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REFERENTIE No.:

9885

INFORMATIEKOPIE:

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MINISTERIE VAN BUITENLANDSE ZAKEN

AFDELING VERBINDINGEN

's-GRAVENHAGE, LANGE HOUTSTRAAT 28
TEL. Nos: 180309; 184000-284

Kopie No. 28

VERZONDEN CODEBERICHT

DATUM VAN VERZENDING:

11 december 1958

AFKOMSTIG VAN:

min. v. b.z.

Dir. Afd:

Visie:

Ag. No:

Dossier:

MINUUT GEPARAFEERD DOOR:

s

BESTemd VOOR: Londen

informatiekopie geseind aan: parijs gnv
washington

informatiekopie per koerier aan: djakarta canberra

PARAaf:

geheim

zijdens britse ambassade werden heden mededelingen gedaan over britse beslissing met betrekking tot wapen leveranties aan indonesie kma waarover het navolgende aide memoire werd achtergelaten

arms for indonesia

p r i m o

this question was fully discussed at the meeting between mr luns and mr selwyn lloyd last june and in further conversations with baron van tuyll and the netherlands charge d affaires at the foreign office in londen in august stp although the british government considered at the time that there was a strong case for a considered policy of meeting at least some of indonesia's requirements and although the united states had meanwhile begun a series of military deliveries to indonesia kma it was decided in view of dutch and australian objections not to proceed for the time being with the supply of weapons which might conceivably be used for offensive purposes kma notably gannet aircraft stp

s e c u n d o

her britannic majesty's government have recently been reconsidering the requests for arms received from indonesia in the light of their long term policy towards that country stp it seems to them that it would be most unwise to withhold arms for indonesia indefinitely because to do so would mean leaving the field wide open to the communists stp for prestige reasons indonesia is clearly determined to fit out her forces kma especially her navy and air force kma with comparatively modern weapons and equipment stp these she will obtain where she can stp the soviet bloc are already well to the fore pntkma the indonesians - 2 -

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have bought mig jet fighters and some il bombers from the czechs and more migs and warships are on order from the poles stp these supplies kma together with substantial economic assistance from russia kma china kma etc will cause them to turn increasingly to the communist bloc kma if they are cold shoudered by the west stp their navy have already been upset by her majesty s government s refusal to supply gannets and relations with them are strained as a result stp her majesty s government feel that all this can do no good to the western cause and that more will be achieved by positive western support than by continued snubs stp

t e r t i o

her majesty s government appreciate the fears of the netherlands government about indonesia s intentions towards west new guinea stp but a western embargo on arms would not deprive the indonesians of the means of aggression stp they could obtain from soviet sources all the principal types of weapons they may require kma to the limits of their financial resources stp on the other hand kma the more western arms indonesia has kma the more effective can be the control kma if the occasion demanded kma through the denial of western ammunition and spares stp

q u a r t o

all this has led her majesty s government to the conclusion that the time has come when they must adopt a more liberal policy over eksport of arms and equipment to the indonesians stp they do not want to supply arms indiscriminately kma either by type or by number stp for the time being they would refuse kma for instance kma requests for advanced types of jet aircraft or heavy bombers stp they have in fact no outstanding enquiries from indonesia for any of these at present stp

q u i n t o

among the items which her majesty s government have in mind to supply the most important current requirement is for siks gannets for delivery nekst year hk as part of a contract for eighteen in all to be delivered over three years slhk and for which the indonesians have already paid out large sums and had training stp her majesty s government do not regard these as any significant addition to indonesia s offensive potential nor do they consider them suited to an aggressive role stp they have therefore decided that they should release them stp they are also taking into account the question of other supplies kma including - 3 -
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certain types of naval vessels stp indonesia's purchases would of course be limited by her own financial situation stp her majesty's government propose to keep the netherlands government informed of deliveries made kma which would of course still be subject to her majesty's government's assessment of the situation in indonesia at the time of delivery stp

s e k s t o

her majesty's government appreciate the netherlands government's misgivings on this subject kma but they have given the question most careful thought and are now convinced that there is nothing to be gained and much to be lost by the continuance of a purely obstructive attitude to the indonesians in this matter stp since it may be considered that this decision involves a departure from the general understanding previously reached in nato kma mr lloyd proposes to make a statement in the nato council as soon as possible stp

na deze uiteenzetting werd een toelichting gegeven langs de navolgende lijnen

p r i m o

the united states government have fully accepted the necessity kma as an ingredient in retention of goodwill of indonesian moderates kma for supply of a wide range of offensive weapons and equipment kma including landing ships and propeller driven aircraft which may include bombers stp

s e c u n d o

mr lloyd realises that the decision will be unwelcome to the netherlands government stp but he has discussed this question more than once with dr luns kma who knows his views stp he has taken the netherlands government into his confidence all along and hopes that they will not take it amiss now that it has been decided to go ahead stp

