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# UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

## MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

680 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

February 9, 1962

No. II/62

### USSR GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON WEST IRIAN

On February 8, 1962, TASS, the official Soviet press Agency, made public the Statement of the Soviet Government on West Irian. Following is the full text of this Statement.

"The Soviet Government, steadfastly upholding the policy of safeguarding peace and consolidating the national independence of all countries and peoples, cannot help calling attention to the situation endangering peace, which has been created by the aggressive actions of the Netherlands against the Republic of Indonesia. Stubbornly refusing for a long time to settle the problem of West Irian peacefully, the Government of Holland has now embarked upon the road of direct military provocations. Considerable contingents of Dutch armed forces have of late been moved to the area of West Irian. One of the most outrageous acts of this sort was the piratic attack of Dutch warships on the Indonesian patrol boats in the open sea.

By resorting to such acts against the independent Republic of Indonesia, Holland strives to prolong its colonial domination over West Irian and also to retain this Indonesian territory as a stronghold of the aggressive Western military blocs in their struggle against the national - liberation movement of the South - East Asian peoples.

Such actions of Holland are in flagrant contradiction to the basic provisions of the Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples, adopted by the United Nations Organization. This declaration is known to declare that any attempt to undermine national unity of territorial integrity of a country partially or completely is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The behaviour of the Dutch government proves that it does not reckon with the United Nations decisions and the will of the peoples to put an end to the outlived colonial system.

Why is Holland still ignoring the United Nations decision to do away with colonialism, which has a direct bearing on West Irian?

This can be explained only by the fact that it is backed, just as the Portuguese and other colonialists, by such aggressive military alignments as NATO and SEATO, which are pursuing a policy of salvaging the remnants of the colonial system, a policy of suppressing the national - liberation movement of the peoples. Noteworthy in this connection is the statement by the commander of the Seventh United States fleet that in case of military operations between Indonesia and Holland the American naval forces would be moved into action.

It is common knowledge that for many years now the Government of the Republic of Indonesia has patiently endeavoured to settle the dispute with Holland over West Irian through negotiations. The Dutch ruling quarters stubbornly reply to the peaceloving proposals of Indonesia by provocations and subversive activity. All this, of course, cannot but invoke proper and lawful measures on the part of the Indonesian Government.

The Government of Holland put forth the idea of granting the so-called "right of selfdetermination" to the population of West Irian. But everybody knows full well that the population of West Irian decided its destiny together with all Indonesian people on the historical day of August 17, 1945, when the independent Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed on all territory of the former Dutch East Indies. No matter to what manoeuvres the Dutch ruling circles resort, Holland will have to withdraw from the Indonesian territory it occupies.

The Soviet Government proceeds from the irrefutable premise that West Irian is an inalienable part of the Republic of Indonesia. The Soviet Union has supported and is supporting the lawful demand of the Indonesian people and their Government for immediate reunification of West Irian with Indonesia, for abolition of the Dutch colonial domination on that part of Indonesian territory. The Soviet people regards it as their duty to help all peoples fighting for the overthrowing of colonial oppression and for consolidation of national independence. The Soviet people follow with deep understanding and sincere sympathy the just struggle of the Indonesian people for the liberation of West Irian.

The Government of the Soviet Union finds it necessary to point out to those circles in Holland which are responsible for its policy that by taking to the road of provocations against Indonesia they are assuming grave responsibility for the consequences which may result from this policy. In our time when one spark may be sufficient for a big conflagration to break out, this playing with fire, no matter in what part of the world it takes place, is highly dangerous. The situation now obtaining in the West Irian area cannot but cause serious concern on the part of other states sincerely interested in preservation of peace and, it goes without saying, they cannot remain indifferent observers of the provocations directed against the Republic of Indonesia.

The Soviet Government is firm in its conviction that the people of Indonesia will be victorious in their just struggle."

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5 EAST SIXTY-EIGHTH STREET  
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.  
TR 9-0600

29 January, 1962

DOROTHY WOODMAN BLAMES DUTCH OBSTINACY  
FOR WEST IRIAN CRISIS

In London's weekly "New Statesman" of January 19, Dorothy Woodman, a well known journalist and author of the book "The Republic of Indonesia", wrote that it is "Dutch obstinacy which has helped to create such a momentum in Indonesia that it is difficult for Sukarno to retreat." It is not a question of whether, but when West Irian should be transferred to Indonesia, she said.

The article reads in full:

"Up to today the Dutch attack on Indonesian motor torpedo boats in waters where patrols of both countries have been made for some time remains a mystery. But whether it an accident or provocation, both sides sensibly refuse to see it as the first shot in an unnecessary war; the Indonesian reaction is calm; the Dutch have played it down.

"A thaw now spreading in those Dutch circles whose hard-set attitude has so far prevented a solution of this colonial problem. For some time influential business leaders have recognized the unreality of Dutch official opinion led by Foreign Minister Luns. Dr. Paul Rijkens, for example, an ex-Chairman of Unilever, has had frequent contacts with Indonesian business men. Last month, during the United Nations debate on West Irian, the 'Bilderberg group', of which he was treasurer, arranged to meet in New York. He resigned when Dr. Luns criticized them for their tactlessness. But they are an important group in the erosion of the Dutch Government position.

"Leading intellectuals have also made their contribution. Dr. Kramer, a well-known Professor of philology, recently revealed that at the time of the Round Table Conference in 1949, he was the only Dutch member who submitted a proposal to give up West Irian in accordance with a formula - which the Indonesian Delegation accepted - that it belongs 'de jure' to Indonesia, but should remain 'de facto' under international rule for a certain period. Professor Duynstee, too a member of Luns' own party (the Catholic



People's Party), has just published a book, as well as a series of widely-spread articles, supporting Indonesia's case.

