

Calvin

HPC/st

W. J. ...

3 April 1962

My dear Ambassador Flinsoll,

Thank you very much indeed for calling to my attention the statement made by Sir Garfield Barwick to the Australian House of Representatives on the Netherlands - Indonesian question.

Sincerely yours,

U Thant
Acting Secretary-General

His Excellency
Mr. James Flinsoll, C.B.E.
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative of Australia
to the United Nations
750 Third Avenue, 22nd Floor
New York 17, New York

CONFIDENTIAL

C O P Y

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS
OF INDONESIA AND THE NETHERLANDS

1. The Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands would each sign separate agreements or a single agreement which would be presented to the Secretary-General.
2. The Government of the Netherlands would stipulate the transfer of administrative authority over West New Guinea to a temporary executive authority under the Secretary-General at a specified date. The Secretary-General would appoint a mutually-acceptable, non-Indonesian administrator who would undertake to administer the territory for a period of not less than one year but not more than two. This administrator would arrange for the termination of Netherlands administration under circumstances that will provide the inhabitants of the territory the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice in accordance with paragraph 4 below. This administrator would replace top Dutch officials with short term one year non-Indonesian and non-Dutch officials hired on a contract basis.
3. The temporary executive authority under the Secretary-General would administer West New Guinea during the first year with the assistance of non-Indonesian and non-Dutch personnel. Beginning the second year the Secretary-General would replace UN officials with Indonesian officials, it being understood that by the end of the second year full administrative control would be transferred to Indonesia. U.N. Technical assistance personnel will remain in an advisory capacity to assist in preparations for carrying out the provisions of paragraph 4.
4. Indonesia agrees to make arrangements, with the assistance and participation of the Secretary-General and UN personnel, to give the people of the territory the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice not later than three years after Indonesia has assumed full administrative responsibility for West New Guinea.
5. Indonesia and the Netherlands agree to share the costs of the foregoing.
6. Once this agreement has been signed, the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands will resume normal diplomatic relations.

UNITED NATIONS  NATIONS UNIES

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

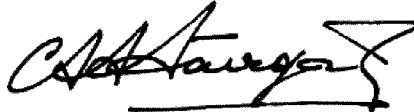
TO: U Thant
Acting Secretary-General

Date: 12 April 1962

THROUGH:

FILE NO.:

FROM: C. A. Stavropoulos
Legal Counsel



CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT: Agreement between the Governments of
Indonesia and the Netherlands.

1. I have examined the draft text which you gave me relating to the above subject, particularly with reference to the authority of the Secretary-General to accept responsibility for the functions to be assigned to him in this agreement.

Authority to accept the functions provided in the agreement

2. There would seem to be no doubt that with the agreement of the two parties the functions envisaged would come within the competence of the United Nations. The Charter specifically recognizes that the Organisation itself may be an "administering authority" with respect to trust territories (Article 81). While the present case is not one relating to trusteeship it may be considered analogous. In a situation like the present, involving matters in which the United Nations is vitally concerned, there could be no legal objection to the United Nations exercising the functions provided. Moreover as the cost would be shared by the parties there would presumably be no financial implications for the Organisation.

3. The question whether the Secretary-General could on his own authority assume such functions is however more doubtful. If he were asked merely to appoint a neutral administrator, he could do this under his general powers. However, the proposed text goes much beyond a mere appointment and provides for general and continuous supervision by the Secretary-General of the activities during the period of temporary administration as well as to the eventual transfer of administrative control to Indonesia. Likewise the functions of participation and assistance in the determination of the will of the people of West New Guinea are those normally exercised under the authority of the General Assembly rather than by the Secretary-General himself.

4. There is no precedent for the exercise of such functions by the Secretary-General under the powers inherent in his Office or expressly provided in the Charter. They

seem a step beyond such functions as are exercised as quiet diplomacy, good offices or the dispatch of a personal representative.

5. Whether or not from a strictly legal point of view it may be within the competence of the Secretary-General to accept, at the invitation of the parties concerned, functions of the kind provided in this agreement, it would seem essential that he should have the backing of a political organ of the United Nations before undertaking responsibilities which may involve difficult political issues and potential controversies. The General Assembly would appear to be the appropriate organ since it not only deals with problems in this general field but has also discussed the specific problem of West New Guinea as recently as its sixteenth session.

6. It would therefore seem desirable that the question of accepting the responsibilities should be submitted to the General Assembly. The Assembly's action could be limited to the approval of a resolution taking note of the arrangements arrived at by the two governments concerned and agreeing to the exercise by the Secretary-General of the functions conferred upon him.

7. Should there be a need for action by the General Assembly before the opening of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly a special session of the Assembly could be called under Rules 8 and 9 of its Rules of Procedure. Should the sixteenth session be meeting at the time on the question of Ruanda-Urundi it might be possible for it to add a new item to its agenda under rule 15.

Difficulties of interpretation

8. There is a second point on which I also wish to comment. The text is drafted in broad general terms and contains many ambiguities. If left for subsequent interpretation, the Secretary-General and the administrator may find themselves in a difficult position. This would be especially true if the parties at a later stage advanced contrary interpretations.

9. The most important of these ambiguities relates to the scope of the "freedom of choice" which is to be exercised by the people of the territory and to the role of the Secretary-General and the United Nations personnel in assisting and participating in the arrangements in this regard. Is for example "freedom of choice" to include the possibility of independence or union with some other political entity or is it to be limited to various degrees of autonomy or centralization within Indonesia.

10. I recognize that in order to achieve an agreement

between parties it may not be possible to include too many details, but in my view the ambiguities should be reduced to a minimum in order to avoid future difficulties. I am attaching a copy of an analysis of the agreement which outlines the successive steps involved and points out some of the possible differences which might arise in interpreting and applying the agreement.

CONFIDENTIAL

Analysis of "Agreement between
the Governments of Indonesia
and the Netherlands.

I. SUCCESSIVE STEPS

1. The agreement would appear to provide for the following successive steps.

(1) Signing of agreement or agreements by Indonesia and the Netherlands (paragraph 1).

Presentation of agreement to Secretary-General (paragraph 1).

(2) Resumption of normal diplomatic relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands (paragraph 6).

(3) Acceptance of functions assigned to United Nations by Secretary-General or appropriate organ (this step is not mentioned in the text but would appear necessary).

(4) Transfer of administrative authority from the Netherlands to a temporary executive authority under the Secretary-General at a specified date (paragraph 2).

(a) appointment by Secretary-General of a mutually acceptable non-Indonesian administrator to administer territory for period of not less than one nor more than two years (paragraph 2);

(b) arrangement by administrator for termination of Netherlands administration under circumstances which will provide the inhabitants of the territory the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice (paragraph 2);

(c) replacement by the administrator of top Dutch officials with short term one year non-Indonesian and non-Dutch officials (paragraph 2).

(5) Administration of West New Guinea during first year by temporary executive authority under the Secretary-General with the assistance of non-Indonesian and non-Dutch personnel (paragraph 3).

(6) Replacement by Secretary-General beginning second year of United Nations officials with Indonesian officials (paragraph 3).

(7) Transfer of full administrative control to Indonesia by end of second year (paragraph 3).

United Nations technical assistance personnel will remain in advisory capacity to assist in preparations for the exercise of freedom of choice.

(8) Arrangements to be made by Indonesia, with assistance and participation of the Secretary-General and United Nations personnel, to give people of the territory the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice not later than three years after Indonesia has assumed full administrative responsibility (paragraph 4).

2. The costs of the foregoing are to be shared by Indonesia and the Netherlands (paragraph 5).

II. DIFFICULTIES OF INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION

3. The present text is drafted in very broad terms and many points are left ambiguous. Considerable clarification and filling in of details will be required at some stage. The intention may be to make the initial agreement so general as to cover up differences of opinion and thus make it possible to obtain the concurrence of both governments. This would, however, give rise to serious difficulties for the Secretary-General and for the Administrator in interpreting and applying the terms of the agreement. Is the purpose in fact limited merely to providing a means by which the Netherlands

may hand over the territory to Indonesia and, incidentally, to easing the difficulties of such transfer for the local population by providing periods first of U.N. control and then of U.N. assistance? Or is the agreement designed to ensure genuine self determination by the Papuans? The underlying purpose and the degree of continuing Netherlands interest would determine to a great extent the amount of detail which should be put into the agreement. In any event it would seem desirable to remove as many ambiguities as possible.

4. Some of the specific questions which arise concerning the present text and which might create difficulties in interpretation and application are as follows.

(1) The intention of the reference in paragraph one to "separate agreements or a single agreement" is not clear. Does this mean separate agreements on different aspects of the matter or does it refer to the possibility of unilateral instruments or declarations signed separately by each party? In either case the agreement or agreements would have to encompass the full understanding between the parties and be binding on each of them. If this is accomplished the form is not of major importance.

(2) Paragraph one also states that the agreement or agreements "would be presented to the Secretary-General." The purpose for this presentation is not stated but since the agreement calls for the performance of functions by the Secretary-General, it is assumed that it would be for acceptance by him or by an appropriate organ. Upon its presentation it would presumably be circulated to the Members of the United Nations and referred to the appropriate organ. It would also be necessary that it be submitted for registration under Article 102 of the Charter, thus enabling it to be invoked before an organ of the United Nations.

(3) Paragraph 6 provides that once this agreement has been signed the governments will resume normal diplomatic relations. This involves action for the respective governments but does not involve the Secretary-General directly. The only question that might arise would be the effect, if any, on the rest of the agreement should one or the other of the parties refuse to resume diplomatic relations in accordance with paragraph 6.

(4) Paragraph 2 provides for the transfer of administrative authority over West New Guinea to a temporary executive authority under the Secretary-General at a specified date. By referring only to the "transfer of administrative authority" this wording avoids the difficult question of sovereignty. Likewise the reference to West New Guinea rather than to "Netherlands New Guinea" or "West Irian" seems to be an appropriate compromise.

