

[7849]

Foto-Btz. 200501



REPUBLIK INDONESIA  
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

OFFICE OF  
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
FIVE EAST SIXTY EIGHTH STREET  
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

TRAFFICAR 9 OF 10  
CABLE ADDRESS: INDOONESIA NEW YORK

438/0217

June 6, 1960

Excellency,

Upon instructions of my Government, I have the honour to bring to Your Excellency's attention the position taken by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in respect to the recent belligerent policy of the Government of the Netherlands to dispatch its naval, air and ground forces to West Irian, which territory is an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia.

In view of the explosive situation created in that part of Indonesia by the hostile attitude of the Dutch Government, it will accordingly be greatly appreciated by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and its Permanent Mission to the United Nations if, through your intermediary, the contents of this letter could be brought to the due notice of all the Member States of the United Nations, so as to be given their serious consideration and to be transmitted to their respective Governments.

It may be recalled, in the first place, that in its official communique of April 27, 1960, the Dutch Government announced its decision to reinforce its armed forces in West Irian with the dispatch of jet aircraft, naval reconnaissance planes, anti-aircraft artillery and ground forces to the area.

These reported military activities of the Dutch Government assumed dangerous proportions when it became increasingly apparent that the biggest Dutch warship, the aircraft carrier "Karel Doorman", as well as several other escorting Dutch war vessels, were to be sent into Indonesian

waters.

Considering the dangerous implications of the Dutch plan with regard to the security and stability of the area concerned, the Indonesian Government, on May 6, 1960, served formal notice that, in the event of a military showdown between Indonesia and the Netherlands, there will be no retreat on the part of Indonesia. Moreover, on the basis of its view that the dispatch of Dutch armed forces to West Irian must ultimately endanger peace and security in Southeast Asia, and could even lead to the outbreak of a major Pacific conflict, the Indonesian Government has issued strong protestations and warnings in denunciation of the Dutch action.

However, despite these strong protestations and warnings, and in spite of the efforts made by the Indonesian Government to solicit moderation and restraint on the part of the Netherlands Government in dealing with the question of West Irian, the latter appears determined to risk an armed conflict with Indonesia by formally permitting the "Karel Doorman", with its escort, to proceed towards Indonesian waters. This risk of armed conflict has been further heightened by reports that the "Karel Doorman" is to remain in West Irian.

The Dutch Government decision to back up its policy in West Irian with the use of armed force cannot but be considered a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, which prohibits the use of force in the settlement of international disputes.

It has now become abundantly clear that the use of armed force has been adopted by the Netherlands Government as its official policy in West Irian, since, up to the present time, it has not refuted the prevalence of the element of force in the execution of its policy.

In contrast to the policy of the Netherlands Government, which is essentially characterized by the use of force, the Indonesian Government has consistently advocated and practiced - and continues to advocate and practice - the use of peaceful means in dealing with international

disputes. Notwithstanding the fact that the Netherlands Government has totally disregarded aroused Indonesian public opinion, which has condemned the Dutch military move as a provocative and aggressive demonstration, the Indonesian Government has exercised a high degree of moderation in its reaction to the Dutch move.

Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, has declared that Indonesia "will avoid any physical conflict with the Netherlands." At the same time, Dr. Subandrio reiterated Indonesia's firm position that no force will be employed by the Indonesian Government in enforcing its claim on West Irian.

Even after it became known that the Dutch warship "Karel Doorman" had left Rotterdam harbour, on May 31, 1960, and was proceeding to Hollandia, West Irian, by way of Las Palmas in the Canary Islands, a still unknown port in East Africa, and Freemantle, Australia, Dr. Subandrio stated, on his arrival at Kemajoran Airport in Djakarta, on June 1, 1960, that what is important to Indonesia is not only the dispatch of Dutch armed forces as such, but "the official statement issued by the Netherlands," which in his opinion constituted "a statement of enmity" against Indonesia. Emphasizing that the Dutch statement served as the official line upon which the dispatch of Dutch armed forces to West Irian was based, Dr. Subandrio noted that this "statement has until today never been refuted by the Dutch."

The peaceful nature of Indonesia's policy with regard to West Irian was also made evident in the joint communique issued by the Australian and Indonesian Governments in February 1959.

Furthermore, in their official statements abroad, President Sukarno and Foreign Minister Subandrio served formal notice to the Heads of friendly Governments of Indonesia's peaceful intentions with regard to West Irian.

As to Indonesia's untiring efforts to seek a peaceful settlement of the West Irian issue both in and outside the United Nations, these have now been completely ignored by the Netherlands Government in allowing the "Karel Doorman", and its escort, to proceed towards Indonesian territory.

The recent debate in the Security Council proved the importance of the United Nations as an instrument for reducing international tensions, and served as an example of what can be accomplished by recourse to constructive and peaceful approaches. The final outcome of its deliberations once again confirmed the universal longing for peace. It is, therefore, all the more reprehensible that the Dutch Government has adopted a belligerent attitude at total variance with contemporary standards of international conduct and, notwithstanding the universal desire for peace, is resolutely pursuing a policy of force.

