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## PREFACE

An important juridical, historical event, which had been forgotten by the international world, is the Proclamation of the Republic of the South Moluccas on the 25th of April 1950 in Ambon-City, an act of applying the Right of Self-determination, which has been used and is still being violated by the neo-colonial policy of the Dutch and Indonesian governments.

The international world might therefore understand that the actions, sometimes executed by our youth, with the Netherlands as well as outside, are part of our struggle to draw the attention of the international world on the "fate" of our people, which already for such a long time is dominated by abovementioned "neo-colonial" powers.

The establishment of the power of a neo-colonial Indonesia in Southeast Asia and West Melanesia, former Dutch colonies, is an ethnocentrically act, in which the Hindu cultural history of the Modjopahit-empire is being used to destroy the cultural identity of all the peoples outside Java. This act, carried out openly or secretly, has caused a lot of bloodshed and the loss of many human lives, extending any limit of justice and humanity. All bloody events, *which* started in 1950 in the Moluccas, and continued in Sumatra, Celebes, Malaysia, Papua and Timor, are the evidence of the cruelty of the neo-colonialist regime.

As a human being, as a member of a people that has almost perished in the vortex of ethno centralism I raise my voice to all nations, especially the Dutch nation, to make them realize:

- the bloody events in the former Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia and West Melanesia, and
- the presence of tens of thousands Moluccans in foreign countries, especially in the Netherlands, which is not an internal Dutch social problem, but an international political problem, for which the Kingdom of the Netherlands. carries responsibility.

As long as the Dutch government persists in her policy to urge Moluccans to repatriate to the Moluccas as Indonesians, this just proves that the Kingdom of the Netherlands is an accomplice in the crimes of the "clique of Jakarta" alias "the tyrannic Indonesian State", and shows an attitude of inconsistency with regard to her own laws, as well as to the international laws, which are valid up to now, and have consequently to be observed.

May God, the Almighty, bless the Kingdom of the Netherlands, in order that she may realize:

1. that a Kingdom, which bases her existence on Justice and Humanity, cannot go on violating the Right of Self-determination of another people, and
2. that support to the Republic of Indonesia (R. I.), which suppresses the nations of Southeast Asia and West Melanesia, is nothing but an act that extends the limits of Justice and Humanity.

D. Sahalessy

## **AN ISOLATED WAR**

### **(The twofold suppression of the Moluccan Right of Independence)**

#### (a) Moluccan Peoples Mission.

On behalf of the Republic of the South Moluccas we express ourselves with an appeal to the conscience of all nations to lend us support to make our opinion heard in the General Assembly of the United Nations and in the Security Council, in order that our conflict with the "neo-colonial R.I." further can be discussed on an international level.

As a nation, we (the Moluccans) have fulfilled the "condition sine qua non" of the International Conventions to the Right of Independence (see supplements). We therefore insist, that the Dutch government gives an explanation "why" she still supports a "neo-colonial regime" (the R.I.) in committing ethnocide and genocide against us, the Moluccans, and many other nations in Southeast Asia and West Melanesia, the former Dutch colonies.

The struggle of our forefathers to defend our independence has been carried on from 1621 and onwards (1). It has been severely weakened by the Dutch monopoly system and military force. Ultimately the Dutch even passed to a violent policy of deportation (see chapter 5). In 1949 we, together with other Southeast Asian and west Melanesian nations, achieved freedom, which was settled in the Constitution of the United States of Indonesia. Retrospectively it is clear that this was a wrong "supposition" because among us a new colonizer had emerged, manifesting itself as a "State": the Republic of Indonesia (R.I.).

We have based ourselves however on our inalienable right as a nation, on the Right of Self-determination, as it is recognized in the Atlantic Charter, the textbook of the United Nations. Ultimately on April 25, 1950 in Amboina the unquenchable desire of the people to once and for all reclaim the sovereignty of the Moluccas was realized through the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of the South Moluccas (Republik Maluku Selatan).

In principle the intention of our leaders together with the leaders of the North Moluccas (Sultans of Ternate and Tidore) was to form the Unity Republic of the Moluccas (Republik Maluku Selatan).

#### (b) Isolated and manipulated.

A declaration of independence, to be "de facto and de jure" independent from all constitutionalities of the United States of Indonesia, was made, even before the United States of Indonesia were liquidated by the Republic of Indonesia, which initially was part of the federation (its official territory was Central Java).

The Kingdom of the Netherlands willfully violated the International Law by arresting in 1952 the official representatives upon their arrival in former New Guinea. Especially the leader of our political mission, Ir. Alvarez Manusama was affected most severely: on September 11, 1953 a prohibition to speak was imposed on him by the Dutch government. (2).

Several military missions, which were sent, afterwards, did not succeed to fulfill their instructions. They were subtly boycotted and politically isolated from their own people in the Netherlands, but most of all, isolated from their government in the Interior of Nusa Ina (Ceram).

Our struggle for recognition and freedom slowly became isolated from the Organization of the United Nations and Security Council. Because of the Dutch policy, which was persistently carried through, the R.I. was enabled to, in a violent manner, grow into the present-day unlawful Unitary State: the Republic of Indonesia.

In the years 1950-1967, the military aggression from the R.I. against the Republic of South Moluccas did not meet with any protest from the United Nations. The devotion of our young freedom-fighters abroad in the years 1966 up to 1978 was punished by the Dutch government with unjust penalties and military force, still without any serious attention from the U.N.O. As a consequence of the U.N.O.-attitude and the Dutch policy, the R.I. got the opportunity to isolate and manipulate our cause.

#### (c) Opinion.

Considering the blood of our people shed through the centuries in our struggle for our self-preservation, to break through the isolation and to break the manipulation, and especially to claim recognition and respect of our Right of Self-determination, I, Docianus Sahalessy, was sent abroad on the ground of a decision of the emergency parliament in the Moluccas.

On November 1, 1979 I appeared before the Hoge Raad (one of the highest advisory committees of the Dutch government) in The Hague in order to defend my request to be recognized as a political refugee. Then I made up this memorandum in order to open the eyes of the public opinion to the Rights and Struggles of our nation, that is still being

unlawfully occupied by what is Galled the R.I. together with it's accomplice the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Before we come to our prime indictment against the neo-colonial regime, I would like to note some facts regarding our Inalienable Right as a Nationality.

Assen, July 2002

D. Sahalessy

(plenipotentiary representative of the emergency parliament on the Moluccas)

**chapter 1:**  
**THE MOLUCCAN PEOPLE**  
**Anthropological Background**

(a) Alif'Uru.

We, the Moluccan people, are the original inhabitants named "alif'uru", who inhabit the Moluccas, the archipelago of the thousand isles, which are situated between the Philippines in the north, Australia in the south, Celebes and Timor in the west, and Papua in the west.

(b) Siwa'Rima: Ethnological notion.

"Siwa'Rima" or "Siwa'Lima" is the basic structure of our "Adat Society" ("Adat": customary law, tradition). Siwa'Rima are two words originating in the Alif'Uru language, meaning "nine" and "live" respectively. The origin of this denomination can be retraced in two historical periods (1).

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Siwa (nine) refers to the first "nine generations", which have developed into Nunusaku in the first historical period from which our "upu" (ancestors) originated. The upu consists of "upu AMA" (ancestor) and "upu INA" (ancestress).

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The upu increased, and after nine generations they were "seal" (passed on) into "TALA MENA SIWA".

- TALA refers to the stream-area of Way Tale (Iama-river).
- MENA indicates the genesis of our history as a nation.
- SIWA refers to the age of our people, at the time when she spanned nine generations.

Rima (five) refers to the next five generations which have developed into Talamenasiwa in the second historical period.

(c) The origin of the Alune- and Wemale-tribes.'

The Alune and Wemale-tribes are the eldest Moluccan tribes. Only in Talamenasiwa did our ancestors realize that they were wholly naked; through that realization each of them chose something that can be worn as a cloth to cover their shame. They then took "ai loing" (leaves) to cover their bodies, formed a group later on and called themselves: Alune-tribe. The other, who took the "ai. wemale" (bark of the wemale-tree), formed another group and called themselves: Wemale-tribe.

In Talamenasiwa our ancestors developed into five generations. After these five generations (together with the preceding nine generations adding up to fourteen) our ancestors manifested themselves as a nation.

A nation with its own rules for living, which have become a heritage for our present-day society, and have also become the basis of our nationalism.

After the development into the Talamenasiwa a conflict arose which was Galled "Risa Siwa'Rima", meaning: "War between Kinsfolk". This led to the development of a foren of sovereignty, Galled "Sama'Suru" by our ancestors. Sama'Suru means: "to divide in order to function".

