

MEMORANDUM

Nr: 2596

Van: Mr. C. L. W. FOCK

Aan: Minister-President

6-22
Maai 19 B

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U vroeg mij vanmorgen teksten van de
17 augustus-speech van Soekarno.

Bijgaand uittreksel van het telexbericht,
uitgegaan van Buitenlandse Zaken, geeft (weliswaar
in het Engels) enige teksten.

Het punt, dat U bevestigd wilde zien,
staat er duidelijk in, namelijk in de twee door
mij onderstreepte passages. *29. "gematigde"!*

Lezing van het gehele stuk moge ik
aanbevelen.

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8 september 1961

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Uittreksel uit Verzonden Telexbericht dd. 22 augustus 1961.
van Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken. Geseind aan: Londen, Washington,
New York, Parijs, Parijs-gav, Bonn en Brussel.
Per koerier aan: overige indon. posten.

antara (keulse editie) meldt 17 dezer uit djakarta: q u o

turning to west irian, now an object of dispute with the netherlands, the indonesian president said: "the enemy is building up strength in west irian. dutch army contingents are being sent there one after another, and so are dutch planes and dutch warships. we are not going to waste any more words with the dutch now. west irian must soon be returned to the territory of the republic. at present our policy vis-a-vis the dutch is a policy of confrontation in every field, in politics, in economics, yes even in the military field. we will only negotiate if the negotiations are based on the transfer of west irian under the authority of the republic."

referring to indonesia's support given to all anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle, with particular regard to the congo, angola and the bizerta affair in tunisia, president sukarno said "freeing west irian also means a great contribution to efforts to eliminate seeds of danger, threatening peace in south-east asia, which are likely to spread into an international conflict greater dimensions".

dr.sukarno claimed that indonesia's sovereignty over west irian was unquestionable, because it had been always part of the republic since its proclamation in 1945. "what we do not want to have, however, are the red and white flags flying there, because dutch imperialism is still entrenched in this area and dutch authority boastfully maintained, as our (indonesian) authority has not yet been established in this territory. i assure you i will fully support an arrangement to hold a meeting based upon the transfer of the administration of west irian to indonesia. there is nothing i desire more than a normalization of dutch-indonesian relations, which should be brought about as quickly as possible, and also a strengthening of the cordial relations with my friends amongst the dutch, immediately after the west irian problem has been solved."

president sukarno further explained that he had extended his hands and had therefore carried into a new stage the solution of the problem "by opening all opportunities favourable to the two nations and to world peace."

dr.sukarno also made it plain that "the door is open to the dutch nation under the house of orange which for several times has led the struggle for the independence of the netherlands against foreign oppression, to leave an honoured name in the international history of the coming period."

the president criticized arguments about the transfer of sovereignty respectively about the right of self-determination, because, he said, sovereignty and self-determination had been in the indonesian people's hands since the proclamation of their independence in 1945. dr. sukarno also declared that all conditions

for indonesia's existence - conditions for statehood, for security, for development, for international consciousness, etc.- "demand the immediate inclusion of west irian into the territory under the authority of the republic." he noted that he himself might be patient a little longer, but the indonesian people probably could not remain patient any more.

"when patience has reached its limit, then i fear our policy of confrontation should be succeeded by a policy even more forceful," president sukarno said.

following are some textual details of president sukarno's address:

the president said indonesia was prepared to confront the dutch in the military field, because "we feel strong indeed". "yes, we feel strong, because we really are strong and and because we are on the side of the truth and because we do not stand alone. our friends in all continents number tens of millions, even hundreds of millions, yes, thousands of millions he stated, the people were eagerly waiting for the day when the red - white flag would fly over west irian, and he said this would come true if the nation was resolved and strongly determined not to retreat one step. the west irian struggle had now reached a decisive stage. "we will not fail to raise the red and white flag in west irian as soon as governmental authority in this area will be in our hands. what we hold in our grasp we grasp firmly, and what we have not yet achieved, let us struggle for it, namely governmental authority."

further enlarging on the west irian issue president sukarno revealed that, when he was in vienna several weeks ago on a world tour, he had sent a letter to a dutch citizen who promoted "an idea". without identifying the dutchman, the president said that in his letter to him he appreciated the dutchman's initiative to solve the west irian issue as soon as possible through speeding up the transfer of administration in this area to indonesia.

"the proclamation of independence and the 1945 constitution, dr. sukarno pointed out, are a manifestation of the innermost contents of our soul. out of august 17, 1945, there burst forth a proclamation of independence with a basis firmly established. the document of the proclamation and the preamble of the 1945 constitution are one for us, unseparable from each other. it is to be noted that our proclamation of independence also contains a declaration of independence, while other nations have proclamation of independence alone. our declaration of independence i.e. the preamble of the 1945 constitution, lays down certain

proven to policy

guides for giving content to our national independence, for running our state affairs, for knowing the objective of developing our nation, for being faithful to the spiritual voice living within the innermost depths of our people.

"a proclamation without a declaration would mean that our independence would have no philosophy. it would have no basis for national life, no guidance, no direction, no raison d'etre, no other objective but to rid the soil of the motherland of foreign domination."

turning to the summit meeting of non-committed countries, which is to take place in belgrade next month, president sukarno said he gave proof of the necessity of this conference and its due success.

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