



TREE~PLANTING RESTORATIVE MEMORIAL FOR DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD (UN Sec-General 1953-1961)

SOWING SEEDS FOR WEST PAPUA'S RETURN TO THE UNITED NATIONS (2020~21)

Build your own ceremony &
Video it for the UN Archives

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

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

“If you are neutral in situations
of injustice, you have chosen the
side of the oppressor” (Clovis
Mwamba, Democratic
Republic of Congo)



This photo-essay explains why the Tree-planting Memorial for
Dag Hammaskjöld recalls for UN member-states their
failure to uphold the principle of self-determination
in the Non-Self-Governing Territory of Dutch-New
Guinea (West Papua) in 1961.

Here is the logic behind the West Papuans return to the
UN in 2020-21 to take their place on the Decolonisation List
as part of their pursuit of freedom and self-determination.

Here is why the UN member-states—and the peoples of the
world they represent—should welcome the return of the
Papuans as an opportunity to recognise and rectify
the terrible mistakes they made in the 1960s.



United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP)
211/838 Collins St, Docklands 3008 Victoria (AUS)
0424 745 155; FrwpWomensOffice@gmail.com
dfait.federalrepublicofwestpapua.org



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

From Hammarskjöld's address to the International Law Association, McGill University, Montreal, 30 May 1956, outlining the principals of what became the UN's OPEX program of administrative assistance for new states.

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

Dag Hammarskjöld was the UN Secretary-General between 1953 and 18th September 1961—when he was found dead after a plane crash near the border of the Democratic Republic of Congo where he was mediating post-independence conflict.

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

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

The Sec-General was scheduled to introduce to the 1961 General Assembly an OPEX program that he and the Dutch had designed for the emerging state of West Papua. Typically, the program was based on the legal principle of ‘a peoples right of sovereignty over their land’. But, in also declaring, as invalid, both the Dutch and Indonesian claims of sovereignty, it was a legally derived preemptive strike against Indonesia's [illegal] invasion of what it claimed was ‘a Dutch puppet state’.

OPEX: FROM BOLD EXPERIMENT TO APPROVED UN PROGRAM OF ASSISTANCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

UN Economic and Social Council recommends financing OPEX on continuing basis (Pres: C Schurman, Netherlands)
ECOSOC, 5 July—28 December 1960

UN General Assembly accepts ECOSOC recommendations; allocates \$850,000 for OPEX 1961
UNGA RES. 1530 (XV), 15 DECEMBER 1960

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

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

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

HOW DO WE KNOW ABOUT DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD'S FORMULA FOR WEST PAPUA?



GEORGE IVAN SMITH AO, Sydney, 21 Dec 1962 (Fairfax)

EDUCATION Goulburn and Bathurst High schools (NSW)

JOURNALIST

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1937—1941
Produced 'Australia Calling' that became Radio Australia

British Broadcasting Corporation 1941—1946
Director, Pacific Service

UNITED NATIONS 1947—1987

Director, External Affairs. Produced UN Information Services
Spokesperson for Dag Hammarskjöld 1953—1961
UN Representative Katanga, 1961
UN Representative East and Central Africa 1962—1966
Regional Director—Africa, UN Technical Assistance programs

VISITING PROFESSOR 1966-1968

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University
Princeton University 1966—1968



The unknown assignation: Dag Hammarskjöld in the papers of George Ivan Smith

An essay into the work and collaboration of two men [one Swedish and the other Australian] who held central positions in world politics during the 1950s and early 1960s.

MANUEL FROHLICH

Critical Currents No. 2, March 2008,
Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala.



During my interviews with George Ivan Smith he noted that his colleague and close friend Secretary-General Hammarskjöld “was very much focused on the plan [for West Papua] that he intended to launch at the UN General Assembly after dealing with the unrest in the Congo”.

Hammarskjöld's radical initiative to reclaim Papua from past and future colonial rule—upgrading in the process the status of the UN to protect indigenous peoples—would have totally disrupted the Indonesia strategy of [the CIA's] Allen Dulles.

Greg Poulgrain *The Incubus of Intervention* 2015:pp77,79
(Also Greg Poulgrain 'JFK vs. Allen Dulles, Battleground Indonesia', Simon & Schuster 2020)

“HAMMARSKJÖLD’S FORMULA WOULD HAVE CHANGED HISTORY, PRINCIPALLY BECAUSE IT RECOGNISED PAPUAN SOVEREIGNTY OVER PAPUAN LAND” (DR GREG POULGRAIN)

THE UNITARY REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

8 September 1950 The (unitary) Republic of Indonesia—a state that didn’t include West Papua—is awarded UN membership.

1951— Negotiations with Netherlands fail on Indonesian pre-condition that sovereignty of West Papua is transferred immediately. Refuses Dutch offer to test both claims in the International Court of Justice.

1954—1957 Indonesia tries, four times, to win UN General assembly support for its claim-of-sovereignty of West Papua. All fail.

1958—1961 Indonesia amasses military hardware from both Cold War combatants (USA and USSR). Its policy is “total confrontation vis-à-vis the Netherlands, not only politically but also economically and militarily” (Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio, UN General Assembly, 9 Oct 1961).