"Further, although the Anti-Revolutionary, the Liberal and Catholic Parties, as well as the Christian Historical Union, supported the Government in the debate of January 3, distinguished spokesmen from all of them have since publicly endorsed Indonesia's claim. The Labor Party has reversed its position and urged a national cabinet should be formed in which it should take a part. The first subject to deal with would be West Irian. Labor Party leaders make no secret of their opinion that Dr. Luns is now the biggest single obstacle in the way of a peaceful solution.

"In short, the question is not whether, but when, West Irian should be transferred to West Irian. President Sukarno is playing a very tough game of brinkmanship. But at the same time as he makes histrionic appeals to his people, sets up a National Defence Council with himself as Chairman and holds daily operational discussions with his Chiefs of Staff, his right-hand men, with his full support, continue talks in Djakarta, the Hague and Washington. Sukarno himself wrote to Dutch friends recently underlining the requests he made to them in Belgrade, to press for a peaceful solution.

"His Army Chief of Staff Nasution, level-headed and dedicated to the cause of West Irian, made the same appeals last autumn in unofficial talks with Dutch emissaries in Europe.

"Today Sukarno realizes that world opinion has changed and that the United States, always far more realistic than Britain or Australia on the matter, is playing a helpful role.

"The decision, in fact, now rests with the Dutch. It is their obstinacy which has helped to create such a momentum in Indonesia that it is difficult for Sukarno to retreat. Moreover, as Nasution said in his New Year's broadcast, 'this is a struggle between colonialism and international anti-colonialism, not between capitalism and international communism'.

"He went on to warn countries which evaluated West Irian in terms of the cold war that they would harm themselves. The relevance of that to Moscow and Peking is obvious. But does Dr. Luns understand?"

DUTCH SOLDIERS TO BE FLOWN TO WEST IRIAN IN  
CIVILIAN CLOTHES AND WITH CIVILIAN PASSPORTS

Associated Press reported from the Hague (Holland) on January 26, that a group of drafted Dutch army soldiers is suing the Dutch Government because of a plan to fly them to West Irian in civilian clothes with civilian passports; they wish to stay in uniform. The soldiers say that if war broke out between the Netherlands and the Indonesians over 'New-Guinea' while they are en route, they would not have the protection of the Geneva Convention, covering military personnel.

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MALAYAN STUDENTS GIVE FULL SUPPORT TO INDONESIA  
ON WEST IRIAN

The Association of Malayan Students in Indonesia issued a statement on January 23, expressing their full support to the implementation of the "Peoples Command" for the liberation of West Irian, especially after the brutal Dutch attack on an Indonesian Naval unit near the Aru Islands on January 15.

In addition the Association asked all of its members to register for volunteer service in connection with the liberation of West Irian. The organization also made an urgent appeal for the moral support of the Federation of Malaya to the Indonesian struggle and said it hope that Malaya would not permit Dutch military craft to use its bases.

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Editorial in the "Milwaukee Review", December 21, 1961

With gleeful zest of of the American press pounced on India and Indonesia this week. It has been a week of jeering and name-calling against Prime Minister Nehru and President Sukarno -- against the Prime Minister of India because of the expulsion of the Portuguese from three Indian cities where the last shreds of colonialism netted Indian autonomy and blighted the life of the people; against President Sukarno because he threatened force to redeem Irian Barat (West New Guinea) which Indonesians have long felt was stolen from them in 1947 by the Dutch.

It is cheap and easy for Americans to condemn, as if there were no case for India and Indonesia. The Oregonian, for instance, after acknowledging that the Portuguese did not have the good sense to get out of India as did Britain and France, denounced India's move and then turned on President Sukarno to say:

"Much less does it excuse Sukarno's aggression on West New Guinea. For the 700,000 Papuans of that island of primitive jungles, swamps and mountains are far short of the capability of self-government. And whereas there is an affinity between the Goans and the Indians, there is little, if any, between the Indonesians and the Papuans. The two stem from different ethnic stocks. Any nation has as valid a claim to West New Guinea as that raised by Sukarno" (emphasis ours).

We have tried quickly to dig out the facts, and what we find leads to a completely different conclusion:

1. The Dutch were ousted and Indonesia's independence proclaimed in 1945 and 1946. The Dutch purported to transfer, however reluctantly, the entire area of what had been the Dutch East Indies to the New Republic. This included Irian Barat (or West New Guinea). Later the Dutch reneged by 'temporarily' retaining colonial control of the Irian area, for what they then said were reasons of domestic political tactics.

2. West Irian had been a part of the Dutch East Indies for about 130 years. Its citizenry took part in the campaigns for Independence from Dutch control.

3. Dutch colonial domination of the Papuans in the interior and of the Malayan peoples along the Coast has obviously been unsuccessful. The Dutch like to refer, as did The Oregonian editorial, to the primitive life, half-naked natives, and the backwardness of Irian, yet parallel conditions prevail in Celebes and Borneo only 15 years ago and great



progress has been made under Indonesian independence.

4. It is not by any stretch of imagination 'Sukarno's aggression' in becoming irritated over Dutch sidetracking of the issue and refusal to withdraw from historic Indonesian territory which they hold by force.

5. Indonesia, like the United States and other nations, is made up of many racial and religious groups, of which the Papuans in Irian are one. The motto of the United States asserts this strength in our slogan 'E Pluribus Unum', (One Out of Many); Indonesia's slogan is 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' (Unity in Diversity). Therefore The Oregonian's argument that Indonesians and Papuans are of different ethnic stocks is irrelevant in itself, but becomes absurd when they try to justify the continued domination by the far-away Dutch colonials against whom this point would indeed have validity.

