Drawing on the historical record, declassified documents, first-hand observations of the political dynamics in West Papua and decades of international solidarity work, Maire Leadbeater takes the reader on a virtual roller-coaster ride in this compelling, insightful and measured manuscript.

—JASON MACLEOD, Professor of Civil Resistance at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney

SEE NO EVIL issues a challenge to New Zealanders. The book begins by relating the little-known history of West Papua, but its focus is on the impact of New Zealand's foreign policy on the indigenous Melanesian inhabitants. In the 1950s New Zealand supported self-determination for the former Dutch colony, but in 1962 opted to back Indonesia as it took over the territory. Delving deep into historical government archives, many of them obtained under the Official Information Act, this meticulously researched book uncovers the untold story of New Zealand's unprincipled and often hypocritical diplomacy. The consequences of repressive Indonesian rule have been tragic for the West Papuan people, who are experiencing 'slow genocide'. West Papua remains largely closed to foreign journalists, but its story is now beginning to be heard. A growing number of Pacific Island nations are calling for change, but so far New Zealand has opted for caution and collusion to preserve a 'business as usual' relationship with Indonesia.

SEE NO EVIL is a shocking account by one of New Zealand's most respected authors on peace and Pacific issues, issuing a powerful call for a just and permanent solution – self-determination – for the people of West Papua.

MAIRE LEADBEATER grew up in a politically active family, where campaigning for peace and many other causes came with the territory. A former Auckland city and regional councillor, she spent her working life as a social worker, but is now retired and finding more time for writing and for activism. For the past 25 years Maire has campaigned for freedom for East Timor and West Papua. In 2017 she was awarded the Order of Timor-Leste by the Timorese Government. Her previous books are *Negligent Neighbour: New Zealand's collusion with the invasion and occupation of Timor Leste* (2006) and *Peace, Power and Politics: How New Zealand became nuclear free,* published by Otago University Press in 2013. Maire has two adult children and five grandchildren.

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New Zealand's betrayal of the people of **West Papua**

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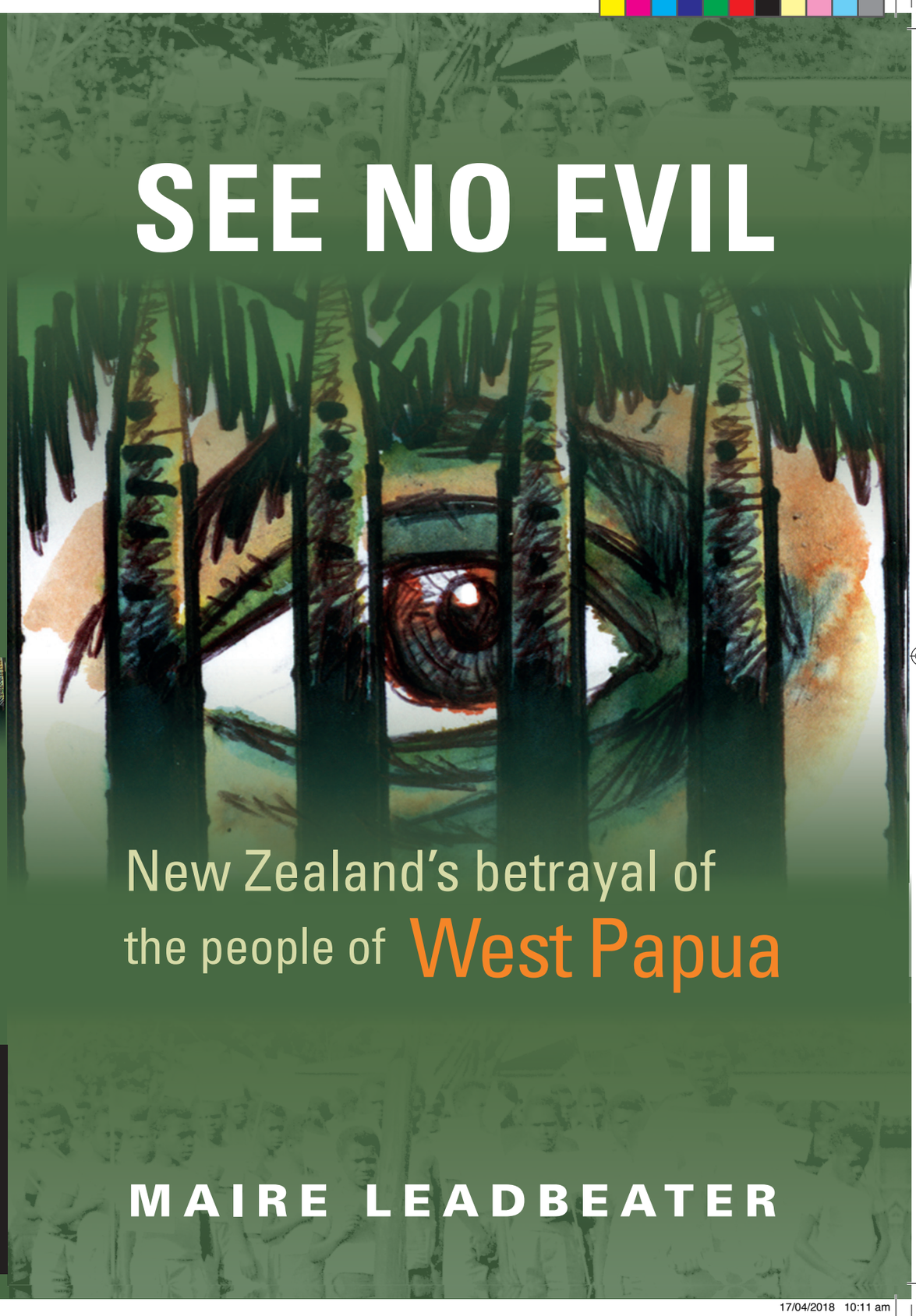

