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LETTER DATED 19 DECEMBER 1948 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NETHERLANDS
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TRANSMITTING A MEMORANDUM
FROM THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT

For the information of the Security Council I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a Memorandum of the Netherlands Government setting forth the reasons why it has seen itself obliged to authorise the High Representative of the Crown in Indonesia to take such measures as he considers necessary to re-establish conditions of peace and security in the whole of Indonesia.

In view of the constantly increasing number of infiltrations of Republican armed groups and of acts of violence perpetrated by them against the Indonesian population in Netherlands controlled territory the Netherlands Government has been obliged to make use of the right given in article 10 of the Truce-Agreement of 17 January 1948 which reads:

"This agreement shall be considered binding, unless one party notifies the Committee of Good Offices and the other party, that it considers the truce regulations are not being observed by the other party and that this agreement should therefore be terminated".

Accordingly the Netherlands Government has informed the Committee of Good Offices that it is obliged to terminate the truce-agreement and resume its liberty to take such action as will be necessary to create conditions in which the population of the whole of Indonesia can freely express their opinions by democratic processes and freely decide on the manner in which they desire to govern themselves, without being constantly exposed to the threats and intimidations of irresponsible elements.

In informing you, Mr. President, of this decision I wish to take this opportunity to express the great appreciation of my Government for the unflinching efforts which the Committee of Good Offices of the Security Council, as well as several members of the Council have taken in the past to help parties to come to an agreement. My Government itself has persevered in these endeavours for over three years now with the utmost sincerity of purpose, and it is with the deepest regret that it has been forced to the conclusion that they would be of no further avail.

I take this opportunity to renew to you, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) J.H. van ROYEN

On December 11th the Netherlands Government informed the Good Offices Committee that to its sincere regret it had reached the conclusion that in view of the attitude of the Republican Government, which does not in fact recognize the Truce Agreement nor the principles for a political settlement which were signed on board the U.S.S. Renville on January 17th 1948, further negotiations and discussions either directly with the Republic or under the auspices of the Committee had become futile. Ever since the proclamation of the Republic in Indonesia on August 17th 1945, the Netherlands Government has patiently laboured to arrive at an agreement by which the Republic of Indonesia would become integrated in the proposed United States of Indonesia. By signing the agreement of Linggadjati and the Renville principles, the Netherlands Government has given proof of its sincere desire to proceed as quickly as possible with the creation of a sovereign federal state in Indonesia. The failure of the Republic to co-operate in the implementation of these agreements prevents the creation of the United States of Indonesia on the proposed date of January 1st, 1949. As this date approaches the internal conditions of Indonesia become more and more critical as a consequence of acts of violence against Indonesian and Netherlands officials and private persons and of infiltration by armed groups and because of the determined efforts made by organizations and individuals acting under the direct or indirect responsibility of the Republican Government to impede the political, social and economical organization of the territories outside factual Republican control.

The situation has now so far deteriorated that the Netherlands Government has been obliged to authorize the High Representative of the Crown to take without any further delay such measures as he considers necessary to re-establish conditions of peace and security in the whole of Indonesia. The purpose of the action which has been undertaken will be to create conditions in which the population of the whole of Indonesia can freely express their opinions by democratic processes and freely decide on the manner in which they desire to govern themselves, without being constantly exposed to the threats and intimidations of irresponsible elements.

Since the Netherlands communication to the Good Offices Committee of December 11th a determined effort has been made by some of the powers with which the Netherlands Government is happy to entertain the most cordial and friendly relations to induce the Government of the Republic to revise its attitude. For this gesture the Netherlands Government has great appreciation.

The Republican Premier and Vice-President in a letter which was received on December 14th reiterated his personal desire which the Netherlands Government has never doubted, to make further efforts to reconcile the Netherlands and Republican points of view. In order to leave no possible avenue for reaching an agreement unexplored the Netherlands Government by a communication through the American representative of the Good Offices Committee requested formal assurances that a binding declaration would be forthwith received from the Republican Government concerning some of the most essential points which were discussed in Mr. Hatta's letter. Before this letter had been transmitted the Republican Government in an official statement expressed views concerning the basic issues in dispute which cannot be reconciled with the declarations in Mr. Hatta's letter. This official communication of the Republican Government confirmed the Netherlands Government's preoccupation that Mr. Hatta's conciliatory views were his own and not necessarily those of his Government.

While the Netherlands Government was awaiting a reply to their communication the departure of President Soekarno and six of his ministers on an official visit to India was announced thereby establishing beyond doubt that the highest Republican authorities were unwilling to enter into further discussions with the Netherlands. Dr. Hatta is Premier of a so-called presidential cabinet, which therefore is directly responsible to the chief of state, so that President Soekarno's departure and the fact that the Netherlands Government has received information that no reply can be expected, have placed the Netherlands Government in a position, where no intervention from the part of international organizations or of friendly powers can be of further assistance and where it has no other course but to carry out on the basis of its undiminished responsibility for the state of affairs in Indonesia, those measures which are indispensable to create conditions, which will enable Indonesia to take its place among the other nations of the world as a sovereign and independent nation freely linked with the Netherlands in a Netherlands-Indonesian Union. The Netherlands Government will not go back on or revoke any of the pledges which it has formally made with regard to the future of Indonesia, but it will not permit extremist or communist groups to prevent the realisation of the aspirations of the vast majority of the Indonesian population. The Netherlands Government is deeply convinced that only by following the course of action on which it has now embarked these pledges can be fulfilled at the earliest possible moment. The Netherlands Government sincerely hopes that the Governments of all friendly nations will understand and support this policy.