(5) A question may arise as to what is intended by "a temporary executive authority". Is this the same as the administrator referred to in the next sentence, or is the exact organization of the "temporary executive authority" left to the Secretary-General or an organ of the United Nations? Also, does the "specified date" relate to the beginning of the period when the administrator is appointed or to a later date when the termination of Netherlands administration has been arranged by the administrator. Presumably duration of the subsequent period would be timed from this date.

(6) The administrator to be appointed by the Secretary-General is to be a mutually acceptable non-Indonesian. It is not specified that he is to be non-Dutch as is done with respect to the other officials and personnel referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3. Do the parties intend this?

(7) Paragraph 2 also refers to the replacement of "top" Dutch officials. What level is included as "top"? Are the personnel referred to in paragraph 3 at a lower level than the top officials referred to in paragraph 4? Are all Dutch personnel to be replaced? Does the fact that neither Indonesian nor Dutch personnel are to be used raise serious language problems?

(8) In replacing U.N. officials with Indonesian officials as provided in the second sentence of paragraph 3 does the Secretary-General have a choice as to officials of Indonesian nationality or is he to take those officials who are assigned by the Government? What discipline or authority may be exercised with respect to them pending transfer of full administrative control to Indonesia?

(9) After the transfer of full administrative control "U.N. technical assistance" personnel are to remain in an advisory capacity to assist in preparations for the carrying out of the provisions of paragraph 4. What is to be their position vis-à-vis (1) the Indonesian authorities and (2) the Secretary-General?

(10) It is suggested that the word "assistance" be dropped from the term "U.N. technical assistance personnel" to avoid confusion with existing U.N. technical assistance programmes.

(11) The most difficult problem of interpretation involving important political consequences arises with respect to the provisions concerning "freedom of choice" in paragraphs 2 and 4. The limits within which "freedom of choice" is to be exercised are not defined. Is it to be a full exercise of self determination including a choice of independence or union with other political entities (e.g. other parts of New Guinea, etc.) or is it limited to the degree of autonomy or centralization to be enjoyed within Indonesia? Moreover who is to decide what elements of choice will be put to the people of the territory? Paragraph 4 provides that "Indonesia agrees to make arrangements, with the assistance and participation of the Secretary-General and U.N. personnel" but does not clarify the nature or extent of such assistance and participation. Is it limited to the machinery of the choice or does it include more substantive responsibility?

(12) Paragraph 5 provides that Indonesia and the Netherlands agree to share the costs? It is not stated however whether they will be shared equally or in some other proportion. Is there to be any limit on the obligation assumed? Does the Netherlands undertaking include the last three years in which Indonesia is in control?

12 April 1962

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE NETHERLANDS
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
711 THIRD AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
TELEPHONE: OXFORD 7-5547

New York, 11 April 1962

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 10 April 1962 with which you were good enough to forward to me a copy of a letter from the Acting Permanent Representative of Tanganyika of 9 April 1962.

While thanking you for this courteous communication I beg to inform you that I have passed on the contents of Mr. Ngaiza's letter to the Netherlands Government.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

C. Schurmann

C.W.A. Schurmann

The Secretary-General
of the United Nations

New York

*g.
12/10*

*1 of 2 in file
given to copy*

11 April 1962

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. IED/12 of 9 April 1962. Please be kind enough to inform your Government that I have taken note with great interest of their proposals regarding the Netherlands-Indonesia dispute, as outlined in this letter.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

U Thant
Acting Secretary-General

Mr. C. P. Ngaliza
Acting Permanent Representative
Tanganyika Mission to the United Nations
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

PERSONAL

10 April 1962

Dear Mr. Bunker,

..... I forward herewith a copy of a letter from the Acting Permanent Representative of Tanganyika, which I received today. In view of the interest you have taken in the subject matter of this letter, I thought it to be in order to acquaint you with its contents.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

U Thant
Acting Secretary-General

The Honorable
Ellsworth Bunker
In care of Department of State
Washington, D.C.

10 April 1962

Sir,

I have the honour to forward to you herewith a copy of a letter from the Acting Permanent Representative of Tanganyika, which I received today. As I know that the subject matter referred to in this letter is of interest to you, I thought it to be in order to acquaint you with its contents.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

U Thant
Acting Secretary-General

His Excellency
Mr. Sukardjo Wirjopranoto
Permanent Representative of Indonesia
to the United Nations
5 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

By hand

10 April 1962

Sir,

I have the honour to forward to you herewith a copy of a letter from the Acting Permanent Representative of Tanganyika, which I received today. As I know that the subject matter referred to in this letter is of interest to you, I thought it to be in order to acquaint you with its contents.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

U Thant
Acting Secretary-General

His Excellency
Mr. C. W. A. Schurmann
Permanent Representative of the Netherlands
to the United Nations
711 Third Avenue, 18th Floor
New York 17, N.Y.

By hand

Received today.

Please acknowledge.

I think it will be in order if copies of this communication are forwarded to P R of Indonesia and the Netherlands for information.

Since the United States is also directly involved, the U S Permanent Representative should also see it.

U Thant
10/4

CV



9th April, 1962.

Excellency,

I have the honour to present the following formal proposals on behalf of my Government regarding the Netherlands/Indonesia dispute:

- (i) Fighting should stop immediately.
- (ii) Negotiations should resume within three days in the presence of a representative of a third nation and the Secretary General or his personal representative.
- (iii) Tanganyika Representative to the United Nations, or his representative, is willing to act as third nation if acceptable to Netherlands and Indonesia.
- (iv) The basis of negotiations should be:
 - (a) Handover of sovereignty of Netherlands New Guinea to United Nations, thus bringing territory under United Nations trusteeship.
 - (b) U.N. should appoint Indonesia as Administering Authority.
 - (c) U.N. should open an office in Holland which should administer possible financial aid donated to New Guinea by foreign countries. Tanganyika hopes this will include financial assistance from Netherlands.

/(v)

His Excellency,
The Secretary-General,
United Nations,
NEW YORK.

- (10) United Nations office in Holland should supervise free elections among the Papuan people when United Nations thinks the time is ripe to do so.

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

C.F. NGA17A
Acting Permanent Representative

Handed over to me by Amb. Shuman at 4:00 p.m.
today.
hor
TE/14

Letter by Ambassador van Roijen to Ambassador Bunker

shown to the State Department

14 April 1962

Dear Ambassador Bunker,

I thought it might be useful to give you as early as possible a further exposé of my reactions to the draft formula you presented to me on Monday, April 2nd.

Your formula provides for an automatic transfer of the administration over Netherlands New Guinea to Indonesia (albeit through the intermediary of a temporary United Nations Authority), without beforehand taking into consideration the wishes of the population of the territory. The Netherlands Government, although not a priori opposed to the transfer of administration to any party, holds that the central consideration in this matter are the circumstances under which such a transfer would take place. Amongst these circumstances the interests of the Papuan population are of paramount importance. The right of free choice is included in those interests.

Your draft does not provide for a set of circumstances under which the interests of the Papuan population are adequately safeguarded.

In view of the obligations to be undertaken by the United Nations an agreement would also have to be signed by or on behalf of the United Nations. In order to provide for sufficient authority the General Assembly of the United Nations would have to adopt a resolution. In our view such a resolution should inter alia contain specific mention of the main clauses regulating the exercise of free choice by the population at or at least not later than a specified date. It should be stipulated that, besides United Nations Technical Assistance personnel, there should remain, until the exercise of free choice, a United Nations plebiscite administration charged with the preparation and organisation of the plebiscite and with the responsibility and power for carrying it out.

The resolution should also confirm the readiness of the parties concerned to accept the interpretation given by the General Assembly to the outcome of the plebiscite, including the acceptance by them of United Nations control in implementing the choice of the population.

-In-

In speaking about top Dutch officials paragraph two does not mention at all the question of armed forces and security forces or of local police. This is certainly a fairly essential element, because the intention of the formula seems to be that all lower Dutch personnel should remain, at any rate for the time being. I can assure you that not a single Dutch civil servant will stay in New Guinea from the moment he would not feel himself assured of sufficient protection.

Furthermore their wholesale departure may result in a Congo situation. It seems therefore essential that some provision about the presence, at an early stage, of United Nations security forces be introduced.

I was made to understand that it was your intention that the United Nations should remain in a position to control and guarantee the exercise of freedom of choice by the people and should therefore retain the relevant authority during the whole period up to the referendum. Any United Nations authority in this period, in particular the United Nations authority for the preparation and the carrying out of the referendum would require the necessary control on the part of the United Nations. I believe therefore that also for this reason a United Nations security force will have to be introduced. This would by necessity entail certain limitations to any non United Nations administration.

In point four you have given a vague description of the way in which the exercise of the freedom of choice of the people might be formulated. In my opinion this formula is far too vague and gives the United Nations hardly any authority over the referendum. As I said before under any formula the United Nations must remain responsible for both the preparation and the arrangements for the carrying out of the referendum. Furthermore, we would be in favour of holding the plebiscite at an early date.

I assure you that this and the other points mentioned above are essential items which must be provided for in the agreement.

This letter touches upon the most essential points in your draft.

I am looking forward to our next meeting in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

J.H. van Roijen



REPUBLIK INDONESIA
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

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

TRAFALGAR 9-0600
CABLE ADDRESS INDONESIA NEWYORK

219/0157

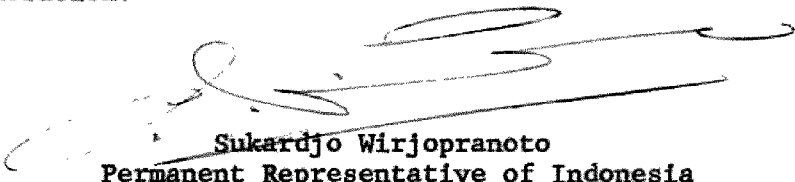
April 16th, 1962.

Excellency :

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your
letter dated April 10th and to thank you for it.

Your courtesy and attention in forwarding with it
a copy of the communication from the Acting Permanent
Representative of Tanganyika are greatly appreciated.