SEE NO EVIL

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Maire Leadbeater

OTAGO

For my siblings Don, Keith and Alison Locke.

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It was Suharto who was President in 1969, when Indonesia officially grew by over 162,000 square miles, thanks to Papua. The United Nations had a conversation, men in offices drew lines, and the front half of New Guinea's bird body remained separated from its back half, its sweeping tail, because the Indonesian Army had guns and friends, and the men in offices thought that Papua's bird mouth would never open and speak for itself.

— BONNIE ETHERINGTON, *THE EARTH CRIES OUT*
(Auckland: Penguin Random House, 2017)

CHAPTER 1

From the Pleistocene period to the intrusion of the outside world

The other peoples of the world are not failed attempts at modernity, let alone failed attempts to be us. They are unique expressions of human imagination and heart, unique answers to a fundamental question: what does it mean to be human and alive? —WADE DAVIS[1]

Many West Papuans believe their survival as a people is at risk. Their fears are grounded in the dramatic changes that have taken place to their home in the last half century. Natural resources that once sustained the traditional way of life have been depleted, tribal lands have been alienated and indigenous culture marginalised by a remorseless influx of Indonesian migrants, who are dominant in the coastal regions.[2] The current population is approaching 4.5 million.

The island of New Guinea has a history of human habitation dating back 45,000 to 50,000 years to the Pleistocene period, when New Guinea was part of one landmass with Australia – the area scientists call Sahul. These early settlers were the first people in the Pacific Islands. They are believed to have come from Southeast Asia – the biogeographical area today referred to as Sundaland – which once consisted of a landmass incorporating the Malay peninsula, Borneo, Java and Sumatra. At the time, lower sea levels and larger landmasses made it possible for people to reach Northern Sahul using some kind of watercraft and by island-hopping. These early arrivals progressively colonised New Guinea and the islands of the Bismarck archipelago, New Britain and New Ireland to the east. Some 33,000–32,000 years ago Buka Island in the Northern Solomons was also colonised.[3]

The migration into the Pacific of the Austronesian-speaking peoples took place much more recently – some 3500–4000 years ago. These new arrivals, often known as the Lapita people, had mastered long ocean journeys. They explored and settled the Pacific Islands and intermarried with descendants of those who had arrived thousands of years earlier.[4]

In the nineteenth century Europeans decided that the people of the Pacific Islands fell into three groups: Melanesian, Micronesian and Polynesian.[5] However, now that anthropologists and archaeologists know more about ethnology and the deep history of the region, it is clear that this categorisation was somewhat arbitrary. 'Melanesia', in particular, includes people of wide genetic and linguistic diversity. As a geographical term 'Melanesia' usually takes in all of New Guinea (divided into Papua New Guinea and West Papua), Fiji, Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, Vanuatu and sometimes the Torres Strait Islands. The Papuans, whose history in the region stretches back thousands of years, as well as the Austronesian-speaking settlers who arrived more recently, are considered to be Melanesian. Diverse they may be, but the term 'Melanesia' has stuck and its people are happy to claim it.[6]