1961 Indonesia is ‘the most powerful military power in Southeast Asia outside China’, and ready to launch an invasion and occupation of what it labels a ‘Dutch puppet state’.

NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY OF WEST PAPUA

6 December 1950 The United Nations adopts Dutch-New Guinea as a Non-Self-Governing Territory. For the next decade the Dutch Administering Authority fulfilled its Article 73 obligations, reporting on political, social, economic, and education development in the territory.

1961:- In response to Indonesian belligerence, Hammarskjöld, who was responsible for the people of the territory and UN agencies working there, developed a special OPEX program.

OPEX for West Papua followed previously unchartered UN guidelines, but was within the ambit of the UN Declaration for ‘the speedy and unconditional granting to all colonial peoples of the right of self-determination’. As usual, the Sec-General consulted widely, including with President Kennedy and even General MacArthur (the commander of the military offensive against Japan in West Papua in 1944-5).

Hammarskjöld’s 1961 OPEX program for West Papua

- i)** Declaring as invalid both the Dutch and Indonesian claims to sovereignty over West Papua
- ii)** Recognising the Papuan people as the sovereign owners of their land
- iii)** Inserting UN technical officers to assist the new state’s administration for five years.

WHAT WAS THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, EDUCATION SITUATION IN WEST PAPUA IN 1961?



Netherlands New Guinea money 1949-62



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



Precision tractor-driving lessons in agriculture training school (1955).

Road-making in the interior (1959).
The Printing Press, Hollandia (1961).



May 1961 New Guinea RAAD voting on a proposal.

New Guinea RAAD (Council) was formed after territory-wide elections in February 1961, and launched on 5 April 1961 in front of representatives from every region in West Papua, an array of international media, and 135 officials from the South Pacific Commission including the governments of Britain, New Zealand, France and Australia.

19 October 1961 New Guinea RAAD names emerging state Papua Barat (not Irian), its people as Papuan (not Irianese); and its national flag and anthem. 'In accord with the ardent desire and yearning of our people for our independence the Morning Star flag will be hoisted alongside the Dutch flag on 1 November 1961'.

Dutch Government accepts RAAD legislation but defers flag ceremonies to **1 December 1961** to allow for its Decolonisation Motion in the UN General Assembly.

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



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

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH
 Special to The New York Times.

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

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

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

Control of New Guinea is

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

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

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

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

Continued on Page 4, Column 3

HAMMARSKJÖLD'S DEATH MEANS DUTCH HAVE TO RAISE DECOLONISATION MOTION IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WITHOUT HIS AUTHORITATIVE INFLUENTIAL PRESENCE



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

DUTCH OFFER U. N. NEW GUINEA RULE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To help insure stability, the Netherlands would continue her financial aid of \$30,000,000 yearly. Further, the Netherlands would ask her 2,300 citizens in the civil service to assist the territory as long as necessary.

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

PRESIDENTS' HANDSHAKE DEAL OVER-RIDES WEST PAPUANS RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION



24 April 1961 Presidents Sukarno and Kennedy at the Andrews Air Force Base, USA.

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

The handshake arrangement became the core of the New York Agreement brokered by the UN Sec-General U Thant and signed on 15 August 1962.

On 27 November 1961, the Dutch motion won a simple—but not a two-thirds—majority of General Assembly votes. As such, the West Papuans Non-Self-Governing Territory was not listed on the UN Decolonisation Agenda. The member-states even refused to affirm the Papuans right to self-determination in a paragraph, voted on separately, in an amendment proposed by 13 African states who were trying to get the motion over the line:

“... that the General Assembly states its conviction that any solution affecting the final destiny of a Non-Self-Governing Territory must be based on the self-determination of the people in accordance with the UN Charter” (53-36, 14 abstentions).

Three weeks after this appalling betrayal of a UN founding principle, Indonesia declared war (19 December) and invaded (15 January 1962). Under Dag Hammarskjöld's replacement the UN didn't condemn Indonesia for its illegal use of military force. Instead, U Thant oversaw a 'peace treaty' between Indonesia and the Dutch for a UN trust administration, to be passed to Indonesia after seven months. He appointed—without Security Council authorisation—a team of UN Military Observers to enter West Papua, and employed 1500 Pakistani troops (rather than a multi-national force) for which there are no official UN documents.

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

THE UNITED NATIONS HAS UNFINISHED BUSINESS WITH WEST PAPUA



Sorong, 1 December 1961

West Papua people demand Article 73 (XVI)

Indonesian government remains rejected



One of the last images from West Papua before Indonesia's declaration of war nineteen days later.

This home-video was of the celebration in Sorong on 1 December 1961 as the Morning Star flag was raised alongside the Netherlands flag for the first time (as decreed by the New Guinea RAAD and Dutch Government in October 1961).

*West Papua people demand Article 73 (XVI)
Indonesian government remains rejected*

The word-banners demonstrate that West Papuans were aware of the treacherous result of the General Assembly vote (three days earlier) that paved path for Indonesia's illegal invasion.

The flag-raising ceremonies across West Papua on 1 December were a major milestone in the Non-Self-Governing Territory's measured march towards independence. (Dutch legislation, signed by Queen Juliana, scheduled independence for 1971).