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



Sukardjo Wirjopranoto
Permanent Representative of Indonesia
to the United Nations

2
His Excellency
Mr. U Thant,
Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations,
New York.

27 April 1962

My dear Mr. Ambassador,

I have been requested by the Permanent
Representative of the Netherlands to transmit
..... the attached communication from his Government.

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

H.E. Mr. Sukardjo Wirjopranoto
Permanent Representative of Indonesia
to the United Nations
5 East 68th Street
New York, N.Y.

The attached note was handed over to the SecGen
by Mr. Polderman of the Netherlands mission on
27 April 1962, at 6.30 p.m.

SecGen handed copy of the note to Amb. Sukardjo
of Indonesia a few moments later.

Copy of the note was sent to Mr. Ellsworth Bunker,
c/o Department of State, Washington, D.C. on 28 April.

Copy was also given to Mr. Narasimhan.

gg.

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE NETHERLANDS
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
711 THIRD AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
TELEPHONE: OXFORD 7-5547

On April 27 the Netherlands Government Information

Service issued the following statement:

"The Netherlands Government has noted the statement made by the President of Indonesia at Medan on 26 April 1962, to the effect that Indonesia will not resume the talks with the Netherlands unless the Netherlands stops sending reinforcements to Netherlands New Guinea. The Netherlands Government on its part wishes to give the formal assurance that it is fully prepared to cooperate in reaching an agreement under which on both sides the military situation would be stabilized. It goes without saying that neutral observers, preferably on behalf of the United Nations, should supervise the compliance with such an agreement in conformity with the practice established elsewhere in similar situations. The Government will approach the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations on this matter. As soon as an agreement as referred to above is reached, the Netherlands will refrain from sending reinforcements".

28 April 1962

My dear Mr. Bunker,

.....
Immediately after we met on Friday evening, the Permanent Representative of the Netherlands saw me and handed over to me a copy of the note released by the Netherlands Government on the same day, with a request to transmit it to the Permanent Representative of Indonesia. I immediately did so, and I am sending herewith a copy of this note as I am sure that it will be of very great interest to you.

With warmest regards,

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

Mr. Ellsworth Bunker
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

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COPY

Permanent Mission of the Netherlands
to the United Nations
711 Third Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

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prepared to cooperate in reaching an agreement under which on
both sides the military situation would be stabilized. It goes
without saying that neutral observers, preferably on behalf of the
United Nations, should supervise the compliance with such an
agreement in conformity with the practice established elsewhere
in similar situations. The Government will approach the Acting
Secretary-General of the United Nations on this matter. As soon
as an agreement as referred to above is reached, the Netherlands
will refrain from sending reinforcements".

last line

TO: SECRETARY-GENERAL , GENEVA
FROM: BUNCHE, NEW YORK
DATE: 3 May 1962
NUMBER: SG-12

Netherlands Representative inquires whether you have any information for his Government on the proposal for stabilizing forces on both sides with impartial observers, which he believes you took up with Indonesian Representative last week.

RFB

DECLASSIFIED
BY M.T. [unclear] DATE 10/20/04
70-P-55
FOR STAFF USE, 58 DEC 1984

West Indies

2/

4 May 1962

Sir,

On behalf of the Acting Secretary-General, I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 3 May 1962, concerning incidents that have taken place in West New Guinea. As you have requested, copies of this letter will be caused to be sent to the representatives of all Members of the United Nations.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Ralph J. Bunche

Under-Secretary for Special
Political Affairs

His Excellency
Mr. C. W. A. Schuurman
Permanent Mission of the Netherlands to
the United Nations
711 Third Avenue
New York 17.

JFE/vb

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE NETHERLANDS
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
711 THIRD AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
TELEPHONE: OXFORD 7-5547

New York, 3 May 1962

Sir,

When on March 20, 1962 the secret preliminary talks between the Netherlands and Indonesia began in the presence of an observer acting on your behalf, the Netherlands Government considered itself entitled confidently to expect that Indonesia would abstain from threats of violence, and a fortiori from violent action.

This expectation was immediately proven false.

Between March 20 and 23 infiltrations were made on the islands of Gag and Waigeo and on the South coast of the mainland near Vlakte Hoek, by a number of groups consisting of scores of armed members of the Indonesian forces. These infiltrators, who were obviously operating according to a co-ordinated plan, have meanwhile been put out of action.

On March 25 an Indonesian air attack on a communication vessel of the Royal Netherlands Navy was carried out within the confines of the territorial waters near the island of Gag.

Nevertheless the Netherlands Government, mindful of the importance of maintaining a mood of peacefulness, refrained from bringing these facts to the attention of the United Nations.

Recently, however, a new event occurred, which so clearly shows the responsibility of the Indonesian authorities for aggression committed by their own forces, and which constitutes such a direct threat to the peace, that the Netherlands Government feels compelled to communicate it to the United Nations Organisation.

In the night from April 26 to 27 an Indonesian military group, belonging to a parachutist formation, landed by parachute in the interior of the South Western point of the "Vogelkop" of Netherlands New Guinea near Pak Pak. The Netherlands authorities in the territory

-have-

The Acting Secretary-General
of the United Nations

New York

have taken the necessary measures to deal with this aggression.

It is clear that this military action could only be carried out by official land- and air-forces operating under a co-ordinated plan carefully conceived in advance.

I should be grateful if you would kindly cause copies of this letter to be sent to the representatives of all Members of the United Nations.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

G.W.A. Schumann

UNITED NATIONS  NATIONS UNIES
NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS - UNATIONS NEWYORK - ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE

FILE NO.: PO 240 INDO (2)

..... The enclosed communication dated 3 May 1962 is transmitted to the Permanent Missions of the States Members of the United Nations at the request of the Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the United Nations.

4 May 1962

BK

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE NETHERLANDS
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
711 THIRD AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
TELEPHONE OXFORD 7 5547

New York, 3 May 1962

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-have-

The Acting Secretary-General
of the United Nations

New York

have taken the necessary measures to deal with this aggression.

It is clear that this military action could only be carried out by official land- and air-forces operating under a co-ordinated plan carefully conceived in advance.

I should be grateful if you would kindly cause copies of this letter to be sent to the representatives of all Members of the United Nations.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "C.W.A. Schurmann", is written above a long, solid horizontal line that extends across the width of the signature.

C.W.A. Schurmann

Wm + Simon
52

INCOMING CODE CABLE

TO: BUNCHE
FROM: SECRETARY-GENERAL, *Geneva*
DATE: 4 MAY 1962 Sent 4 1557Z Recvd 4 1915Z
NUMBER: UNGVA 1416

Your 50-13 contents noted as well as fact that Netherlands communication will be circulated.

DECLASSIFIED
BY SP1/358, 28 DEC 1984
Date: _____ T.M. 1984



The Netherlands Government have informed the United States Government that the Netherlands are prepared fully to discuss with Indonesia all the aspects of the so called Bunker plan, it being understood that both parties will be free to bring up on the agenda all items for discussion they deem relevant.

Amb. Sherman of the Netherlands gave me this note today. He said the note was handed over to Secretary Dean Rusk by the Netherlands Foreign Minister Luns at Athens (NATO Conference) on 5th May.

Mr. Bunker informed me on the phone on 11th May that the note had already been transmitted to Djakarta & that he was awaiting Indonesian reply.

A copy of this note was given to Amb. Sukarno today. He told me that he had already received a copy from Djakarta.

WAS
15/5



The Hague, May 16th, 1962

Sir,

In the morning of May 15th, 1962 a second series of groups of Indonesian parachutists were dropped near Fak Fak after the first Indonesian parachutists had landed in the same neighbourhood on April 27th. An attempt, undertaken at approximately the same time, to land about twenty infiltrators, armed with rifles and pistols, in the same territory from a boat could be frustrated as the vessel was intercepted; the men in it, who, when arrested, declared to have received orders to infiltrate near Fak Fak, were taken into custody.

These actions form part of an act of aggression, clearly prepared and intended as such by the responsible Government- and Army authorities in Djakarta. This follows from i.a. the statements of respectively:

a/ President Sukarno, who, according to an Antara AFP report of May 12, 1962, voiced his confidence that the question of West Irian could be settled within the shortest possible time thanks to the new arms purchases from Russia;

b/ General Nasution, who, according to a Reuter report of May 15th, 1962, stated, at a meeting of the International Students Union held at Djakarta that same day: "Indonesian young men are being poured into West Irian across the sea and from the air with the aid of the armed forces. We shall continue to drop volunteers on the main island of West Irian, and if that is not enough, our armed forces will enter the country";

c/ Minister Subandrio, who, according to an AFP report of May 16th, 1962, stated that: "The Indonesians will go to war if the Dutch prefer to settle the dispute about West Irian in that manner".

With serious concern and with indignation the Netherlands Government has taken cognizance of these new unjustifiable aggressive acts and Indonesian threats for the imminent future against the non-self-governing territory of

-West New Guinea-

The Acting Secretary-General
of the United Nations

New York

Doc. S/5123

West New Guinea, which the Netherlands temporarily administers on the basis of Article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations. The Government deplors these acts all the more because - in spite of previous similar aggressive acts and statements directed against the inhabitants of West New Guinea - it not only, immediately on January 18th, declared itself prepared - in reply to your renewed initiative and personal urgent request of January 17th - to seek a peaceful and just solution of the existing dispute with Indonesia concerning the further development and future status of the inhabitants of this territory, but has also continuously and strictly refrained from any hostile behaviour with regard to Indonesia, either in word or deed.

The Netherlands Government's peaceful and constructive approach to the New Guinea question was recently again clearly demonstrated by the positive Netherlands reaction to the proposals of Mr. Bunker, the mediator acting under your auspices, when - although Indonesia had interrupted the talks - the Government declared itself prepared fully to discuss with Indonesia all the aspects of the said proposals together with all items related to this problem deemed relevant by either party.

