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DOSSIERKOPIE

REFERENTIE No:
8571

KOPIE: mp
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MINISTERIE VAN BUITENLANDSE ZAKEN
AFDELING VERBINDINGEN
's-GRAVENHAGE, LANGE HOUTSTRAAT 28
TEL Nos: 180309; 184000-284

Kopie No.

ONTVANGEN
CODEBERICHT

DATUM VAN ONTVANGST:
5 september 1962

BESTEMD VOOR:
min. v. b.z.

Dir./Afd.: *810/RY*

Visie:

Ag. No: *9/12.13 mnd nado*

Dossier: *118844-797738*

DATUM VAN AFZENDING:
5 september 1962

AFKOMSTIG VAN: gnv parijs

PARAAF/OPM:

AFGESCHREVEN

GEHEIM

onderwerp: nederlands nieuw guinea.

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U-4/L
B-
Ch
Feb

aansluitend op amerikaanse inderventie inzake cuba waarin
finletter o a probleem van nato solidariteit aanstipte
kma legde ik heden in raad verklaring af langsde lijnen
neergelegd in uw honderdtien stp na een korte inleiding
om aan te sluiten bij het cubaprobleem en te verklaren
waarom de door stikker destijds gesuggereerde raadsdiscussie
niet had kunnen plaatsvinden zeide ik q u o t e

my authorities believe it to be of importance
to our nato allies to be informed about the netherlands
government appreciation of the character of this agreement
and some of the implications for the future stp i have
kma therefore kma been instructed to bring the following
considerations to the attention of the council dbbpnt
my statement can be divided under three headings
dbbpnt

- one arms embargo
 - two indonesian threat of aggression
 - three the way of arriving at the final settlement
- the netherlands government consider the agreement
signed in the presence of the acting secretary general
of the united nations as tantamount to a capitulation
in the face of an acute threat of aggression kma directed
towards a territory which the netherlands administered
in complete conformity with the provisions of article
seventythree of the charter of the united nations stp
this threat of aggression was made by a neutralist
power planning kma with full communist support kma
a military action against the netherlands kma one of
the members of nato kma which forces the netherlands
to yield stp no material interests of my country were
at stake in western new guinea stp our only motives
were to try to protect the interest of the inhabitants
kma the papuans kma in order to permit them to decide
in freedom on their future stp as a consequence of the

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agreement of august fifteenth kma my government will not be able to fulfil these obligations towards the papuans kma obligations deriving directly from the charter of the united nations stp

from the start of the conflict the united states kma as a consequence of their position and interests in the pacific area kma where new guinea is situated kma have displayed a particular interest in this issue and have also assumed certain responsibilities stp

of these responsibilities i have to mention first of all the delivery of all kinds of military equipment to indonesia against the explicit wish of my government stp it is redundant to repeat here the whole story of united states delivery of arms to indonesia kma because the council is completely familiar with it and has at all times taken a very active interest in the matter stp

i would like to use this opportunity to express the thanks of my authorities for the cooperation kma which the nato allies have displayed in this respect and their willingness at all times to discuss with us proposed arms transactions with indonesia by their nationals in connection with the possible use of this equipment for aggressive purposes against a nato ally stp many times contracts have been cancelled or deliveries stopped kma causing commercial or financial damage of some consequence kma which was willingly accepted by the nato ally concerned in the overriding interest of the preservation of peace stp

my authorities would very much appreciate if the present embargo could be maintained until the responsibility for the area has passed to the united nations authority stp

the embargo policy outlined above unfortunately never became a fully effective and commonly agreed nato line of conduct because the united states from the beginning did not want to join with the other allies in prohibiting the exports to indonesia of arms kma which might be used for offensive purposes stp neither did the united states want to joint the other allies when in the spring of this year kma in view of the growing indonesian military threat kma it was agreed that a l l exports of arms would be prohibited stp

the united states permanent representative has several times explained the attitude of his government

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in this matter stp i believe i can sum up the american position correctly by stating that the united states were of the opinion that their special responsibilities in the area based on political reasons made it impossible for them to agree to an arms embargo stp moreover kma the united states government kma either bilaterally or within the alliance kma has told my government that it would see to it that arms of united states origin would not be used against netherlands new guinea stp in fact kma time and again this council or the political committee has been informed that each united states delivery was made on the ekspress condition that the equipment in question would not be used against netherlands new guinea and that this had been eksplained to the indonesian government stp

i regret to have to say that notwithstanding these pledges the netherlands forces in netherlands new guinea have on many occasions been faced with attacks in which united states equipment has been used stp transport aircraft of united states origin was instrumental for dropping more than one thousand indonesian paratroopers and their equipment stp landingcraft of united states origin has been used in the preparation of landing operations stp american eksports from the factory which delivered the aircraft i just mentioned staged till the last moment in training the indonesians in the maintenance and use of the planes in question stp in one instance the united states even delivered to indonesia eksactly the same brand of machine pistols which another nato ally at the request of the netherlands government refused to sell stp

i do not want to contend that the united states have done nothing to prevent the use of arms of american origin against netherlands troops stp my government has been informed on many occasions that the indonesian government has been warned against the use of these weapons stp it is kma however kma a fact that these warnings have remained unheeded and that the indonesian government kma with the tacit or eksPLICIT support of the whole of the communist world kma has u s e d these arms stp now that an agreement has been reached whereby the agressor has practically achieved his purpose kma the conclusion is inevitable that the american policy with regard to arms deliveries to indonesia has been a failure kma f i r s t l y because the u s government has been unwilling to enforce the conditions under which these deliveries were made stp in the second place the moral and practical effect which an embargo of arms shipments by most western arms producing nations might have had to refrain indonesia

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from pursuing a policy of aggression was lost completely kma because of the non participation of the major western producer of military equipment stp i think that as a consequence not only the position of the united states in indonesia but also the western prestige in the whole of the neutralist world has been affected stp

the second point in which the united states have become involved is the question of aggression itself stp on many occasions the united states government has warned the indonesian government against a military solution of the problem stp

one can only regrestfully conclude that indonesia has in practice ignored all these warnings completely and with impunity stp i will have to come back to the consequences of the situation a little further in my intervention stp

as you know the indonesians have started their aggression with rather small scale infiltrations over a long period stp since the beginning of this year their action was stepped up in both manpower and equipment and i trust that you can all agree with me that droppings of more than a thousand paratroopers can not be dismissed as incidents of no very great consequence stp the circumstance that these acts of open aggression were not recognized at once for what they were dbbnt breaches of the peace which kma if allowed to continue unchallenged would only encourage further and larger military operations by indonesian kma has had fatal consequences stp

the netherlands armed forces in the area have made a courageous effort to resist these indonesian military infiltrations stp hundreds of them have been taken prisoner or been liquidated stp it was however obvious kma that the complete lack of valied international reaction against these open acts of aggression would become an encouragement to indonesia to engage in fullscale war using all the equipment at its disposal stp

my government has kma of course kma thoroughly evaluated this foreseeable development stp the netherlands being a country with limited resources cannot be ekspected to carry alone the burden of fullscale war in a remote territory many thousands of miles away stp we have also come to the conclusion that it would have been possible to prevent such a situation from arising and that no serious risk of an armed conflict would have occurred if the united states from the beginning would have made clear that it would not tolerate and would actively intervene kma both in the case of misuse of united states delivered military equipment and in case of open acts of aggression against a nato

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ally stp we have had reason to hope that the united states in this matter would have given as clear an indication that they would not tolerate aggression as they have given e.g. with regard to quemoy and matsu islands off the china coast stp as matters now stand

world public opinion can only conclude once more that aggressive acts of non western states will not result in effective opposition from the west stp there are clear indications that while the soviet union at various times kma discouraged indonesia from committing open aggression kma they have changed their line of policy in the beginning of this year when they apparently arrived at the conclusion that an indonesian aggression on new guinea would n e v e r be challenged by the forces of the united states kma contrary to what happened in korea and other areas in the pacific threatened by communist inspired aggression kma where american military forces did intervene stp history will tell whether there is any connection between the new guinea case and the recent communist deliveries of materiel to cuba stp the success of the indonesian eksample may well encourage the soviet union and communist china to give futher military support to countries which pretend to have claims against nato allies stp

moreover kma my government fears that on this occas/on an opportunity has been missed to show to the whole world that the west seriously means to back up the provisions of the charter of the united nations stp the netherlands government considers that thus great kma and probably avoidable kma harm has been done to the authority of and the confidence in the western world stp my government is afraid that the consequences of what it considers to be a serious error of judgement will become more and more apparent in the years to come stp

while the complete success of the indonesian threat with fullscale invasion could have been avoided by a more determined support of the united states government kma the role eventually played by the united states to promote a settlement of the conflict between the netherlands and indonesia by peaceful means kma has left a bitter aftertaste kma because while ostensibly mediating the united states government in fact opted in favour of the indonesian claim by supporting the transfer of the territory to indonesia prior to any act of selfdetermination by the inhabitants themselves stp

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the netherlands government in a message to parliament has expressed publicly its great disappointment that the united states government has used its position to force the netherlands to give in to indonesian territorial ambitions stp in this council it should be added that my authorities feel hurt that a nato ally has been instrumental in sacrificing basic principles for the sake of ekspediency stp.

it is unnecessary to recall other occurrences in the recent past from which the conclusion can be drawn that the sacrifice of basic principles for the sake of the preservation of peace has often only served to encourage even graver acts of aggression kma leading finally to a large conflagration kma which might have been avoided if greater determination resist aggression had been shown at an early stage stp.

in concluding the observations which my authorities have instructed me to bring to the attention of my colleagues of the council kma i would like to repeat that the only alternative to fighting alone a large scale war thousands of miles away without any allied support was the conclusion of the agreement of august fifteenth stp my government will honour its signature and as a consequence will vote in favour of the resolution to be submitted to the u n general assembly to implement the provisions concerning the u n role in the transfer of new guinea and the supervision of the plebiscite to be held later stp my authorities trust that the nato allies will also vote in favour of the proposed resolution and continue to use their influence to support the desire of the papuan population to eksercise in freedom the basic right of selfdetermination stp
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