

REFERENTIE No.:

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INFORMATIEZONE:

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MINISTERIE VAN BUITENLANDSE ZAKEN

Kopie Nr. 22

AFDELING VERBINDINGEN

's-GRAVENHAGE, LANGE HOUTSTRAAT 28
TEL. Noot 188309, 184000-284

ONTVANGEN
CODEBERICHT

DATUM VAN ONTVANGST:

6 december 1957

BESTEL-NR. VOOR:

min. v. b.z.

no 5878

Dir./Adm.:

Vader:

Ag. No.:

Datum:

DATUM VAN AFZENDING:

6 december 1957

AFKOMSTIG VAN:

g.n.v. parijs

geheim

uw teleks viernulnul achtnulvijf stp stel mij voor volgende tekst cma die uwe aanwijzingen volgt en is afgestemd op atmosfeer in natoriaal cma aldaar morgenochtend half twaalf uitspreken
quote

i have been instructed to draw the attention of the council to developments in indonesia cma which cma in the opinion of my government cma affect not only my country cma but the west in general stp, the subject was first raised in general terms by the netherlands minister for foreign affairs hk then mr beyen slthk in the council cma meeting on the ministerial level on may five of last year stp at that time cma there were no specific facts which caused mr beyen to raise this question stp he none the less felt impelled to do so because of what cma according to the record cma he then called quo the overall atmosphere of discontent unquo then prevailing in indonesia cma atmosphere which cma mr beyen said cma quo the communists were trying to eksplotit unquo stp i believe that this overall atmosphere of discontent was the result of a naive belief that acquiring independence meant the effortless beginning of a millennium and of having a place in the sun cma hopes which were of course disappointed cma because no nation has ever obtained an effortless millennium or place in the sun stp however that may be cma this disappointment has continued to eksist in indonesia and now has given rise to an ekspllosion under the immediate influence of certain specific events which have acted as a trigger stp the fifty thousands dutch in indonesia cma men cma women cma and children cma have suddenly been subjected to a number of restrictive measures cma some of which dash such as cutting them off from the water supply undash are clearly inhuman stp they cannot purchase anything in shops cma they have no gas or electricity cma and no access to postal cma telephone or telegraph facilities stp a number of offices of dutch firms have been occupied by communistdominated

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elements who hoisted the red flag on their roofs pntcma these offices have now been put under the supervision of the indonesian government cma which has also required the closure of all dutch consultates throughout indonesia stp indonesian soldiers are being placed on board the numerous netherlands vessels plying in the archipelago cma vessels which too all intents and purposes have been taken over by the indonesian government stp

what were the facts which triggered this eksplorasi vrgtkn permit me to give you first a little background stp

once indonesia had become independent cma interest and inclination led us to a sustained and serious attempt to create between the netherlands and indonesia an atmosphere of good relations and sincere cooperation stp this policy was sustained by the knowledge that in spite of postwar developments cma there was no general animosity or worse against my country and its nationals in indonesia cma as anyone who is familiar with that country cma knows stp

this policy has been increasingly frustrated as a result of internal developments in indonesia stp

gradually cma two radically different groups have taken shape in that country stp

the first of these two groups aimed at developing the new indonesian state in co operation with the occident in general and with the netherlands in particular stp this group has shown at all times to be aware of the dangers presented by communism stp

the other group was in favour of continuing the revolution and is essentially antiwest cma and in particular antidutch stp this second group proposes to eliminate western influence from indonesia stp you will not be surprised to hear that this group has at all times been actively supported by the communists cma a group which especially in recent years has increased throughout indonesia in number and in influence stp they have eksplorated their close ties with revolutionar nationalists for the sake of objectives of their own cma viz the increase of the force of indonesia to international communism as its final purpose stp

the contest between these two groups has gradually been won by the radical and ekstremist elements cma and it is obvious that cma communism being always active in driving a wedge between eastern and western countries cma this group has done its utmost to frus