President Sukarno has expressed Indonesia's impatience this week in resolute terms, after some 14 years of Dutch vacillation and subterfuge. We join The Oregonian in hoping a peaceful and just solution will now be worked out, but it must be by the orderly transfer of Indonesia's unredeemed area to its own proper government.

Behind both the Portuguese expulsion from the Indian cities and the bristling against the Dutch intransigence in Indonesia lies a deeper responsibility of our own. The United States and the Western powers have known these raw edges of colonialism still threaten the new republics of the world. In the case of the Portuguese we have been playing political footsie with a brazen fascist-type in Dictator Salazar. It is netting us ill-will in Africa from the brutal conditions in Angola; it is indefensible also in the case of the Portuguese enclaves in India. Also we should have been leading the demand that the friendly Dutch live up to their commitments in Indonesia.

Nor do we accept the hysterical fears that the United Nations itself is endangered by these events. We note that the Dutch now suddenly announce they are willing to have the UN consider the Irian issue, their hand forced by Sukarno's impatient speech. The recent UN session was stalemated on the issue, but strong leadership by the United States could break the long-jam of conflicting resolutions, none of which had the required two-thirds.

Because the United States lived up to its pledges to our own Asian colony and gave The Philippines their freedom, we are in the best position of any power to expect our Dutch friends to set aside their vindictive resentment of the

fledging Indonesian Republic and live up to their agreements. Because we have not used our leadership as we should, the world is now faced with the inevitable consequences, and we are not in a position to point an accusing finger at the new republics recently freed, as we once were, from colonial exploitation.

In balance, right is on the side of both India and Indonesia in the current disputes. It would be a travesty if the United States allows itself to be identified again with the dying colonial systems. It is cheap and easy for the Soviet politicians to shout a smirking 'I-told-you-so' if we obstruct justice in defense of moribund Portugal and the vindictive Dutch colonials.

What folly it would be for the American democracy to obstruct the righting of these old wrongs! Our voice and weight should be cast on the side of the new republics in both instances, so that remaining colonial blisters here and there may be resolved peaceably through recognition by colonial powers that a new day of self-government by free people, toward which the American Republic pointed the way 175 years ago, is to be universal in this Century. These should be our years of triumph and success as we see people emulate our experience all over the globe. Instead we hear powerful American voices fume and fuss and even try to justify the perpetuation of a dead era. When they know the facts, we believe Americans of our Century are just as dedicated, to freedom for all peoples as were our forefathers, and this should be our international policy, too.

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# Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations



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5 EAST SIXTY-EIGHTH STREET  
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.  
TR 9-0600

2 March 1962

## ASIAN-AFRICAN WRITERS CONFERENCE SUPPORTS INDONESIA'S STRUGGLE FOR WEST IRIAN

The recent Asian-African Writers Conference in Cairo appealed to the Asian and African peoples to double their support to Indonesia's struggle to regain West Irian from the Dutch colonialists. The resolution said among others: "The Dutch colonialists are strengthening their military defence in the West Irian territory through various means. They are using foreign territories for their transit bases. The Asian-African Writers Conference hereby invites all Governments and peoples of Asian-African countries to double their support to the Indonesian people's struggle for the transfer of administration from the Dutch colonialists to the Republic of Indonesia." The resolution further called on all Asian and African countries to bar the use of airports and harbors to Dutch aircraft and ships carrying servicemen en route to West Irian.

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## DUTCH INDUSTRIALIST CALLS FOR RETURN OF WEST IRIAN TO THE INDONESIAN REPUBLIC

According to a news report from the Netherlands, the General Director of the textile factory "N.V.Nijverdal ten Cate" in Almelo, Dr. W.T.Kroeese, said in a recent lecture before a group of Dutch industrialists that West Irian should be returned to Indonesia, since it is a part of that country.

In his lecture entitled "Fiction and Fact about New Guinea" Dr. Kroeese said that in order to create a good atmosphere for talks with Indonesia the West Irian clause should be dropped from the Dutch Constitution. He added that one or more high commissioners should be appointed for negotiations with Indonesia, and the United Nations should be invited to send a representative to act as intermediary.

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FROM THE "CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR" OF FEBRUARY 24, 1962

Reuters, The Hague (The Netherlands):

The Dutch public is becomingly increasingly anxious to bring to an end this nation's dispute over West New Guinea.

Most people here agree that the territory is more of a nuisance than an asset. But so far no one in authority has come up with the solution to the problem that would be acceptable to both the Dutch and the Indonesian Governments.

The Indonesians claim sovereignty over West New Guinea and have shown no official signs of budging in their demands that the Dutch hand it over to them. Dutch authorities are more inclined to compromise, provided some way can be found to protect the interests of the Papuan natives of the territory.

MONEY POURED IN

Financially, it would be an advantage for the Netherlands to be free of its commitments in West New Guinea. Apart from costs involved in maintaining troops and defence installations in West New Guinea, the Hague pours in 100,000,000 guilders (\$27,000,000) annually into the territory and gets little in return.

Even the modest New Guinea exports declined sharply last year--from 23,000,000 guilders in 1960 to 15,000,000 in 1961. This drop was chiefly due to the decrease in exports of crude oil.

New Guinea has little to offer the Netherlands in the way of natural resources except timber and sago.

In addition to the financial drain New Guinea imposes on the Netherlands, it draws off manpower from the Dutch defence forces.

WILLINGNESS EXPRESSED

This country maintains about 5,000 servicemen in New Guinea. Last month, in the wake of a clash between two Dutch frigates and three Indonesian motor torpedo boats off the New Guinea coast, the Government extended the term of duty for all its draftees to 24 months from 21 months.