Through these developments our ancestors have spread over the whole of the thousand isles of Maluku. Maluku this is our inheritance.

*Nunusaku* is a protection given to our ancestors by God through Natune. The name is *composed* from the word "Nonie": Holy Fig tree, and "n'Saku": Mg Protection.

#### (d) Sama'Suru: Sovereignty.

The right meaning of SAMA'SURU is: "distribution of functions" and/or "distributed to function". The functions, that are traditional in our Adat society, are among others the three basic powers in a democratic-aristocratic-type state.

These powers are:

- Legislative Power (saniri)
- Executive Power (Latu Patty)
- Juridical Power (Upu Hena/Latu Nusa)

In the period of Sama'Suru the MORIALE/Macro Natio fell apart into Henaja (many Hena = many villages). Every Hena arose as a polis (village republic), which was free and sovereign, with a governing system according to the Adat, as mentioned above. .

This situation of our Henaja is comparable with the polissen in Ancient Greece. The three basic powers of a state (Trias Politica), put forward by Montesquieu in the period preceding the French Revolution, and nowadays put into practice by democratic states as well as by constitutional monarchies, existed already as a basic in our Adat-system since ancient times.

In the Sama'Suru era our ancestors were Galled upon to establish their nature and identity as a nation on this Barth. After the achievement of the integrity of the Moluccas, the

Moluccas thus having become our hereditary ground, the potion "MENA'MURIA" was introduced. This way we became a people, regional as well as national, that meets the requirements of independence and sovereignty.

(e) Mena'Muria.

MENA'MURIA is our national watchword which indicates that Siwa'Rima exists from ancient times on as an independent and sovereign people, living on her own rightful ground. Symbolically Mena'Muria means.: "ready from stem to stern", like a ship fully equipped for the journey moving on the sea defying all kinds of winds, currents and storms. This symbolic meaning expresses our existence as a nation with all its **material and** spiritual riches. It also prepares us for the coming events that are to happen, before we reach our goal.

Literally Mena'Muria means: "Alif & Ja" \_ "thé Beginning and the End". This second meaning contains an instinctive subjection to that one Power that has given to us our grounds as our rightful inheritance. Mena'Muria is an exalted word that obliges us not to get entangled in the faith in obscure powers, but just to keep clinging to that one Almighty. Who has been from the beginning. We are therefore convinced that, though our people in the course of time have been separated and scattered, time will bring us back together with the help only of that one Power, who has said: "I'm the Beginning and the End, the Alpha and the Omega", or: MENA'MURIA.

## **chapter 2:**

### **THE LANGUAGE OF THE MOLUCCAS**

#### (a) Sou Ina Tuny.

During the MORIALE-period there was just "SOU ESA" (One Language), called "SOU INA TUNY" (the Right Mother Language). By the abovementioned process the SouIna Tuny was divided into a great many dialects. On Ceram there have been forand thirteen dialects besides the Alune- and Wemale-languages. Outside Ceram there are the dialects of Bahasa Kay, Bahasa Tanimbar, Bahasa Dobo, Bahasa Buru, Bahasa Ternate, etc. All these dialects contain demonstrable elements of the Alune- and Wemale-languages. Also on Ambon and Lease (the Isles of Haruku, Saparua and Nusalaut) they can be found right now, indeed in every Hena.

Although our people and our language have undergone a lot of differentiation within our world (the Moluccan Islands), SIWA'RIMA is for us a mark of identification by virtue of our tradition. SIWA'RIMA proves, that originally our people is one people. A people, whose traditional forms of government (the Adat) has a democratic-aristocratic character, and whose basic religious principles have there origin in her own Moluccan culture, which differs significantly from the Hinduese culture from India or from Java.

#### (b) The Malayan Language.

Far back in the world of civilization traders from Malacca, China, Sumatra and Java traveled to West Melanesia (Maluku and Timor) to buy their spices, tjendawood and pearls, to sell them in Persia, Arabia and Egypt, from where they even reached Europe (1). This trade was carried out for centuries and caused the development of a "trading-language", in which our Ancient Language (the Alif'Uru language) fused with the languages of those foreign peoples. This way originated the Melaju Pasar (the Trading Language) as an everyday speech.

When in the 15th century the Turkish occupied Constantinople (which was the trading-center of the European East-trade), the collapse of the political and economical life in Europe was threatening. For that reason the Portuguese and Spaniards traveled to the East. In 1511 they arrived at Malacca, in 1513 in Maluku and Timor. From that moment on the way to Asia was open to the Europeans.

(c) Colonial influence.

The arrival of the Europeans in Southeast Asia and West Melanesia enriched the Melaju Pasar even more and developed it into the official language, the melaju Tinggi (High Malayan). During the colonial rule in the whole of Southeast Asia and West Melanesia (the former Dutch colonies, the so-called Dutch Indies) our Malayan Language was used as an official language. Consequently the Malayan Language has originated as a fusion of various language-elements of the peoples of Asia and Europe with our Alif'Uru language. In this period the official writing of the Malayan Language was still in Arab characters. Until 1901 many people had not yet switched over to the Latin writing (2).

The amount in which our language (the Alif'Uru language) has contributed to the enrichment of the Malayan Language is considerable. This process has been accompanied by much bloodshed of our forefathers, who got entangled in the religious and economic wars, which were transferred from Europe to Asia.

(d) The Moluccan Right to the Malayan Language.

The Moluccan People has therefore a right to the Malayan Language. The Malayan Language has developed in the people's history, long before the so-called Indonesia was created. The right to the Malayan Language is an historical right. The neo-colonial R.I. calls the Malayan Language the Bahasa Indonesia, just as she calls the peoples of the former Dutch colonies the one Indonesian nation. The R.I. uses the Malayan Language for her neo-colonial purposes.

## **chapter 3:**

# **THE ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF THE MOLUCCAS**

Since the 16th century Portuguese and Dutch capitalism coveted our economical riches and practiced a policy of monopoly and exploitation (1). They were in fact the ones, who needed our natural products, we didn't really need their goods we were economically independent. They were the ones, who made an end to our economical independence with cruel means.

Nowadays the Moluccan nature has available huge economic riches, as well in the woods as in the seas. The total surface of the Moluccan Islands is about 2½ times the surface of the Netherlands. And the riches of the seas are even more abundant than the riches of the land.

This can be illustrated by many things; a few facts are compiled below:

### (a) Exportproducts.

- Forest products for export: cloves, nutmeg, mace and various bird species, like the bird of paradise.
- Sea products for export: fish, shrimps, pearls and sea vegetation, which is in use by the cosmetic industry.
- Minerals like oil, nickel, bauxite, and many others, which are partly still unknown.

### (b) Products, important for the population.

- Sago-tree, providing with 90% of the food and house holding-material; sago-flower is used for food and "sago-leave and -branches" (atap and gaba2) for house building.
- Coco-tree: the coconut is used as fresh fruit, for the production of oil, butter, soap, etc.
- Gemutu-tree, like the coco-tree, provides with sugar, alcohol and vinegar, the whole year over.

### (c) Monopoly and extirpation.

- Since 1621, until 1699, 75% of all the production means (clove- and nutmeg -trees) on the isles of Banda, Ceram, Buru and Halmahera were destroyed by the Dutch monopoly-system.
- Our traditional social and political system was from 1605 on systematically destroyed by the Dutch deportation policy (see chapter 5).

- Since 1950 until the present day our natural products are arbitrarily harvested and destroyed by the Indonesian neo-colonial system. Thousands of acres of fertile soil in seventeen districts are made useless by erosion. More and more trees are cut down, without being replaced by new ones, and sold by and for the benefit of the armed force.

(d) Support for the suppression in the Moluccas.

The Dutch government continually is talking about development-aid to the Moluccas, but from experience it has been shown, that Dutch aid means nothing but support to the power of the Javanese generals in their exploitation of the Moluccas, which results in impoverishment and starvation in our fatherland.

(e) Maluku is not the Fourth World.

In the monthly PANDA of the World Nature Fund, Dutch Section, in the issue of December 1980 is published a report on the Moluccas (2). The conclusion is, that the nature of the Moluccas is rich and unique. Maluku is no Fourth World!

## **chapter 4:**

### **THE COLONIAL ERA**

Foreign nations which are known to have joined the struggle for power in Maluku and Timor are amongst others: '

#### (a) Modjopahit.

The Empire of Modjopahit, which came into existence about 1300 on East Java, ruled as far as the Philippines; at that time she tried to rule over West Melanesia (Maluku and Timor). She didn't succeed to reach that goal either peacefully or by force. In the 15th century the power of Modjopahit crumbled (1), leaving behind her "ideal" of hegemony. This ideal of hegemony was pursued by the late Sukarno and Suharto through the forming of the R.I. (Republic of Indonesia). The R.I. is a "neo-colonial state", the realization of the hegemony of Modjopahit, the old Hindu Empire in modern time.

#### (b) Portugal.

When the Portuguese and Spaniards arrived in the East, the fire of the war blew over from Europe to Asia as far as Maluku. The Portuguese have exerted themselves for almost "a hundred years" (1513-1605) to rule over us; our forefathers got involved in all sorts of bloody tragedies, resulting from the policy of those foreigners. Our forefathers who adopted the Gospel according to the Arabic doctrines, took up weapons against their own relatives who adopted the Gospel according to the Portuguese etc. The result was bloodshed between our forefathers and Portuguese, and between our forefathers mutually (Muslims against Christians). Everywhere in our country people mourned because so many of the people had been killed needlessly (2).

#### (c) The colonial Netherlands.

The enmity that resulted from this enabled the Dutch to carry out their "divide and rule"-policy. Though our forefathers were able to limit the bloody tragedies, they were able to continue to live according to the rule of our Adat Society as before. In April 1605 after the Portuguese had been defeated and dislodged, the Muslim princes of Basi, Lesidi, Luhu, Kambelo (Ceram), the Kapitang of Hitu (Ambon) and the Christian princes of Rumukay etc. (Ceram), got together to frame a statement which they presented to Houtman and Hoen (V.O.C.officials), containing the following points:

1. There will be peace between Muslims and Christians.
2. The Dutch are not to build forts anywhere, which disturb the harmony.
3. Spices may be sold to the Dutch but the prices are to be fixed together with the Sultan of Ternate.

4. All the fugitives who were deported must have a chance to return to their original abode without hindrance (3).

But later it turned out that our peace was destroyed by the Dutch policy of monopoly. Since March 1602 the Dutch (V.O.C.) had a keenly worked out policy, which enabled them to enrich themselves by seriously damaging our economical and national power.

(d) The neo-colonialism of Indonesia and the Netherlands.

Four centuries later from the Dutch colonial system emerged the neo-colonial Indonesia (see chapters 6-10). The Proclamation of the R.M.S. was the direct answer to that. The legitimacy of the R.M.S. is a confirmation of the neo-colonial character of the R.I.

The legitimacy of the R.M.S. has been established in various ways, for example:

1. A thorough investigation led the Dutch Society for International Right to the conclusion in June 1950 (4), that the Proclamation of the R.M.S. is legitimate. The Dutch government of that time and all the consecutive Dutch governments have always known this. Even the High Council, the Supreme Court of Holland, has accepted this conclusion.
2. And now, roughly 30 years later, on the 1st of November 1979, this legitimacy was again strengthened by the Council of State in the case of the author of this Memorandum, Docianus Sahalessy, against the Department of Justice; a verdict, by which the Dutch government in fact has been proven wrong, and by which she was forced to give priority to justice above commercial interests. Sahalessy was given on this grounds legal protection for his foremost and seriously violated political beliefs: the inalienable Right of Self-determination of the Moluccan Nation, a right, that has been violated by the R.I. in such a serious way. He was granted political asylum with A-status on the grounds of the Convention of July 28, 1951 (the Geneva Convention).

Despite this the Dutch *government keeps* denying the legitimacy of the R.M.S. This way also the Netherlands manifest themselves as a neo-colonial power. But matters are even worse: the Dutch government supports the Indonesian neo-colonialism in an active way.

For this statement much evidence can be given:

1. The Kingdom of the Netherlands has deliberately violated *International Right* by arresting our official representatives in 1952 upon their arrival in New Guinea. The Netherlands authorities boycotted and politically isolated our Missions from us in the interior of Nusa Ina (Ceram).

2. During his first term of office the Dutch prime-minister, Van Agt, stated upon returning from Jakarta in April 1980, that the R.M.S. is a Dutch internal problem. Here he has used his official status as a propaganda stunt for the neo-colonial R.I.-"junta" in Jakarta to distract the attention of the world from the aggression against the Republic .of the South Moluccas.
3. The Dutch government also continually manipulated the Moluccan community in the Netherlands regarding their point of view concerning the political meaning of the R.M.S. in our fatherland Maluku. For this purpose the government of the Netherlands has made available hundreds of thousands of guilders to give Moluccan people the opportunity to make use of the so-called "orientation-journeys" to Indonesia and the Moluccas. These jourrieys were supposed to demonstrate that the R.M.S. should have been finished as a political reality.

Against this policy of the "junta" of Jakarta and the government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, I, Docianus Sahalessy, accuse on behalf of our fallen freedom-fighters who's blood cries out day and night for truth and justice. This I do in the commission of the people in the occupied fatherland:

1. The Dutch governments that they are constantly in conflict with the spirit of Righteousness that lives in the *consciousness of* the Dutch people.
2. The Indonesian government, that it is constantly in conflict with the preamble of its own *constitution*\*

*\* Since independence is the right of every nation, any colonial system in the world is contrary to humanity and justice, and must therefore be abolished.*

## chapter 5:

### THE MOLUCCAS, VICTIM OF THE DUTCH POLICY OF DEPORTATION

#### (a) Monopoly and Hongi.

Usually a nation is free to trade with whatever other nation she chooses, but the Dutch wanted to dominate the spice trade in order that just they alone could establish the prices and this way force up the profits on the markets in Asia and **Europe as high as possible.**

The population of the Banda Islands cursed this monopoly-system and kept on trading with the English and the Spanish. In February 1621 the Dutch navy (16 Dutch and 36 Javanese ships) transported thousand soldiers from Java. Governor J.P. Coen demanded, that the Dutch were allowed to build stone forts on the Banda Islands, but the Banda people refused. Hereupon the Dutch used means of violence: the population of the Banda Islands was almost rooted out, despite of their bitter resistance. Finally they were crushed on the very soil they loved. That day, the 1th of March, 1621, blood, sweat and tears soaked the earth of Maluku in the region of the Banda Islands. Just a few souls managed to escape and flew to the Key Islands and to Ceram; those who were captured were killed or deported to Java as slaves. Fortyfour village-chiefs were decapitated.

From Siau, Solor and Buton (islands southeast of Celebes) people were violently deported to the Banda Islands, which had in the meantime been depopulated by the iron hand of J.P. Coen. On the ruins of the gala trees these deported people on the 1th of March of each year commemorated the victory of the V.O.C., which actually right back into the seventeenth century knew how to violently deprive their fellow-men in Maluku of their right to exist.

Because the Dutch didn't succeed in restraining our forefathers in their trade with other foreign nations they once more resorted to the use of violence: the notorious hongi was introduced. With this policy the Dutch aimed at concentrating the culture of Tjengkeh on Ambon and Lease and of Pala and mace on Banda.

Outside these areas, especially on the extensive fertile soil on Ceram and, Halmaheira, the spice culture had to be extirpated all over.

In 1625 the population of Leitimor (Ambon) and the Lease Islands was mobilized for the hongi. Three thousand men were summoned to man forty kora-kora's. They were obliged to assist the execution of the extirpation of the Tjengke- and Palatrees on Ceram. The first victim of the extirpation was the population of Huamual (West Ceram). A very bloody war

was waged between the proprietors of these trees and those Moluccans, who were tied to the V.O.C.-tractate. Like in the Huamual-war our ancestors until the present days have been subjected to the game of adu-domba (divide-and-rule). One half of them kept on struggling for their Right and Independence, whilst the other half was taken advantage of by foreigners (the Dutch) to destroy these aspirations.

The extirpation-measures were also executed on Kelang, Manipa, Buru and Ambalu. Every resistance was quelled with death penalty. At first the leaders were condemned to lifelong exile abroad (on Java), later on the people were deported to other islands. This way the potential of the Moluccan nation was weakened. The political existence of our nation had been destroyed and socially and economically we had been paralyzed. In the new concentration areas on Ambon and the Lease Islands problems arose about the Adat-grounds. The society-structure was disrupted and the former leaders were replaced by new men, who had been appointed by the V.O.C to spy on the people.

In these chaotic conditions it was very difficult to mobilize the powers of the people against the suppression. The deportation was a very effective measure in the divide-and-rule policy, which brought victory to the Dutch.

The resistance on Ceram continued; in 1657 several progressive princely families from Waisamu, Hatusua, Rumahtita and so on (282 persons in total) were banished to Java. in December 1670 from Java arrived the order to press on Ceram even more forcefully by the means of honggi. In 1681 from Ambon and Lease manpower of fifteen hundred men had been summoned to crush the resistance. A complete army of another fourteen hundred men was ordered to in the meantime cut , down the remaining Sagu-, Tjengke- and Palatrees.

In the year 1696 the population of Ambon-Lease herself had been threatened by honggi. An order was given to destroy all young Tjengke-trees, and the remaining too, for which the people already were fighting among themselves.

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Our nation has experienced the struggle against monopoly as a very bloody history that has lasted for more than hundred years. This is the cause, that our nation has grown so much weakened, poor and wretched.

(b) Moluccan National Consciousness.

The religious wars during the Portuguese domination (1513-1605) couldn't destroy the awareness of blood relationship between the Islamite's and the Christians in the Moluccas, because the Adat (customary law) en de Pela-league already mentioned, demand a lasting peace (1).

The monopoly and the hongi had since 1605 for more than a century impaired the economic potential of Maluku and smothered the political consciousness of the people, yet our national consciousness succeeded in recovering. The result of this however was, that the revolution in May 1817 on the Lease Islands (known as the Patty Mura-revolt) made it clear to the Dutch that the Moluccan Nationalism must be destroyed with more discretion.

(c) The policy of deportation.

We have always lived on the yields of nature only. When the robbing of our natural riches was commenced, it was also attempted in many ways, to induce our ancestors to leave their native land. They would be obliged to go to the industrial centers at the time, which were established or were being established far off the native country.

Our very extensive, rich and fertile grounds such as in Halmaheira, Buru, Aru, Tanimbar, Kay and Ceram were constantly and scrupulously avoided when new industries were to be established. Also, the establishing of *higher forms* of education was deliberately neglected. Our sea riches were harvested primitively by our people, as is common from prehistoric times, while the Dutch and the other foreign nations could easily rob these riches by means of modern equipment yielding a profit of more than 60 million guilders a year (2).

In order to lure our "youth" away from the villages in the native country, alluring facilities were created, *which had* a purpose of inducing them to serve in civil service or army abroad, while in the villages the people were suppressed and forced to work in servitude and were furthermore imposed to pay much too high taxes to the Dutch colonial government.

Yet the facility-arrangement didn't wholly meet the political ends of the colonial powers (1840). On that account it was decided in 1846 to level the pay and premium of the Moluccan soldiers to that of the Dutch soldiers. Besides these so-called "pass-ported", those who received a passport, indicating that they were exempt of labourservice and of paying taxes to the colonial government, obtained civil rights (3).

Due to many factors, particularly in the 19th century, the standard of living in the Moluccas declined. Coffee, sugar and metals from Java and Sumatra sent down the value of spices on the market. Economic activity in the Moluccas declined.

All this finally contributed to the fact that our people got entangled in the political nets, which were set out by the Dutch at the time; their purpose, the exodus, could be started. Every year hundreds of young men left their native land; there were those who continued their study outside the Moluccas, and there were those who enlisted the K.N.I.L. (Royal Netherlands Indies Army) or rejoined the civil service.

The policy of the Dutch colonizer began to yield fruits.

(d) Divide et Impera.

As part of the colonial policy the Dutch colonizer began to call the Moluccas the "Amboinese people", to be understood in the sense of being a superior people. This policy caused many of us to adopt a conceived attitude, while by the others they were labeled colonial hounds.

In order to blow up the affinity between Christians and Islamite's, more facilities were given to Christians who were in the military- and civil service, rather than to the Islamite's, so that-the Jatter (who had been friends with the Dutch from the beginning) became estranged. This policy of favoritism and discrimination of the Christians and the Islamite's respectively, resulted in the watering down of the unity and solidarity between us; sharp contrasts arose.

Since 1946 until now this situation was exploited by the neo-colonial R.I.-regime in order to aggravate the contrasts so that they might be able to dominate our whole existence.

(e) A too colonial education.

During the whole process of colonization in Southeast Asia and **West** Melanesia, the Dutch have worked deliberately to achieve three goals, in particular:

1. Moluccans who served in the array were trained to act like human robots, only ready to carry out orders. Apart from this nothing was allowed; all initiative was smothered.
2. As concerns the category of civil servants, their "education" was focused on bringing up intellectuals who would feel superior to their own country and their people. In this manner only the Dutch civil service and industry could profit from our national power and capacity, while our own people was deprived of the capacities of her sons.

3. Concerning religion, the clergy was employed to dominate the people, in order that the expansion of the Dutch Empire might be facilitated; all this being done under the mask of "spreading the Gospel in this World".

(f) Abuse of religion.

We are well aware that it would please God if "oriental idealism" and "occidental realism" would meet; particularly in the area of religion. It is clear, however, that we haven't come to that yet, because these two cultures have not met in an alliance before the altar of Righteousness and Humanity. For the "spirits of freedom" in the Lords Gospel is still abused to increase the power of man.

God's Word was abused to weaken the self-respect of our people, so that the injustice and suppression might be continued. The wars and insurrections against the Dutch suppression, which arose in the interior of Ceram, were put to an end this way; particularly the Ahiolo-war, the Rumah'Soal-war, the Losawar, the Sahulau-war and many others. All these wars were put an end to through the intermediary of these Colonial and Clerical officials. It was not until 1930 that the Netherlands raised the State of War and Siege with regard to Ceram.

The using of the clergy, as a means of destroying revolutionary thoughts, still forms a part of the policy of the Netherlands and Indonesian governments to extinguish the fire of our struggles for Liberty, in our country as well as in the Netherlands.

There is evidence for the following data:

- Indonesia did not succeed in breaking the struggle of the moluccan people of Ceram and Haruku by force of arms until 1960; the reason they succeeded later on is that between 1960 and 1967 the leaders of the G.P.M. (Moluccan Protestant Church), amongst others Reverend Th. Pattiasina, the chairman of the Synod, were used. The result was that in 1967 the people of the Moluccas fell into the hands of the Indonesian tyranny (see chapter 9).
- In order to destroy the fighting spirit of the Moluccan people in the Netherlands, Reverend S. Metiary was used as a weapon by both the Netherlands and the R.I. The result of this was, that the "National Flag" of the Moluccas, which already flew on the enemy's, territory (R.I.-ambassadorial residence in Wassenaar), had to be hauled down (8/31/1970). The "freedom-fighters" were meanwhile transferred to several prisons with the most ease.

(g) Destructive influence.

The policy which is revealed above (point f), caused a feeling of apathy to 90% of the Christian Moluccans. The people didn't know how to regain her patriotic feelings. Everybody began to think that prosperity and personal happiness in this world could only be obtained by recouring to Dutch public services and industry, which were situated outside the Moluccas.

This mentality-found its climax in the colonial phrase "Ambon, Loyal Through. the Ages", the spirit of the people had become identical indeed with the cynical meaning given to the word "Ambon", Malay spelling: A(ku) M(emikul) B(eban) O(rang) N(ederland), meaning: "I bear the burdens of the Dutch".

Only a small percentage of all't:apable men had been of benefit to our people. Moreover, their colonial education had been such, that they lost any feeling of responsibility with regard to their own country.

Mr. Holleman, an expert at the time of the Moluccan customary law, had sharply criticized the Policy of Deportation, because this Policy had a disastrous and ruinous influence in our existence; an influence, which would make itself felt in the generations to come... (4). Not any change was made however, because it had always been the purpose of the Dutch colonizers to totally destroy "the essence of the independence and sovereignty" of our people, the Bangsa Maluku.

In exercising this influence the Dutch colonizers often made use of the services of Moluccan intellectuals (see illustration 7).

## **chapter 6:**

### **THE REVOLUTIONAIRE PERIOD**

#### (a) The Formation of the R.I.S.

In 1945 all Southeast Asian and West Melanesian nations revolted against Dutch colonialism. Four years later, the Netherlands gave Independence and Sovereignty to us through the formation of the R.I.S. (United States of Indonesia). The U.N.O. has strongly supported the last mentioned development based on a Resolution of the Security Council, dated January 28, 1949 (point 3), and therefore U.N.O. can be hold responsible for the execution of the Resolution (point 4).

#### (b) Neo-colonialism.

The United States of Indonesia, the creation of which was also desired by the United Nations, was destroyed without any consideration by the Republic of Indonesia which was merely a constituent part of the federation. Despite its fine-sounding statement on December 22, 1948 in the Security Council, remaining federal states were unscrupulously and violently "naturalized" by military troops of the R.I. (the official territory of the R.I. is Central-Java).

This serious transgression of international law was justified, in front of the international public, by the incredible and poor argument: Internal Affair of the R.I.

#### (c) Juridical counter-measures.

However, before the illegal Republic of Indonesia had the opportunity to install herself as the neo-colonial authority (on August 17, 1950), this claim was disputed by Mr. Dr. Chr. Soumokil by means of official proclamation of \_the Republic of the South Moluccas: an independence claimed by the people on April 25, 1950 in Amboina.

Moluccan students abroad (Djakarta) demonstrated on the 17th of December, 1950 (see illustration 5) and presented a petition opposing the poor argument of the R.I. The proclamation of the Republic of the South Moluccas is not an internal matter and never will be. The United Nations Commission for Indonesia received a similar petition.

#### (d) Two-fold suppression.

From 1950 onwards, the Republic of the South Moluccas was incessantly attacked by thousands of the T.N.I.-soldiers, who were equipped with modern arms, which were left behind by the Dutch. Four thousand Moluccan soldiers who served in the colonial Dutch

Army and were still encamped on Java awaiting their demobilization, were transferred by ship to the Netherlands, by order of the Dutch government; by doing so, the Dutch government deliberately prevented these trained and experienced forces from reinforcing the A.P.R.M.S. (the South Moluccan Army). Only a few of them succeeded to reach the Moluccas. Ultimately it was only 60 soldiers together with the people who many years had to put up against the R.I. aggression, without outside aid.

The Dutch government and the R.I. only then exerted themselves to repatriating Moluccans to Indonesia, when complete military (the Indonesian Army) occupation and control of the Moluccas was attained, when the former Moluccan soldiers were understood to be of no more military importance. They (the Dutch government and the R.I.-regime) launched the policy of repatriation according to which the repatriating Moluccans were set back, labeled as Indonesians.

It needs no argument that we are apparently not free, while our means of existence are in complete control of the neo-colonial aggressor.

(e) The international public opinion.

International Rights are a fact in the *International* political life. Laws and Conventions which protect fundamental Human Rights have been designed and I approved. We therefore insist, that the Dutch government makes clear as to walsey it still supports and encourages a neo-colonial regime (R.I.) in committing "ethnocide and genocide" on the Moluccan people.

We appeal therefore to all nations, including the Dutch people, to give attention to the following facts:

- The presence of thousands of Moluccan people abroad and particularly in the Netherlands, is part of an international problem, for the Dutch and the Indonesian governments are jointly responsible. In order to deny the international political character of the problem, the care of these Moluccans is appointed to the Department of C.R.M. (Culture, Recreation and Social Work). It needs no argument that this is an erroneous policy.
- As long as the Dutch government is prepared to support the "clique" in Djakarta in their jointly set-up, policy of repatriation, obligating the repatriating Moluccans to become Indonesians, she is also responsible for the political crimes of the R.I.-regime by

consciously collaborating and thus seriously infringing the Right of Independence of the Moluccans and other nations of West Melanesia and Southeast Asia.

May God give a new hart to the Dutch government and her people, that they might realize that a Kingdom, which has its existence, based on Justice and Humanity, cannot sustain the violation of the right of sovereignty and independence of another nation.

May the Kingdom of the Netherlands realize, that supporting the R.I.-regime in its suppression of the West Melanesian and the Southeast Asian nations, she is actually trespassing on Justice and Humanity, and has long since overstepped the limis thereof . .

## **chapter 7:**

### **THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RI**

#### (a) A neo-colonial state.

The R.I. is a neo-colonial state built on the foundations of the former Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia and West Melanesia. The Indonesian nation does not exist. The word "Indonesia" is made up from "Indus" – "India", and "Nesos" – "Islands" or "Archipelago". This term was introduced by the English Anthropologist Earl in 1850 to indicate the group of islands between Asia and Australia, including Madagascar, Malaysia, the Philippines and Papua. It is clear, that this isn't a nation, but a world of nations (1).

#### (b) A junta with five crimes.

#### *II*

The international world knew the R.I.: as a constitutional state based upon the Pantja Sila (the Five Norms). These norms are:

1. The one supreme God,
2. Humanity,
3. The unity of Indonesia,'
4. Democratic wisdom,
5. Social justice for the whole Indonesian population.

But when we use the Pantja Sila to measure the crimes of the R.I., we come to the conclusion, that the allusion of the Javanese poet Rangga Warsita is true, when he states:

- When Petruk became king, evil got a chance to manifest,
- On the wateraid they reached a compromisti to be able to do all the evil,
- Food was weighed, the pointer without numbers,
- The present system is nothing different from the former Dutch colonial i system,
- 50% of the Javanese people get rich like the Dutch; sorry for the Chinese,
- now the baraks are built of steel, but once they will disappear,
- in other words; the thief wilt yet be robbed in the future\*.

From these words of Rangga Warsita can be concluded that the R.I. is a conspiracy which manifested itself as a state, which rattles with the military weapons, ignores her own constitution and is guilty of a number of things, among others:

- The subjection of the peoples in Southeast Asia and West Melanesia (Maluku, Celebes, Malaysia and Timor),
- The policy of ethnocentralisation (or Javanisation, see chapter 9), aiming at the destruction of all non-Javanese identities,
- The infiltration of the police and the army among the people to manipulate and intimidate the society to support the GOLKAR (the Indonesian's Army Political Party),
- The lifelong detention of tens of thousands of people as political prisoners without any legal process, and murder of hundreds of thousands of souls from 1950 up to now, transgressing every limit of Humanity and Justice.

- \*     - *ana dalo lia mangsa pada Petruk (Javanese clown) munggo ratu,*  
        - *srending dipinggir kali, sapa ira sapa ingsun,*  
        - *ngedum pari ditimbang dewe, ngangg datjin tanpa mata,*  
        - *Cantor lasagne lore, oar lira sag Jane Land the Dutch),*  
        - *ela el Wong Dow garek separo, Lando garek Bedjojo, Tinane gelo2,*  
        - *saiki tjelengan wesi, mengko tjelengan gaib,*  
        - *wong tjolong djadi ketjolong. (2)*

- The illegal exploitation of natural resources, causing the people to live in poverty; thousands of Javanese are robbed of goods and cattle and populate the spaces under the bridges.

It is clear, that not the Pantja Sila but the Pantja Salah (the Five Crimes), is the foundation of the R.I.

Based upon these realities, we see that:

1. The R.I. isn't entitled to represent us, the nations of Southeast Asia and West Melanesia, at the United Nations.
2. The R.I.-delegate at the U.N.O. is only there to express the authority of a movement, namely the armed movement, alias the junta.

### c. The D.D.T.-policy.

From the very beginning the R.I. had carried out the so-called D.D.T.-policy. The meaning of this abbreviation is: Demobilisant Dictatorial Territorium (mobilizing the power of the people to support the dictatorship to suppress the hereditary rights of the people). Some measures in this context are:

1. To define the Malayan Language as the "Bahasa Indonesia".

2. To change the name Papua in "Irian", the meaning of which is: Ikut Republik Indonesia Anti Nederland; next to unlawfully annexing West Papua in 1963, with the motive that West Melanesian Papua should be Indonesian property.
3. To usurp Maluku; already in 1946 armed political infiltrators were sent to Buru, East Ceram and even Leihitu (Ambon).

The activities of the R.I. against Maluku with the use of manipulated civilians would this way have a legal appearance. The impression would then be created that she was acting against rebels on the request of "loyal citizens"; both the main purpose of the R.I. was to create the impression that Maluku is her own property.

The policy of inciting people against their own compatriots to be able to govern dictatorially, which we Galled the D.D.T.-policy, is being continued by GOLKAR (actually a political party of militaries). The GOLKAR is training special officers to infiltrate the society. These people are Galled the "puterpra", which means: Pengawasan Umum Tentara Terhadap Bakjat, as civilians disguised army spies. After their infiltration they will tie the people to themselves or intimidate them to finally subscribe as a member of GOLKAR, and in this way support the generals regime.

People who have never seen through this D.D.T.-policy have reproached Soumokil ,Maluku), Qahardmuzakar and Andi Azis (Celebes), Daud Beureux (Sumatra) of being rebels. Only fifteen years later they themselves experienced the bitter taste of this policy. The "Gerakan 30 september" (the Movement of the 30th of September, 1965) was one of the first rising against this policy. Unfortunately half of the population of the R.I. understood the D.D.T.-policy; it had become inevitable, that they became instruments of the generals regime to put out the fire of the revolution of the 30th of September. Thousands of people have been brutally slaughtered; tens of thousands of revolutionaries have been imprisoned, tortured and banished for a lifelong exile, without any form of trial, as political prisoners to Buru and Ambon.

## **chapter 8:**

# **INDICTMENT**

With all the evidence, that speaks for itself (see in particular chapters 7 and 9) we come now to our prime indictment against what calls itself "the Republic of Indonesia", one of the most prominent violators on the world scene of Human Rights, as reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in particular of the Right of Self-determination.

The Republic of Indonesia is essentially "a cultural-ethnocentric State" which to this day can only maintain its illegal continuance through a sheer subtle and fascist policy which, with extreme disrespect to the principles of the International Law, not only aims to destroy the self-respect and cultural identity of other nations, but above all is a policy, which means a willful violation of the Right of Self-determination of every nation. An outrage, against which every self-respecting nation cannot remain indifferent.

Moreover the R.I., being a member of the United Nations, is a blemish to the integrity of this Organization, because it has degraded the Charter of the United Nations, as well as diverse resolutions with respect to the Right of Self-determination, to political formalities and daad letters. If the United Nations and particularly the Security Council does not recognize this truth, then they are not only acting contrary to their own principles and ideals, but they are actually responsible for the fact that the R.I. will in the near future undoubtedly be a potential danger to international peace, security and stability.

Having our own identity, as a nation, we don't wish to be forced into an artificial policy, by whatever neo-colonial power it may be designed. On April 25, 1950, we clearly made our statement to the world, today we repeat that Statement. Not only because we too have our own identity in ethnical and cultural respect and have "a right to maintain it", but also long before the beginning of the colonial era, we were able to manage our own economy without any interference by a so-called "R.I.", for... it never existed during that period.

Our history of sufferings and oppressions, as well as our struggle for recognition and maintaining our Independence has a right to be noticed by all nations.

The legal status of our state has been recognized by the Supreme Court of the Netherlands, the Hoge Raad (High Council) (1), but its recognition has never been noticed by the successive governments of this Kingdom. As a result of the Korean War, the matter

acquired more priority, and it was decided to postpone the discussion of the Moluccan affair (2). we're not blind to the International political reality, but we wish to put it clearly that we have a right of our conflict with the R.I. being treated by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The credibility of the United Nations is at stake.

- From 1950 to 1967 all that for which we have been struggling so intensively, namely our freedom, has been destroyed by the R.I. military.
- From 1967 on until today, all our effort to put forward the political ideal of the R.M.S. in Maluku, is being destroyed by the R.I. police and military.
- From 1950 on until the present day many of our people are being killed in the struggle for our fatherland.

We would like to draw your attention to some of these assassinated freedom fighters as a way to prove clearly the crimes of the R.I. and Dutch government.

Moreover with this evidence we would like to confirm our proposal, that the R.M.S. question will be raised again on the international level as soon as possible.

(a) Evidences in Indonesia.

Stukje tekst overtypen (zie blz. 31 van origineel).

(b) Evidences (In the Netherlands).

Attention also for the position of our young freedom-fighters abroad (particularly in the Netherlands) is relevant in this connection. The main cause; if not the sole cause of the waning patience of the Moluccan youth. in the Netherlands appears to be the failure of a righteous solution of our cause.

This in fact has been the reason that the Dutch people have shockingly experienced their outburst of pain and anger. Dutch public *opinion* condemned them as terrorist; a condemnation, unjustly leaving out the consideration of the official Dutch policy with respect of the Moluccan people. This negative opinion was strongly fortified by the Dutch press.

There is however a different view on the whole affair. A view, based on the continual history of Dutch cruelties committed on us. War has its own rules. The way the R.I. and the successive Dutch governments are isolating and *adversing us* has made our youth realize, that our people are actually *in* a state of war. For this reason they acted as "soldiers" and not as terrorists. They acted from awareness, on a level on which patriotic sentiments are closely interweaved with life- and deathphenomena.

Whilst the case of the youth was on trial, the Dutch government was not able to see their actions different from delicts. She would not realize the causes, why our youth feels compelled herself to act as soldiers.

The Dutch government continually ignores the juridical aspects of the Moluccan cause, which still exist. Because of this attitude of the Dutch government, we call upon the international public opinion to care about the Moluccan people, who still live in disorder because of the manipulation and intimidation by the neo-colonial powers of Indonesia and the Netherlands.

**chapter 9:**  
**THE TWOFOLD SUPPRESSION OF**  
**THE MOLUCCAN RIGHT OF INDEPENDENCE**

(a) Indonesian Ethnocentrism.

The R.I.-policy is directed towards on purpose violating the Essence of the Ethnological History of all nations outside Java, which veere part of the former Dutch Bast Indies, in such a way, that it might be Basier to turn them into something, that could be identified with the History and Culture of the Hinduese Empire of Modjopahit in order to finally create the New Indonesia.

This wicked ambition has caused much bloodshed and heavy toss of life in a way, quite allen to any sense of humanity. Sometimes this was done in the open, sometimes concealed. All the bloody events, which first took place in the Moluccas and then in Celebes, Sumatra, Papua, Malaysia and Timor, are clear evidences. On this account we therefore impeach the R.I. of political crimes and diplomatic misconduct.

As has been shown in many ways (see chapters 3 and 8) herewith we can give a summary of the political crimes of the neo-colonial R.I. (her political aggression and bloody naturalization) in our country the Moluccas.

(b) Deportation and manipulation.

The "evolutionary" process of the Dutch policy of deportation, which had almost paralyzed our people, was suddenly brought to a halt by the revolution, which was supported by many West Melanesians in Southeast Asla (1945). In the political situation of that tinre and later on (1950), the Moluccans fell apart into three groups, namely:

1. The first group was shipped directly to the Netherlands,
2. The second group attempted to ranch her occupied fatherland,
3. The third group didn't realize the political purposes of the neo-colonialistic R.I. and preferred Indonesian citizenship.

This division hit especially those, who at the time lived abroad and served in the colonial array and who veere activa in the civil service. Through the last group, led by dr. J. Leimena, Indonesia could present itself as if actions against the Moluccas are legitimate...

The Moluccas were assaulted on the pretext that this was an internal Indonesian affair. Ten thousands of our people lost their lives and the standards of Justice and Humanity were brutally violated, also because Leimena c.s. did not know or did not realize yet that eventually the truth would be suppressed (see chapter 10).

(c) Aggression and manipulation.

The neo-colonial R.I. has fiercely purposed, that the Republic of the South Moluccas would be a tool of the Dutch; thus she tried to make the world believe that the Dutch intended to colonize Southeast Asia and West Melanesia again by the policy of forming the Republic of the South Moluccas. Many nations of the former Dutch East Indies were convinced by this propaganda and therefore it isn't surprising, that they let themselves be used to attack us: a nation which is actually struggling to rid itself from colonial influences. Our military strength as a matter of fact was numbered 60 men, because the main body of 4000 men was transferred to the Netherlands.

Here follows a chronological account of the events in Maluku in 1950:

*(data blz. 35 van origineel oertypen)*

- May 3: The T.N.I. (the Indonesian Army) occupied the North Moluccas.
- May 14: Namlea on Buru-Island shelled by Indonesian corvettes.
- June 3: The T.N.I. infiltrated and occupied Dodo (Aru-Island).
- July, 13 A T.N.I.-force of 1,000 men attacked Namlea; the attack was beaten off.
- July, 14 A T.N.I.-force of 1,800 men attacked Namlea, with the same result. July, 17 3,000 men attacked Namlea; 75% were destroyed, before they could take the island.
- July, 19 Attack on Piru (West Ceram) with 1,500 men.

Attack on Amaheh (South Ceram) with 3,000 men. R.I.-aircraft and corvettes bombarded Amboina-city; great slaughter among the population. A.T.N.I.-force of 6,000 men attacked Tolehu (North Ambon) and pushed ahead to Suli and Ambon-city. Hitu-Lama attacked by 2,000 men. Amboina-city along the bay attacked with 2,000 men. Wahai (North Ceram) attacked with 1,500 men. Second wave on Wahai, now involving 3,000 men. With the use of 8,450 men the T.N.I. finally-succeeded to occupy Amboina-city (combined operations of army, air force and navy). Renewed attack on Amboina-city, now with tanks and armored cars; Amboina now finally occupied.

Meanwhile the attack on South and East Ceram was uninterruptedly continued.

Tenthousands of T.N.I.-soldiers were committed to attack this island; from the bases Waraka, Amaheh, Tehoru to the A.P.R.M.S.-forces in Bula Northeast Ceram.

The population of Ceram suffered daily from the attacks and bombardments of the R.I.-airforce and -navy.

(d) The economic blockades.

For three years (1950-1953) the straits between Amboina, Lease and Ceram were blockaded by the R.I.-navy. The isles of Saparua and Nusalaut were continually and fiercely bombarded (1954). At the end there was nothing left to the people; she saw no way to withdraw to Ceram; the only alternative was to surrender.

(e) The national resistance.

After severe losses inflicted upon the R.I.-forces, the main body of the Moluccan army (the A.P.R.M.S.) fell back to Ceram and Haruku, to continue the struggle. Hundreds of young Moluccans fled every year to the Ceramese interior from the occupied Islands to join the guerilla-forces. Intellectuals, who at that time enjoyed the confidence of the people were authorized to lead the political mission abroad, in order to raise the matter of the R.I.-aggression against the Moluccan Republic before the international public and to confute the R.I.-propaganda. Their main task however, was to establish diplomatic relations with the other sovereign countries, and to seek military support, so that the people and the guerilla-forces could put up against any attack from outside on the legal R.M.S.-territory.

(f) The Netherlands accomplice.

The members of the official Political Commission of the R.M.S. were arrested by the Dutch authorities on the 11th of October 1952 upon their arrival at New Guinea. Mr. Alvarez Manusama was prohibited to speak. As a result he had not been able to fulfill his duties and responsibilities towards his people.

Doing this, the Dutch government has not only violated the status of an official representative, but above all she has trampled down the International Law (in particular the Geneva Convention of the 28th of July, 1951) with the effect, that the matter has become isolated from the Security Council. Her hypocritical policy gave all liberty to the R. I.-aggressor to carry through his criminal policy towards the peoples of Southeast Asia and West Melanesia.

(g) Another reason for the isolation of the Moluccan question?

It is not proper to answer the question as why Mr. Manusama has so easily accepted his prohibition to speak. Time (History) will show. What must be accentuated here is the Pact, that Dutch action taken against the leader of our Political Mission, has been one of the main causes why already for years our struggle has been prevented of getting attention in

the international press. In the beginning our struggle was closely watched by the international press, but international attention has been ever since suppressed.

The R.I. has been given all the liberty to mutilate and destroy our identity, not only of those who live in Maluku, but also of our people, who live abroad.

But what has the Manusama done about that??

#### (h) The TRI-KORA operations.

Beginning in 1960 the R.I.-invasions were carried out more intensively by the "TRI-KORA"-forces. The TRI-KORA is an abbreviation standing for "TRI KOMANDO RAJAT" (or "TIGA KOMANDO RAKJAT"), the three army units. While giving the world the pretext, that it was moving towards Papua Barat (West Papua), the TRI-KORA was in fact encircling the R.M.S.-bases on Ceram and Haruku. The first outrage was the systematic destruction of all means of living, sago-plantations and -allotments. Contact with the population and the guerilla-array was broken by torturing and murdering everyone who could be suspected of secretly supporting and cooperating with the underground R.M.S.-array..

Due to the superior power of the TRI-KORA, virtually all available ammunition of our array ran out in three years time (1960-1963). Consequently all R.M.S. bases on Ceram and Haruku fell into the hands of the intruders.

On the 2nd of December 1963, our Great Leader Mr. Dr. Chr. Soumokil was captured and transferred abroad (to Java); on the 12th of April 1966 he was assassinated in close secret (see our Indictment-chapter 8).

#### *Blz. 38 origineel overtypen.*

- In 1968 the Jarma Aru-company, a private (Moluccan) enterprise on Dobo, which occupied itself with fishing and pearl extraction, was prohibited.
- In 1975 the salad-olfactory Nusa Ina Indah at Paso (Ambon) was boycotted and had to be given up.
- In 1979 the Wal Jame floating-dock was towed away to Surabaya (Java).

2. Moluccans were deprived of their jobs:

- In 1974 40 heads of family who had been working for seven years at the State Electric Company in Batu Hadja (Ambon) were fired on the spot without reasons given and

without a fair investigation into their possible faults; their places were offered to 40 other heads of family, who were fetched from Java.

- All senior officials in both army and police, as well as the civil administration, are from Javanese origin; our Adat-system is in danger.

(k) The undermining of the democratic rights of the Moluccan people.

By subtle intimidation the judiciary and the parliament was and is prohibited to defend or protect citizens, arrested on suspicion of R.M.S.-activities or Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.) membership. Due to this ten thousands of prisoners have been sentenced to lifelong exile from their homeland without any trial. Since 1965 among them are more than 10,000 Moluccans; they have been and are mainly imprisoned in the prisons and concentration-camps of Liang Ambon, Liang Ceram (Haruru) and Ob!.

With the so-called transmigration policy the R. 1.-regime justifies the annual flow of thousands of enfranchised Javanese from the overpopulated Java to the Moluccas and other Islands; the purpose of this policy is self-evident.

(l) The destruction and waste of our natural resources.

Without consideration of our claims, stemming from our Adat (customary law), ten thousand cubic meter of timber has been cut away from our jungles; moreover only imported manpower is used, especially from the Philippines. This whole process has caused an increased poverty on the Moluccas, the more so as the Indonesian intruder deliberately omits to secure the ecological balance. A consequence of this is the famine among 5,000 people in the surroundings of, Awai Pia (West Ceram). Especially our countrymen from Teon, Nila and Sarua, who have been deported to this district for doubtful reasons, were victimized - this last deportation has taken place only in 1980 - : sixty of them died from starvation and epidemics.

Virtually the entire business of fishing is being driven by Indonesian generals, who cooperate with **Japanese companies; so we** are robbed of one of our most important means of living and are doomed to live in utter poverty.

(m) The deterioration of our physical and mental condition.

The last few years a remarkable number of women of easy virtue have been transferred to Ambon-City and Masohi-City (Geram). Indonesians of high military rank and Chinese merchants illegally sell heroine to our young people; until now (1980/1981) well over 65\$, mainly no more than seventeen year olds, have fallen victim to this drug. Besides an epidemic of venereal diseases is raging.

Public healthcare is willfully neglected, so that health is dependent on nature. In most villages quakes turn up, but virtually no doctor will be found.

(n) The violation of the essence of history.

Moluccan History and Culture are very subtly adapted, so that it might be identified with the Hindu Culture of the Javanese Empire of Modjopahit. It is made obligatory, that every manuscript or essay attempting to describe our cultural history should bear a Hindu (Javanese) historical halfmark; it is clear, that the primal purpose is to make it seem plausible that the Moluccas is part indeed of the so-Galled Indonesian nation.

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Any writing, that is intended to express the originality of the Moluccan culture and aims to maintain that culture is not openly prohibited true enough; however they are all subtly boycotted until now.

As a striking example can be considered the experience of the author of this memorandum: on the 9th of April 1975, he was arrested at Amahey by the Indonesian police. He was transferred to Amboina and thrown in the Perigi Lima police-station; the reason for the arrest appeared to be his manuscript Galled "SIWA'RIMA". In his cel, he met Mr. E. Sahertian, Hadji Latukonsina and many others. They were arrested because they had the intention to publish a magazine about Moluccan culture, and because they had written a Dutch official body for financial support.

Notwithstanding the Pact that in his case the signer of this Memorandum himself Received financial support (Rp. 75,000) and other facilities from the PATTY MURA-University in Ambon, he was arrested anyhow; the late Mr. J. Mailoa, curator of the SIWA'LIMA-Museum rendered him assistance.

All his petitions for returning the manuscript, which he presented, to the police and the court of justice, were not-met in any case. Unofficially he learned from a justice-official (Mr. Ahmat Parry) that he was not wrong in doing his work, true enough, but his petitions couldn't be met in any way, in view of the official policy of the Indonesian government.

## **chapter 10:**

### **THE CASE OF DR. J. LEIMENA**

An important fact is related to Dr. J. Leimena (a Moluccan),, a reputed champion of the "neo-colonial R.I.-policy", former vice-premier and highest R.I.-advisor. Only after 21 years being active in the R.I.-government, he experience's the practice of the R.I.-military and police dictatorship at Amahey.

During the election-campaign (1971), Dr. Leimena arrived on the ship "Laut Harafuru" to give information about his party "Parkindo" (Christian Party of Indonesia). The meeting was beaten up and dispersed by the R.I.-soldiers and the police who are supporters of the GOLKAR, in order that the population was prevented to welcome him, the minister of the Indonesian government, but not a member of GOLKAR by chance. Struck by this scene, he cried out to the people from the ship via the loudspeaker, but the soldiers and the police carried on their action undisturbed; they were led by the lieutenants Puniran and Unihopo. Meanwhile a red flag was set up on the quay to signal that the ship couldn't moor; the quay wasn't yet officially in operation, was their argument. Thus Dr. Leimena was forced to go ashore in a small boat.

Deeply stricken by this painful experience he emotionally cried out: "Now I realize, that my own people, the Malaccans, are not free within this state".

After his arrival in Djakarta he suddenly died without any obvious cause of death.

## **EPILOGUE**

Ontbreekt, dus overtypen.

## NOTES

*Tabs instellen.*

*Moluccan Peoples Mission:*

1. Heers LIV, pages 127-130. 1.0. Nanulaita: Timbulnja Militerisme Ambon, pages 61-66.
2. Bung Penonton (G.A. Knot): De Zuidmolukse Republiek, page 218.

*Chapter I:*

1. From Sou Nunua: Moluccan Peoples Orale Literature\*, translated by Ony Sahalessy. \* As an ancient people, our ancestors had no writings. Every historic and culture-anthropological phenomena were therefore generally handed down by word of mouth. Our oral transmittance expresses itself in three significant ways: - The Teon (= the family or the village plage). - The Kapatas (= the "songs" through which the story of the people is told). - The "TURA/TULA" (= ancient historic depictions, for instance on the creation of the world, and particular human achievements, had been illustrated in). In Alif'Uru-tongue these three factors are Galled the "Sou Nunua" (the Nunusaku pledge, in the meaning of: "an ancient law, that established the identity of individuals, and the quality of a territory, in relation to a village and the familybound").
2. From Sou Nunua. Copies of these "Turas" (drawing) are found in Baileu Seni Budaja, Batai Telu Pata Siwa Patalina at Amahey, South Ceram.

Chapter 2:.

1. 1.0. Nanulaita: Timbulnja Militerisme Ambon, pages 43-44.
2. J. Lasamahu (Sh. Sedjarah): Diktat Sedjarah Indonesia 2, pages 5-6.
3. J. Moh. Arsath, RO TS°af pages 15-.16 .

*Capter 3:*

1. 1.0. Nanulaita: Timbulnja Militerisme Ambon, pages 26-27.
2. The monthly Panda of the World Ni,,; .ure Fund, Dutch Section, in the issue of December 1980, page 165.

*Chapter 4:*

1. J. Prins: The Double Problem of the South-Moluccan Minority. In: P1ura1 Societies, Den Haag 8 (1977), part 2, page 3.
2. 1.0. Nanulaita: Timbulnja Militerisme Ambon, pages 24-25.
3. id.
4. Bung Penonton (G.A. Knot): De Zuidmolukse Republiek, page 218.

*Chapter 5:*

1. 1.0. Nanulaita: Timbulnja Militerisme Ambon, pages 15-25, 33, 46-55.
2. J. Arloy from Dobo; interview on 23th of June 1973 at Amahey.
3. 1.0. Nanulaita: Timbulnja Militerisme Ambon, page 213.
4. J. Tupasela: Interview on 24th of June at Amahey.

*Chapter 7:*

1. Mr. Gunawan c.q., Pengantar Antrologi untak Indonesia.
2. Sapta Pudjangga Indonesia (penerbit Kwa Giok Djing Kudus), pages 15-16.
3. Ir. Sri Muljono: Wajang dan Karakter Manusia, page 71.
4. Tessel Polman & Joan Selekty: Istori-istori Maluku, pages 94-95.

*Chapter 8:*

1. Bung Penonton (G.A. Knot): De Zuidmolukse Republiek, page 213.
2. Gunter Decker: Die Republik der Sudmolukken, page 131.

## SUPPLEMENT

Discussion of the South Moluccan Case in the Security Council on 30 October 1950 •).  
(under the presidency of Mr. Warren Austin)

The PRESIDENT: I request the representative of Egypt to delete) - the motion for adjustment in order to give the President a chance to read a short statement, During the course of this month, which is nearing its end, two reports have been made to the Security Council by the United Nations Commission for Indonesia. The first report dated 17 October 1950, document S/1873, concerns a situation in the South Moluccas, particularly in Ambon. It refers this matter to the Security Council and suggests that it might reinforce the Commission's authority.

The second report of the Commission dated 28 November 1950, document S/1873, which was circulated only this morning, concerns the demobilization and repatriation of former Netherlands troops in Java.

It mentions a situation in the South Moluccas in its final paragraph, stating that the Commission still stands prepared to intend its field offices and will continue to keep the Security Council informed.

In view of the impending termination of my tenure as president attempted, on Friday and Saturday, to obtain a consensus of the views of the Council about matters which might be taken up during the remaining period. My impression is that the majority of the members does not desire this item to come up during my presidency.

I should like to know whether any member wishes further to express his views in open council on that matter of the timing of the consideration of that report of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia of 11 October on the Ambon Affair. Speaking as the United States representative, I am instructed to state that my Government thinks that this subject should be discussed by the Security Council at an early date.

Sir Gladwyn Jebb (United Kingdom): As the President said, we have now had two reports of this subject from the United Nations Commission for Indonesia. The first report was dated 11 October, but the second report, document S/7873, has only just this moment come in.

I hardly had the time to read it. I do not know whether my colleagues did or did not have the time to read it. I have just seen it, and I certainly have not considered it. If we had only the first report to consider, I think I should certainly have agreed with what the President said his Government's view is and that this should be discussed by the Security Council at an early date.

I am not sure, however, that the second report does not put the matter in rather a different light. I should, myself, wish to have time for reflection before saying that we ought really

to discuss this rather delicate problem at the present time. I do not think it is necessary for us to discuss it in all circumstances, as it might possibly be that the second report might cause us to change our view as to the necessity for discussion. I do not know this for certain, but I should like to have time to think about that point. I suggest that we do not take a decision now.

Air. Looste (France) (translation from French): I am in the same position as my colleague from the United Kingdom: I have not yet had time to study the documents in question. In the circumstances, I wish to reserve the position of the French delegation as to the advisability of beginning the discussion of this subject at this meeting of the Security Council.

Itfahmoud FA1C'ZI & y (Egypt): The position of my delegation is similar to that expressed now by the delegations of the United Kingdom and France. I want to be explicit about this. I am reserving the position of my delegation both in connection with whether or not we should, in the light of the two reports and particularly the second report, take this matter up in the Security Council and whether, in the case of an affirmative decision in the future, we should take it up soon, that is, on what date should the Council take this matter up? PRESIDENT; There is no draft resolution which has been offered on this subject, and the Council will now proceed to another point. The representatives of the Kingdom of Jordan requested that Dr. Ralph Boloha .- ets.

Official Records of the Security Council, fifth Year, No. 59, pp. 29/31.

### **13. Resolution passed by the Netherlands Branch of the International Law Association on 24 June 1950 \*).**

The Netherlands Association for International Law, meeting in Rotterdam on 24 June 1950, having taken cognizance of a letter from J. P. N i k i j u l u w , in his capacity of Representative of the Republic of the South Moluccas, in which he asks the Association to pass an opinion on the legal position of the Republic of the South Moluccas, which was proclaimed on 24 April 1950, in particular with regard to the obligation of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands to recognize this legal position;

Considering:

That the Amboinese population inhabiting the territory of the South Moluccas is a "population of a territory" as referred to in art. 2, sec. 1 . of the Agreement on Transitional Measures made between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic of the United States of Indonesia at the Round Table Conference, so that this population had the right to foren itself into a separate "component state" in the manner therein provided, and thereupon, by virtue of art. 2, sec. 2 of the Agreement of Transitional Measures, to acquire the opportunity to accept or reject the final Constitution of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia - e. to remgin part of that Republic or to withdraw from it - and to become entitled to a special relationship to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands;

That the right of self-determination granted to the Amboinese population by the fore mentioned provision of international law could no longer be exercised in the marmer provided therein, owing to the fact that the emphatic and repeated appeals of the Government of the Component State of East Indonesia to the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands and to the United Nations Commission for Indonesia prior to the 24 April 1950 to apply that position were !rejected or laid aside, from which it clearly appeared that the realization of the right of self determination of the populations inhabiting the territory of the Component State of East Indonesia in that marmer and in that foren was impossible;

That this impossibility of exercising the right of self-determination in the wanner provided n art. 2 of the Agreement on Transitional measures was confirmed by the decision taken by the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia on the 20 May 1950 to abolish the federal structure of that Republic, which had formed the basis of all the

Agreements of the Round Table Conference and had been internationally agreed upon, and to create a so-called Unitarian state; as a result of which decision the component states existing at the time of the conclusion of those agreements have been deprived of the opportunity to withdraw from the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and to treat for a special relationship to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands;

That, therefore, the South Moluccan Council, as the representative of the Amboinese population and the territory of South Moluccas, had the right itself to effectuate the right of self-determination to which that population was entitled by international law, by proclaiming an