WITH THE STROKE OF A PEN AT THE UN, THE MELANESIAN WEST PAPUANS BECAME INDONESIAN

Tom-toms in welcome to Soekarno WEST IRIAN LANDING

KOTA BARU, Saturday (A.A.P.).—Dozens of outrigger canoes full of singing, chanting Papuans welcomed Indonesia's President Soekarno to West Irian today.

Dr Soekarno came ashore at Kota Baru from his Russian-built cruiser, Irian, in a white yacht formerly used by Dutch Governors of the territory.

Papuans in warpaint and wearing bird of paradise feathers in their headresses chanted and beat tom-tom drums as he arrived.

From the military honour guard at the West Java Siliwangi Division band played the national anthem, 'Glorious Indonesia'.

and greeted him a group of special forces members of the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces.

Took salute
Earlier, three Boeing-built TU-16 long-range jet bombers and six U.S. Hercules transports flew overhead as Dr Soekarno, accompanied by his entourage, arrived on West Irian in the

first time to take the salute.

INDONESIA'S ANGRY MAN



INDONESIA'S ANGRY MAN
Indonesian President Dr Soekarno clenches his teeth as he addresses audience in Kota Baru sports stadium (The Sun-Herald, 5 May 1963).

'Civic mission'

West Irian would be given the widest possible autonomy in the administration and economy while the Central Government would run the defence, police, and foreign affairs.

The territory would be placed in an 'economic cooperation' category with the provision of special regional autonomy until the Indonesian people could be self-governing.

Envoy's denial

The said envoy would be an Indonesian official from West Irian, not from other regions in West Irian.

public opinion was among the hottest groups of Indonesia as concerned with the

spurred to heavy contingents of the West Irian army, which was to be sent to West Irian to

According to the news agency, the Indonesian Government has announced that it would spend 10 million U.S. dollars each year on West Irian, which was handed over to Indonesia on Wednesday.

He said this would include expenditure for the armed forces in the territory.

Quoting aircraft have been destroyed around the area since May 1 when it came under official Indonesian control.

The first flight to the area has been since it became part of Indonesia and today the morning for Kuala Lumpur and Hong Kong.

Jet flights

Five jets, Quanta jet planes will be allowed to fly over West Irian again.

Quanta jet planes will be allowed to fly over West Irian again.

Quanta jet planes will be allowed to fly over West Irian again.

Quanta jet planes will be allowed to fly over West Irian again.

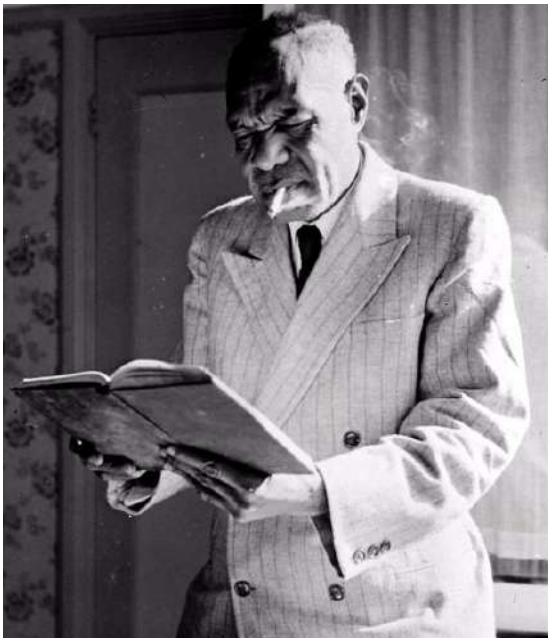
Quanta jet planes will be allowed to fly over West Irian again.

"TOOK SALUTE ... Three Russian-built TU-16 long-range jet bombers and six U.S. Hercules transports flew overhead ... as Dr Soekarno stepped ashore on West Irian for the first time ... took the salute from the military honour guards as the West Java Siliwangi Division band played the national anthem 'Great Indonesian'. The President was surrounded by officials and plainclothes security men ... Red-berreted troops of the Palace Guard, carrying submachine guns, also in his entourage ... A West Irian Papuan police platoon was among the honour guards of Indonesian armed forces in ceremonial uniform ... Steel-helmeted troops perspired in heavy camouflage uniform while patrolling the silent Papuan crowd gathered in bayside suburbs ... Indonesian army trucks brought hundreds of Papuan villages from outlying districts into Kota Baru to join festivities ... According to news agency Antara Foreign Affairs Minister Dr Subandrio announced that the Indonesian Government will spend ten million U.S. dollars each year on West Irian, which was handed over to Indonesia on Wednesday ... He said this would include expenditure for the armed forces in the territory ..."

On 1 May 1963, after the UN transferred the territory to Indonesia, West Papua was classified an Operational Military Zone and Anti-Subversion regulations were introduced. All the district councils were abolished, most of the New Guinea RAAD were arrested, and there were massive book-burning events. In November, II leaders were forced to sign a document stating they renounced their nation's right to self-determination. In December Papuans who'd rallied for the 'election' (act of free choice) to be held during the UN administration were arrested ... some never seen again, including RAAD members. Most of the UN workers scheduled to oversee self-determination processes, left on the night of the transfer, and the West Papuans were isolated, more or less alone ('sendiri') for the next forty years.