This move also has served to increase public feeling here for a speedy settlement of the whole dispute over West New Guinea.

The Dutch Government has several times expressed its willingness to negotiate on the dispute under the auspices

of Acting United Nations Secretary-General U Thant. However, it has repeatedly rejected approaches made through private channels by Indonesia proposing bilateral talks.

Despite this Government stand, there now is an undercurrent of opinion in the Catholic People's Party, the backbone of the ruling coalition, that Indonesia's informal approaches should be followed up, even if it means bypassing U Thant.

The Dutch Labor Party, the main opposition party in Parliament, is in favor of transferring West New Guinea to Indonesia if Indonesia will take over Dutch responsibilities for leading the Papuans to a stage of development where they will be able to determine their own future. Indonesia reportedly favors this approach.

The Liberals adopt a similar line but stress that there would have to be firm guarantees from Indonesia on a future vote by the Papuans in which they would determine whether they wanted to be completely free or have links with Indonesia.

#### 'IN DUE COURSE'

A Catholic Party member of Parliament is reported to have drawn up in talks with Indonesian diplomats proposals under which West New Guinea would be transferred provisionally to Indonesia, with Indonesia guaranteeing a referendum under U.N. auspices "in due course."

The Government however, has washed its hands of these private contracts, saying they would "endanger the results of U Thant's efforts" to solve the New Guinea problem.

Several other Dutch political parties have shifted their positions recently on the New Guinea issue. The Protestant Confessional, Christian Historical, and Anti-Revolutionary Parties lean more toward conciliation with Indonesia now than they have in the past.

#### RIGIDITY OPPOSED

Catholic and Protestant political leaders have been influenced to some extent in their attitude toward New Guinea by missionary work in Indonesia itself.

Many missionaries have reported that they are working under more favorable conditions in Indonesia now than they were under the old Netherlands East Indies administration.

Parties with religious ties therefore are unwilling to endanger this work by adopting a too-rigid attitude toward the New Guinea dispute.



SUPPORT FOR INDONESIA ON WEST IRIAN ISSUE  
GROWS IN SINGAPORE

It is reported from Singapore that the people of that city are showing their support for Indonesia's struggle to regain West Irian by contributing \$65,000 to the Indonesian Consulate General for the West Irian Liberation Fund.

Ever since the "People's Command" proclaimed by President Sukarno on December 19, 1961, letters have been pouring in to the Indonesian Consulate General expressing endorsement and wholehearted support.

The Government of Singapore has also expressed its support to Indonesia's cause, and so have various political parties.

In the meantime youths from various walks of life have registered themselves at the Consulate General in Singapore as volunteers in the struggle to liberate West Irian.

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CEYLONese JOURNALISTS EXPRESS SOLIDARITY WITH INDONESIA

The Ceylonese Journalists Association has adopted a resolution expressing complete solidarity with the Indonesian people's struggle to liquidate Dutch imperialism in West Irian and to liberate the entire Indonesian territory.

"Dutch imperialists," the resolution declares, in part, "with the help of their SEATO and NATO partners, resort to provocations in continuing to occupy an integral part of Indonesia, disregarding the wish of the Indonesian people. The Association congratulates the Government and the people of Indonesia on their firm stand and determination to expel the imperialists from the territory of their Motherland."

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JAPANESE PREMIER SAYS DUTCH ACTION IS EMBARRASSING

Japanese Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda last week said it was quite embarrassing for Japan to have Tokyo's International Airport used by the Dutch Government for military purposes. Mr. Ikeda made the statement at the House of Councillors budget committee in response to a question by Democratic Socialist member Sukoharu Sona. Mr. Sona asked the Prime Minister for his views on the alleged transportation by the Netherlands of large numbers of soldiers in mufti to West Irian via Tokyo.

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"INDONESIAN - FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE"  
APPEALED TO JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

The Chairman of the "Indonesian - Japanese Friendship League" in Djakarta, Mr. Husein Kartasasmita, appealed to the Japanese Government and people on February 26 that the friendly relations brought about and cemented by the recent visit to Indonesia by Crown Prince Akihito and Princess Michiko should not be harmed by the failure to understand the national claim of the Indonesian people on West Irian. He said that the "Indonesian - Japanese Friendship League" hoped for the fullest understanding among all quarters in Japan about the national claim of Indonesia over West Irian. Such an understanding, the appeal continued, was for the future benefit of Japan as well as Indonesia who, as neighbour countries, can closely cooperate in all fields.

Mr. Husein said that his Friendship League felt badly about the future of friendly relations between Japan and Indonesia if Dutch planes flying military reinforcements continued to be permitted to make stopovers at Tokyo's Haneda International Airport. The League, he concluded, felt confident, nevertheless, that the Japanese Government and people would succeed in frustrating the Dutch policy aimed at harming the friendly relations between Japan and Indonesia.

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# Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations



*West Irian*  
5 EAST SIXTY-EIGHTH STREET  
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.  
TR 9-0600

17 April 1962

In its February issue the London monthly "Eastern World" carried the following editorial on the Indonesian-Dutch dispute over West Irian:

"The West Irian problem has now entered its last stage. There is no doubt about its outcome, but it is entirely up to the Dutch whether it will be a peaceful transfer of power, or whether they will have to be expelled by force from West Irian, just as they have been driven out from the rest of Indonesia.

"It must by now be clear to The Hague that Holland cannot hold on to this last remnant of its former East Indies empire, for Indonesia is adamant in her refusal to negotiate on anything else but the technicalities of the transfer of her West Irian Province. It is now the last chance for Holland to avoid unnecessary bloodshed and to surrender her last colonial hold on the Indonesian Territory.