Although, at present, the Netherlands Government is not yet aware whether the Indonesian Government has also given you a positive reaction to these proposals, it nevertheless asks itself in honest concern whether this exchange of views on a peaceful solution to the dispute can now be continued as if nothing had happened, while Indonesia perseveres in regularly committing aggressive acts against the territory in question (which, moreover, she openly designates as such), thereby flagrantly violating the first principles of its membership of the Organization of the United Nations. This cannot be considered to be in the interest of peace in that part of the world, the maintenance of which is, after all, the primary task of the United Nations. It also raises the question whether - and in how far - this Indonesian behaviour diminishes the possibility of eventually having confidence in the achievement of a really bona fide settlement for the further development of the Papuans towards self-rule and free choice of their own future, in conformity with the aim expressed in Article 73 of the Charter, if the United Nations Organization were not to take a clear stand in favour of the maintenance and observance of its own principles.

The Netherlands Government sincerely regrets that thus - in spite of its continuing willingness to consult - and, if so desired, to co-operate - with the United Nations with regard to the further development of the Papuan people

-of West New Guinea-

of West New Guinea and the future status of that territory - the peace in that part of the world is continually being jeopardized by Indonesia, in word and deed. In this connexion the Government wishes to recall its offer, made on April 27th, of the maintenance of a military status quo under impartial control; an offer which is hereby emphatically reiterated.

Meanwhile the Netherlands Government considers the situation created by the aforementioned new aggressive behaviour of Indonesia to be such that it deems it necessary to weigh further what action it may take, within the framework of the United Nations.


In the light, however, of the good offices you have rendered for the attainment of a just and peaceful solution of the present problem - which good offices we have greatly appreciated and to the continuation of which we attach eminent value - the Netherlands Government feels encouraged and entitled, before taking any action, to make an urgent appeal to you to remind Indonesia of her primary obligations under the terms of the Charter of the United Nations, and to exhort her to refrain from all aggressive action, whether in word or deed, against the territory and the people of West New Guinea, in order that the continuation of a justified discussion of the future of this non-self-governing territory be not placed in jeopardy.

Furthermore - in the same context and especially in the interest of the further maintenance of peace in that part of the world - the Netherlands Government desires urgently to reiterate its former request to you to send some observers to the region in order that they may take note of the factual situation and contribute by their presence, to the prevention, if possible, of further aggression.

Finally the Netherlands Government wishes to give to you once more, as a closing sentence of this letter, the assurance that - in the light of the fact that its presence in Netherlands New Guinea is, on principle, of a temporary character - it will continue to lend its fullest and most positive co-operation to your personal efforts, as well as to those of Members of the United Nations engaged in similar attempts, to find for the inhabitants of this non-self-governing territory an honest and just solution on the basis of Article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations and the terms of the resolutions on decolonization of December 15th, 1960 and November 28, 1961.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

J.P. de Quay
Prime Minister of the Netherlands



SECRET

18 May 1962

TO: The Chef de Cabinet

FROM: The Secretary-General

.....
Ambassador Schurmann of the Netherlands saw me today and handed over to me the attached note from the Prime Minister of the Netherlands with a request that a copy of the same be transmitted to the Permanent Representative of Indonesia. Mr. Schurmann emphasized two points of the letter, namely, I. requesting me to remind Indonesia of her primary obligations under the provisions of the U.N. Charter to refrain from all aggressive actions, and II. reiterating his government's former request to me to send some impartial observers to the territory in order that they may take note of the actual situation prevailing there and to prevent, if possible, further aggression.

I assured Mr. Schurmann that I would transmit a copy of the Prime Minister's letter to the Indonesian Representative and that I would stress the two points emphasized by him.

Mr. Schurmann further informed me that his Prime Minister proposed to make a statement in the Netherlands Parliament on Monday afternoon and he requested me for another meeting on Monday morning to acquaint himself with any reaction that the Indonesian Representative might convey to me. He also informed me that his Government had requested me to distribute this letter as a Security Council document on Tuesday morning, 22 May.

I told him to come and see me at 11.30 a.m. on Monday.

This afternoon I sent for Ambassador Sukardjo of Indonesia and transmitted to him a copy of this letter and conveyed to him the two points stressed by the Netherlands Representative. Mr. Sukardjo informed me that he had so far not received any reply from Djakarta regarding the request of the Netherlands Government about my sending some observers to the territory. His personal reaction was completely negative and he

/...

informed me that his Government would not agree to the stationing of outside observers in the territory under dispute. I also informed him of the proposed statement to be made by the Netherlands Prime Minister on Monday afternoon and the request by the Government of the Netherlands to distribute this letter as a Security Council document on Tuesday morning. I further requested him to inform me of any further developments by 10.30 a.m. on Monday so that I may be able to transmit that information to the Representative of the Netherlands.

22 May 1962

Sir,

This is to acknowledge your letter of 16 May 1962 relating to the situation in and around West New Guinea. As you know, I have been myself concerned about developments in the area and have, on a number of occasions, appealed to all parties involved to exercise the utmost restraint. This would seem to be even more desirable now that, with my encouragement, Ambassador Bunker is engaged in attempts to bring the parties together with a view to finding a solution for the difficulties that have arisen.

Your suggestion that I now approach the Government of Indonesia with an appeal would, if accepted by me, imply that I was taking sides in the controversy, which I believe would not be in the best interest of all concerned.

I feel, however, that a situation has arisen where it appears appropriate to appeal, both to your Government and that of the Republic of Indonesia, to refrain from all aggressive action, both in view of the obligations of the two Governments under the Charter and in order not to jeopardise the efforts that are now being made by Ambassador Bunker.

With regard to your second suggestion, namely to send some observers to the region to take note of the factual situation and to act as a stabilising factor, I would like to inform you that I could consider such a move only if a request were made by both the Netherlands and Indonesian Governments. In any other circumstances I believe that such action on my part would not be appropriate.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

U Thant
Acting Secretary-General

His Excellency
Professor J. P. de Quay
Prime Minister of the Netherlands

JFE/vb

Doc. 5/5124

22 May 1962

Sir,

The Secretary-General has instructed me to transmit to you herewith his reply to the letter from the Netherlands Prime Minister, of 16 May 1962. It would be appreciated if you would be good enough to forward this letter to The Hague at your earliest convenience.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

J. F. Engers

His Excellency
Mr. C. W. A. Schurmann
Permanent Representative of the Netherlands
to the United Nations
711 Third Avenue, 18th floor
New York 17

DRAFT

21 May 1962

Sir,

This is to acknowledge your letter of 16 May 1962 relating to the situation in and around West New Guinea. As you know, I have been myself concerned about developments in the area and have, on a number of occasions, appealed to all parties involved to exercise the utmost restraint. This ^{would seem} ~~I felt~~ to be even more ^{desirable} ~~important~~ now that, with my encouragement, Ambassador Bunker is engaged in attempts to bring the parties together with a view to finding a solution for the difficulties that have arisen.

Your suggestion that I now approach the Government of Indonesia with an appeal would, if accepted by me, imply that I was taking sides in the controversy, which I ^{believe} ~~feel~~ would not be in the best interest of all concerned.

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With regard to your second suggestion, namely to send some observers to the region to take note of the factual situation and to act as a stabilising factor, I ^{would like to} ~~must~~ inform you that I could ~~only~~ consider such a move ^{only} if a request were made by both the Netherlands

and Indonesian Governments. In any other circumstances I ~~firmly~~^{not}
believe that such action on my part would be ~~unwarranted~~^{appropriate}.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.



U Thant

Acting Secretary-General

His Excellency
Professor J. P. de Quay
Prime Minister of the Netherlands

JFE/vb

23
25 MAY 1962

C.V. NARASIMHAN

3800
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EOSG

XI

*Press Release
56/1205*

HIS EXCELLENCY
DR. SUKARNO
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
DJAKARTA (INDONESIA)

MOST IMMEDIATE

IN VIEW OF THE SERIOUS DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE PAST FEW DAYS, I URGENTLY
APPEAL TO YOUR EXCELLENCY TO RESUME URGENTLY THE DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAD
BEEN UNDERTAKEN THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF AMBASSADOR BUNKER. I AM
CERTAIN THAT YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT IT WOULD BE MOST REGRETTABLE
IF THE SITUATION WERE ALLOWED TO DETERIORATE FURTHER, PARTICULARLY AS IT
IS MY FIRM BELIEF THAT THE QUESTION IS CAPABLE OF AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION
AT AN EARLY DATE, ON THE BASIS OF THE PROPOSALS ALREADY COMMUNICATED
TO YOUR EXCELLENCY BY AMBASSADOR BUNKER. PARA I AM ADDRESSING A SIMILAR
HIS EXCELLENCY
MESSAGE TO/ THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE NETHERLANDS. I WOULD BE MOST
GRATEFUL FOR VERY URGENT CONSIDERATION OF THIS APPEAL BY YOUR EXCELLENCY
AND FOR AN EARLY REPLY/

U THANT
ACTING SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

cc Perm. Rep. of Indonesia
Gaby

C.V. NARASIMHAN, CHIEF DE CABINET

23 MAY 1962 C.V. NARASIMHAN

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XX

*Press Release
56/1204*

HIS EXCELLENCY
DR. JAN E. DE QUAY
PRIME MINISTER OF THE NETHERLANDS
THE HAGUE (NETHERLANDS)

MOST IMMEDIATE

IN VIEW OF THE SERIOUS DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE PAST FEW DAYS, I URGENTLY
APPEAL TO YOUR EXCELLENCY TO RESUME URGENTLY THE DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAD BEEN
UNDERTAKEN THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF AMBASSADOR BUNKER. I AM CERTAIN
THAT YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT IT WOULD BE MOST REGRETTABLE IF THE
SITUATION WERE ALLOWED TO DETERIORATE FURTHER, PARTICULARLY AS IT IS MY
FIRM BELIEF THAT THE QUESTION IS CAPABLE OF AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION AT AN
EARLY DATE, ON THE BASIS OF THE PROPOSALS ALREADY COMMUNICATED TO
YOUR EXCELLENCY BY AMBASSADOR BUNKER. PARAS I AM ADDRESSING A SIMILAR MESSAGE
TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA. I WOULD BE
MOST GRATEFUL FOR VERY URGENT CONSIDERATION OF THIS APPEAL BY YOUR EXCELLENCY
AND FOR AN EARLY REPLY.