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trate all attempts cma of dutch and westernminded indonesians alike cma to establish good relations between the netherlands and indonesia stp

whatever we have done to promote a constructive development of those relations cma showing the greatest comprehension for indonesian aspirations and making every attempt to meet them cma showing at the same time no irritation or resentment on account of indonesian measures cma even when veksatious or simply harmful it was all of no avail stp

it was in this general atmosphere that in nineteen hundred fifty four indonesia raised the question of new guinea for the first time in the united nations stp you know that they claim the western half of this island cma which is not by any standard part of the indonesian archipelago cma no more than the eastern half which is administered by australia stp in the first few years after indonesia had become a sovereign state cma this question hardly played any part at all stp but as time went on the revolutionary group realised more and more that it had in new guinea a tool for agitation which it found ekstremely useful and welcome stp it knew that the netherlands cma responsible as they are for leading the native population towards a national eksistence of its own cma could not meet indonesia when it claimed the surrender of that same population to a country dash indonesia undash which is alien to it cma and this moreover without that population cma which is still ekstremely primitive cma having any means of being knowingly consulted stp it is this fact that has been seized by the anti western elements in indonesia cma and particularly by the communists cma in order to intensify anti dutch propaganda and agitation stp

the joint efforts of the revolutionary nationalists and the communists in indonesia resulted in a very considerable reduction of the influence of the group favouring co operation with the west cma so much so that finally this group hardly dared raise its voice stp it was for that reason that this group has hardly raised its voice when the radical elements succeeded in pushing through the unilateral abrogation by indonesia of the treaties of nineteenhunderd and fifty under which indonesia has acquired its independence on the basis of a broad settlement with my country stp also cma this group remained largely silent when a number of my compatriots were jailed and proceeded against cma their prosecution leading to all kinds of phantastic accusations not only against the netherlands cma but also against other western countries cma in

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particular the united states and the united kingdom cma both accused of grave subversive activities in indonesia stp these measures were followed in nineteen hundred and fiftysiks by indonesia s wholesale annulment of its indebtedness to the netherlands stp

in four successive general assemblies of the united nations hk in fiftyfour cma fiftyfive cma fifty siks cma and this year slthk indonesia has tried to obtain from the u n a pronouncement in favour of its claims to the western half of new guinea stp each time cma it failed to obtain the necessary number of votes stp last week cma this happened for the fourth time stp even before cma in the course of the discussions preceding this fourth adverse vote cma indonesia had announced that drastic action would be taken against the netherlands should the united nations again fail to endorse indonesia s claims stp i must leave it to you to answer the question whether this kind of policy is admissible in or outside the united nations stp we for our part call it a form of chantage and an attempt at subverting the essence and the foundations of the charter stp

the events of the last few days cma which i mentioned to you earlier cma seem to allow one interpretation only dbbpnt that indonesia now aims at creating conditions in which the netherlands have no choice but to wind up their interests in that country stp we have often feared that this was indeed an aim of the indonesian radicals cma but we have for a long time tried to believe that they would not be so foolish as to do that cma because they would be cutting into their own flesh stp however cma it now seems that cma ekshcrted to do so by the communists cma they have now reached that point stp contracts are openly violated dbbpnt although k l m had obtained from the indonesian government for a consideration the right to make landings in djakarta until the end of the year cma it has suddenly been told that its planes can be no longer admitted in indonesia stp furthermore all netherlands nationals are now prohibited to enter indonesia stp a popular movement has been allowed to be instigated against netherlands interests and netherlands nationals cma a campaign already begun during the discussion of the new guinea question in the united nations cma but now being continued on a much larger scale stp trade unions like the one known as s o b s i cma which any one who knows anything about indonesia realizes is completely communist dominated cma play a leading part in this campaign pntcma it is they who have occupied the offices