See bibliography for **MARTIAL LAW COMES NOW TO WEST NEW GUINEA** (Sydney Morning Herald, 1 May 1963)

WEST PAPUA PETITIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE ALWAYS ANGERED INDONESIA



Since 1 December 1961, the Morning Star flag has been the cultural-political signal of commitment to West Papua's self-determination and freedom from Indonesia. More than half-a-century later it still incurs convictions of treason and 15-year jail sentences.

Lesser known signs of Papuan dissidence are the intellectual arguments in the form of petitions to the United Nations. The first were from Johan Ariks, written during Indonesia's independence struggle, directing international attention to the *Papuan* national cause. On **15 June 1949** he wrote to the UN Commission for Indonesia

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

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

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

On 1 July 1965, two years after the UN transferred West Papua to Indonesia Ariks was jailed for 'anti-Indonesian' speech. He died in prison in 1967 aged 70.

JOHAN ARIKS was an Arfak man from the Kebar Plains in the Birds Head, educated at a theology school in West Java; pastor of Mansinem Island from 1914; and from 1931 a lecturer at the teacher-training college in Mei where the first generation of Papuan freedom thinkers and fighters were educated.

WEST PAPUA PETITIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE ALWAYS ANGERED INDONESIA

ULMWP PRESENTS PETITION TO FMM

By Carol-Anne Gale | June 23, 2015



Honiara, Solomon Islands, 22 June 2015. United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) presents a petition of 115,000 signatures to MSG Foreign Ministers before the Leaders Summit.



UN Building, New York, 30 September 2017. ULMWP Chair Benny Wenda preparing to present the 1.8M petition-signatures to Rafael Ramirez Carreño, Chair of the UN Decolonisation Committee.

In 2001 West Papuans asked their their kin-nations in the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) to share the battle for international recognition. In 2015, the MSG finally responded, spurred on by a petition of 115,000 signatures that arrived by courier from West Papua. The petition called for the UN to list West Papua with its Decolonisation Committee and uphold the right of self-determination via an internationally supervised vote.

On 30 September 2017 Benny Wenda (Chair, United Liberation Movement for West Papua) presented the petition, now with 1.8M signatures, to Rafael Ramirez Carreño (Chair, UN Decolonisation Committee in New York) as “hard hitting evidence of the will of our people for our fundamental right to self-determination ... and a firm rejection of Indonesia’s claims over our sovereignty.”

On 25 January 2019 he presented the petition to Michelle Bachelet, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva. The UNHCR was in no mood for Indonesia’s typical angry denials and publicly announced it had received the petition.



HERMAN WAINGGAI, ULMWP MISSION AT THE UNITED NATIONS IN NEW YORK



UN Building, New York, 12 September 2019. Herman Wainggai receiving a petition from West Papua (FRWP) Womens Office in Docklands (Victoria, AUS).

The screenshot shows the UN Webcast website. At the top is the UN logo and the text "UN WEBCAST The United Nations Web TV". Below this is a navigation bar with links for "Live Now", "Meetings & Events", "Media", "News & Features", and "Topics & Issues". The main content area features a video player showing a panel discussion with two men seated at a table with microphones. Below the video player, the text reads "United Nations Webcast: webtv.un.org". At the bottom, there is a caption: "Panel Discussion on the occasion of the International Day of Democracy: 'Democracy Education'" and a smaller line of text: "17 Sep 2012 - Panel discussion co-organized by UNITAR, the Council for a Community of Democracies, and the United Nations Democracy Fund".

Herman Wainggai from Serui Island West Papua was born in 1973 into a tradition of disciplined orators, craftsmen and musicians. He believes that people's dignity and their culture, as well as God's laws and the international secular laws are fundamental to West Papuans self-determination and independence.

Herman developed a passion for justice, peace and love, as well as politics and the law, during prison visits to his father's brother Dr Thomas Wainggai, a formidable intellectual who raised a flag in the name of 'West Melanesia' in 1988. 'West Melanesia' introduced a cultural and spiritual component to the Papuan struggle, and Tom was charged with subversion. He died in Cipinang Prison in 1996, reasonably suspected of being poisoned by Indonesian-intelligence.

West Melanesia's strategy of non-violent dialogue broadened resistance from its historic base in the forest to urban spaces around the country. It politicised students and provided women with a gateway to public life. Academics, pastors and political prisoners, many with OPM backgrounds, coalesced around it, for it sheeted responsibility for West Papuans self-determination back to the United Nations and ground their future amongst kin in the Melanesian nations of the Pacific.

In 1998 Herman developed the West Papua National Youth Awareness Team. These young activists travelled across West Papua and all the other Melanesian nations—Papua New Guinea, Solomons, Vanuatu Bougainville, Fiji, Kanaky—promoting awareness of the West Papuans



1.8M Papuans signing the petition between 2015 and 2017 was a remarkable feat of organisation



UN Building, New York, 12 September 2019. Herman Wainggai in front of Dag Hammarskjöld's portrait.

struggle against Indonesian colonization, and their non-violent resistance based on land rights and responsibilities.

Herman's legal studies at Cendrawasih University, and in theology at the Bible College in Sentani, were interrupted by the Indonesian authorities that secured convictions against him for subversion in 2000 and again in 2002 (raising the Morning Star flag) for which he spent 3 years in the notorious Abepura prison.