"The Indonesian Army is well equipped and prepared to strike if and when the signal is given. Persons close to Dutch military circles recently revealed that events in Goa have caused a panic amongst officials of the Netherlands administration of West New Guinea. Not only are they worried that the Indian example may hasten President Sukarno's military action against them, but they are also nervous because of the hostile attitude shown towards them by the Papuans employed by the West New Guinea administration.

"The Papuans are now trying to avoid contacts with the Dutch officials as much as possible. They attempt to leave the service and employment in Dutch institutions in New Guinea and not to mix with the Dutch people altogether, in order not to run the risk of being called "Quislings" when the Indonesians take over.

"All this is reported to have had a demoralising effect on Dutch troops and civilians alike. One military unit demanded to be sent to Holland as its return home has been overdue for four months, and another one refused to obey. All these facts have forced Rear Admiral Reeser (the Dutch Commander in West Irian) to apply to his Government in the Hague for reliable reinforcements.

"The Dutch Government is naturally very worried about this news from West Irian. It must know that if it is not willing to bow to the inevitable, President Sukarno is forced to apply force, for he has committed himself beyond the point of retreat."

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The following is an article in "The Manila Chronicle" of March 30 by its Chief Editor, Del Rosario:

"If an agreement to avert war has not been possible between Indonesia and the Netherlands over West Irian so far, it is because the Netherlands would make the question of turning over West Irian to Indonesia an issue to be resolved. President Sukarno holds that such is not the case, for the turn over of West Irian to Indonesia has been all along a Dutch commitment since the proclamation of Indonesian independence and the withdrawal of the Dutch from the East Indies.

"As a matter of fact the terms of the Indonesian independence to which The Hague was a party in conformity included a Dutch commitment to give up West Irian eventually. The Dutch withdrawal from West Irian was deferred in the spirit of concession for a period of readjustment of the economic interests there.

"Time has run since then and Djakarta now contends that the turn over must be effected and the only subject for discussion with The Hague is the basis of whatever Dutch interests may remain in West Irian after this is incorporated into the Indonesian Republic. The Dutch stand, which is in effect for the re-examination of the status of West Irian, is thus wedging from the terms of Indonesian independence. The Dutch proposition is unacceptable to Djakarta and those who would mediate to avoid war between Indonesia and the Netherlands should realise it."

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### YUGOSLAVIA SUPPORTS INDONESIA'S POSITION

Drago Kunc, spokesman for the Yugoslavian Government, said on March 30 that: "The dispatch of Dutch military forces to West Irian only impedes a peaceful settlement on the problem."

Speaking at a press conference Kunc was questioned on how he assessed the suspension of talks between the Indonesian and the Dutch representatives in Washington last month, and how he viewed the fact that the Dutch were dispatching new reinforcements to West Irian.

Drago Kunc said: "Yugoslavia's attitude is well known. And it was frequently put forward at these press conferences and elsewhere. As to the negotiations, I would not have to add anything to my previous statements at these press conferences. The dispatch of Dutch military forces to West Irian only impedes a peaceful settlement on the problem."

The Yugoslavian Government spokesman repeated that Yugoslavia was always in full support of Indonesia's position with regard to the West Irian question.

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### ORGANIZATION FOR ASIAN-AFRICAN PEOPLES SOLIDARITY IN SUPPORT OF INDONESIA'S CLAIM OVER WEST IRIAN

The Permanent Secretariat of the Organization for Asian-African Peoples Solidarity has declared in Cairo that ~~it~~ was fully supporting the effective preparations of the people of Indonesia and their Government to end colonialism in West Irian by force and implement the United Nations resolution on the ending of colonialism.

Despite the possibilities of a peaceful settlement of the West Irian question, the Organization for the Asian-African Peoples Solidarity would still keep its support of the preparation as long as a settlement has not become a reality. The International body noted that the recent talks held between Indonesia and Holland indicated that the Dutch colonialists had not shown willingness to end colonialism in West Irian and were merely using the talks as a manoeuvre.

It said that the talks had enabled the Dutch to gain time in which to reinforce their military positions and to get the United Nations and American support in their plan to maintain their regime over West Irian. The talks had been further used to fool international public opinion.

The Organization condemned the Dutch manoeuvre and Dutch colonial domination in West Irian as well as aid given to Holland by her NATO allies. It called on all Asian-African peoples to continue their aid to the Indonesian people in their just struggle against Dutch colonialists.

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DUTCH YOUTH ORGANIZATION CABLES SUPPORT TO INDONESIAN  
YOUTH ORGANIZATION

The Dutch Youth Organization A.N.V.J. in a cable to the Indonesian Youth Organization "Pemuda Rakjat" recently declared its full support to the Indonesian peoples struggle to liberate West Irian, it was reported from The Hague (Netherlands.)

The cable said: "West Irian is Indonesian property like Texel Island is for the Netherlands." It said that the participants of a public meeting sponsored by A.N.V.J. and held in Groningen on March 24, had followed with great interest the struggle now being waged by the Indonesian people to liberate West Irian and for the freedom and independence of their country.

It further said that the A.N.V.J.-sponsored meeting should be regarded as part of the struggle to withdraw Dutch troops from West Irian, for holding talks on the basis of transfer of the territory to Indonesia and for peace and friendship with the entire Indonesian youth. The message concluded: "You may rest assured that we shall do everything possible to prevent Dutch youth from carrying arms to fight against the Indonesian people. We are certain that the joint struggle of the Indonesian and Dutch youths will in the long run defeat colonialism."

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7 May 1962

NOTES ON UPPER VOLTA PRESS CONFERENCE REGARDING NEW GUINEA

Frederic Guirna (Upper Volta), in a lengthy press conference today (noon to 1:30 p.m.), gave impressions of a trip he made to New Guinea at the invitation of the Netherlands Government. He stayed there about 10 days and Maxime Zellner (Dahomey), who accompanied him, stayed about five days longer.