U THANT

ACTING SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

cc Perm. Rep. of Netherlands
Gaby

C.V. NARASIMHAN, CHIEF DE CABINET

"It is my understanding that the formulation presented by Mr. Luns to Secretary Rusk at Athens is designed merely to assure that the Netherlands is entitled, within the terms of the Bunker proposals, to bring forward proposals to safeguard the rights of the Papuan people for exercising a real form of self determination. If my understanding is correct, perhaps the Netherlands Government could issue a statement now which would express willingness to resume the preliminary talks with the Indonesians in terms of Ambassador Bunker's proposals with the understanding that all aspects of the proposal are appropriate for discussion and negotiation."

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24 May 1962

My dear Ambassador,

.....

I enclose a copy of a letter dated 23 May received from the Permanent Representative of the Netherlands, for the information of your Government.

Yours sincerely,

U Thant
Acting Secretary-General

H.E. Mr. Sukardjo Wirjopranoto
Permanent Representative of Indonesia
to the United Nations
5 East 68th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

1/ The formula, accepted by Dean Rusk in Athens and considered reasonable by him, was meant as a guarantee that, if the Indonesians should, during the negotiations, prove not to be willing to grant proper selfdetermination, the Netherlands Government would not be tied down to transfer of administration.

2/ The aim of the Athens formula is:
to make a real effort to reach a solution within the framework of the Bunker plan, but on the other hand to
(a) create a reservation for the case that the Netherlands wishes concerning selfdetermination should not be met.

Handed over to me by Amb.
Shuman at 4.30 p.m. today.
On (a) I told him that Mr.
Bunker is in the best position
to clarify.

Man
2/5

C. J. C.

Confidential
FILE
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' bunker'

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U Thant
24/5

C de C

Handwritten note: *Handwritten by Mr. [unclear] (not to be sent to Mr. Rusk)
to Mr. Van Rooy of what he reports
of what he reports*

"It is my understanding that the formulation presented by Mr. Luns

to Secretary Rusk at Athens is designed merely to assure that the Netherlands is entitled, within the terms of the Bunker proposals, to bring forward proposals to safeguard the rights of the Papuan people for exercising a real form of self determination. If my understanding is correct, perhaps the Netherlands Government could issue a statement now which would express willingness to resume the preliminary talks with the Indonesians in terms of Ambassador Bunker's proposals with the understanding that all aspects of the proposal are appropriate for discussion and negotiation."



REPUBLIK INDONESIA
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

Doc. 5/5128

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

TRAFALGAR 9-0600
CABLE ADDRESS: INDONESIA NEWYORK

327/0217


May 25th, 1962

Excellency,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter addressed to Your Excellency from the Deputy Chief Minister/Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia.

I request you kindly to circulate the abovementioned letter as a Security Council document.

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



Sukardjo Wirjopranoto
Permanent Representative of Indonesia
to the United Nations

His Excellency U THANT
Acting Secretary General
of the United Nations
United Nations
New York, New York.

25 May 1962

Excellency,

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia in taking note of the letter of the Netherlands Premier Mr. J.P. de Quay, of May 16, 1962, has the honour to draw Your Excellency's attention to the following:

1. The stand of the Netherlands Government, as stated in the above-mentioned letter, which inter alia accused Indonesia of aggression in West Irian, is based on a false premise, since West Irian, far from being part of the Netherlands territory, is an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia being illegally and forcefully occupied by the Netherlands by unilateral action.

2. Since the first days of 1950, the Republic of Indonesia, outside as well as within the United Nations, has been trying indefatigably to find a peaceful solution

His Excellency
U Thant
Acting Secretary-General
of the United Nations
New York

whereby West Irian can be returned to the fold of the Republic without bloodshed. Permeated by this peaceful desire, His Excellency President Sukarno as well as the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in the past several weeks have repeatedly expressed the Indonesian decision to accept the so-called Bunker proposal in principle. The Government of the Netherlands, of course, has been aware of this.

On the other hand, as against forthright acceptance in principle by my Government, the Government of the Netherlands until this very moment has not made it clear whether it has or has not accepted the Bunker proposal. So far it has expressed willingness only to discuss the proposal, which falls very short from Indonesia's well-known decision of acceptance.

3. Reported landings of Indonesians in the territory of West Irian cannot be termed part of an act of aggression committed by the Government of Indonesia, as claimed by the Netherlands Government. Indonesians who have entered and who in future will continue to enter West Irian, are Indonesian nationals who move into Indonesia's own territory now dominated by the Dutch by force. In this connection the armed forces of the Republic of

Indonesia have only been doing their duty by giving full protection to Indonesian nationals while moving in an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia, namely West Irian.

4. It is glaringly clear that it is the Netherlands which has resorted to aggression in part of Indonesian territory by forcefully occupying West Irian since December 27, 1949. This act of aggression perpetrated by the Netherlands has been the more naked of late by the despatch of more Dutch land, sea and air forces to West Irian to strengthen her military garrisons in that area and thereby to perpetuate colonialism in all its worst aspects within part of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia.

The sinking of the Indonesian MTB "Matjan Tutul" on the high seas off the Aru Islands and the recent shooting down of an unarmed Indonesian Dakota plane by a Dutch Neptune Airforce plane are vivid and undisputable examples of Dutch aggression.

5. The Netherlands Government in its note to Your Excellency unashamedly endeavoured to confuse the meaning and significance of article 73 of the United Nations Charter and of General Assembly resolution 1514/XV.

Article 73 cannot be applied to West Irian as it forms an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia, illegally occupied by force by the Netherlands Government and its armed forces to perpetuate its domination over Indonesian territory. Likewise, resolution 1514/XV cannot be applied to the case of West Irian in view of paragraph 6 which declares that "the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter".

6. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia wishes to reiterate its sincerest appreciation for Your Excellency's endeavours, whether direct, or indirect through the Bunker proposal, to help reach a peaceful solution on the West Irian question. It is a matter of regret that the Netherlands Government has not shown any sign of interest towards these efforts.

7. As regards the proposal for the despatch of United Nations observers to West Irian by Your Excellency, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia wishes to reiterate its stand that the implementation of the proposal must require prior consent of the Government of Indonesia.

My Government does not see the need for the despatch of observers as it will not at all contribute to the settlement of the West Irian problem.

8. Whenever the United Nations is sincere in the desire to help solve the West Irian problem it can do so by eradicating Dutch colonialism from West Irian and returning that territory into the fold of the Republic of Indonesia.

9. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia has repeatedly expressed its keen desire to have the West Irian question solved by peaceful means. Indonesia's efforts in the past twelve years bear witness to this.

A peaceful settlement remains today our hope, so long as such a settlement is feasible and possible. However, the stubbornness and haughtiness displayed by the Netherlands do not contribute to such a peaceful solution. As a consequence the Republic of Indonesia is forced to find other means and to take other measures.

10. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia is of the firm opinion that any measure it may resort to to eliminate foreign aggression and its attendant colonialism

in West Irian and to restore its administration in that area is consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia and its people shall continue in their struggle until this noble aim is fully achieved.

Accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Dr. Subandrio

Deputy Chief Minister/
Minister of Foreign Affairs



REPUBLIK INDONESIA
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

JUN 1 1962

ACTION

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

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<input type="checkbox"/> Action Completed	
<input type="checkbox"/> Acknowledged	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No Action Required	

TRAPALGAR 9-0600
CABLE ADDRESS: INDONESIA NEW YORK

25 May 1962

PO 240 1400(1)

326 /0217

Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's letter of 24 May 1962 enclosing a copy of a letter dated 23 May which you have received from the Permanent Representative of the Netherlands, for the information of the Government of Indonesia.

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

Sukardjo Wirjopranoto
Permanent Representative of Indonesia
to the United Nations

His Excellency
Mr. U Thant
Acting Secretary-General
of the United Nations
New York

25 May 1962

Sir,

I have been instructed by the Acting Secretary-General to acknowledge receipt of your letter, dated 23 May 1962, concerning military developments in West New Guinea. As the Secretary-General indicated to you, the text of this letter was handed to the Permanent Representative of Indonesia for his information.

I should also like to inform you that the letter has been issued as a United Nations document, under No. S/5126.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

G. V. Narasimhan
Chef de Cabinet

His Excellency
Mr. C. W. A. Schurmann
Permanent Representative of the Netherlands
to the United Nations
711 Third Avenue, 18th floor
New York 17.

JFE/vb

UNITED NATIONS

Press Services
Office of Public Information
United Nations, N.Y.

(For use of information media -- not an official record)

CAUTION

Not to be used before
11 AM EDT Saturday, 26 May

Note No. 2600
25 May 1962

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS

The text of the proposals by Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker for the settlement of the West New Guinea problem appear below. These proposals have already been submitted to the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands and have been referred to in the recent appeals by Acting Secretary-General U Thant to the Prime Minister of the Netherlands and to the President of Indonesia.

PROPOSALS FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS
OF INDONESIA AND THE NETHERLANDS

1. The Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands would each sign separate agreements or a single agreement which would be presented to the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations.
2. The Government of the Netherlands would stipulate the transfer of administrative authority over West New Guinea to a temporary executive authority under the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations at a specified date. The Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations would appoint a mutually acceptable, non-Indonesian administrator who would undertake to administer the territory for a period of not less than one year but not more than two. This administrator would arrange for the termination of Netherlands administration under circumstances that will provide the inhabitants of the territory the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice in accordance with paragraph 4 below. This administrator would replace top Dutch officials with short-term, one year non-Indonesian and non-Dutch officials hired on a contract basis.