In 2005 Herman organized the escape of 43 West Papuans to Australia. In a traditional double-outrigger canoe especially built for the journey, they circumnavigated West Papua, then crossed the Arafura Sea and Torres Strait to Australia. Their courage sparked media reports around the world, their stories alerting to the high levels of militarization, human rights violations, and Islamic terrorist cells. When Australia recognised their applications for asylum Jakarta recalled its Ambassador from Canberra.

Herman has lived in America since 2009, where he haunts the corridors of the United Nations, and founded the West Papua Human Rights Centre (<https://wphumanrightscenter.org/>).

See *Herman Wainggai: A Hidden Genocide* (10-minute documentary) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZwbMgzejik4>



“I was in Iraq at the height of the American occupation, Sri Lanka at the height of the campaign to crush the Tamils, Burma at the height of the campaign against the Burmese people and the minorities who stood against the military, in East Timor and Aceh under the Indonesians, Afghanistan in Taliban-controlled areas. But never have I seen a people more systematically oppressed and isolated than the West Papuans by the Indonesian military and intelligence services”

John Martinkus, War correspondent
The Road: Uprising in West Papua
Black Inc., Melbourne 2020

“Self-determination has never simply meant independence. It has meant the free choice of people.”

“The job of the international lawyer is to look at the facts of the present case and at the policy issues involved, and to find the preferred and better answer.”

Rosalyn Higgins (Professor of International Law at the University of London (1981—1995) and member of the International Court of Justice from 1995 to 2009 including three years as [first woman] President of the Court (2006—2009). Higgins works include *UN Peacekeeping: Documents and Commentary - Middle East and Asia* 1969, Vol. I, Middle East; 1971, Vol. II, Asia

KEY REFERENCES

1.
SLEEPWALKS 2013 *My little Okapi* deviantart.com
2.
CORDIER Andrew, FOOT Wilder (eds) *Public Papers of the Secretaries General of the United Nations Vol. 3: 1956-1957 Dag Hammarskjöld* Colombia University Press 1973:p149-157.
BHOURLASKAR Digambar *United Nations Development Aid: A Study in History and Politics*, Academic Foundation, New Delhi, 2007:pp181-84.
3.
United Nations. Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organisation, 16 June 1960—15 June 1961, General Assembly Official Records, 16th Session Supplement, No. 1 (A/4800); p137. Online at <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/543626?ln=en>
Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1961 on the Activities of the United Nations and the Participation of the United States Therein, Maintenance of Peace and Security pp165-175. Online free E-Book, at Google Search.
4.
FAIRFAX MEDIA ARCHIVES George Ivan Smith, Mascot Airport, Sydney, December 1962
FROHLICH Manuel *The unknown assigination: Dag Hammarskjöld in the papers of George Ivan Smith*, Critical Currents No. 2, March 2008, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala.
FOULGRAIN Greg 2015 *The Incubus of Intervention; Conflicting Indonesia strategies of John F Kennedy and Allen Dulles*. Ch 2 is online at <https://kennedysandking.com/articles/the-incubus-of-intervention-chapter-2>. (Also Greg Poulgrain 'JFK vs. Allen Dulles, Battleground Indonesia', Simon & Schuster 2020)
5.
PENDERS CLM *The West New Guinea debacle—Dutch decolonisation and Indonesia 1945-1962* University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.
Online by Crawford House Publishing at <http://papuaweb.org/dlib/bk/penders2002/penders.pdf>
FOULGRAIN Greg 2015 *The Incubus of Intervention; Conflicting Indonesia strategies of John F Kennedy and Allen Dulles* [details at 4]
Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1961 on the Activities of the United Nations and the Participation of the United States Therein [details at 3].
6.
RUMBIAK Jacob (2019) *WEST PAPUA 1942—2019: the politics, the legals, and the only way forward*
<https://dfait.federalrepublicofwestpapua.org/document/west-papua-the-legals-the-politics-and-the-only-way-forward/>
Netherlands Government Article 73(e) Report to the United Nations, 1961, https://wpik.org/Src/un_report_1961.html
Netherlands New Guinea paper money 1949-1962, World Paper Money Catalog and History, <http://www.atnotes.com/catalog/banknotes/netherlands-new-guinea.html>
Farming lessons at agricultural school in Kota Nica (1954), Landbouwschool in Kota Nica bij Hollandia at <https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl>, and collectie.tropenmuseum.nl
Road making in the interior of West New Guinea, 1959, Zuma Press/Alamy Stock Photos FPA7F6, www.alamy.com
Immunization Programs Report on Netherlands Nieuw Guinea, 1961, to UN Sec-General pursuant to Article 73(e) of the UN Charter, http://wpik.org/Src/un_report_1961.html
7.
The New York Times, 27 September 1961, *Dutch offer to give U.N. control over disputed New Guinea area*
8.
Presidents Kennedy and Ahmed Sukarno, Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland, 24 April 1961, White House Photographs, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum.
Online at www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKWHP-1961-04-24-A.aspx

8 con/

UN LEGAL RECORDS, Ch XI, Art 73, Pars 841-76, 763-66. Online at legal.un.org-repository-art73-english-rep_supp3_vol3-art73_e.pdf

KING Julian McKinlay, JOHNSON Andrew *West Papua Exposed: An Abandoned Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territory* Griffith Journal of Law & Human Dignity, Vol 6, No 2 (2018)
Online at <https://griffithlawjournal.org/index.php/gilhd/article/view/1078>

RUMBIKAK Jacob (2019) *WEST PAPUA 1942—2019: the politics, the legals, and the only way forward* (details at 6).