In an opening statement, he stressed that he had gone to New Guinea only on behalf of his own Government and not on behalf of the countries of Africa or of the Brazzaville Group. He said he was "open-minded" and felt that he should go, as this was the first time a colonial power had invited an African nation to make such a trip and had sought advice. Portugal, he felt, should do the same.

He noted that the Netherlands had declared itself in favor of the principle of self-determination for the Papuans, and said he did not see how anyone could be against that. Nor could he accept the view put forward by Indonesia that the ~~immense~~ colonial boundaries had to be maintained, inasmuch as, he said, such boundaries had often been established artificially. The area in question was part of a large island, New Guinea. ~~Sumatra~~ The people of the island were more or less uniform, and he felt that it was more logical to "put the whole together" rather than to separate part of it.

It was "a scandal" that the people of ~~the~~ Netherlands New Guinea were "still in the Stone Age," and the problem, in his view, was how to elevate them to modern times. The idea put forward by the Netherlands that the United Nations should administer the territory seemed to him a good one, as it would give the people "more security." When they had been advanced and were "like normal people," they would then be in a position to weigh all the factors and decide on their future.

Later, in response to a question, Mr. Guirna said that he planned to see the Secretary-General and to tell him that this represented an opportunity for the United Nations, "which is often accused of inefficiency," ~~not~~ to apply the principles of international cooperation. Upper Volta was against the way the decisions of the U.N. had been applied in the Congo, and felt that according to these principles the U.N. ~~was~~ could act faster and more efficiently in New Guinea. He would also report "information only" on his trip to the African Group and other ~~member~~ delegations.

Mr. Guirna said that for Indonesia to claim New Guinea was "about as logical as for it to claim the nearby islands of Australia or the Philippines." Later, in response to questions, he denied that he was "propagandizing for a colonial power" and said that Upper Volta was firmly anti-colonial. He felt, however, that this was a matter which could be settled peaceably, by good will. He might make a report to the Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories, of which he is a member.

On his trip, he had met people for and against joining Indonesia, with the majority against. Naturally, they could have been under Dutch influence. If invited, he would go to Indonesia also. He added that decolonization should not be "a pretext for expansionism."

MCP



# Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations



*Recd. from the P.R.  
of Indonesia today.  
J  
4/5*

5 EAST SIXTY-EIGHTH STREET  
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.  
TR 9-0600

15 May 1962

DUTCH LETTER TO U.N. IS PART OF WAR OF NERVES IN  
WEST IRIAN DISPUTE, FOREIGN MINISTER DR. SUBANDRIO  
DECLARES IN MOSCOW.

Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio declared in a statement on May 7 in Moscow that the Dutch report as submitted by the Netherlands Permanent Representative to the United Nations was only an act of war of nerves which was aimed at diverting public opinion from Dutch activities in sending large-scale military reinforcements to West Irian as a preparation for a general aggression by the Dutch.

Dr. Subandrio made the statement as a reaction to reports concerning Dutch charges that on March 25 an Indonesian air attack was launched on a communication vessel of the Dutch Navy near Gag Island and that on April 26 and 27 an Indonesian military group landed by parachute in the interior of the southwestern point of "Vogelkop", near Fak-Fak.

Foreign Minister Subandrio among other things said: "To the people of Indonesia in the future these are clearer signs that the Dutch are unwilling to settle the West Irian question peacefully. This impression has been confirmed by Dutch Foreign Minister Luns himself in his statements before the Dutch Parliament that the sending of Dutch reinforcements to West Irian were aimed at pacifying Indonesia. This statement can be taken as an open challenge from Foreign Minister Luns. We have clearly shown the world our goodwill that a peaceful settlement can be reached if there is willingness on the part of the Dutch. Indonesia has quickly and firmly given a positive contribution for the settlement of the West Irian question on the basis of the Bunker proposal. But the Dutch have always been postponing and have been using every opportunity to crush the struggle of the Indonesian people by forcible means. However deep the Dutch attitude is regretted, for Indonesia, nevertheless, this matter does not represent anything new, for since 1945 the Dutch, indeed,

have not had the desire to settle Indonesian independence without force.

"Should any open physical conflict be unavoidable, the Indonesian Government and people will endeavour as best as possible to localize any confrontation with the Dutch to the Dutch only. We do not wish to drag other powers into this physical conflict because that would only worsen the situation. Like in the past, with full confidence, we will face the Dutch forces which have been sent to West Irian."

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CEYLONESE HOLD MASS RALLY FOR WEST IRIAN LIBERATION

A mass rally was held at Colombo, Ceylon, on May 5th to express support to Indonesia's struggle to wrest West Irian from the Dutch colonialists. All Ceylonese major political parties participated in the huge rally which adopted a resolution stating full support to the just struggle of the Indonesian people for the liberation of West Irian.

The resolution also called on all workers to boycott all Dutch ships entering Ceylonese harbours.

Dutch accusations alleging that Indonesia is aggressive in West Irian was responded by the mass rally which, in its resolution, stated that the aggressor in West Irian is the Dutch who are endeavouring to maintain their colonial rule over the territory.

On the contrary, the resolution declared, it is Indonesia's right to defend its territorial integrity.

The public rally was attended by thousands of Ceylonese from all layers of the community. Posters and slogans expressing support to Indonesia's cause decorated the town for several days preceding the rally.

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DUTCH STANCE IN WEST IRIAN IS PATHETIC, WRITES  
PHILIPINO COLUMNIST GRANADA.