Nineteenth-century British naturalist Alfred Wallace defined a boundary, the 'Wallace line', between the Australian and Asian faunal regions that places New Guinea in the Australasian ecozone. These days the Wallace line is viewed more as a zone of transition, but his conceptualisation helps to mark the distribution of major species: Australia and New Guinea are both home to distinctive bird and marsupials such as cuscus, wallabies and kangaroos that are not found in nearby Asia. The island of New Guinea is one of the most biodiverse places on earth and is home to a vast range of endemic species, including mammals such as species of tree kangaroos and wallabies that are found nowhere else. There are exquisite birds, including the world's largest pigeon and smallest parrot; a range of reptiles including the world's longest lizard; and up to 20,000 plant species, 80 per cent of which are found only on New Guinea.[7]

West Papua is notable for its dramatic landscape and its wild extremes of natural geographical formations, from glacial mountains to tropical savannahs. It is home to Puncak Jaya (Carstensz Pyramid) at the summit of Mt Jayawijaya, the highest peak in the Australian continent, which is usually taken to include New Guinea. The wide range of geographic and climatic conditions in the region promoted the development of species unique to their location. The mountainous Mamberamo region has been the focus of attention of Conservation International scientists as it contains the largest and least disturbed tropical forest watershed on the island of New Guinea. In a 2005 expedition to Mamberamo's remote Foja Mountains, scientists discovered such a treasure trove of new species in a still pristine environment that they dubbed it a 'Garden of Eden'.[8] As well as its dense tropical forest, coveted for its timber hardwood, the territory is extremely rich in oil, gas and minerals – especially copper and gold.

Agriculture developed about 9000 years ago when crops such as taro and yam allowed the fertile valleys to become more heavily populated. The introduction of the pig and the sweet potato – dietary and cultural staples today – came much later.[9] For some of

the tribes in the mountainous interior, their first contact with the globalised world was as recent as the 1930s. The linguistic diversity of New Guinea is unparalleled:[10] there are around 264 languages spoken in West Papua and 860 in Papua New Guinea.[11] For the most part these are non-Austronesian languages; Austronesian languages are found mostly on offshore islands, including Biak. In some areas the explanation for the diversity seems to be that languages that once had a common origin have diverged over some 10,000 years to the point where it is hard to see any connection between them. In areas where more intermingling took place, language similarities are more apparent.[12]

Before European intervention, each tribal community was unified by ties to shared ancestors, and – in common with Māori and other Pacific peoples – each community was intimately linked to its traditional land, with its burial places, ceremonial areas, gardens and hunting areas. The ties were held as unbreakable and non-transferable, and tribes made careful arrangements to guard their territory.

People in the inland highlands region developed elaborate terraced gardens to grow yams and sweet potatoes and raised pigs for food. In the coastal areas fishing and the cultivation of sago were important food sources. Over time, bartering trade developed between the coastal people and those inland.

Tribal warfare was governed by ritual and was generally about settling scores, sometimes leading to lengthy cycles of revenge killings. Traditions also included peaceful means of resolving and averting conflict, such as rituals involving reciprocal gift giving or compensation

The tree kangaroo is so agile it can bound up to nine metres from one tree to another, but is endangered because it is losing its rainforest home. *Bustar Maitar*

The lesser bird of paradise is endemic to the lowland forests of New Guinea and adjacent islands. The bird of paradise (cendrawasih) features in tribal lore and the feathers are used for ceremonial dress and headgear.
Greenpeace/Takeshi Mizukoshi

offerings. Religion was deeply embedded in daily life, and the world of ancestral spirits was as present and important as the tangible world. The spirits of the departed could linger after death, and rituals developed for appeasing or propitiating them.

Today, the people of West Papua see themselves as part of Melanesia. They share traditions, cultural practices and a sense of identity not only with their immediate neighbours in Papua New Guinea, but with the indigenous people of Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Fiji, Torres Strait Islands and New Caledonia. They may be close to Asia and have colonial history linking them to Europe, but their Melanesian identity has roots in their past. In its modern-day form it is cemented by the promotion of values such as the 'Melanesian way' or 'wantokism' – the obligation of wantoks ('one-talk', speakers of the same language) to help out in time of need and to share personal wealth. The term 'kastom' refers to common features such as consensual dispute resolution, the central place of oral myths and stories, age-old rituals and an ever-present spirit world.