PENDERS CLM *The West New Guinea debacle—Dutch decolonisation and Indonesia 1945-1962* University of Hawai'i Press, 2002 (details at 5).

9.

Nederlands Nieuw Guinea periode 1959-1961, at www.youtube.com/watch?v=jgydCmvP33I

10.

Sydney Morning Herald, 1 May 1963 *Martial law comes now to West New Guinea*. Online at https://wpik.org/Src/SMH/19630501_SMH_MartialLaw.jpg

The Sun-Herald, 5 May 1963 *Indonesia's angry man*, at https://wpik.org/Src/SMH/19630505_SMH_SukarnoSpeech.jpg

SALTFORD John *The United Nations and the Indonesian Takeover of West Papua 1962—1959, the anatomy of betrayal*, Routledge Curzon, 2003.
Online at <https://kalamkopi.files.wordpress.com/2017/04/john-saltford-united-nations-and-the-indonesian-takeover-of-west-papua-1962-1969.pdf>

11.

PENDERS CLM *The West New Guinea debacle—Dutch decolonisation and Indonesia 1945-1962* University of Hawai'i Press, 2002 (details at 5).

RUMBIKAK Jacob (2019) *WEST PAPUA 1942—2019: the politics, the legals, and the only way forward* (details at 6).

12.

The Island Sun, Honiara, Solomon Islands *ULMWP presents petition to FMM* 23 June 2015.

WEST PAPUA PETITIONS TO UN, 2017, 2019. Online at <https://www.bennywenda.org/2017/interview-sydney-criminal-lawyers-west-papuan-peoples-petition/>.

Note that Benny Wenda first presented the petition to Rafael Carreño, the Venezuelan Head of the UN Decolonisation Committee, on 27 September 2017. The next day Carreño angrily denied the meeting had taken place (<http://abcmelanesia.blogspot.com/2017/09/exclusive-news.html>). A few months later, on 30 November 2017, Venezuela's President Maduro removed Carreño from his position as Venezuela's Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

West Papuans in Merauke demonstrating to show their thanks to UN High Commissioner for receiving the West Papuan people's petition, <https://www.freewestpapua.org/2019/01/29/un-human-rights-commissioner-confirms-receiving-the-west-papuan-petition/>

14.

Petition photos, <https://dfait.federalrepublicofwestpapua.org/document/ulmwp-pilgrimage-to-canberra-9-september-2019/>

16.

Speaking truth to power: the killing of Dag Hammarskjöld and the cover-up by Henning Melber (Extraordinary Professor, Department of Political Sciences, University of Pretoria) and Susan Williams (Senior Research Fellow, School of advanced Study, University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies), *The Conversation*, 20 September 2016.
Online at <https://theconversation.com/speaking-truth-to-power-the-killing-of-dag-hammarskjold-and-the-cover-up-65534>

VALUABLE READING

CULLEY Annette 2016 *West Papua: Decolonisation, Boundaries and Self Determination, a summary of modern West Papua's legal history and future prospects* Federal Republic of West Papua .
Online at <https://dfait.federalrepublicofwestpapua.org/wp-content/upWoloads/2017/06/West-Papua-Decolonization-Boundaries-and-Self-Determination-Annette-Culley.pdf>

continued next page

DIEUGENIO James 2016 *Hammar skjold and Kennedy vs. The Power Elite*

<https://kennedysandking.com/john-f-kennedy-articles/hammarskjold-and-kennedy-vs-the-power-elite>

GRIFFIOEN Christine 2010 Self-Determination as a Human Right; the Emergency Exit of Remedial Secession, Utrecht University,

<https://www.peacepalacelibrary.nl/ebooks/files/335882129>

LAMBERT George 2000 *West Papua: Real Politik v International Law* International Commission of Jurists.

Online at <https://dfait.federalrepublicofwestpapua.org/document/west-papua-real-politik-v-international-law-by-george-lambert-icj-2000/>

RUMBIKAK Jacob 2000 *Knowing and understanding how the West Papuans were robbed of their right to independence*

Online at <https://dfait.federalrepublicofwestpapua.org/document/knowning-and-understanding-how-the-west-papuans-were-robbed-of-their-right-to-independence/>

MELBER Henning, WILLIAMS Susan *Speaking truth to power: The killing of Dag Hammarskjöld and the cover-up*

<https://theconversation.com/speaking-truth-to-power-the-killing-of-dag-hammarskjold-and-the-cover-up-65534>

Henning Melber is Extraordinary Professor, Department of Political Sciences, University of Pretoria; Susan Williams is Senior Research Fellow, School of Advanced Study, University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies.