(more)

3. The temporary executive authority under the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations would administer West New Guinea during the first year with the assistance of non-Indonesian and non-Dutch personnel. Beginning the second year the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations would replace United Nations officials with Indonesian officials, it being understood that by the end of the second year full administrative control would be transferred to Indonesia. United Nations technical assistance personnel will remain in an advisory capacity and to assist in preparation for carrying out the provisions of paragraph 4.
4. Indonesia agrees to make arrangements, with the assistance and participation of the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations and United Nations personnel, to give the people of the territory the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice not later than _____ years after Indonesia has assumed full administrative responsibility for West New Guinea. The Government of the Netherlands would agree to transfer administration in accordance with this proposal on condition that the Government of the Netherlands would receive, as a result of formal negotiations, adequate guarantees for safeguarding the interests, including the right of self-determination, of the Papuans.
5. Indonesia and the Netherlands agree to share the costs of the foregoing.
6. Once this agreement has been signed, the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands will resume normal diplomatic relations.

* * * * *

UNITED NATIONS

Press Services
Office of Public Information
United Nations, N.Y.

(For use of information media -- not an official record)

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(more)

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5. Indonesia and the Netherlands agree to share the costs of the foregoing.
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The text of the proposals by Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker for the settlement of the West New Guinea problem appear below. These proposals have already been submitted to the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands and have been referred to in the recent appeals by Acting Secretary-General U Thant to the Prime Minister of the Netherlands and to the President of Indonesia.

PROPOSALS FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS
OF INDONESIA AND THE NETHERLANDS

1. The Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands would each sign separate agreements or a single agreement which would be presented to the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations.
2. The Government of the Netherlands would stipulate the transfer of administrative authority over West New Guinea to a temporary executive authority under the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations at a specified date. The Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations would appoint a mutually acceptable, non-Indonesian administrator who would undertake to administer the territory for a period of not less than one year but not more than two. This administrator would arrange for the termination of Netherlands administration under circumstances that will provide the inhabitants of the territory the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice in accordance with paragraph 4 below. This administrator would replace top Dutch officials with short-term, one year non-Indonesian and non-Dutch officials hired on a contract basis.

(more)

3. The temporary executive authority under the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations would administer West New Guinea during the first year with the assistance of non-Indonesian and non-Dutch personnel. Beginning the second year the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations would replace United Nations officials with Indonesian officials, it being understood that by the end of the second year full administrative control would be transferred to Indonesia. United Nations technical assistance personnel will remain in an advisory capacity and to assist in preparation for carrying out the provisions of paragraph 4.
4. Indonesia agrees to make arrangements, with the assistance and participation of the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations and United Nations personnel, to give the people of the territory the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice not later than _____ years after Indonesia has assumed full administrative responsibility for West New Guinea. The Government of the Netherlands would agree to transfer administration in accordance with this proposal on condition that the Government of the Netherlands would receive, as a result of formal negotiations, adequate guarantees for safeguarding the interests, including the right of self-determination, of the Papuans.
5. Indonesia and the Netherlands agree to share the costs of the foregoing.
6. Once this agreement has been signed, the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands will resume normal diplomatic relations.

* * * * *

UNITED NATIONS

Press Services
Office of Public Information
United Nations, N.Y.

(For use of information media -- not an official record)

CAUTION

Not to be used before
11 AM EDT Saturday, 26 May

Note No. 2600
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5. Indonesia and the Netherlands agree to share the costs of the foregoing.
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* * * * *

Upon request of Mr. Bartlett of US Mission, (and after checking with SecGen) I read the text of Amb. Schurmann's letter to SecGen of 26 May and text of Mr. Narasimhan's letter to Amb. Bunker of 28 May, to Miss MacNutt in Amb. Bunker's office in Washington.

30 May 1962

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28 May 1962

Dear Ambassador Bunker,

On behalf of the Secretary-General, I send herewith a copy of a communication received from Ambassador Schurmann, Permanent Representative of the Netherlands.

In a telephone conversation with me, Ambassador Schurmann explained to me that the second sentence of the first paragraph of his letter means that, in case satisfactory arrangements are not made for self-determination by the Papuans, the Netherlands was not committed to the transfer of the territory to Indonesia.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

C. V. Narasimhan
Chef de Cabinet

His Excellency Mr. Ellsworth Bunker
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Please forward a copy to
Mr. Elsworth Brinker for
information.

News
28/5.

C.R.



New York, 26 May 1962

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Netherlands Government are prepared to continue the talks with Indonesia on the basis of the Bunker proposals under the guidance of Mr. Bunker. However, this does not mean that transfer of Netherlands New Guinea to Indonesia has been accepted as a pre-condition.

The Netherlands Government naturally assume that, if the talks are resumed, the Indonesian military aggression should cease forthwith.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

C.W.A. Schurmann

The Acting Secretary-General
of the United Nations
NEW YORK

Rec'd - 28/5/62
ll

29 May 1962 G.V. Narasimhan

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HIS EXCELLENCY
DR. JAN E. DE QUAY
PRIME MINISTER OF THE NETHERLANDS
THE HAGUE (NETHERLANDS)

MOST IMMEDIATE

I AM MOST GRATEFUL TO YOUR EXCELLENCY FOR RESPONDING TO MY APPEAL TO
RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE BUNKER PROPOSALS. I WOULD NOW
URGENTLY APPEAL TO YOUR EXCELLENCY TO ORDER THE IMMEDIATE ENDING OF ALL
HOSTILITIES IN WEST NEW GUINEA SO THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FUTURE OF
THE TERRITORY ON THE BASIS OF THE BUNKER PROPOSALS MAY TAKE PLACE UNDER
THE MOST FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS. I SINCERELY HOPE THAT, IN VIEW OF THE
EXCELLENT CHANCES FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, THIS APPEAL
WILL BE HEADED. I AM ADDRESSING A SIMILAR TELEGRAM TO ^{HIS EXCELLENCY} THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF INDONESIA.

U THANT
ACTING SECRETARY-GENERAL
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Press Release
SG/1209

cc Bern Rep of Netherlands
Naby

C. V. Narasimhan, Chef de Cabinet

29 May 1962 G.V. Narasimhan

3800

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2723

HIS EXCELLENCY
DR. SUKARNO
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
JAKARTA (INDONESIA)

MOST URGENT

I AM MOST GRATEFUL TO YOUR EXCELLENCY FOR RESPONDING TO MY APPEAL TO
RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE BUNER PROPOSALS. I WOULD NOW
URGENTLY APPEAL TO YOUR EXCELLENCY TO ORDER THE IMMEDIATE ENDING OF ALL
HOSTILITIES IN WEST NEW GUINEA SO THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FUTURE
OF THE TERRITORY ON THE BASIS OF THE BUNER PROPOSALS MAY TAKE PLACE
UNDER THE MOST FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS. I SINCERELY HOPE THAT, IN VIEW
OF THE EXCELLENT CHANCES FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, THIS
APPEAL WILL BE HEARD. I AM ADDRESSING A SIMILAR TELEGRAM TO ^{HIS} EXCELLENCY
THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE NETHERLANDS.

U THANT
ACTING SECRETARY-GENERAL
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

cc Bern Rep of Indonesia
Daby

Press Release
56/1210 -

G.V. Narasimhan, Chief de Cabinet



*1. ...
2. ...*

Reply from the Prime Minister of the Netherlands
to the telegram sent to him by the Acting Secretary-
General of the United Nations on May 29, 1962.

"The Netherlands Government fully share
your desire that all hostilities should
cease immediately. We for our part have
not undertaken any hostilities; we have
only made use of our right of legitimate
self defense in conformity with article 51
of the Charter of the United Nations".

The Hague, June 1, 1962

copy

*UN Press Release
56/1212*

4 June 1962

The Indonesians are prepared to resume talks when they receive official confirmation from the Secretary-General:

1. That the Dutch are willing to accept the Bunker formula as a package as a basis for discussion;

2. That the Dutch have told the Secretary-General they are willing to transfer administration over Western New Guinea to Indonesia prior to a plebiscite if they are satisfied on the modalities and other points of the formula.

*Recd. from
Amb. Sturman.
Relayed by Amb. Jones (Diplomat)
to Washington + mt address
directly to me.*

*HSR
4/6*

W New Guinea file



The text of the Prime Minister's reply to the Acting Secretary-General will be released in the Netherlands on June 2, 1962 at 11. a.m. local time.

Confidential comment by the Netherlands Council of Ministers on the Prime Minister's message to the Acting Secretary-General:

"The Netherlands Government hope that those responsible for the Indonesian parachutist landings on the West coast of West New Guinea will desist from continuing these or similar aggressive actions. The Netherlands Government, for its part, will intern those already landed."

The Hague, June 1, 1962

1/16

4 June 1962

The Indonesians are prepared to resume talks when they receive official confirmation from the Secretary-General:

1. That the Dutch are willing to accept the Bunker formula as a package as a basis for discussion;

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REPUBLIK INDONESIA
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

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

TRAFALGAR 9-0600
CABLE ADDRESS: INDONESIA NEWYORK

339/0217

June 5, 1962

Excellency,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter addressed to Your Excellency from President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia.

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

Sukardjo Wirjopranoto
Permanent Representative of Indonesia
to the United Nations

His Excellency U Thant
Acting Secretary-General
of the United Nations
New York

*Sukarno letter
Press Release
56/1214*

5 June 1962

Excellency,

I have received your cable of May 29, 1962, containing your appeal for resumption of negotiations on the basis of the Bunker proposals. I appreciate your unceasing efforts to bring the parties together for speedy peaceful settlement of the West Irian dispute.

As you know, from the very beginning of the dispute, my Government has always endeavoured to solve the West Irian problem by peaceful means, both bilaterally with the Netherlands and through the United Nations.

Indeed we accepted promptly the principles of the Bunker proposals, in order to pave the way for a peaceful and orderly solution. The Netherlands instead did not react favourably to the Bunker proposals. On the contrary, with increasing speed they reinforced their occupational strength on land, sea, and air in such a way that it will jeopardize the security of Indonesia as a whole.