The well-known Philipino columnist, Granada, has called the Dutch position in the West Irian dispute with Indonesia "pathetic" and predicted that not even "magic" could help them hold on to the territory which rightfully belongs to Indonesia.

The article published in "The Manila Chronicle" of May 8th reads as follows:

"Tens of thousands of Dutch soldiers are reportedly ready in West Irian waiting for a showdown with the Indonesians who are the rightful owners of the controversial half of the island.

"The military threat poised by the Dutch is indeed pathetic. For even if all nine million Dutch were garrisoned in West Irian, the 90 million Indonesians can still swarm them out at any time. And, of course, the Dutch need the legends produced out of their military exploits -- even during the most ruthless days of their colonial adventures. But the West Irian issue is not exclusively a military question.

"In the final analysis the Dutch will face not only the Indonesians but the enlightened peoples of the world in a showdown on whether colonies like West Irian should be perpetuated or returned to their rightful owners. And not even the psychic prowess of Queen Juliana -- who once had a magician for an advisor on world affairs -- can help the Dutch in this showdown."

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# Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations



*Recd. from P.R. J  
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J 24/5*

5 EAST SIXTY-EIGHTH STREET  
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.  
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PRESS RELEASE  
No. 5

21 May, 1962

1. It has come to the attention of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations that on May 7, 1962, a Press Conference was held by His Excellency Ambassador F. Guirma, Permanent Representative of Upper Volta to the United Nations, at the conclusion of his visit to West Irian (West New Guinea) with Mr. M.L. Zollner, Counsellor of the Permanent Mission of Dahomey to the United Nations.

This visit was made not with the consent of the Republic of Indonesia, but solely upon the invitation of the Netherlands Government. In fact, the Republic of Indonesia has always objected to visits being made to the part of her territory still illegally occupied by means of force of the Netherlands, upon invitation of the occupying power. It is no secret that invitations have also been extended by the Netherlands to a number of other African States, which, however, have declined to accept. The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations wishes to extend its appreciation to these countries for the stand they have taken.

2. It is a matter of deep regret to the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia that, in spite of its opposition, Mr. Guirma and Mr. Zollner chose to accept the invitation of the Netherlands and visit Irian Barat, since these actions can be interpreted as their choosing the side of the Netherlands against the Republic of Indonesia in the question of West Irian. Their action can be considered even as an unfriendly act against the Indonesian Government and people.

In this connection it may be recalled that last year when an invitation was extended by the Netherlands to send representatives to attend the inauguration of a so-called Papuan Council, a country having friendly relations with both Indonesia and the Netherlands, wisely declined to do so.

3. The actions of Mr. Guirma and Mr. Zollner are the more deplorable since it later turned out that they have indeed taken the side of the Netherlands, as evidenced by their statements in the Netherlands and at the Press Conference mentioned above. Mr. Guirma has not only taken the side of the Netherlands, a colonial power par excellence, but worse still, he has taken a position that seeks to reverse historical facts and the trend of history.

4. While respecting the freedom of opinion, the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations, however, deems it necessary to make some remarks.

The reasons advanced by Mr. Guirma are, in the first place, that West Irian was not a part of Indonesia. This is simply and clearly a flagrant distortion of historical facts which can not stand uncorrected.

Irian Barat, in pre-colonial days, was a province of the Sultan of Tidore, who at one time controlled most of the eastern part of Indonesia. Tidore is an island located North West of and close to Irian Barat. The sovereignty of the Sultan of Tidore was recognised by the Dutch East India Company in 1660 and confirmed by the Dutch Governor of the Moluccas in 1797.

According to the Netherlands State Gazette, in 1824 the territory of West Irian was included under the territorial jurisdiction of the Residency of Ternate.

In an agreement concluded in 1861 with the Sultan of Tidore, the Netherlands Government included the West Irian territory in the area under its direct administrative control. Irian Barat was thus part of the Netherlands colony in Asia called the Netherlands East Indies. This historical fact was and is recognised by the Netherlands.

When on August 17, 1945 the independence of the Indonesian people was proclaimed by Dr. Sukarno and Dr. Hatta and whereby the Republic of Indonesia was established, its territory comprised the territory of the former Netherlands East Indies. Nothing more and nothing less.

A second argument advanced by Mr. Guirma is the one based on racism. In his opinion the people of Irian Barat are not Indonesians since they are of different race. The Indonesian nationhood, however, has never been based on race. In fact the Netherlands themselves since the Second World War called the people of their colony "Indonesians".

This term "Indonesian" is later legalised by an amendment of the Netherlands Constitution in 1948, whereby the word "Indonesia" was substituted for the previously used term "Netherlands East Indies".

What is more, the dangers inherent in the theory basing nationhood on racism cannot be over-emphasised. This danger was fully realised by the whole world in the late thirties, and the exponents of this theory of racism were completely defeated at the end of the Second World War.

The noted American historian and authority on nationalism, Dr. Hans Kohn, in his book "The Idea of Nationalism" wrote:  
".....To base nationality upon objective factors like race implies a return to primitive tribalism....."



If this theory of Mr. Guirma is put into practice, not only all the new but many of the old established nations will fall apart.

Yet, it is now reported that Mr. Guirma favours a so-called independent Papuan State on racial basis, and even has called for the solidarity of the peoples of the Negroid race. Apparently he is supporting the position of the Netherlands in its continuous efforts to destroy the Indonesian nation. A nation laboriously built on the basis of common tradition and language, a common will, desire and ideal, a common past and future, and a common soil.

Indeed the Netherlands colonialism, by upholding the banner of "divide and rule", is still aggressive against the Republic of Indonesia, as the embodiment of the Indonesian nation.