Williams 2011 investigation of Hammarskjöld's death—*Who Killed Hammarskjöld? The Un, the Cold War and White Supremacy in Africa*—galvanised another UN investigation, led by Mohamed Chande Othman, a former chief justice of Tanzania, who handed his final report to UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres in October 2019, claiming that “the attack hypothesis “remained plausible,” and that the burden of proof he had assigned to member states had “yet to be fully discharged” and recommending that the current secretary general of the United Nations, António Guterres, appoint an independent investigator to continue the work. (The New York Times, 8 October 2019, *U.N. Report Bolsters Theory That Hammarskjöld Plane Was Downed...* that the aircraft may have been attacked, and that four nations — Britain, Russia, South Africa and the United States — may be withholding information that could solve the puzzle (<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/08/world/africa/dag-hammarskjold.html>)

Who Killed Hammarskjöld?: The Un, the Cold War and White Supremacy in Africa

One of the outstanding mysteries of the twentieth century, and one with huge political resonance, is the death of Dag Hammarskjöld and his UN team in a plane crash in central Africa in 1961. Just minutes after midnight, his aircraft plunged into thick forest in the British colony of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), abruptly ending his mission to bring peace to the Congo. Across the world, many suspected sabotage, accusing the multi-nationals and the governments of Britain, Belgium, the USA and South Africa of involvement in the disaster. These suspicions have never gone away. British High Commissioner Lord Alport was waiting at the airport when the aircraft crashed nearby. He bizarrely insisted to the airport management that Hammarskjöld had flown elsewhere - even though his aircraft was reported overhead. This postponed a search for so long that the wreckage of the plane was not found for fifteen hours. White mercenaries were at the airport that night too, including the South African pilot Jerry Puren, whose bombing of Congolese villages led, in his own words, to 'flaming huts ...destruction and death'. These soldiers of fortune were backed by Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Rhodesian Federation, who was ready to stop at nothing to maintain white rule and thought the United Nations was synonymous with the Nazis. The Rhodesian government conducted an official inquiry, which blamed pilot error. But as this book will show, it was a massive cover-up that suppressed and dismissed a mass of crucial evidence, especially that of African eye-witnesses. A subsequent UN inquiry was unable to rule out foul play - but had no access to the evidence to show how and why. Now, for the first time, this story can be told. *Who Killed Hammarskjöld* follows the author on her intriguing and often frightening journey of research to Zambia, South Africa, the USA, Sweden, Norway, Britain, France and Belgium, where she unearthed a mass of new and hitherto secret documentary and photographic evidence. At the heart of this book is Hammarskjöld himself - a courageous and complex idealist, who sought to shield the newly-independent nations of the world from the predatory instincts of the Great Powers. It reveals that the conflict in the Congo was driven not so much by internal divisions, as by the Cold War and by the West's determination to keep real power from the hands of the post-colonial governments of Africa. It shows, too, that the British settlers of Rhodesia would maintain white minority rule at all costs.

Speaking truth to power: The killing of Dag Hammarskjöld and the cover-up

September 20, 2016 6:29am AEST



United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has courageously pursued an enquiry into the mysterious death of Dag Hammarskjöld. Photo: Justin Vogel

Email
Twitter
Facebook
LinkedIn
Print

Fifty-five years ago, shortly after midnight on 18 September 1961, an aircraft crashed on its approach to Ndola airport in the British colony of Northern Rhodesia, which is now Zambia. On board were 16 people: the UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, the members of his mission, and the Swedish crew. The sole survivor, who spoke of "sparks in the sky" and said the plane "blew up", died six days later.

Suspicions were voiced about the crash because of the strange details that quickly emerged. For instance, the British high commissioner, who was at Ndola, showed no concern that Hammarskjöld failed to land and insisted that he must have decided "to go elsewhere".

It took four hours after daybreak to start an official search. This in spite of local residents, policemen and soldiers reporting a great flash in the sky shortly after midnight. There were also witness accounts of a second, smaller plane trailing and then dropping something that "looked like fire" upon the larger one".

The Prime Minister of the Congo, Cyrille Adoula, who had met with the Secretary-General just hours before the crash, believed he had been murdered. According to the 1961 Montreal Gazette he had commented:

How ignoble is this assassination, not the first of its kind perpetrated by the moneyed powers. Mr Hammarskjöld was the victim of certain financial circles for whom a human life is not equal to a gram of copper or uranium.

There were several inquiries into the crash in 1961-2, all of which failed to take seriously the testimonies of Zambian witnesses. A [Rhodesian Commission of Inquiry](#) identified pilot error as the cause of the crash. This was solely on the basis of an elimination of the other suggested causes.

A UN inquiry, however, reached an open verdict and stated that it could not rule out sabotage or attack. This led the UN General Assembly to pass a [Resolution](#) requesting the Secretary-General

to inform the General Assembly of any new evidence which may come to his attention.

More than half a century and many inquiries later, the search for the truth about what happened that September night continues. On 17 August 2016, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon called on the 71st UN General Assembly to appoint an "eminent person or persons" to review the new information on the crash. He urged member states to release relevant records for review.

Ban Ki-moon's statement ended on a moving and powerful note:

This may be our last chance to find the truth. Seeking a complete understanding of the circumstances is our solemn duty to my illustrious and distinguished predecessor, Dag Hammarskjöld, to the other members of the party accompanying him, and to their families.'

