Indonesian Government has exerted itself to settle the rest of the conflict Indonesia-the Netherlands, but that it was not possible at that Conference to achieve a complete result, so that in accordance with the decision taken at Jacarta on 1st April, the negotiations about the question Irian shall be continued at the second Conference of Ministers of the Union, or in the last instance at a special Conference of Ministers, with the object to have further negotiations about the question Irian in the course of this very year at the Hague,

(6) that for the preparation of the Conference referred to the Irian Committee has been set up which will draw up a report for the two Governments of the Union partners,

(7) that the Netherlands Government has promised to settle the question West Irian without involving a third party,

(8) that the Netherlands Government has promised that in the event of the sovereignty over West Irian being transferred to third parties these were to be no others but the Government of Indonesia.

B. Experiencing.

(9) That the Indonesian group has been pleased to work in a friendly atmosphere with the Netherlands group in the drawing up of the report, and has had cooperation from many sides, from the de facto government of the Netherlands in Irian as well as from other institutions.

(10) that, though the two groups of the Irian Committee have agreed to take care that no demonstrations would be held, this agreement has nevertheless been infringed by a small demonstration in Biak, Serui and Hollandia, when we visited those places, in Dom-Sorong a watch with guns and bared bajonets being set day and night over various members of the Indonesian group of the Irian Committee and that the Netherlands Government in Irian has decidedly noticed this infringement.

(11) that the Netherlands Government as stated in its letter of 1 April 1950 promised to study further the proposal of the Government of Indonesia, i.e. to be allowed to send a committee to Irian in accordance with the Motion of the Indonesian Parlement, no more having been heard until this day of the results of this study.
C. Considering.

(12) that the political aim of attaining a Free Irian inside the circle of Indonesia is entirely contrary to a construction of West Irian under the authority of an international trustee, non-self-governing Country or coming under two States (condominium), so that these views have been rejected in this report.

(13) that the national demand to complete Indonesia by the inclusion of the territory and the population of West Irian signifies to complete the oneness of Indonesia, comprising a territory and a people of Indonesia, in accordance with the national wishes in respect of certain frontiers and aiming at their being the same frontiers as those of the former Netherlands Indies.

(14) that the completing of Indonesia with the territory and the population of Irian nationally signifies the strengthening of the oneness in the interest of the defence, the economy, the constitutional, law and the Indonesian economy and internationally means in addition the formation of the oneness of West Irian and the remaining territory of Indonesia, which would be equal to uniting West and East Germany, or North-and South Korea, which have been disturbed by political forces from outside in their entire territory in order to have a strong case, being one free people,

(15) that the experiences of the Indonesian people in respect of the Netherlands authority have clearly proved for many centuries and the circumstances in West Irian for more than 122 years, that the Netherlands Government is not capable and not prepared to educate the Irian population to attain a free life in a free and sovereign national sphere, the Indonesian People being ready to treat the Irian population as a part of its own people in the sphere of Irian Merdeka (Free Irian), based on 5 principles: Free Irian with authonomy for the original Irian population; exploitation of Irian in an independent way; colonization for all races to Irian; raising of civilization and the formation of a defence of Democracy and Free Indonesia in Irian.

D. Taking the standpoint:

that the national demand to complete Indonesia with West Irian comprises the fundament and the aim to liberate Irian by abolishing all colonial ties which enlace the territory and to make West Irian Indonesian territory in order that the Irian population can adopt the Indonesian citizenship,

(17) that the settlement of the question West Irian is to be made in accordance with the procedure which is determined by the answer to the essential part of the question or to the nucleus of the problem.
whether Indonesia is more entitled to West Irian and that this
demand claiming their rights is in the first place in the interest of the
original population of West Irian, the Netherlands sovereignty of this
territory meaning a colonial authority and being carried out exclusively in the interest of the Netherlands and not of the population of
Irian,

(18) basing ourselves on this standpoint, we, the Indonesian
members, intimate that the natural claim on West Irian can be strength-
thened on historical, economical, political, geographical, strategical
and other grounds which prove clearly that the completeness of the
territory of Indonesia signifies a strengthening of the Democratic
Indonesian State, which is necessary for the international world.