5. According to information, the majority of the Brazzaville Group has refrained from supporting Mr. Guirma's stand. The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia is certainly appreciative of such an attitude

6. Subsequently by stating that he had made the visit to Irian Barat not as a member of the Brazzaville Group but as a member of the Asian-African Group Mr. Guirma sought to give the impression as if he was representing the group on his visit. This, however, could never have been the case. No mandate was ever given by the group to Mr. Guirma to visit West Irian, nor has the question even<sup>been</sup> raised in meetings of the group. In other words the Asian-African Group has nothing to do with Mr. Guirma's trip.

7. In conclusion the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations wishes to stress that colonial efforts to break up the solidarity of the Asian-African countries in their struggle for the liquidation of colonialism is not a novelty. All such efforts have been resisted in the past, and will be resisted in the future, singly or collectively.

Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations



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5 EAST SIXTY-EIGHTH STREET  
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.  
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*W. S. Chan*

. 24 May 1962

PRESIDENT SUKARNO URGES SELF-RELIANCE IN  
"NATIONAL AWAKENING DAY" SPEECH

President Sukarno in his address at the commemoration of "National Awakening Day" at the State Palace on Sunday night, May 20, called on the entire Indonesian people to continuously arouse and direct the spirit of the people's suffering and the liberation of West Irian. The President called on the Indonesian people to strengthen themselves with the spirit of self-reliance and to march forward with such a spirit on the basis of the Political Manifesto in strong and solid national unity.

"For only such a nation which can strengthen itself, only such a nation which has self-reliance can become a great nation," the President stressed.

With regard to the West Irian liberation struggle, the Chief Executive stressed again that "if possible we will choose the peaceful way. But if it cannot be solved by peaceful means then we will liberate West Irian by force."

The President also gave a reply to the Dutch statement issued after a four hour talk between Dutch Foreign Minister Luns and U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk at Athens recently, in which the Dutch stressed their desire to hold talks with Indonesia to "discuss" the Bunker plan.

(a) The President firmly said: "We do not hold talks merely on the 'Bunker proposal'. We are only too willing to hold negotiations on the transfer of West Irian to Indonesia so that the territory returns without bloodshed under the authority of the Republic of Indonesia before the cock crows on



| January 1, 1963"

The President emphasised again that Indonesia was not begging for "a peaceful way through peaceful settlement."

"But talks will only be possible on the basis of transfer of West Irian authority to the Republic of Indonesia," the Head of State said. Pointing to the continuous dispatch of Dutch reinforcements to West Irian, the President said that "If the Netherlands continue to use force then we have no other alternative but to reply to it with force. We will reply to strengthening of military force with the strengthening of military force."

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ID/ 7

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PERMANENT MISSION OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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NETHERLANDS PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO U.N.  
INFORMS ACTING SECRETARY-GENERAL OF  
NEW ACT OF AGGRESSION BY INDONESIA.

Upon instructions from the Netherlands Government, the Netherlands Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Carl W. A. Schurmann, this afternoon, informed the Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, of the latest Indonesian act of aggression against Netherlands New Guinea.

In announcing this step, the Netherlands Government declared that it had learned, with indignation, that Indonesia, at the time when the prospect for resumption of talks on the New Guinea issue seemed more hopeful, has committed a new act of aggression. The Government finds it difficult not to interpret this new aggression as proof of unwillingness on the part of Indonesia to find a peaceful solution to the dispute.

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The Netherlands Ambassador at Washington, D.C., J. Herman van Roijen, has likewise been instructed to inform the United States Government about the Indonesian act of aggression.

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June 25, 1962

C.V.  
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FOLLOWING IS A TRANSLATION OF A PRESS RELEASE IN  
DUTCH BY THE NETHERLANDS NAVY ON 21 AUGUST 1962

In the area of operations near Merauke on 21 August about 14 Indonesian parachutists have established contact with our forces and with the civilian administration in the spirit of the cessation of hostilities. They had heard this news via transistor radio. According to some of them the Indonesian Paratroop Captain Benny is with his group of about 100 men a few days marching from Merauke. Measures have been taken to concentrate parachutists making contact.

The Chief of a village informed our garrison commander at Sorong that in the neighborhood of Klamono a number of paratroopers is located who wish to make contact with the civilian or military authorities. These paratroopers were probably dropped on 13 or 14 August. Also at Sorong measures have been taken to assemble these paratroopers and accommodate them.



# Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations



5 EAST SIXTY-EIGHTH STREET  
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.  
TR 9-0600

## P R E S S   R E L E A S E No.6

1. In accordance with the provisions of the Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands of August 15, 1962, and with reference to General Assembly Resolution of September 21, 1962, the administrative authority over West Irian has been transferred by the Netherlands to **the** United Nations today, October 1, 1962.

Pending the appointment of a United Nations Administrator in the very near future by the Acting Secretary-General, the present U.N. Representative in West Irian, Mr. Jose Rolz-Bennett is acting as the temporary U.N. Administrator.

2. As of today, October 1, 1962, Dutch colonial rule in West Irian has been terminated. As of that date the people in that territory have joined with their compatriots in the rest of the Indonesian Archipelago in the rank of free and liberated nation.

3. The United Nations flag hoisted on that date has become the only official flag in the territory. However, as a symbol of cooperation between the United Nations and the Netherlands, the Dutch flag may be hoisted side by side with the U.N. flag, and it may fly until the 31st December, 1962. This cooperation consists mainly in the speedy repatriation of Dutch troops and personnel from West Irian which should be completed as soon as possible.

The Indonesian flag will be hoisted on the 31st December, 1962, side by side with the U.N. flag.

Any effort to fly the so-called "Papuan flag" is illegal, and a violation of the Agreement, and therefore cannot be tolerated.

New York, October 1, 1962 \* \* \*