t e r t i o

moreover kma it has been learned from americans that the indonesians are enquiring for similar aircraft in the united states and that there is a distinct possibility that if the united kingdom authorities refuse to supply kma the americans would do so rather than let the indonesians go to the communists stp dr luns will kma it is hoped kma understand that it would be politically impossible for mr lloyd to take the risk of letting this order go to an american firm stp

q u a r t o

mr lloyd hopes to explain the position personally

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to dr luns in greater detail during the nato meeting
in paris in mid december stp
q u i n t o

the fact that the indonesian government are not
playing the communist game and that their actions
even now can be of positive advantage to the west
kma appears to be borne out by recent press report
that leader of indonesian delegation at the afro asian
economic conference in cairo has challenged the right
of the soviet delegation to attend the meeting stp
s e k s t o

present decision is restricted specifically to
gannets because if eksport licence is not given before
the end of the year the contract will be cancelled
stp in the present state of employment in the u k
aircraft industry it is not politically possible for
her majesty s government to take the risk of order
going to an american firm stp
s e p t i m o

in making decision known to indonesians her
majesty s government will put on record clear statement
made by dr subandrio to mr lloyd during his recent
visit to london that the indonesian government had
not the slightest intention of using force to try
to settle the new guinea issue stp
o c t a v o

her majesty s government are also in serious
difficulty over orders for ships kma but do not propose
to take a decision about that until there has been
a nato discussion stp dr luns will kma however kma
understand that with rising unemployment in the
u k and men out of work in the shipbuilding industry
kma it is again a political impossibility for her
majesty s government to refuse orders which are being
eksecuted by west germany kma italy and the united
states stp

dezerzijds reactie was als volgt stp
p r i m o

britse beslissing is in strijd met in navo overeen
gekomen common understanding stp wenst de britse rege
ring daarvan af te wijken dan had voorafgaande consultatie
in navo behoren plaats te vinden stp zelfs bilaterale
consultatie blijft achterwege zodat nederlandse regering
niet alleen zeer teleurgesteld doch bovendien ernstig
geschockt zal zijn over dit volledige gebrek aan conside
ratie stp

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s e c u n d o

britse regering heeft destijds mede naar aanleiding australische protesten beslist de levering van gannets aan indonesie geen doorgang te doen vinden stp dezerzijds was nimmer begrepen dat dit slechts een opschorting van de levering zou zijn zodat de genomen beslissing betekent dat een gedane toezegging unilateraal ongedaan wordt gemaakt stp

t e r t i o

zowel de wapenleveranties zelf als het achterwege blijven van overleg zal niet nalaten grote irritatie te wekken bij nederlandse regering en de wederzijdse verhoudingen kma welke bijvoorbeeld op het gebied van klm frequentie naar singapore reeds moeilijk lagen kma zeker niet verbeteren stp

q u a r t o

opgemerkt werd dat britse wapenleveranties volstrekt anders liggen dan amerikaanse leveranties stp amerikaanse regering had immers enerzijds indonesie medegedeeld dat militaire actie tegen nieuw guinea voor amerika onacceptabel is en anderzijds aan nederlandse regering toegezegd dat wij kma mocht indonesie tot militaire actie overgaan kma op amerikaanse steun konden rekenen stp

q u i n t o

gesteld werd dat britse morele verantwoordelijkheid om nederland bij onverhoopte indonesische aanval steun te verlenen kma wel in zeer sterke mate zou toenemen stp

s e k s t o

gevraagd werd ten eerste beslissing aan te houden tot gesprek selwyn lloyd stp luns in navo vergadering in week van vijftien tot twintig december stp mocht selwyn lloyd immers niet volledige vrijheid van handelen behouden dan zou dit gesprek nutteloos zijn stp ten tweede om indien beslissing niet ongedaan zou worden gemaakt in ieder geval van indonesische regering als voorwaarde voor de leveranties de garantie te vragen dat geen militaire actie tegen nederlands nieuw guinea zal worden genomen stp ten derde dat wanneer deze garantie door indonesie zou worden geweigerd ook de britse wapenleveranties achterwege zouden blijven stp

s e p t i m o

alle buitenlands politieke argumenten om de wapen leveranties te rechtvaardigen kma werden weerlegd stp

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voor uw informatie diene tenslotte dat van australische ambassadeur werd vernomen dat deze nog niets van zijn regering te dezer zake had vernomen doch dat hij uit gesprek met britse ambassade hier ter stede had begrepen dat australie eveneens eerst heden werd geïnformeerd zodat met australie dus evenmin overleg zou hebben plaats gevonden stp

Luns honderd negenenvijftig