E. Being of the opinion.

(19) that it is more desirable to settle the question by means of
negotiations in order that in this ways the request of the R.T.C. be
realized, bearing in mind the mutual desire to maintain the prin-
ciple that all questions are to be settled in a reasonable and unani-
mous way,

(20) that the Netherlands Government carries out a colonial
policy in West Irian without observing its duty to promote the pro-
gress and the development of the original population of Irian and
that such a policy is entirely for the benefit of the Netherlands,

(21) that, when the sovereignty of West Irian is in the hands of
the Government of Indonesia this would mean that all possibilities
would be opened to the Indonesian people to regulate all matters
referring to its Fatherland in an independent sovereign atmosphere
by the abolishment of the colonial authority and colonial circum-
stances in West Irian in order that the Irian population be given
the opportunity to form an Indonesian nation and to complete the
Fatherland with a part which is inseperable from it,

(22) that not only West Irian is of importance as a line of defence
between two continents and oceans but also all the bridges of islands
in Indonesia form a complete unity and are of great importance for
the defence of the independence of the Indonesian People and
Democracy.

F. and bringing forward in conclusion the following decision:

I. (23) that, if at the latest on 27 December 1950 by means of
negotiations no decision is arrived at to determine the political
position of West Irian, in accordance with the Charter of Transfer
of Sovereignty clause 2, dealing with the question of this territory,
the status quo can decidedly not be continued by the Netherlands
Government,
II. (24) that the polity to attain a free Irian inside Indonesia is a polity to liberate the territory and the population of Irian from the colonial tie with the Netherlands and to extend the Indonesian citizenship to the Irian population; that this polity holds the interests of the autochthonous population al oft so that, the moment the sovereignty is transferred to the Indonesian Government, the complete program to help on the population of Irian in an independent sovereign sphere can come into action,

III. (25) that in the interest of the good relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands in a Union, further to hold the principles of Democracy and Independence of all nations aloft, in consequence of the final settlement of the political dispute between the two States, which has lasted for five years, the sovereignty of Indonesia over the Land and People of Indonesia is soon to be determined before 27 December 1950 by means of the transfer of the sovereignty over West Irian to the Government of Indonesia.

Signed at Scheveningen on 1 August 1950,

Adviser: Silas Papare

Members: Dr. J. Latuharhary
Dr. L. H. P. S. Makaliwy
Dr. Muhammad Yamin

Secretary-advisor: Dr. Teng Tjin Leng

Union Secretariat: Moh. Jahja
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**DIGOEL TERRITORY**

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BIJLAGEN II

Headoffice of the Badan Perdjoangan Irian
9 Bintaran Tengah
Jokjakarta

Note

Subject:
Presentation report from Serui
Appendixes: 8

Jokjakarta, 13th June 1950.

To:
The Chairman of the New Guinea Committee
c/o Secretariat of the Union
Netherlands—Indonesia
at Djakarta.

New Guinea.

We present to you enclosed reports received by us from Serui (New Guinea), with the request that you would care to give your attention also to these reports, as an important factor with regard to the wish of the people of West New Guinea to be equally „Merdeka” in the R.I.S.

We thank you in advance for your prudence in this respect.

Tetap Merdeka.

Headoffice of the Badan Perdjoangan Irian
sgd. T. S. Suparmo
Secretary.

No. 271/2

Subject:
Periodical Suara Irian
(Voice of Irian)

Serui, 6th February 1950.

The Executive is informed by the present that the periodical Madjallah Suara Irian, which is edited by the B.P.I. at Djokjakarta, falls under the scope of the Government Decision dated 31/1/1920 no. 3, viz.:

„Printed matter, inciting to acts punishable according to law, or which insults the existing authority, etc.”

It is prohibited to bring this periodical into the country.
The carrier, owner, distributor, sender, seller or he, who sells and delivers this periodical to readers or gives them free of charge, or attempts to commit these acts, is punishable.

Head of Local Administration,
sgd. K. den Hartog.

To: The Executive of the P.K.I.I. at Serui.

For true copy,
2nd Chairman P.B.K.I.I.,
sgd. Alwi Rachman.

Copy of telegram 7/2/1950
B.P.I. Djokjakarta
s.i. (suara irian) can not be brought into the country letter follows
Alwi rachman

Executive
Partai Kemerdekaan Indonesia Irian
Serui

Serui, 6th February 1950.

No. 16
Appendixes: 6.

Subject:
Happenings considered important

To:
Executive B.P.I.,
9 Bintaran Tengah,
Jokjakarta.

Merdeka!
Brothers of the Executive.

Our contact will become difficult because the post is being severely watched. Since February 2nd, 1950, the P.T.T. has been taken over by the Netherlands officials.