His Excellency U Thant
Acting Secretary-General
of the United Nations
New York

Press Release
SG/1214

The quality and quantity of the Netherlands forces in West Irian now certainly do not reflect merely the assignment of the forceful occupation of West Irian which after all is an act of aggression.

It is for this reason, that we have to step-up our military activities which is also meant to protect the people of West Irian itself against the increasing cruel suppression by the Netherlands. Hundreds of innocent people were shot or imprisoned, while others are incarcerated in the notorious concentration camp of Boven Digul which seemed to be reinaugurated for this purpose.

Despite all these gloomy prospects of a peaceful solution, my Government still supports all efforts to settle this problem of West Irian along the principles of the Bunker proposals. In this context once again we appreciate your unceasing efforts to induce both parties to accept the principles of the Bunker proposals. This is the only way to settle the West Irian issue peacefully and quickly.

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

Sukarno

President of the Republic of Indonesia

6 JUNE 1962 C.V. MARASINGHAM

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HIS EXCELLENCY
DR. SUKARNO
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
DJAKARTA (INDONESIA)

MOST IMMEDIATE

EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE THE HONOUR TO ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF YOUR LETTER DATED 5 JUNE 1962,
IN REPLY TO MY CABLE OF 29 MAY 1962.

I HAVE NOTED WITH APPRECIATION THE RE-AFFIRMATION OF YOUR WILLINGNESS TO
SETTLE THE PROBLEM OF WEST NEW GUINEA ALONG THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BUNKER
PROPOSALS. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE NETHERLANDS ~~GOVERNMENT~~ GOVERNMENT
HAVE SIGNIFIED TO ME THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE THE TALKS WITH YOUR
REPRESENTATIVE ON THE BASIS OF THE BUNKER PROPOSALS, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
AMBASSADOR BUNKER, I FEEL THAT I SHOULD NOW APPEAL TO YOU TO AGREE TO A
RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE. I WOULD ACCORDINGLY REQUEST
THAT I MAY BE INFORMED OF THE DESIGNATION OF YOUR PLENIPOTENTIARY FOR THESE
DISCUSSIONS AT YOUR EARLIEST POSSIBLE CONVENIENCE.

I WOULD ALSO HOPE THAT THERE COULD BE AN ENDING OF ALL HOSTILITIES ON BOTH
SIDES ONCE THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN RESUMED.

ACCEPT, EXCELLENCY, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

U THANT, ACTING SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

C.V. MARASINGHAM, CHIEF DE CABINET

cc Bern. Rep. of Indonesia

*Pres release
56/1215*

7 June 1962

Dear Mr. Bunker,

I have been asked by the Acting Secretary-General to
send you copies of the exchange of communications between
..... him and the President of Indonesia, which are enclosed.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

C. V. Narasimhan
Chef de Cabinet

The Honourable
Mr. Elsworth Bunker
c/o State Department
Washington, D.C.

Copy of letter from C. V. Narasimhan to Mr. Bunker
dated 7 June 1962, is enclosed for your information.
Copy of letter from Mr. Bunker to C. V. Narasimhan dated 7 June 1962, is also enclosed.

cc Estrella

8 June 1962

Dear Mr. Bunker,

.....

You may remember that at your last meeting with U Thant you expressed a wish to have some notes regarding the methods adopted in the past to give an opportunity to people to exercise the right of self determination. I am accordingly sending you a Secretariat paper giving ^{the} background to a United Nations supervised plebiscite in two cases.

If you want the documentation I can arrange to send a complete set to you. If there is any other way in which I can be helpful, please do let me know.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

C. V. Narasimhan
Chef de Cabinet

The Honourable
Mr. Ellsworth Bunker
c/o Department of State
Washington, D.C.

cc - Miss Gervais

17 JUNE 1962 C.V. HARASIMIAN

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512

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HIS EXCELLENCY
DR. SUKARNO
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
DJAKARTA (INDONESIA)

NO DISTRIBUTION

MOST IMMEDIATE

EXCELLENCY,

I WISH TO REFER TO MY CABLE TO YOUR EXCELLENCY DATED 6 JUNE 1962. I HAVE SINCE BEEN INFORMED BY THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NETHERLANDS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT ACCEPT IN PRINCIPLE THE PROPOSALS OF AMBASSADOR BUNKER IN ~~THE~~ ~~INTEREST~~. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, I HOPE THERE WILL BE NO FURTHER DELAY IN THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF AMBASSADOR BUNKER. I WOULD REITERATE THE HOPE THAT THERE COULD BE AN ENDING OF HOSTILITIES ON BOTH SIDES ONCE THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN RESUMED. I AM PUBLISHING THE CONTENTS OF THIS CABLE IMMEDIATELY IN VIEW OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN THIS MATTER. ACCEPT, EXCELLENCY, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION/

U THANT, ACTING SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

cc Perm. Rep. of Indonesia
" " " Netherlands
Amb. Bunker

Press Release
56/227

C.V. HARASIMIAN, CHEF DE CABINET

20.VI.62

J. F. Engers

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HIS EXCELLENCY
DR. SUKARNO
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
DJAKARTA, INDONESIA

Press Release
SG/1229

EXCELLENCY

HAVE THE HONOUR TO ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF YOUR MESSAGE OF 20 JUNE. MY UNDERSTANDING OF BUNKER PROPOSALS IS THAT THEY CONSTITUTE A PHASED OPERATION UNDER WHICH, AS OUTLINED IN THEIR THIRD PARAGRAPH, BY THE END OF THE SECOND YEAR FULL ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL WILL BE TRANSFERRED TO INDONESIA AND UNDER WHICH, AS INDICATED IN THEIR FOURTH PARAGRAPH, AT A CERTAIN DATE STILL TO BE DETERMINED, ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE MADE BY INDONESIA, WITH THE ASSISTANCE AND PARTICIPATION OF THE ACTING SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE U.N. AND U.N. PERSONNEL, TO GIVE THE PEOPLE OF THE TERRITORY THE OPPORTUNITY QUOTE TO EXERCISE FREEDOM OF CHOICE UNQUOTE.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NETHERLANDS, HAVING SIGNIFIED THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE BUNKER PROPOSALS, WITHOUT ANY QUALIFICATION OR RESERVATION, HAVE, IN MY JUDGEMENT, ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF THE PHASED OPERATIONS AS ENVISAGED IN THE BUNKER PROPOSALS AND I THEREFORE HAVE THE HONOUR TO REPLY TO YOUR INQUIRY IN THE AFFIRMATIVE.

ACCEPT, EXCELLENCY, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

U THANT
ACTING SECRETARY-GENERAL
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

E.
U Thant

INFO COPY

JUN 29 1962

FILE NO.

ACTION

TO SEC GEN

7, -3 00, 2224037
UNION 2224037
RCV/RY

PK1303 IM329
JAKARTA 473 2070 0749 JVB

*Open release
56/1228*

ETATPERIORITE
HIS EXCELLENCY U THANT ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK

MOST IMMEDIATE

YOUR EXCELLENCY COMMA EYE THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF JUNE 17TH
COMMA 1962 STOP EYE CERTAINLY REGARD THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE BUNKER
PROPOSALS IN PRINCIPLE AS HAS BEEN CONVEYED TO YOUR EXCELLENCY
BY THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT
AS A STEP FORWARD TOWARDS THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN
THE NETHERLANDS AND INDONESIA STOP PARA IN ORDER TO AVOID
ANY MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN YOUR EXCELLENCY AND MY GOVERNMENT EYE WOULD
TO STRESS THAT QUOTE THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BUNKER
PROPOSALS UNQUOTE AS WE HAVE PHRASED AND THE WORDINGS CONVEYED TO YOU
BY THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NETHERLANDS QUOTE THE ACCE-
PTANCE OF THE BUNKER PROPOSALS IN PRINCIPLE UNQUOTE SHOULD STIPU-
LATE THE SEQUENCE OF ACTIONS CONSTITUTING THE SOLUTION OF THE WEST
IRIAN PROBLEM STOP THIS MEANS THAT THE FREE CHOICE FOR THE WEST
IRIAN PEOPLE WILL BE EXERCISED AFTER TRANSFER OF ADMINISTRATION
OF WEST IRIAN TO INDONESIA STOP PARA EYE HOPE YOUR EXCELLENCY WILL
EXCUSE ME COMMA IF EYE AM RATHER INCLINED TO GET THIS BASIC IN-
TERPRETATION OF THE BUNKER PROPOSALS STOP THIS IS BASED

UPON OUR EXPERIENCE WITH SO MANY AGREEMENTS WE HAD WITH THE NETH-
ERLANDS IN THE PAST WHICH AFTER DEBATE IN THE NETHERLANDS PARLIA-
MENT BECAME MODIFIED FROM ITS ORIGINAL INTERPRETATION STOP PARA
NEXT TO THE COMMUNICATION EYE RECEIVED FROM YOUR EXCELLENCY COMMA
MAY EYE DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO PRESS REPORTS FROM WHICH WE LEARNED
ABOUT THE OFFICIAL STATEMENTS ISSUED IN THE NETHERLANDS AS A
REACTION ON YOUR MESSAGE STOP THE SPOKESMAN OF THE GOVERNMENT INFOR-
MATION SERVICE IN THE NETHERLANDS STATED THAT QUOTE THE NETHERLANDS
GOVERNMENT IS STILL PREPARED TO RESUME
NEGOTIATIONS BASED UPON THE PROPOSALS STOP SINCE THE DEBATE IN PARLIAMEN
THE WEST

IRIAN ISSUE THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE NETH-
ERLANDS GOVERNMENT UNQUOTE STOP THIS STATEMENT ON SUNDAY COMMA JUNE
17TH HAS BEEN FOLLOWED BY A STATEMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE
NETHERLANDS MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS QUOTE MINISTER LUNS HAS
INSTRUCTED HIS PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE
UNITED NATIONS COMMA