West Papua and its neighbours. *Graeme Easte*

Historical links to Asia

West Papua's historical links to Asia and to the country today known as Indonesia predate the arrival of the Europeans, and the impact of these earlier contacts is sometimes overlooked by supporters of West Papuan nationalism. The dominant narrative has become one of emphasising West Papua's links to the Pacific. However, for many centuries there was regular contact between the seafaring people of eastern Indonesia and the people of the western coastal areas of New Guinea, including Biak, the Raja Ampat Islands and the west Doberai (Birds Head) Peninsula. Biak people were skilled at building boats and carried out trading and raiding activities in the Moluccan states, of which the most powerful were Ternate and Tidore.

Tidore, an ancient Muslim empire that is now part of Indonesia, laid claim to West Papua before the European colonists arrived. This far from harmonious relationship continued when the sultanate accepted the 'protection' of the Dutch East India Company in the seventeenth century. Tidorese officials were stationed on the west and north coasts of New Guinea to gather tribute – collected by hongi expeditions (raids) that terrorised Papuans.[13]

'The Onin peninsula[14] on the southwest coast [of New Guinea] was already a thriving centre of trade before the arrival of the Europeans. The eastern Indonesian authorities and merchants appointed local Indonesian and Papuan representatives with titles such as raja, kapitan and hakim.' These contacts led directly and indirectly to 'wars, depopulation, migration and the exchange of great numbers of prisoners of war and slaves by eastern Indonesian and local traders and dignitaries'.[15] In these areas the Muslim religion gained indigenous converts centuries ago – and in the Fakfak region on the southwest coast descendants continue to practise the faith. Papuan people also learned the Malay language from this long association with their neighbours. Malay is closely related linguistically to modern Indonesian, which is today the lingua franca in West Papua.[16]

However, many communities in interior regions had little contact with Indonesian people until after the 1963 administrative takeover.[17]

European colonisation

Portuguese captains passed by New Guinea even before Spanish sea captain Yñigo Ortiz de Retez, who gave the island its name. One of them, Jorge de Menezes, is believed to have been the first European to have landed on the island, in 1526. He called the region Ilhas dos Papuas.

Carstensz Pyramid in the Baliem Valley. Note the ground deliberately left fallow behind the split-stake fence. *Martin Ward*

Since the 1870s, anthropologists, archaeologists and the general public have shared a fascination for remote tribal communities that were considered to be relatively uncontaminated by outside influence. The story of the discovery of the Baliem Valley and the Dani tribal people of the Central Highlands of New Guinea illustrates this well. In the last months of World War 2, American military pilots 'discovered' the uncharted valley, later dubbed 'Shangri-La'. Encircled by towering mountains, swirling clouds and dense forest, it was home to several hundred people who could be glimpsed tending to their pigs and cultivating crops in the fertile valley. In May 1945 a sightseeing trip ended in the deaths of 21 military personnel when their C-47 plane crashed into a mountain. Three survived, including a young woman corporal. The story of their peaceful 'first contact' experiences with the Dani and their dramatic rescue in a hazardous glider operation became international news.[18]

A few months after the rescue it emerged that 'Shangri-La' was, in fact, the valley that zoologist Richard Archbold and his large support team had discovered in 1938. Archbold gained access to this densely populated area in an amphibious plane. His discovery showed that there were still sizeable groups that had had no contact with the outside world.[19]

Anthropologist Margaret Mead saw the Dani people as representing common features

of tribal peoples: 'One of the most conspicuous things about the cultures of preliterate peoples like the Dani is that it is their whole way of life that is a creation – unique, evanescent, dependent for its very existence entirely on the continued practice of each generation.'[20]

Early contact between the Dani and European anthropologists was not always benign.
Martin Ward

Contact and intervention were not always benign. Early anthropologists came from the mindset that European civilisation represented a superior form of human organisation and that they were studying 'primitive' or 'savage' people who were at a lower evolutionary stage. This patronising lens led to inevitable misunderstanding, especially about the level of violence in Papuan society. In fact the newcomers, who were well armed, often resorted to killing when they believed they were under threat. They also helped themselves to artefacts and food, so it is not surprising that some communities mounted revenge attacks.[21] The problem was compounded when the European scholars encountered coastal Papuan communities who had already had a centuries-long history of exploitation from their Asian neighbours.