Hammarskjöld, as second Secretary-General, sought to shape the UN as an organisation devoted to peace. He developed the strategy of "preventive diplomacy", which defused the Suez Canal crisis in 1956. His prevailing commitment was to the UN Charter and he [refused to act in the interest of any particular state](#).

In 1961, the UN was only 15 years old and was undergoing a dramatic shift as European decolonisation gathered pace. The Afro-Asian bloc now provided 47 UN members out of 100. For these new states, said Hammarskjöld, the UN was their "main platform" and protector.

For decades, the former colonial powers have written the history of the night in which Hammarskjöld and his companions died. But a new history is about to be written if the recent momentum to find the full truth is anything to go by.

New quest for the truth

Hammarskjöld was on the way to meet Moïse Tshombe, leader of the Belgian-backed secession of Katanga province from the newly-independent Congo. Mineral rich Katanga was of geostrategic importance, not least because of a mine in Katanga which produced the [richest uranium](#) in the world.

The UN's declaration that it could not rule out sabotage or attack and the request for any new evidence emerged in 2011 as a crucial point of reference in the book [Who Killed Hammarskjöld? The UN, the Cold War and White Supremacy in Africa](#). The book drew on a mass of evidence that had been available for many years but had been dismissed by the early inquiries, and presented many new findings.

The disturbing compilation of evidence includes the testimony of Commander Charles Southall, a naval officer working for the US National Security Agency listening station in Cyprus in 1961. Southall heard the recording of a pilot shooting down Hammarskjöld's plane.

British peer Lord Lea of Crondall read the book and resolved to set up a new inquiry. Interest was growing. [Professor K.G. Hammar](#), former Archbishop of the Church of Sweden, went to Zambia with Hans Kristian Simonsen, a Norwegian researcher, and called on Sweden to get the case reopened. In 2012 the [Hammarskjöld Inquiry Trust](#) was formed, including [Chief Emeka Anyaoku](#) of Nigeria.

The Trust set up the [Hammarskjöld Commission](#), an international group of [four distinguished jurists](#), chaired by a former British Lord Justice of Appeal.

After a rigorous examination of the available evidence and interviews in Ndola with witnesses who were still alive, the commission concluded:

There is persuasive evidence that the aircraft was subjected to some form of attack or threat as it circled to land at Ndola ... (and) was in fact forced into its descent by some form of hostile action.

It recommended that the UN conduct a further investigation and seek access to relevant records held by member states. The commission's [report](#) was made public on 9 September 2013. On the same day, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon announced that he would closely study the findings.

Ban Ki-moon takes the lead

In March 2014, the Secretary-General asked the General Assembly to [pursue the matter further](#). This was welcomed by the growing worldwide campaign that had by now developed, which urged the creation of a [new inquiry](#). The movement was supported by sympathetic journalists, [social media campaigners](#), individuals, and organisations, largely coordinated by the United Nations Association Westminster [Branch](#) in London.

<http://www.hammarskjoldinquiry.info/>

The Swedish government submitted a draft Resolution to the UN General Assembly in October 2014, [calling for a new investigation](#). This was strongly supported by Zambia.

On 29 December 2014, the UN General Assembly adopted the [Resolution](#), authorising the Secretary-General to appoint an independent Panel of Experts to examine the evidence. Fifty-five nations joined Sweden to co-sponsor the resolution, which was adopted by the consensus of all 193 Member States.

On 16 March 2015, Ban Ki-moon appointed a [Panel of Experts](#), which was headed by Mohamed Chande Othman, Chief Justice of Tanzania. [Its report concluded](#) that there was, indeed, significant information to warrant further inquiry into a possible aerial attack or other interference as a cause of the crash. It also introduced new areas to investigate, such as the possibility that Hammarskjöld's communications were intercepted.

On 2 July 2015, Ban Ki-moon circulated the report among member states and expressed the view that "a further inquiry or investigation would be necessary to finally establish the facts." He [urged](#) member states

to disclose, declassify or otherwise allow privileged access to information that they may have in their possession.'

Following Ban Ki-moon's recommendations, the Swedish Permanent Mission to the UN circulated a [draft Resolution](#) urging all member states to release any relevant records in their possession. The draft Resolution was supported by 74 other states – but not the UK or the US.

When the Secretary-General in August 2016 called on the forthcoming General Assembly to appoint an eminent person or persons [to take the inquiry forward](#), he attached as annexes to his statement the responses by several member states to the UN's earlier call for documentation. These show a readiness by South Africa to search for lost records relating to an alleged plot by mercenaries. They also reveal the uncooperative nature of the responses by the US and the UK.

Ban's courage, dignity and humanity in this matter have been followed with heartfelt appreciation by those who care about justice and about the principles enshrined in the UN Charter, which were advocated so vigorously by Hammarskjöld. It is to be hoped that Ban's [successor](#) will follow the same path, and with the same integrity and determination.

[Ban Ki-Moon](#) [Congo](#) [Dag Hammarskjöld](#) [UN General Assembly](#)

AUTHORS

Henning Melber Extraordinary Professor, Department of Political Sciences, University of Pretoria
Susan Williams, Senior Research Fellow, School of Advanced Study, University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies