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9358

INFORMATIEKOPIE:

Ambassadeur
Marine Attaché
Militair Attaché
Mil. Luchtvaart Attaché
N.G.S.M.
Handels Afd.
Landbouw Afd.
Financieel Afd.
V.O. Nieuw-York
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AMBASSADE DER NEDERLANDEN

Afdeling Verbindingen

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Kopie No. **2**

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ONTVANGEN CODEBERICHT

DATUM VAN ONTVANGST:

11 september 1958 **NGSM**

BESTEMD VOOR:

EHO6609 PC2

Dr Kruunhaar

new york cc washington

DATUM VAN AFZENDING:

11 september 1958

AFKOMSTIG VAN: min van b z

g e h e i m

PARAAF/OPM:

most immediate

veer luns van staatssecretaris

naar aanleiding van uitspel van de amerikaanse verklaring in n a r betreffende wapenleveranties indonesie tot na gesprek tussen u cma dulles en casey hk vide stikker negenenzestig slthk diene volgende toelichting stp negen dezer ontving ik bezoek van young cma die zeide ernstig bezorgd te zijn over weerslag eventuele nederlands amerikaanse clash in n a r op uw a s bezoek washington stp uw houding van de laatste weken had het state department bijzonder gewaardeerd en hierin zou dan verandering kunnen komen stp hij zeide dat amerika vastbesloten was betrekken materiaal te leveren en dat aan verklaring vermeld in van voorst zeshonderd vierentachtig cma die ik hem voorlas en overeenstemde met zijn tekst cma niets veranderd zou worden stp hij gaf mij in overweging dat na aflegging amerikaanse verklaring door ons uitspel discussie zou worden gevraagd tot na uw bezoek washington cma waartegenover hij bereid was amerikaanse regering voor te stellen passage over levering duikbootjagers en helicopters te schrappen zonder daarover enige zekerheid te kunnen geven stp ik antwoordde young dat aflegging verklaring zonder reactie enzerzijds uitgesloten was zelfs indien dit uw bezoek aan washington ten goede zou komen cma het verkrijgen van populariteit in washington door het voertijdend doen van concessies niet moeilijk is cma maar ook niets oplevert stp ik gaf young in overweging washington voor te stellen de verklaring niet af te leggen en burgess op te dragen uitspel te motiveren met verwijzing naar a s gesprek tussen u cma dulles en casey stp dezerzijds zou dan daarmee worden ingestemd stp aangezien ik van doel bezoek young van te voren op de hoogte was door voorafgaand gesprek van young met van houten cma had ik mij van instemming drees met algeheel uitspel vergewist stp mijnerzijds werd aanvankelijk gezegd cma dat in antwoord door stikker wel aangedrongen zou worden op handhaving commen understanding van zes maart stp uit volgend onderhoud van burgess met stikker bleken amerikanen uitspel te willen vragen doch verwijzing naar commen understanding niet te kunnen accepteren zonder hunner

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Rubricering: geheim

zijds bestaan daarvan in twijfel te trekken stp daarop werd overeengekomen dat stikker de woorden commen understanding niet zou vermelden cma doch wel erop wijzen dat wij van natepartners verwachten dat tot de volgende bespreking geen wapens aan indonesie worden geleverd hk vide stikker negenenzestig slthk stp

stikker had burgess inzage gegeven van door hem voorbereid antwoord in geval amerikaanse verklaring ongewijzigd zou hebben plaatsgevonden stp tekst hiervan wordt u afzonderlijk geseind stp burgess was over scherpe teen hiervan negal ontsteld cma hetgeen wellicht mede oorzaak van demarche young is geweest stp

ik meen dat bereikt uitstel goed is om volgende reden dppbnt

prime eenmaal afgelegde amerikaanse verklaring zou nooit meer door hen kunnen worden teruggenomen

stp

secunde hoewel van ander nate partners meer of minder steun was toegezegd acht ik het uitgesloten cma dat na scherp nederlands amerikaanse uiteenzetting alle anderen van wapenleveranties zouden kunnen weer houden werden stp hk vide o a vsvansteenwijk driehonderd vijfenvijftig en vanuit honderd vier slthk stp

tertie aan uw gesprek met dulles zou veel waarde ontnomen zijn cma indien amerikaanse gedragslijn na afgelegde verklaring onwrikbaar vast had gelegen

stp

quarte nu thans gebleken is dat amerikanen tech opzien tegen clash in N a r is wellicht kleine mogelijkheid aanwezig met hulp van casey nog iets bij dulles te bereiken stp ik moege aantekenen dat zowel young als burgess met concept amerikaanse verklaring ongelukkig waren en volgende week washington waarts vertrekken cma zodat hunnerzijds misschien tegenwicht tegen robertson kan worden uitgeoefend

stp

wellicht verdient het aanbeveling van de huidige constellatie speedigst mogelijk gebruik te maken en te pogen uw onderhoud met dulles en casey zoveel moge lijk te vervreemen stp uiteraard hebben zowel van houten als ik tegenever young op duidelijke wijze uitdrukking gegeven van onze gevoelens nu andermaal de v s niet bereid waren tezzeggingen cma die zowel australie als wij in onze diplomatische activiteit hadden gebruikt cma gestand te doen stp

celer 148 (New York).

116

1. Op een codeber. mag teleg. niet in open taal worden geantwo.
2. Dossiers, welke codeber. bevatten, dienen veilig te worden opge-

REFERENTIE No.:

9369

INFORMATIEKOPIE:

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Handels Afd.
Landbouw Afd.
Financiële Afd.
Ver. Natijs N.Y.
Comptabiliteit
Pers & Cult. Zaken
Vice Consulat
Aert. Scheepvaart

AMBASSADE DER NEDERLANDEN
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11-9-58

BESTEMD VOOR:

newyork

DATUM VAN AFZENDING:
11-9-58

AFKOMSTIG VAN: den haag

geheim

PARAAF/OPM:

veer luns stp

hieronder volgt tekst ontwerp verklaring stikker
als bedoeld in mijn ne honderd achtenveertig dde heden
quote

dus niet berichtbaar

on the sixtth of march of this year cmm on the basis of the then eksisting situation cmm a common understanding was reached in this council that no arms of any type would be delivered to indonesia by nate countries stp in the opinion of my government nothing has happened since then to justify a departure from this policy stp the danger of president sukarne leading his country farther down the road towards communism is still as great as it was then cma if not greater stp therefore cma my government is opposed cmm in the interests of the west as a whole and as a matter of principle cmm to the delivery of any arms or other military equipment to the indonesian government stp

as late as the tenth of june this matter was raised again in the council cmm when ambassador burgess corrected certain erroneous pressreports about american deliveries to indonesia cmm and stated that the licensing of some unimportant eksports involved no change in the u.s. policy concerning the delivery of arms to indonesia stp it was thereupon agreed by all of us that the common understanding which we had reached was in no way affected and remained valid as before stp now cmm however the u.s. government has taken a further step cmm a step which my government deplores stp in saying this cmm i wish to make it quite clear that my government certainly does not wish to add another element of contention to those which already eksist within nate stp but it believes that things like these should be discussed among allies in an atmosphere of complete frankness stp

some of the military equipment which the american government has decided to deliver to indonesia may be of such a nature that it can only be used for internal security hk though it seems very difficult to draw a clear line there slthk cmm but some of this equipment is definitely of a type which goes beyond this limited aim stp we have to object to the delivery of both

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categories of arms stp for such deliveries are bound to create chain reactions pntcmm we know from bilateral discussions that several other countries would also like hk for various reasons sithk to deliver certain dangerous military equipment stp thus the chain reaction would apply both to the quantity and to the quality of the deliveries and our common policy would get completely out of hand stp

so far cma on the basis of our common understanding in nato cmm these countries have been able to keep their armaments industries from accepting such orders and we are very grateful for the way they have handled this stp

but what would happen if we departed from this policy vrgtkn just to give you a few eksamples dbbpnt one nato country might deliver unarmed torpedoboats cmm another has been asked to provide the torpedes for these beats stp another partner wishes to deliver bazooka ammunition stp one partner is under pressure from its industry to license the selling of twenty helicopters whilst elsewhere contracts were about to be concluded to deliver sixs anti submarine aircraft stp a non nato country intends to deliver eleven thousand parachutes and another western country outside nato may deliver a considerable number of light guns for landing craft stp

does anyone really believe that these arms will be used against the communists vrgtkn we for our part are of the opinion that they will be used by the indonesian government to threaten netherlands new guinea stp recent reliable intelligence reports indicate that jakarta's military potential is being strengthened e s p e c i a l l y in east indonesia cmm a part of the country where there eksists no threat to the central government stp there are some other indications that jakarta may wish to create an quo emergency situation unque involving netherlands new guinea in order to obtain support for its unfounded claim to that territory stp

in one of his statements my predecessor emphasized that president sukarne is playing the game of the communists stp mr van kleffens then also referred to the open rebellion of the dissident elements in sumatra and elsewhere stp though these dissidents still eksist cmm their organised military rebellion has failed and as a result the position of the sukarne regime has been greatly strengthened stp we would have been the first to welcome a change of heart in jakarta but unfortunately

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the recent minor reshufflement in the government can in no way be interpreted as an improvement stp it may be that some army leaders cmm especially the chief of staff nasution cmm appear to occupy a rather strong position v a v the very leftist cabinet cmm but nasution's potentially good influence is to our opinion limited stp in fact cmm he has just outlawed not the communist party cmm but several other political parties cmm not only in sumatra but also in east indonesia stp among these parties is the major anticomunist muslim party mas jumi stp there is hardly any reason to expect that nasution will be in a position or is willing to change the present course of the indonesian internal and foreign policy against the wishes of sukarne and his ultra nationalist and communist followers stp the presidents anti western speech of the seventeenth of august should dissipate any doubts which one might still have on this score stp

there is also the recent ban on all activities of the chinese kuomintang party which was ordered by the military authorities in jakarta at this time cmm when a serious situation for our american friends has arisen in the strait of formosa stp these facts dash and many others undash point to a continuation of the existing indonesian policy which is made and guided in the first instance by sukarne and the communists stp

it is quite clear that sukarne is systematically working towards the setting up of a one party state which might well pave the way for a soviet state stp my government cmm therefore cmm very much doubts whether the delivery of arms to such a regime is the best way to save indonesia from communism stp

the netherlands can hardly be expected to trust indonesian assurances that such arms will be used solely for legitimate self defence cmm within the scope of the united nations charter stp i am afraid i must recall here briefly some of the premises cmm treaties and agreements cmm which were violated by indonesia stp when sovereignty over the netherlands east indies was transferred to the indonesian government cmm in nineteen hundred forty nine cmm a most generous financial arrangement was made for indonesia enabling this new country to make a good start stp however cmm indonesia has never lived up to the obligations which it had taken upon itself in the agreement concluded with the netherlands stp in nineteen hundred fifty six the agreements of the so called round table conference were denounced unilaterally cmm practically all debts were thereby cancelled and the netherlands indonesian union was dissolved by this unilateral action stp

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veksations and unlawful pRACTICES against netherlands citizens and firms in indonesia finally culminated at the end of last year in the taking over and confis cation of dutch enterprises and the de facto deportation of the greater part of our nationals there stp these facts not only eksplain why we have no faith in indonesian assurances cmm however solemnly they may have been given cmm but they also serve to eksplain the indignation of our public opinion when arms are given to sukarne who in his speech of the seventeenth of last month declares i a dbbpnt

que our struggle for the liberation of west irian has very much increased our standing as a nation which loves independence stp our actions cmm which culminated with the takeover of dutch enterprises and the repatriation of those dutch people who were not needed in indonesia cmm were like thunder and lightning cmm impressing upon that part of the world which had so far refused to believe it cmm that the indonesian people are not a nation of croaking frogs cmm or a nation which cmm like hamlet cmm could not make up its mind stp in that action cmm a n a c t i o n w h i c h d i d n o t f a i l t e a r e u s e e v e r y o n e s a d m i r a t i o n cmm our army and people have played a very important role stp unque

can the dutch people be blamed for having mixed feelings when they read in the newspapers hk i quote an a p report from jakarta dated august twenty ninth stlhk that que president sukarne and his sarong clad wife hartini went joyriding today in a globemaster plane which had ferried a load of arms to indonesia stp american ambassador howard p jones cmm foreign minister subandrio and their wives also went along for the two hour ride unque vrgrtn

is it asking too much of our allies to eksercise restraint in making friendly gestures and giving unconditional aid to the indonesian government as long as that government has failed to give compensation for the shocking spoliation of our legitimate interests vrgrtn

new as to the delivery of arms cmm there is not only the communist issue to be considered cmm but also the threat to netherlands new guinea stp recently the indonesian minister for military and civilian cooperation cmm wahib wahab cmm declared that in line with indonesias independent and active foreign policy the government had bought arms from the western as well as from the eastern bloc

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countries stp in this context cmm the indonesian press agency antara says cmm wahab calls to mind that quo we still have a dispute with the netherlands over west irian stp as long as west iran is not back cmm we must remain vigilant and prepared always to defend the state's security against dutch acts of colonialism unique stp

it is of the greatest importance to your netherlands ally cmm to australia and to the west as a whole cmm that indonesia be restrained from attacking or infiltrating into new guinea and that any weapons and equipment be withheld from it which could be used for such a purpose stp i have cmm therefore cmm been instructed to strongly recommend to this council that the common policy of non delivery of arms to indonesia be maintained stp
unique

celer 149 aan New York

12/6/72