In the seventeenth century European colonial powers, including the Dutch, explored the area with an eye on New Guinea's economic potential, but none penetrated beyond the coast. At the time, the Dutch Republic was a powerful global maritime and commercial force. It sponsored the creation of the Dutch East India Company, which had quasi-governmental powers. Spices were the coveted commodity and the Maluku Islands (also known as the Moluccas) were the production centre. New Guinea was at the periphery of this enterprise. As other European nations vied for influence and control over sea lanes in the region, Holland began to stake its claim. At this point in the colonial carve-up of the islands of the Pacific, the rival nations were more concerned with planting the flag than with plans to administer or exploit the territories they claimed.

The Netherlands imperialists managed to establish an outpost called Fort Dubus at Triton Bay on the southern coast of the Birds Head Peninsula in 1828 – and formally laid claim to the south and west of New Guinea. In 1836 the Netherlands government was

forced to abandon the post, which had come under attack many times. Undiscouraged, in 1848 the Dutch unilaterally declared that their colonial border was at the 141st meridian east of Greenwich, a claim that rested on the presumed authority of the Sultanate of Tidore over the territory.[22] On the eastern side of this border – today's Papua New Guinea – European traders were at work finding resources such as sandalwood and copra to exploit, and mission stations sought converts. In 1884 Britain and Germany subdivided the eastern half of the island: German New Guinea occupied the northeast quarter and British New Guinea the southern part. Both protectorates accepted the colonial border at the 141st meridian, which still divides the island of New Guinea. In 1906 Australia began to administer the British territory, which was then called the Territory of Papua. German New Guinea effectively came under Australian control from 1914 when it was seized during World War 1, and this was formalised by a subsequent League of Nations mandate.[23]

The Dutch did not endeavour to establish administrative control over their New Guinea territory until 1898, and for years after that control was minimal. In practice, missionaries, surveyors, explorers and officials were the main visible signs of Dutch presence. The territory was initially divided into two districts, and the Dutch civil servants tasked with setting up an administration had a very difficult job. Unsurprisingly, their Papuan subjects rejected imposed authority from foreigners they could not communicate with. Many initial contacts deteriorated into violence: Papuan attacks on the interlopers, followed by Dutch reprisals. Explorers gradually penetrated into the interior despite the inhospitable nature of the terrain – many jungle areas were accessible only along the riverbanks. Early reports are of great privation, including a high loss of life. There was awe, too, as the explorers contemplated the snow-capped mountain ranges and knife-edge ridges that they believed were impossible to climb.

Protestant missionary posts were established in the western tip of the island from 1855, but they were not very successful in gaining converts until the establishment of Dutch rule in the twentieth century. Religion was part and parcel of the civilising agenda but the evangelical message was not always welcome. There were inevitable conflicts as missionaries tried to curb traditional ways such as head-hunting and sorcery, and to wean communities away from age-old dances, drumming and funeral rites. The missionaries accepted the setbacks and attacks; they believed they were called to free the people from Satan's grip and bring them from 'darkness to light', while at the same time 'raising' them to a superior European way of life.[24] A Catholic mission was established in Merauke in the south in 1905 and subsequently, by informal agreement, the Catholic Church came to dominate in the south and Protestant denominations in the north.[25]

In 1927 the Dutch built an internment camp in the south on the river Digul. Named

On the Lorentz River during the South New Guinea expedition of 1912–13.
Prof August Pulle, Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam

Tanah Merah or Boven Digul, the camp was isolated and surrounded by impassable malaria-infested jungle. It was the place of exile for thousands of early Indonesian nationalists who had risen up against the Dutch in Java and Sumatra; Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir (respectively Indonesia's first vice-president and prime minister) were both banished there for a year in the 1930s. When the nationalist movement succeeded in establishing the new nation state, those who suffered at Tanah Merah were upheld as martyrs and their place of imprisonment acquired a special emotional significance. During World War 2, some 500 internees from Tanah Merah were forcibly shipped off by the Dutch to be held in prison camps in New South Wales and Queensland.