On 1st February a group of the Royal Army, consisting of 11 men, and several persons of the Nefis arrived at Serui. On 7th February the Royal Army returned to Biak, after it had been replaced by the bataillion of Irian, consisting of circa 60 men. Their measures prove to be cruel.
There is a report which is kept very secret, containing that their arrival means to put the P.K.I.I. in a fix and if possibly utterly to destroy it. The people remain quiet.

The whole consignment of the Suara Irian has been seized.

Briefly, we have received here none of the registered letters.

Everything addressed to the P.K.I.I. is being held. Please take good notice.

Our standpoint is unshakable, notwithstanding the many hurdles and beautiful propaganda. Irian must soon belong to the R.I.S.; that is the wish of the people.

A. Samori, whom I mentioned, has again been arrested in Biak and released and after having lived for 57 days as a hermit, he has come back again. The right side of his throat is up till now still swollen, because he has been beaten with the butt-end of a rifle by the Inspector of Police (Raflijn). A. Samori is now in Serui and is not allowed to stay in Biak.

The L.S.T. 4 of the R.I. 5 has arrived on 6th February 1950 at Serui with men of the Royal Army from Hollandia for Serui. On 7th February 1950, at 18.00 hours, they have left Serui again and have returned the members of the R.I.S.-police to Makassar. This going home makes us of the P.K.I.I.-nervous and we request an explanation and, if possible, to send observers of the R.I.S. to New Guinea.

We enclose the letter concerning the ban on distribution of the S.I. at Serui and also letters, as supplementary evidence that it is desired to separate New Guinea from the R.I.S., and (also) a copy of my telegram to the B.P.I. dated 7th February 1950.

Tetap Merdeka,

2nd Chairman Executive P.K.I.I.,

sgd. Alwi Rahman.

Note: In Biak the S.I. is until now being easily distributed.
Executive
Partai Kemerdekaan Indonesia Irian
No. 8
Appendix —
Subject:
Information considered important.

Serui, 10th January 1950.

To:
Chairman B.P.I.,
9 Bintaran Tengah,
at Djokjakarta.

For perusal and also in respect of the situation around New Guinea.

According to the decision of the R.T.C., New Guinea will indeed for another year remain under Netherlands authority. The whole world knows this. In New Guinea the people who use their eyes, know this too from the papers, although they have not attended the R.T.C. But the Netherlands, as it appears, want to distort the truth. By means of their „henchmen” N. Jouwe, Kasiepo and J. Ariks the Netherlands want to deceive the people. The Netherlands, who themselves are afraid to look fools opposite the world, hide behind these three puppets who have been brought to the Netherlands.

N. Jouwe and Kasiepo left New Guinea on 25th October and Ariks was already in Djakarta. We know everything about their participation in the discussions at the R.T.C. During the Conference at The Hague the Netherlands have said clearly: „New Guinea will send no representative, because the people are not yet able to follow the situation”. We however, who live already long in New Guinea, have a different opinion, viz. that the Netherlands injection has not yet penetrated far into the people. The proof: The meeting at Hollandia on 11th November 1946 (the original hereof is with Papare). First this N. Jouwe was the chairman (advocate) of anti-suppression, now he is chairman (advocate) of pro-suppression. But we most not be amazed. Man is weak, and promises of golden mountains with regard to a high position make man forget justice. They are now busy conducting propaganda; Jouwe in Hollandia, J. Ariks in the environs of Manokwari and Kasiepo in the territory of Biak, Japen and Waroppen. On 5th January 1950, Kasiepo arrived at Serui with two of his friends (Kaffiar and Rumainum).

Both discharged G.H.B.A., accompanied by three new New Guinea policemen, completely equipped (jungle gun). It was their intention to give a lecture to the public, but the people which knew already
who Kasiepo and his friends are, did not want to come near him. On 7th January 1950, questions were asked and Kasiepo’s arguments were very weak. Andras Papare alone could already refute them. According to Kasiepo it had already been decided at the R.T.C. that New Guinea were to have an own status, direct under the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In order to prove this, Irian would get an own coinage, own stamps, etc. This question was already completely settled. This was the wish of the Dutch, we know that already, but what is the wish of the people?

Look what happened on 2nd December 1949. A. Samori, chairman of the P.K.I.I. section Wouti, was arrested again at Biak. Once already he had been condemned to two years. The reason for A. Samori’s arrest was, that he had written from Biak a letter to his co-members (brothers) concerning the pending colonisation, as this could be read in the papers. He reminded the people to remain steadfast. Before this letter was sent, Commandant Sakul knew already about it. Before this happened, A. Samori was already leader of the strike at the Public Works, but at all persecutions A. Samori got justice.

At Serui, on 6th January, S. Tomosa, telegraphist of Serui, was summoned to come to the office of the Head of the Local Administration. Tomosa came and sat on a chair which was reserved for guests. The Head of the Local Administration then said: „Tomosa, do not sit down before I order you to do so.” Tomosa stood up quite amazed and wanted to say something, but the Head of the Local Administration anticipated him by asking: „How dare you stick the Suara Irian to the front of your house; you know that that is not your house; it is the house of the Government”.

Tomosa replied calmly: “Sir, I did not stick the Suara Irian to the front of my house, but to the inside of my door; and if the door is open, it is naturally visible from outside. However it does not mean anything; I have done it, because I liked the pictures of the harbour of Serui.”

These are things that happen around us, and which we can certify. From other places too rumours have reached us, but as these are not first-hand information, we do not want to record them.

We appeal to you, to do your best from your place, that the eyes of the world be focussed on us, in order that the history of South Celebes may not repeat itself. The signs are already there.

Tetap Merdeka,
2nd Chairman P.K.I.I. Serui,
sgd. Alwi Rahman.

Translated (from the Indonesian to the Netherlands language) by the Union-Secretariat Indonesia-Netherlands, Djakarta.
Mampiuri, 13th January 1950.

The meeting for the explanation of the state of affairs is attended by the village-heads, their deputies, Sjamsas and the people of Mampiuri.

This public information meeting is opened by the Commissioners of the Executive of the Partai Kemerdekaan Indonesia Irian of Serui.

I. Explanation was given concerning the meeting of Markus Kasiepo and the meaning thereof for the Netherlanders, held in the adathouse at Serui on 7th January 1950, concerning: a. the Council, b. the Indo-problem (colonists), c. the Netherlands Government.

The people declared unanimously not to agree with either of these views.

Question Advisory Council: Unanimously the people declares not to agree.

Question Colonists: Unanimously the people rejects this (question).

Question Netherlands Government: Unanimously the people asks for the Indonesian Government. With the earnest wish, that the people be clearly aware of this and that it understands the fate of Irian, and that John Ariks, Nikolas Jouwe and Markus Kasiepo are traitors of the people, who have gone to the Netherlands on account of the Netherlands Government but without mandate of the people, we proceeded. All of us also know that those three people have been fooled by the Government with 30 yards of woollen cloth, in order to sell their country to strangers with that. Therefore we hope earnestly that if they traffic in propaganda, they rather altogether not concern themselves with this question, and if they make much propaganda, just tell them to go to the Partai Kemerdekaan Indonesia Irian at Serui. Our intentions and our fate are all at the office of the Executive of the P.K.I. at Serui. Whatever the P.K.I. at Serui decides, we, the people, agree to, and we do not accept other propaganda.

2. Explained was the speech of President Sukarno on the cover of the Suara Irian no. 2 first year of publication. The suara Irian no. 2, in which the history of S. Papare, Principal leader of the Partai Kemerdekaan Indonesia Irian, is given, was read.

3. The Suara Irian no. 1 was read and explained, containing the information that Irian will be suppressed for a year to make a second Holland of it, but that the Indonesian brothers will fight to the finish, in order that we, people of Irian, may also belong to the R.I.S. We therefore hope earnestly that the Irian people may not be afraid, notwithstanding whichever threatens the Government may use,
and that it will not be afraid and tremble because of the propaganda which does not mean anything. Keep fighting, as well as possible, in order that we, people of Irian, will get freedom, which has also been obtained on 27th December 1950, by our brothers in the rest of Indonesia. That this freedom of Indonesia may also come to Irian!