In view of the inevitable world-wide repercussions if Dutch aggressive colonial ambitions in West Irian remain unchecked, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia deems it of utmost importance to bring to the attention of all Member States of the United Nations the precarious and explosive nature of the situation resulting from the enforced Dutch military measures in West Irian.

From the preceding observations, the following conclusions can be made:

Firstly, the Dutch Government is determined to use force in executing its policy in West Irian as evidenced by the dispatch of the "Karel Doorman", despite the peaceful policy of the Indonesian Government and the universal desire for peace manifested in the recent deliberations of the Security Council.

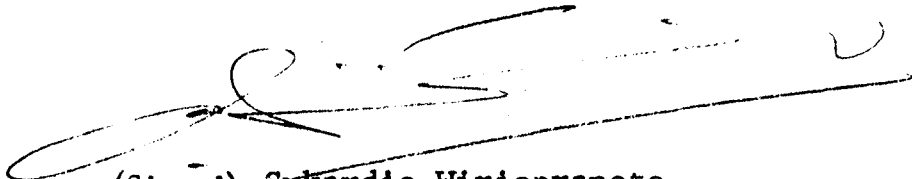
Secondly, the Dutch decision to dispatch naval, air and ground forces to West Irian is clearly contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, which calls upon Member States to seek the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.

Thirdly, as the Dutch Government has formally adopted a belligerent policy in West Irian, thereby risking an open armed conflict with Indonesia, the responsibility for such eventual conflict must rest solely with the Dutch Government. Any counter-move on the part of the Indonesian Government would only result from provocative action by the Dutch Government.

Finally, it can be positively stated that the Netherlands Government has intensified its policy of force and, up to the present, has made no formal repudiation of its official statement concerning the dispatch of its armed forces to West Irian.

A Supplementary Statement, in amplification of the above-mentioned facts, is herewith attached. My delegation would greatly appreciate if this Supplementary Statement is reproduced as an official United Nations document, to be attached as an annex to this letter to you, which my Government requests Your Excellency to bring to the notice of all Members of the United Nations.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.



(Signed) Sukardjo Wirjopranoto  
Permanent Representative of Indonesia  
to the United Nations

His Excellency  
Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld  
Secretary-General of the United Nations  
United Nations, New York

ANNEX

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA TO BE ANNEXED TO THAT  
GOVERNMENT'S LETTER TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

DUTCH AGGRESSIVE PROVOCATIONS IN WEST IRIAN

The Dispatch of Dutch Military Reinforcements to West Irian

1. In April 1960, the Lower House of the Netherlands Parliament debated and decided upon the dispatch of Dutch military reinforcements to West Irian.

2. The Netherlands Government issued an official communique on 27 April 1960, announcing its decision to reinforce its armed forces in West Irian. As reported by the Indonesian News Agency "Antara", the partial text of the official Netherlands communique reads as follows:

"Owing to the aggressive elements in Indonesia's foreign policy, coinciding with increased military potential of Indonesia, the Dutch Government, after serious consideration, feels obliged to strengthen Dutch New Guinea (West Irian - ed.) defenses.

"Air defense will be strengthened by stationing jet pursuit plans of the Dutch Air Force in West Irian and anti-aircraft artillery of the Dutch army for defense of airfields.

"In order to increase the Navy's capability for air reconnaissance, Martin Mariner Planes of Naval Air Force will be replaced by other planes. Furthermore, ground forces of the Dutch army will be made available for direct defense of different areas.

"Reinforcements will be effected by the dispatch of professional personnel and conscripts. Priority will be given those volunteering."

3. It has also become known that the Dutch are preparing to dispatch to West Irian, in May or soon thereafter, their biggest warship - the aircraft carrier "Karel Doorman" - as well as other war vessels.

4. It has further been reported that enroute to its destination in West Irian, the "Karel Doorman" will force its passage through Indonesian waters.

5. The Indonesian Government has called the attention of friendly Governments to the seriousness of the situation, which might warrant the

adoption of appropriate measures to prevent a military showdown between Indonesia and the Netherlands, the consequence of which would endanger peace and security in South East Asia.

6. It is obvious that the passage of Dutch warships through Indonesian waters, if allowed to occur, would lead to the outbreak of armed conflict between Indonesian and Dutch forces. As a matter of fact, the very presence of Dutch warships in and around West Irian, even if their passage is not forced through Indonesian waters, would still constitute an immediate threat to the peace and security of the area. Such a situation would inevitably heighten tensions and possibly even cause explosive convulsions.

7. Moreover, the reinforcement of Dutch armed forces in West Irian will have as its effect the intensification of Dutch colonial domination over the population of that territory.

#### Reactions against Dutch decision

8. The Dutch decision to dispatch troops and other reinforcements to West Irian is seen by the Indonesian people as an aggressive demonstration and provocation. It is an attempt at intimidation of the most irresponsible and dangerous nature.

9. A repercussion of this Dutch decision was the mass demonstration staged by Indonesian students in Djakarta and other cities.

10. Strong warnings have been expressed. During his recent visit to Cairo, President Sukarno issued a joint statement, together with President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, in which he warned of the dangerous consequences implicit in the dispatch of Dutch military reinforcements to West Irian.