By the outbreak of World War 2 there were government posts along the coast and a few located well in the interior. There were larger numbers of mission stations, both Catholic and Protestant, offering education and health services. The Dutch administration relied heavily on teachers, pastors and administrators from the Kei Islands, Ambon and other parts of eastern Indonesia. There was widespread resentment among the Papuans towards these officials, who were arrogant and often contemptuous towards Papuans. Less than half of the Dutch territory could be said to be under administrative oversight, a marked

contrast to most other parts of the archipelago now known as Indonesia. Out of an estimated 700,000 inhabitants, around 200,000 had been brought under a 'more or less regulated administration'.[26]

World War 2

Japan invaded and occupied West New Guinea in April 1942, only a short time after the Allied troops had capitulated to the Japanese in Java. The occupation centred mainly along the coastal areas, but it brought Dutch rule to an end while it lasted. Only a few Dutch units fought on, including one led by colonial administrator Jan Victor de Bruijn, who became known as the 'jungle pimpernel'. His intelligence activities in the interior and his survival were dependent on Papuan support – his '50,000 friends'.[27]

The Japanese used the Papuans as forced labour to build airfields, and they dealt ruthlessly with Papuans who resisted; many were tortured or beheaded.[28] One form of resistance came in the form of messianic or millenarian cults[29] – a phenomenon previously associated with resistance to Dutch rule. The Koreri movement that emerged on Biak and neighbouring islands as early as 1855 was based on an ancient legend whose key figure was Manseren, 'The Lord'. He first appeared in the guise of an old man with flaky skin, Manamakeri (the itchy old man), who receives supernatural powers from the Morning Star. He uses his powers to father a son by immaculate conception, before entering a blazing fire that transforms him into a handsome youth, the Lord Manseren himself. When his people did not recognise him, Manseren voyaged away from his homeland, but his followers believe that their devotions could one day secure his return to end his people's suffering and restore peace.[30] Koreri was partly a response to the changes brought about by colonialism, as versions of the central myth came to reflect outside events when they included promises of an end to taxes and forced labour.

The Koreri movement, with its promise of hope, is deeply intertwined with Papuan nationalism and Papuan resistance to this day.

> *Wherever there are Papuans there is hope of* Koreri*. I told you* Koreri *is a movement from the old generation to the new generation of the future. We have to get better in the future. That is Koreri – the general name for changing something.*[31]

The movement saw the rise of prophets, including a woman prophet, Angganitha Menufandu, who was imprisoned by the Japanese in 1942 and later executed, as was fellow prophet Stephanus Simiopiaref. She had led a 30,000-strong unarmed revolt of non-cooperation. The Koreri movement merged with a nationalist resistance to Japanese control that began to use more militant methods as its adherents realised they were not

invulnerable to Japanese firepower. The Morning Star, or Sampari, is the key symbol in Koreri mythology and is featured on its flag. This forerunner to today's Morning Star independence flag incorporated the star and the red, white and blue colours of the Dutch flag, but with the bands of colour reversed. Followers of the movement believed that the Dutch had stolen their birthright, their 'emblem of freedom, the symbol of their independent identity as a people'.[32] The flag was a unifying symbol for all of West New Guinea/West Papua; it offered protection, hope, peace and courage.

In April 1944 Allied forces under General MacArthur carried out a massive assault on Japanese garrisons at Hollandia (the capital today known as Jayapura) and, in the following months, carried out similar attacks on the Japanese positions at Biak and Manokwari. Manokwari suffered extensive bombardment, and most of the Japanese who fled to the jungle were killed by Papuans.

Hollandia was transformed into a huge base camp in preparation for MacArthur's 'leap' into the Philippines. The Americans brought with them unimaginable wealth, technology, goods, clothes and food, and some Papuans believed this was the fulfilment of a messianic prophecy. In Hollandia and Biak, where the American forces included many Afro-American officers, Papuans who observed the interactions between white and black officers were struck by this semblance of racial equality. Nicolaas Jouwe described the impact of Papuan contact with the well-resourced American forces:

> *They saw Black pilots, Black sailors, Blacks in beautiful uniforms with bottles of Coca-Cola. Of course they had no idea about racial discrimination in the USA. But what they saw opened their eyes. They had always been despised and treated as savages. Not so much by the Dutch but by the lower ranking officials ... So this contact of the coastal population with American forces in 1944 contained the germs of the later growth of political consciousness ...*[33]

Hopes that they would inherit the abundance were dashed when the Allied forces left and the administration and resources were acquired by the returning Dutch administration.

On the other hand, Papuan social capital – in terms of educational and political development – had increased under the tutelage of Dutchmen who had already demonstrated sympathy and respect for the Papuan people. Protestant missionary Isaak Kijne ran two schools in the 1920s and 1930s that nurtured key leaders and promoted Papuan self-confidence. Kijne wrote the nationalist song 'Hai Tanahku Papua' (Oh my land Papua), which was declared the national anthem in 1961. Jan van Eechoud, a police chief, was appointed resident (highest administrative official) in 1944.[34] He was committed to ensuring that Papuans held the majority of positions in the civil service and the police. At the end of 1944 he set up a temporary institute to train students in public administration; some, including Nicolaas Jouwe and Frans and Markus Kaisiepo, went on to become leaders. A more formal training college, Osiba (Opleidingsschool voor Bestuursambtenaren) was set

Hollandia, Dutch New Guinea, c. 1944. After US troops landed, local people came forward under cover of a white flag to demonstrate their friendliness. *Australian War Memorial Museum, 017047*

up in 1949,[35] and medical, nursing, agricultural and other training establishments were set up in the early 1950s.

The Dutch faced a serious lack of trained personnel as they re-established their administration after the Japanese departure. They consciously set about forming an indigenous elite rather than waiting until their administration extended across the country. To begin with this was in part a survival strategy, but it succeeded in sowing seeds of goodwill between themselves and the people who would subsequently lead the emerging nationalist movement.

1 From the Pleistocene period

1. Wade Davis, review of Jared Diamond, *The World Until Yesterday*, *Guardian*, 9 January 2013: www.theguardian.com/books/2013/jan/09/history-society
2. James Elmslie, 'The great divide: West Papuan demographics revisited; settlers dominate coastal regions but the highland regions still overwhelmingly Papuan', *Asia Pacific Journal/Japan Focus*, vol. 15, issue 2, no. 7, January 2017: http://apjjf.org/2017/02/Elmslie.html. There are marked differences between the more remote highlands areas where Papuan people dominate and the more densely populated coastal regions where the indigenous population is a dwindling minority.
3. Glen Summerhayes & Anne Ford, 'Late Pleistocene colonisation and adaptation in New Guinea: Implications for modelling modern human behaviour', in Robin Dennell & Martin Porr (eds), *Southern Asia, Australia and the Search for Human Origins* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), ch. 17, pp. 213–17. The authors suggest that the voyages to the Bismarck peninsula and North Solomons were intentional, although the exact route taken is not known. Successful colonisation depended on the capacity not only to settle a group that included both sexes, but to undertake return journeys.
4. Ron Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific Islands: Replacing the West* (Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies Publications, University of the South Pacific, 2007), p. 3.
5. Explorer Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d'Urville was the first to use the term 'Melanesia'.
6. Patrick Vinton Kirch, *On the Road of the Winds: An archaeological history of the Pacific Islands before European contact* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 8–9. Kirch says that the tripartite Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia definitions date back to French voyager Dumont d'Urville. The categorisation has stuck but it can be misleading if used as other than a geographical description.
7. World Wildlife Fund, 'New Guinea animals and plants': http://wwf.panda.org/what_we_do/where_we_work/new_guinea_forests/area_forests_new_guinea/plants_animals_new_guinea_forests
8. *Guardian*, 8 February 2006: www.theguardian.com/environment/2006/feb/08/science.indonesia
9. The earliest evidence of the introduction of the pig is some 3300 years ago, associated with the arrival of the Austronesian-speaking people. The timing and method of introduction of the sweet

potato is not known for certain but it has probably been present for less than 400 years: see Chris Ballard et al., *The Sweet Potato in Oceania: A reappraisal*, Oceania Monograph (Sydney: University of Sydney, 2005).

10. Andrew Pawley, Introduction to the chapters on historical linguistics, in Andrew Pawley, Robert Attenborough, Jack Golson and Robin Hide, *Papuan Pasts: Cultural, linguistic and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples* (Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2005), p. 1.
11. Kenneth Sumbuk, 'Papua New Guinea's languages: Will they survive?', and John Hajek, 'On the edge of the Pacific: Indonesia and East Timor', both in Denis Cunningham, D.E. Ingram & Kenneth Sumbuk, *Language Diversity in the Pacific: Endangerment and survival* (Clevedon/Buffalo: Multilingual Matters, 2006), pp. 86, 128.
12. Andrew Pawley, Introduction to the chapters on historical linguistics, in Andrew Pawley, Robert Attenborough, Jack Golson and Robin Hide, *Papuan Pasts*, pp. 12–13.
13. P.J. Drooglever, *An Act of Free Choice: Decolonisation and the right to self-determination in West Papua* (Oxford/New York: Oneworld, 2009), pp. 3–6.
14. The closest point to Maluku and where Fakfak is situated.
15. Jan Pouwer, 'The colonisation and recolonisation of West New Guinea', *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 34, no. 2, 1999, pp. 160–61.
16. Robin Osborne, *Indonesia's Secret War: The guerilla struggle in Irian Jaya* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985), p. 6.
17. Richard Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism: History, ethnicity, and adaption* (Washington, DC: East–West Center, 2005), p. 42.
18. There is a detailed and personal account of the episode in Mitchell Zuckoff, *Lost in Shangri-La: A true story of survival, adventure, and the most incredible rescue mission of World War II*, 1st edn (New York: HarperCollins, 2011). Zuckoff met with some of the Dani and their descendants, who recalled the time of the crash and meeting the people they believed to be 'sky spirits' as foretold in tribal legend.
19. Others had been in contact with the Dani prior to this but Archbold is credited with discovering the Baliem Valley, which he dubbed the Grand Valley.
20. Margaret Mead, Introduction, in Robert Gardner & Karl G. Heider, *Gardens of War: Life and death in the New Guinea Stone Age* (New York: Random House, 1969), p. viii.
21. Eben Kirksey, 'Anthropology and colonial violence in West Papua', *Cultural Survival*, Fall 2002: www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csq/article/anthropology-and-colonial-violence-west-papua
22. In practice the sultan's authority was largely limited to the Raja Ampat Islands and vicinity.
23. After World War 2 the two territories were combined for administrative purposes and in 1975 Papua New Guinea gained its independence.
24. A useful outline of early missionary attitudes can be found in Diane Langmore, 'Missionaries in Melanesia before the First World War', in *Melanesia, Beyond Diversity: Papers prepared for the Research School of Pacific Studies School, Seminar, October–November 1980* (Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, 1980) pp. 107–19.
25. Jan Pouwer, 'The colonisation and recolonisation of West New Guinea', *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 34, no. 2, 1999, p. 164.
26. Drooglever, *An Act of Free Choice*, p. 49.
27. Danilyn Rutherford, 'Sympathy, state building and the experience of empire', *Cultural Anthropology,* vol. 24, no. 1, February 2009, p. 22, cites Lloyd Rhys, *Jungle Pimpernel: The story of a district officer in central Netherlands New Guinea* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1947).
28. Carmel Budiardjo & Soei Liong Liem, *West Papua: The obliteration of a people*, revised edn (London: TAPOL, 1984), p. 13.
29. Similar movements in Papua New Guinea were described as cargo cults, but for those under

Dutch rule what had been stolen and needed to be restored was not only goods or cargo but cultural integrity and freedom. See Nonie Sharp & Markus Wonggor Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star in Papua Barat* (North Carlton, VIC: Arena Publications, 1994) for a deeper understanding of this important spiritual movement.

30. Eben Kirksey, *Freedom in Entangled Worlds: West Papua and the architecture of global power* (Durham: Crawford House, 2012), pp. 29–33.
31. Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star in Papua Barat*, p. 6.
32. Ibid., p. 54.
33. C.L.M. Penders, *The West New Guinea Debacle: Dutch decolonisation and Indonesia, 1945–1962* (Hindmarsh, SA: Crawford House Publishing, 2002), pp. 89–90, cites J. Derix, *Bapa Papoea: Jan P.K. van Eechoud: Een biografie* (Venlo: Van Spiijk, 1987).
34. Van Eechoud became acting governor of Netherlands New Guinea in December 1949 at the time of the transfer of sovereignty. In February 1950 Stephan van Waardenburg was appointed governor, and he in turn was replaced in 1953 by anthropologist and New Guinea expert Jan van Baal.
35. Drooglever, *An Act of Free Choice*,