4. The Suara Irian no. 2 was read. The story of the Partai Kemerdekaan Indonesia Irian, led by S. Papare, was explained.

5. It was explained that many threats had been uttered on the part of the Netherlands Government.

6. Concerning the wage-question.
   How do we work with the suppressor?

   Because we, executive sections of the Directorate of the P.K.I.I., see the situation of the people, know its wish and desire regarding its destination, we advise not to oppose the Government in respect of religion, and in case there may be disagreement on this point, to inform the P.K.I.I. at Serui thereof, because we must honour every religion professed by God's world. We have also explained the question of the public health, in order that we exercise cleanliness and industry and diligence and by doing this improve the income of our country. The villagehead of Mampiuri put a question concerning the homage to be paid, which question was thus answered that this remained as was usual. We waited whether still other questions would be asked by the people, but there was nobody who wished to propose anything; we therefore closed the public information meeting with taking a vote of the people, from which it appeared that it persisted in the desiderata of the P.K.I.I. We then thanked the people of Mampiuri for their coming and their kind reception and for all the good understanding and although not a single objection was raised, that the people had come eagerly and accepted all information, in order that with one heart and mind we will meet the new future to which we have aspired already for so long.

   This was our information to the people on justice.
   We beg to excuse us for anything we did wrong.

Appendix no. 3.
Kuruda, 17th January 1950.

The information-meeting is opened by the Executive of the Directorate for the villages of the Executive of the P.K.I.I. at Serui.

The information-meeting is attended bij the Pemuka2 kepala kampung, Wakil2 Sjamas2 and the people of Kurudu.
1. The 1st Chairman Mamori reads the Suara Irian no. 2, which he explains in the language of Kurudu, concerning the destination and the request of Irian which is thwarted by the Netherlands Government. The Indo-question (colonists) and the agreement of Kasiepo with the Netherlands Government. The Indo-question was unanimously disapproved.

2. At the Round Table Conference the solution of the question-Irian was postponed by a year, Irian suppressed and made into a second Holland (Netherlands mandate). Indonesia has attained full freedom (sovereignty). We all know that the Executive of the P.K.I.I. has its seat at Serui and is being led by S. Papare, who is being thwarted by the Netherlands Administration by means of all kinds of obstructions, so that S. Papare could not proceed with his journey to the Netherlands in order to keep Irian within Indonesia. Naturally the people know that Irian formerly was a part of the Netherlands Indies, but now we should actually belong with our brothers in Indonesia; the others live in freedom, Irian is being kept by the Netherlands which attempts to remain our oppressor.

Brothers, we all know that Irian is a part of Indonesia. Irian is no temporary country, but a heritage, given by God to the people of Irian. Irian is a very prosperous heritage. Because we, the people of Irian, are still being suppressed by a foreign power which suppresses our country, and the Netherlands sell to other countries our minerals, the wealth of our country, the Netherlands remain rich, while we, the people of Irian, remain poor.

3. Within 6 months consuls of all countries will visit Irian; we all know that in this one year we will be flooded by many kinds of propaganda and threats; the people must however not be afraid of it, but persist strongly and with as much as possible strength in its rights.

The people must keep fighting, in order that we, the people of Irian, may win the freedom which our brothers of Indonesia have obtained on 27th December 1949.

I want to take here as an example the parable of the Pharao during the foundation of the two cities. Pitzon and Ramses in Egypt are like us, the people of Irian, the people of Israel and the Netherlands like the Pharao.

4. The 2nd Chairman Samber asked the people in the Kurudu language to accept unanimously the road of democracy as the destination of Irian which has already been awaited for so long, like Simon, an old man, has awaited the coming of the Lord Jezus the Saviour on earth. Like him, we, people of Irian, await the same destination, as the coming of a greatness longed for by the people who have already become aware of it. Amen.
The head Frans deputized him. The whole people replied to the Chairman’s question. The people rejected unanimously the reason given by the Netherlands, that our language is not the same as the Indonesian language. The Lord has created the earth with all languages which have formed themselves into groups, and Irian is a part of Indonesia.

It is further explained that Markus Kasiepo on 7th January 1950 at a meeting in the adathouse at Serui had proposed to establish an Advisory Council and it is asked whether the people approve of this Advisory Council. The people declares unanimously that its aim is a people’s government and that it only recognizes the Government of Indonesia. We then told a parable of an old man, reading as follows: "Go, my three children, wander round as well as possible and bring me a gift, in order that I may divide my wealth among the three of you". This parable is applicable to John Ariks, Nikolas Jouwe and Markus Kasiepo, who have gone to the Netherlands for the account of the Government and which does not signify anything; because they would like later to get a high position, they sell their people and country to a foreign epolpe, which suppresses these.

6. The 1st Chairman explains the Executive of the P.K.I.I. which has its seat in Djokjakarta. He gives information concerning Mohamad Hatta who went to The Hague. He explains the P.K.I.I. at Serui, who in the beginning had its seat at Serui and was threatened repeatedly by the Netherlands Government.

We then reminded the people to become conscious of their destiny and to understand this.

Irian must not resist the information concerning religion which the Government will give, in this respect they can take contact with the Executive of the P.K.I.I. at Serui.

We also reminded them to keep the cleanliness and the public health on a high standard. We then proceeded to establish a section of the P.K.I.I. at Kurudu, which section was composed as follows:

1st Chairman  Ch. Mamori
2nd Chairman  M. Samber
1st secretary  Jacobus Mambai
2nd secretary  Baren Werenuisi
1st treasurer  A. Warenusi
2nd treasurer  D. Rumaikewi
Advisers:
1. Benjamin Mambai
2. Marcus Mboran
3. S. Rumsano

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4. Hein Ariso
5. Piet Masoka
6. Simon Aibuy

Messenger
1. Silas Ariso
2. Cares Masoka

We, Executive of the Directorate of the P.K.I.I., have visited several villages and have witnessed that the people of Kurudu are willing to fight, none of the people resisting this.

Owing to the fact that they are conscious of the situation, they have received us very well and the information given them, was much appreciated. The modesty and respectfulness and friendliness were very good. We therefore thanked the people of Kurudu heartily for their willingness to fight for country and people of Indonesia, which is pressed in the hands of the oppressor.

Kaipuri, 15th January 1950.

The public information-meeting is attended by the villageheads, the wakil2Guru, the Sjamas2 Penatua, Districtshead and the Commandant of Police and by the people of Kaipuri.

The public information is directed by the Executive of the Directorate of the villages of the P.K.I.I.

1. The Round Table Conference held at The Hague during which it was decided that the question-Irian would be postponed for a year and that Indonesia is given its freedom by the Netherlands, is explained.

2. The opinion of the people is asked concerning the visit of Markus Kasidepo, who recently has arrived in Serui with the plan to form an Advisory Council, in order to strengthen the authority of the Netherlands Government. After the people had been extensively informed, it replied that it wished to form an Irian-Council, to represent Irian with the Government of Indonesia, and that it did not wish to remain under the Government of an oppressor.

3. Concerning colonists (Eurasians). We explained to them that Irian would become a second Holland. The people were opposed to the coming of colonists. Simon Wapay, chairman of the P.K.I.I., section Kaipuri, informed the people on the fate of Irian and why they were so seriously backward in all respects. Then we of the Executive stated the object of the foundation of the P.K.I.I. with its seat at Serui, viz.: A pure intention to obtain equality, to become a people that could be free to speak and to think, a free people, that could go and learn wherever it wanted, to promote
the progress of Irian in particular and of Indonesia in general, free
to meet and to demonstrate and to determine its own fate without
being hindered by the Authority, free to profess religion, and also
to obtain the right to request protection of life and possessions for
every inhabitant of Irian.

We reminded them then of the fate of Kureri, who up till today
is in Biak. The people considered this information carefully. The
districtshead of Kaipuri explained the meaning of democracy to the
people and the aims of the P.K.I.I. for the people of Irian.

4. The story of the coming-into-being and the story of S. Papare
we read from the Suara Irian no. 1.

Though in the beginning the number of members amounted to
3000, this number has, because of the threats of the Netherlands
Government, ever increased and has risen until today to 4000.

When the Government heard that the number of members of the
P.K.I.I. was already so considerable, it sent from Biak Netherlands
soldiers with modern arms. Also a detachment police arrived. The
people knows already of the attempts of the Government to thwart
the Partai, but this is nevertheless growing.

After the Executive still had elucidated some points, the people
were given the opportunity to ask questions. As nobody wished to
speak, we proceeded to confirm the composition of the committee
of the P.K.I.I.-section Kaipuri, which is as follows:

1. 1st Chairman       Simon Wapay
2. Deputy-Chairman    Tn Wapay Guru
3. Secretary          Demisanus Ingwangin
4. 2nd Secretary      Pieter Rantuboi
5. Treasurer          Efert Mauri
6. 2nd Treasurer      Gustaf Sumbari
7. Adviser            Enos Ranuboi
8. Adviser            Agus Dom
9. Adviser            Salmon Watori
10. Messenger         Carolis Mauri
11. Messenger         Ruben Rantuboi

Subsequently we, Executive P.K.K.I. of Serui, reminded the
people that they were not to resist the Government concerning
religion, because the democracy honours the religion. We then ex-
pressed our thanks to the people of Kaipuri, which had received us
with pleasure and which had told us the deepest desires of their
heart and that they had accepted so eagerly the information given by us.

On 23rd January 1950, the villagehead of Kaipuri came to Serui to ask information concerning reports from Djokja and Djakarta. We gave him the information as we had received it.

The public information-meeting was attended by the villageheads, the wakil2Sjamas2, the Penatua2 Agama and the people of Rondawaja.

The commissioners of the Executive of the P.K.I.I. explained the Round Table Conference at The Hague. As regards the meeting of Markus Kasiepo on 7th January 1950 in the adathouse at Serui, on: the colonisation-question (Indo) the people rejected unanimously every colonisation.

Question of salaries.

Proposals were made concerning the driving away of strangers (not original inhabitants) and the replacement of them by Netherlanders. We advised the people not to be afraid if anybody came with propaganda to break up our fight. We enquired as to the opinion of the people, whether they desired the Netherlands Government or the democracy for which the brothers in the rest of Indonesia had fought and who won Free Indonesia. The people replied unanimously that it remained with Free Indonesia steadfastly behind the P.K.I.I. and P.B.I., who are in Djokja. The 1st secretary of the P.K.I.I. of Serui explained the fate of Irian and why it is so backward, viz. because the Netherlanders attempted to destroy us, and he gave the people advise concerning cleanliness, health, housing, etc. Because the people of Irian are conscious of the destination of Irian, which now is still being dominated, we are certain that the spirit of the people is willing to fight, in order to be free and to go together with the R.I.S.

We then closed the meeting and thanked the people of Rondawaja for coming. ..................................................

Agenda no. 382/Appendix 6.

(Proverb) Prepare an umbrella before it rains.
Ariepi-Serui.

In order to frustrate the objects of Markus Kasiepo, who after his return from the R.T.C. at The Hague tours everywhere in the Geelvinck-bay, the people have held a meeting on 30th January 1950. The number of members at this meeting amounted to 165. The aim of this meeting was, to strengthen the spirit for the fight for Country and People and to prepare the answers to refuse the requests of
Markus Kasiepo or to cross his propaganda in case he might come to this village.

The selling of our beloved country and people as Markus Kasiepo, John Arik's and Nikolas Jouwe attempt, resembles the deed of Judas Iskariot who sold the Child of God; and the people do not agree to this. Those three seek for themselves, against the will and the wish of us, the people and Chairman S. Papare, a good position with the Netherlands. The Chairman S. Papare does not seek a good position for himself, but only the fate of his people. Also it must be taken into consideration, that if the people gets tangled up in the propaganda of Markus Kasiepo under the domination of the Netherlands Kingdom, it must remain strong of spirit, in order to fight for the freedom together with the R.I.S. In the meeting all members were unanimously for freedom together with the R.I.S. From Sabang to Merawke—Hollandia the peoples are all members of one body, and that body is Indonesia. How is it possible that these members from Sabang to Halmahera have already been freed from this oppressing rope of Netherlands domination, a part of this body, namely Irian still sighing because this rope still exists. We call to our brothers in Indonesia, who are already free: Help us to take away this oppressing rope from Irian.

We hope for support, the light weights we carry together in the hand, the heavy ones we carry together on the shoulders (proverb).

We are convinced and believe that it will not last much longer before Free Indonesia will stretch out its hand to Indonesian Irian and these two can walk together in the field of the sovereign freedom. Let us hope that our oneness may remain under all circumstances. Row on in the turbulent sea, until we arrive in the bay of freedom; as the poet says:

With the raft upstream
and swimming to the shore,
first to undergo many pains and then
to experience the benefits.

sgd. H. Wareni,
someone from the interior.

Note: Explanation:

Hendrik Wareni is villagehead and Chairman of the section P.K.I.I. at Ariepei.

sgd. Alwi Rahman,
For true copy,
The Secretary of the Indonesian-Netherlands Union at Djakarta.

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MAP 1

The India Archipelago (black) between the continents Asia and Australia and between two oceans, the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. The *Indonesian* territory is indicated by a ...... (dotted) line, south of the Asiatic States: Burma, Muang Thai, Vietminh and the Philippine Republic, and North of Australia

Copied from Van Bemmelen's: Geology of Indonesia, 1950, p. 2
MAP 2

The Irian territory of unity of language joins West Irian with Timor and East-Halmahera (East Indonesia)
Copied from Boelaars: "The Linguistic", p. 215
MAP 3

Gives the finding places of the remains of original Indonesian spears, the Homo Modjokertensis, the Homo Neanderthalensis and the Pythocanthropos and the fossils of Mamaliae fauna in Java, of different geological periods.

Copied from the book Experientia (Von Mohler, p. 3)
MAP 4

A map of Indonesia when it was still one continent with Irian in the Thetys Ocean in the geological period called Carboon

Copied from A. Wegener: Die Entstehung der Kontinente und Ozeane, 1929, p. 8
MAP 5

The Malayan Archipelago (India) is coloured black, and separated in three parts by the Wallace- and Weber lines:
1. the Sunda Shelf, west of the Wallace-line;
2. the territory between the Wallace- and Weber lines;
3. the Sahul Shelf to which belong the Island the Island of Irian and the continent of Australia.

The Weber-, Pelseneer- and the border-line of the Australo-Papuan fauna are not the same

Copied from Van Bemmelen, Geologie of Indonesia, 1950, p. 5
MAP 6
In primordial times the Mammaliae did not enter from East to West, but from North to South
Copied from Koenigswald, Neue Phithocothorpos Funde, 1940, p. 69
The field of the Austria languages is divided in an Austro-Asiatic sphere and an Austronesian sphere, to which West Irian belongs. The territory of Indonesia is a part of the Austronesian sphere.

NIEUW-GUINEE
EN
BISMARCK ARCHIPEL
Schaal 1:100.000.000.
The War in NEW GUINEA and THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

EVENTS OF THE WAR IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC

1. Japanese land at Rabaul Jan. 25, 1942
3. Lee, Solomon off to Japanese Mar. 8, 1942
4. Large Japanese convoy bound back in Coral Sea Battle May 8-9, 1942
5. Japanese take Buna July 22, 1942
7. Battle of Savo Is., Japanese naval victory Aug. 9, 1942
11. Allied landings on Guadalcanal Nov. 20, 1942
12. 5th Air Force sinks 27 Japanese ships in Bismarck Sea Battle Mar. 2-4, 1943
14. 5th Air Force destroys 500 Japanese planes at Wewak Aug. 17-21, 1943
15. Allied airborne land near Nadzab, capturing Lae-Salamaua Apr. 5, 1943
16. Allied forces take Salamaua Sept. 12, 1943—Lae Sept. 16, 1943
17. Australians take Finschhafen Oct. 2, 1943
19. U.S. Marines invade Bougainville Nov. 1, 1943
23. U.S. Army forces invade Admiralty Is. Feb. 28, 1944
24. Australian forces occupy Madang Apr. 16, 1944—Auroritaah Apr. 29, 1944
25. Allied forces capture Wewak and Aitape Apr. 27, 1944
26. U.S. forces invade Biak May 27, 1944
27. U.S. forces land near Samar May 30, 1944

MAP 10

The attack on Australia from the North, while it was also a springboard to the Philippines and New Guinea, was a major threat during the Second World War. This map illustrates the key events and locations of the war in the Southwest Pacific region.
PHOTOGRAPH 1

The Indonesian Group of the Irian Committee, photographed in the Netherlands during its visit there, to compile the report of the Committee after their visit to the territory of West Irian, which is the point at issue. From left to right: Dr. L. H. P. S. Makaliwy; Moh. Jahja; Dr. Muhammad Yamin; Dr. J. Latuharhary; Silas Paparc and Dr. Teng Tjin Leng, who are all directly connected with the Committee.

This snapshot was taken behind the building of the Union-secretariat of the Hague.
PICTURE 2
Indonesians of West Irian (Mappi)
After more than 122 years under foreign rulers they still go about naked.
They enjoy going out for their substance and livelihood in their canoes;
their weapon is a knife
Copied from New Guinea II, p. 412
PHOTOGRAPH 3

Settlement at Lake Amaru (Doroti); safely situated on top of a hill; one cultivates the fields and enjoys the wind. There is no need for administration, judicature police and money! Inflation and foreign currency are not known.
PHOTOGRAPH 4

Two autochthonous Indonesian Irians, mohammedan raja's of the Onin peninsula, which is mentioned in the Nagarakrtagama. What difference is there between them and the Indonesian Secretaries of State, or those of Pakistan or Egypt, when wearing the same clothes and professing the same religion?

Copied from New Guinea II, p. 403