11. The Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Subandrio, in denouncing the Dutch move, expressed Indonesia's determination "not to take shelter in retreat" in the event of a military showdown. Should the Dutch persist in implementing their aggressive ambitions, Dr. Subandrio emphasized that "the entire world should note that the responsibility is not ours." He added that there would be no doubt of Indonesia's ultimate victory since it would be fighting for a just cause.

12. Indonesian military leaders are equally unanimous in their determination to face any possibility arising from the Dutch decision to

risk an armed conflict with Indonesia. Indeed, the whole Indonesian people are prepared to face any eventuality.

13. Even on the Dutch side strong warnings have been expressed. Influential voices in Dutch political circles and the press have expressed themselves as highly critical of the Dutch plan. The Youth Organization of the Dutch Catholic Party, along with other youth organizations, recently declared that the Dutch move represented the beginning of an arms race between Holland and Indonesia - a race in which Holland was doomed to be on the losing side.

Mounting unrest in West Irian

14. For some time now, the arbitrary suppression of fundamental human rights and liberties by the Dutch has created growing political and social unrest among the people of West Irian. Freedom of speech and the expression of opinion are suppressed. Freedom of association and assembly are forbidden. Yet, despite these restrictions, mass strikes occur with increasing frequency. They are positive assertions of protest against Dutch colonial policy in West Irian, and culminated recently in a mass demonstration against Mr. Bot, Dutch State Minister, when he visited the territory.

15. The failure of the Dutch administration in West Irian was made abundantly clear by the arrival last year of a Dutch Parliamentary Mission to investigate the deplorable conditions prevailing in the area. Dr. Van Baal, the Dutch Administrator in West Irian, was dismissed shortly thereafter.

16. The Dutch Government has announced, once again, its intention to improve the unbearable conditions in West Irian. However, it should be noted that a distinguished member of the Netherlands Parliament, Dr. Patijn of the Dutch Labor Party, stated with respect to these promises of future intentions that they were so vague as to permit the contemplation of a Dutch colonial empire for another thousand years. An ironic but true commentary on broken Dutch promises.

17. As to the so-called intention to prepare the people of West Irian to exercise the right of self-determination, this is nothing but a Dutch device to deny this very right.

18. At present, the Dutch are attempting to alienate the people of West Irian from Indonesia and to suppress their legitimate national aspirations. What purpose underlies this campaign of denationalization? The aim is clearly



to submerge the people of West Irian in an artificially created Melanesian Union. Such a policy has already received the sympathetic endorsement of the Dutch State Minister, Mr. Bot.

19. Moreover, efforts to establish a joint administration over West Irian, in association with territories under the administration of neighbouring States, are highly indicative of the aim to construct a Melanesian Union.

20. It is obvious, therefore, that the people of West Irian - far from being readied for self-determination - are actually being deprived of their right of self-determination. This unnatural and forceful denationalization of the West Irian people is totally contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is something the Government and people of Indonesia absolutely cannot accept. The West Irians are Indonesians - ethnically, historically, politically and legally. Finally, it must be considered a crime against humanity that the deprivation of fundamental human rights and liberties will now be given military sanction through the dispatch of Dutch warships and the reinforcement of military rule in West Irian.

#### Nature and consequences of Dutch action

21. The intransigent attitude of the Dutch on the question of West Irian stands in glaring contrast to the more liberal and progressive policies adopted by some colonial Powers in recent times. It is relevant to mention here that, if the Dutch persist in their policy of force vis-a-vis West Irian, the consequence can only be violent political upheaval and bloodshed, such as has occurred in other parts of the world, notably Africa, when colonial Powers resort to force in pursuance of their reactionary policies.

22. It is also relevant to observe that the United Nations, which condemns the use of force in the settlement of international disputes, cannot but condemn Dutch ambitions in West Irian which are aggressive in character and a threat to peace and security.

23. For these reasons, it is clear that it is the Dutch Government whose policy toward West Irian is dominated by aggressive intentions. The contention that Indonesia's foreign policy contains aggressive elements can only be dismissed as absurd and without any foundation in fact.

Summary

24. By its decision of April of this year, the Dutch Government is preparing, in the near future, to dispatch military reinforcements to West Irian. Colonel W.D.H. Eekhout, former commander of Dutch forces in Korea, has been appointed as commander of the Dutch troops sent to West Irian. The grave possibility of Dutch warships passing through Indonesian waters can not be ruled out.

25. Dutch military reinforcements in and around West Irian - a Territory of Indonesia - are outright aggressive provocations to armed conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands. These reinforcements are also designed to perpetuate Dutch colonial domination over the people of West Irian.

26. All this attests to the fact that the Dutch Government continues to reject a peaceful approach to the question of West Irian. What is more, the present Dutch plan to resort to forceful means creates a dangerous threat to peace and security in South East Asia.

27. The Charter of the United Nations calls for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. In deciding upon a policy of force, the Dutch Government flagrantly ignores its obligation as a Member State of the United Nations.

28. Consequently, in dealing with the situation with which it is being confronted, the Indonesian Government reserves its right to resort to appropriate means at the proper time and place.

- - - - -