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of netherlands undertakings as i said in the beginning of my statement stp as a result cma chaotic conditions in the economic and financial field have already set in cma and it looks as if the indonesian government is increasingly unable to control this development stp nothing effective has been done by that government against the purposeful action of the communist led trade unions pntcma the conclusion is obvious that government either cannot act cma or does not want to act stp we have the impression that a decisive stage has been reached with regard to the struggle between the constructive and the revolutionary elements in indonesia cma and we who know that country well cma fear that the revolutionaires cma led by the communists cma are on the winning side stp we are truly apprehensive that the eksisting situation may cma if allowed to go on unchecked cma soon degenerate into a communist revolution stp it is for you to say whether that would only concern netherlands interests cma or cma on a much broader plane cma the interests of the whole non communist world stp

to come back for a moment to the new guinea question cma i have been asked to make it quite clear that that problem has merely been a pretekst for bringing about certain results wanted by the radical elements hk amongst whom the indonesian president slhk and the communists cma against whom the moderates have not prevailed stp although at present directed against my compatriots cma the movement now in progress is cma as mr beyen ekstensively demonstrated last year cma fundamentally anti west cma and there is not the slightest doubt that what the radicals and communists want is the complete elimination of western influence in indonesia stp

there is no doubt that with the disappearance of netherlands elements in the economic life of indonesia this country will go even farther and faster downhill cma to be absorbed in the end in the communist world stp the red flag planted by the communist trade unionists on dutch offices this week is cma in this respect cma an ominous and eloquent symbol which we hope will not pass unheeded stp

in view of the very real danger which cma by threatening a whole geographic area of the utmost strategic and economic importance cma threatens all our countries cma we trust and request that your governments will show full comprehension for this state of affaires cma and that they will give their active support in order to stem this fateful tide -6-

4. Over de inhoud van een ophalen mag niet worden gesproken.
naar dat bericht per telefoon moeten gesproken.

3. Afschaffen van codes: tegen uitstelbehandel
door de stichting Verhuisdiensten worden verwantigt.

Op een codebericht mag terug: niet in openbaar worden geschreven.
Daarom, wille codes, herhalen, dienen voldig te worden opgehangen.

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stp as a first step cma i am to request that you submit to your governments without delay our urgent request that your representatives in djakarta be instructed forthwith to draw the attention of the indonesian government to the very serious situation which has already come into being cma and to ekshort that government to refrain from arbitrary action cma and to assert its authority over irresponsible elements stp

i am to add that cma in the face of attempts on the part of the indonesian government to play off one western nation against another cma we must ask very earnestly that complete solidarity between nato partners be maintained all along the line hk i am thinking cma in this respect cma for instance of the european payments union slhk in order that no action be taken which would be damaging cma directly or indirectly cma to netherlands interests stp for my country cma this is the acid test of what nato co operation really means stp i am sure you and your governments will understand this stp the people of the netherlands want to be able to keep their faith in nato unimpaired stp

you may be interested to know that cma in the wider circle of the united nations cma my government is considering to place this whole matter before the security council stp

finally cma i am to state that cma should the situation not improve before the middle of this present month cma my government will feel obliged to raise this question cma which understandably presents to us a very special interest in addition to its general importance cma in the course of the forthcoming meeting of chiefs of government of the nato countries stp unquote

teneinde mijn collegas in staat stellen zo snel mogelijk reactie van hun regering uitlokken zend ik hun deze tekst reeds hedenavond stp acht zeer wenselijk raad aan hand van hasselman 1178 vertrouwelijk iets mededelen omtrent aanslag sukarno omdat stilzwijgen dienaangaande verkeerd kan worden begrepen stp

vankleffens 13 . 8

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MINISTERIE VAN BUITENLANDSE ZAKEN

Kopie No.

AFDELING VERBINDINGEN

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TEL. Nos: 180309; 184000-284

Dir./Afd.:

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Dossier:

ONTVANGEN
CODEBERICHT

DATUM VAN ONTVANGST:

7 december 1957

BESTEMD VOOR:

min. v.b.z.

DATUM VAN AFZENDING:

7 december 1957

AFKOMSTIG VAN: g.n.v. parijs

PARAAF/OPM:

geheim

avant vergadering nato raad hedenochtend kwam us permanente vertegenwoordiger mij zeggen dat quo regardless of what his government may or may not think or do he is wholeheartedly on our side unquo stp alras bleek dat rondzending gisteravond van onze verklaring goed resultaat had opgeleverd colon de meeste permanente vertegenwoordigers hadden haar al aan hun regeringen gezonden zodat tijd is gewonnen cma en allen hadden kennelijk de invloed der verklaring ondergaan stp ik kreeg gelegenheid onze verklaring in met uw departement overeengekomen redactie voor te lezen waarop bentinck die als voorzitter optrad een duidelijk resume gaf van de hoofdzaken en met name van de conclusies stp hierna spraken alle permanente vertegenwoordigers behalve luxemburg en ijstand stp algemeen werd uitgesproken dat deze zaak volkomen terecht aan nato raad is voorgelegd stp

belg wees op bijzonder nauwe banden met nederland in benelux stp zijn regering had in loop der jaren met bewondering pogingen van nederland gadegestlagen om tot goede betrekkingen met indonesie te komen stp zijn regering had hem opgedragen haar volledige solidariteit met nederland tot uiting te brengen in deze ongelukkige situatie stp belgie was zich bewust van communistische dreiging welke gevraag voor westen in hield stp nederlandse verklaring was bijzonder nuttig geweest om ingewikkelde situatie te verklaren welke vaak niet duidelijk was en slecht werd verstaan ook door sommige geallieerden stp Belgische regering heeft vanmorgen haar vertegenwoordiger in djakarta opdracht gegeven tot demarche conform nederlandse wens stp belgie is ervoor geporteerd dat kwestie aan verenigde naties wordt voorgelegd en hoopt dat daar nato solidariteit ondubbelzinnig tot uiting zal komen stp belgie heeft volledig begrip voor nederlandse wens om aangelegenheid tijdens minister conferentie naar voren te brengen stp

duitser onderschreef belgische verklaring volkomen stp hij had nog geen instructies doch was er zeker

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4. Over de inhoud van een codebericht mag niet geschreven worden, maar dat bericht per telefoon verder gesproken.

3. Afschriften van codes, tegen uitsluitend door de afdeling Verbindingen worden verantwoord.

1. Op een codebericht mag teken, dat is open kan worden geschreven.
2. Daartoe, welke codebericht, berichten, dienen veilig te worden opgeborgen.

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van dat zijn regering volledig nederlandse wensen zal inwilligen stp

ook italiaan betreerde situatie in indonesie en lot van nederlanders daar stp hij was ervan overtuigd dat zijn regering in djakarta demarche zal willen ondernemen stp

brit zeide dat zijn regering ernstig bezorgd was over ontwikkeling cma enerzijds vanwege haar speciale relaties met nederland cma anderzijds in verband met haar belangen in zuid oost azie stp foreign office gaf zes dezer verklaring uit te londen inhoudende dat britse regering tegen nederland genomen maatregelen betreurt en hoopt dat indonesische regering daarvan terug zat komen stp britten waren bereid mee te doen aan diplomatieke actie cma in het bijzonder ook op humanitaire aspect cma doch vroegen zich af hoe dit het meest effectief zou kunnen geschieden stp een gemeenschappelijke demarche van vijftien nato vertegenwoordigers in djakarta zou wellicht meer kwaad dan goed doen cma waarbij hij speciaal wees op aanwezigheid van gematigde groep in indonesie stp aan indonesische ambassadeur in londen was onder ogen gebracht dat actie nadertig voor indonesie zelf en elders slechte indruk zou maken stp britten waren zeer gaarne bereid hulp te bieden aan nederlandse burgers waarbij met name werd gedacht aan hulp bij mogelijke evacuatie via singapore stp zijn regering onderhield nauw contact met nederlandse en australische regering welke laatste uiteraard eveneens zeer bezorgd stp

fransman onderstreepte ernst van situatie welke volkomen schending van volkenrecht betekende en wees erop dat gebeurtenissen in indonesie illustratie vormen van nato visie ten aanzien van communistische uitdaging aan vrije wereld cma zoals in ontwerpverklaring voor ministersconferentie geformuleerd stp franseregering bereid tot demarche in djakarta stp indien nederland erom zou verzoeken zal zij gaarne materiële hulp bij repatriatie overwegen stp

noor zeide dat hij bij zijn regering cma die niet in djakarta door gezant vertegenwoordigd cma erop had aangedrongen demarche te ondernemen via daartoe geschikte kanalen stp hij wees op politieke en humanitaire aspect van situatie stp indien noodtoestand voor nederlanders in indonesie zou verergeren rekende hij erop dat zulks ter attentie van raad zou worden gebracht die dan zou kunnen overleggen hoe hulp kon worden geboden stp noorwegen zal gaarne hulp verlenen indien nederland dat wenst stp

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4. Over de inhoud van een codebericht mag niet worden gesproken.
naar dat bericht per telefoon worden gesproken.

3. Afschaffen van codeset, mogen afschaffen
door de akteling Verbindingen worden verwijderd.

Op een codebericht, mag teloage, niet in openbaar worden getoond.
Dossiers, welke codebericht bevatten, dienen veilig te worden opgeborgen.

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turk verklaarde dat zijn regering ongetwijfeld grootste sympathie zal hebben voor nederlands appèl aan solidariteit stp

portugees had nog geen instructies doch was overtuigd van solidariteitsgevoelens zijner regering en van aansluiting bij diplomatische actie in djakarta stp deen sprak in zelfde zin stp

canadees prees waardige nederlandse verklaring stp nederlandse politiek was gekenmerkt door grote quo forbearance unquo tegenover indonesische provocaties stp door laatste gebeurtenissen had nederlandse regering geen ander alternatief dan deze zaak onder aandacht van raad te brengen stp hij had nederlands verzoek reeds aan regering doorgegeven en verzekerde dat dit urgent en met sympathie zou worden behandeld stp

amerikaan die evenmin over instructies beschikte stoot zich bij canadees aan stp hij had gisteravond nederlandse verklaring aan washington geseind stp ook hij vond het volkomen juist dat zaak aan raad was voorgelegd stp

ik heb daarop bedankt voor grote aandacht aan onze verklaring besteed stp voorts heb ik nogmaals duidelijk in licht gesteld dat het hier cma niet verre van zaak te zijn die alleen nederland regardeert cma aangelegenheid betreft die van uitzonderlijk belang voor gehele westelijke wereld cma voor dewelke het geen onverschillige zaak kan zijn of een strategisch en economisch zo belangrijk gebied als indonesie in handen is van elementen die westen goedgezind zijn cma dan wel omgekeerd stp

raad besloot zaak op agenda te houden en volgende week te beraadslagen over door respectieve regeringen te nemen cq genomen maatregelen stp

belg stelde daarop vraag of ik iets kon mededelen omtrent achtergrond van aanstelling op sukarno stp ik verklaarde mij daartoe bereid doch verzocht dit punt als zijnde voor alles van intern indonesische belang buiten notulen te houden stp toen dit was goedgevonden heb ik raad ingelicht conform hasselman elfachtenzeventig stp

tenslotte werd besloten dat geen communiqué zou worden uitgegeven cma maar dat nato perschef gemachtigd was aan pers te zeggen dat nederlandse permanente vertegenwoordiger raad had ingelicht over ontwikkeling van zaken in indonesie overeenkomstig nederlands regerings communiqué van gisteravond semicolon dat raad vervolgens een gedachtenwisseling had gehouden naar aanleiding van nederlandse verklaring semicolon dat de zaak nu aanhangig is bij in raad vertegenwoordigde regeringen en dat zij op agenda van raad blijft stp

van kleffens 14/10/1965