MR SCHURMAN TO CONVEY THE MESSAGE TO THE ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL
THAT THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT DOES NOT SEE ANY DIFFERENCE IN
THE PHRASES USED BY THE NETHERLANDS AND INDONESIA
FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE DISCUSSION OF THE BUNKER PROPOSAL UN-

QUOTE STOP PARA EYE HAVE INSTRUCTED AMBASSADOR SUKARDJO WIRJOPRA-

NOTO TO GET FURTHER CLARIFICATIONS UPON THE BASIC UNDERSTANDING
OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BUNKER PROPOSALS WE SHOULD ARRIVE AT BE-
FORE THE FINAL DECISION FOR AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF TALKS STOP YOUR

NOTE TO GET FURTHER CLARIFICATIONS UPON THE BASIC UNDERSTANDING
OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BUNKER PROPOSALS WE SHOULD ARRIVE AT BE-
FORE THE FINAL DECISION FOR AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF TALKS STOP YOUR
EXCELLENCY CAN BE ASSURED ABOUT MY FULL COOPERATION AND SUPPORT IN
YOUR EFFORTS FOR AN EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST IRIAN ISSUE
STOP PARA ACCEPT COMMA YOUR EXCELLENCY COMMA THE RENEWED ASSURAN-
CES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION STOP

SUKARNO
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF
INDONESIA

COLL IN309 473 17TH 1962 17TH

CORRECTION

IN THE EIGHT LINE LAST WORD IS

I
IN THE EIGHT LINE LAST

ENTIRELY

IN THE EIGHT LINE LAST WORD IS LIKE

IN THREE TWENTYEIGHT LINE LAST WORD IS PARLIAMENXXXXXXXXXXXX

ABOUT

RCP NY 1230 EST AM
UNATION 2224537

67

Ambassador Van Rooyen told Mr. Ellsworth Bunker on Friday,

"The govt. of the Netherlands has accepted the Bunker proposals with not a single qualification, not a single restriction, nor a single reservation. I am convinced that we can come to a solution at the conference table."

(Conveyed to me today by Mr. Bunker.)

Dear
20/6/62

S.G.

Mr. Schurmann, who just called me, asked me to tell you that a Netherlands Foreign Office spokesman has just told journalists that the Government did not believe it could add anything useful to your attempts to explain the position. All we had to wait for now was the Indonesians to return to the conference table.

ack.

11.20 a.m.
21.VI.62

New York, 25 June 1962

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that Indonesia has again proceeded to drop parachutists on Netherlands New Guinea, this time near Merauke. In the night of 23/24 June 1962 a number of armed Indonesian parachutists, estimated at 100 in all, were dropped in the neighbourhood of the said town, situated on the South coast of New Guinea, from three aeroplanes (probably of the Hercules type), in four different places, each at a distance of about 25 kilometres from the other. Furthermore, there are indications that considerable quantities of stocks and military equipment have been dropped.

The Netherlands forces have immediately taken steps for the exact location and combatting of the Indonesian infiltrators.

The Netherlands Government has taken cognizance with indignation of this new act of aggression committed by Indonesia, just at the time when the prospects for resumption of the talks with Indonesia about the proposals made by Ambassador Bunker seemed more favourable. It is hardly possible to view this act otherwise than as an expression of a conscious policy on the part of Indonesia to prefer an armed conflict to the clear possibilities now existing for the peaceful solution of the dispute under the guidance of the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations.

I would be grateful to you if you would kindly circulate this letter as a Security Council document.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

G. W. A. Schurmann

The Acting Secretary-General
of the United Nations

New York

Doc. S/3135

Please reply
U Thant
25 June 1962



21

CABLE ADDRESS
AUSTUNAT, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE
YUKON 8-7876

AUSTRALIAN MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS
750 THIRD AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

27th June 1962

Wong 5/16

My dear Secretary-General,

I am enclosing for your information a copy of a statement by the Prime Minister of Australia on 26th June 1962, concerning developments in West New Guinea.

Yours sincerely,

J. Plimsoll
Permanent Representative

His Excellency
U Thant
Secretary-General of the United Nations,
New York

STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA
(RT HON. R.G. MENZIES)

26TH JUNE 1962

Cabinet has given consideration to recent developments in West New Guinea. We have in particular been concerned at the latest news of the dropping of Indonesian troops in and around Merauke.

With every natural desire to live on terms of friendliness with Indonesia, we find it necessary to point out two things.

One is that this warlike action is quite inconsistent with the statements publicly and repeatedly made to us, that Indonesia would not pursue its territorial claim to West New Guinea by force of arms.

The other is that the negotiations recently begun in the presence of Mr Bunker after initiating action by the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, have yet to be resumed and concluded. We find it impossible to understand why the processes of peaceful negotiation should be interrupted and impaired by military aggression.

We would like to say once more that we desire and will respect a peaceful settlement arising from such negotiation; that active hostilities can achieve nothing but unnecessary bitterness; and that peace in this part of the world is important, not only to the nations immediately concerned but to the whole future of South East Asia and the South West Pacific. It is also important for the future authority of the United Nations that international territorial differences should be settled without either the threat or the use of armed force.

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92

ACTION
JUN 27 1962
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GENERAL SECRETARIAT
UNITED NATIONS

MMV

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FR

CD S DJAKARTA VIA WUCBLES 27 0350

*Once
Release
56/1233*

ETA PRIORITE HIS EXCELLENCY U THANT SECRETARY GENERAL

UNITED NATIONS NYK

DALI JUNE 27TH 1962 STOP YOUR EXCELLENCY CM I THANK YOU
VERY MUCH FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF JUNE 26TH STOP AN AM VERY GR- 2-²⁷
ATIFIED FOR YOUR REPLY IN THE AFFIRMATIVE TO MY INQUIRY AS CON-
TAINED IN MY MESSAGE OF JUNE 20TH STOP THE UNDERSTANDING
BETWEEN US HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED ABOUT THE PHASED OPERATION
AS CONTAINED IN THE BUNKER PROPOSALS CM THE TRANSFER OF ADMINI-
STRATION TO INDONESIA CM FOLLOWED AFTER SO MANY YEARS BY THE
ARRANGEMENT MADE BY INDONESIA CM WITH THE ASSISTANCE AND PAR-
TICIPATION OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND THE UNITED NATIONS
TO GIVE THE PEOPLES OF THE TERRITORY OF WEST IRIAN THE OPPORTUNITY
TO EXERCISE FREEDOM OF CHOICE PARA IN FACT UPON THIS UNDERSTAN-
DING I DO NOT SEE ANY REASON FOR FURTHER DELAY IN THE RESUMPTION

OF NEGOTIATION STOP ON THE OTHER HAND CMA TO BE FRANK CMA
EVEN UP TILL NOW IT IS NOT YET CLEAR TO ME ABOUT THE PUBLIC AT-
TITUDE OF THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT PARA WHEREAS YOU MENTIONED
IN YOUR MESSAGE CMA THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT HAVING SIGNIFIED
THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE BUNKER PROPOSAL WITHOUT ANY QUALIFICATION
OR RESERVATION CMA IN YOUR JUDGEMENT CMA IMPLYING THE ACCEPTANCE
OF THE PHASED OPERATION ENVISAGED IN THE BUNKER PROPOSAL CMA
THERE HAS BEEN NO OFFICIAL PUBLIC CONFIRMATION YET FROM THE
NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT REGARDING THIS INTERPRETATION STOP ON THE
CONTRARY THE SPOKESMAN OF THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR IN THE HAGUE
SAID ON THE 25TH OF JUNE THAT QUOTE SECRETARY BOTH HAD STATED
ONLY THAT THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT ARE PREPARED TO TALK ON THE
BUNKERPLAN WITHOUT ANY RESERVES UNQUOTE PARA THUS THE STATEMENT
MADE EARLIER BY SECRETARY BOTH WHILST IN WASHINGTON TO THE EFFECT
THAT THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT HAS ACCEPTED THE BUNKER PROPOSAL
WITHOUT ANY RESERVATION OR QUALIFICATION HAS BEEN REFUTED BY
THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT IN THE HAGUE PARA I SINCERELY HOPE
THAT THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT WILL GIVE ITS PUBLIC AFFIRMATION
TO THE CONTENT OF YOUR MESSAGE YOU SENT TO ME ON THE 21ST OF
JUNE CMA SO THAT THE NEGOTIATION CAN BE RESUMED SOON STOP
ACCEPT CMA EXCELLENCY CMA THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERA-
TION STOP UKARNO PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA FULLSTOP
1152P..

UNITED STATES
JUN 27 1952

28.VI.62

J. P. Engers

3840

875

BOSG

XX

HIS EXCELLENCY
DR. SUKARNO
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
DJAKARTA, INDONESIA

EXCELLENCY,

HAVE THE HONOUR TO ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF YOUR MESSAGE OF 27 JUNE, THE CONTENTS OF WHICH I CONVEYED TO THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NETHERLANDS THAT VERY SAME DAY. TODAY I RECEIVED FROM AMBASSADOR SCHURMANN A REPLY CONFIRMING MY INTERPRETATION AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT CONFIRMS ONCE MORE THAT, AS WAS ALREADY APPARENT FROM ITS PREVIOUS STATEMENTS, IT ACCEPTS THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS AS LAID DOWN IN THE BUNKER PROPOSALS ON CONDITION THAT IT WILL RECEIVE, EQUALLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE BUNKER PROPOSALS, ADEQUATE CONDITIONS AND GUARANTEES FOR THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE PAPUANS. UNQUOTE

REGARDING THE STATEMENT BY A SPOKESMAN OF THE NETHERLANDS MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR, MENTIONED IN YOUR TELEGRAM, THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NETHERLANDS WAS AUTHORIZED TO INFORM ME THAT NO SUCH STATEMENT EXISTS AND THAT NEITHER THE AFOREMENTIONED MINISTRY NOR ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY HAD MADE SUCH A STATEMENT.

IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE, I FEEL IT APPROPRIATE TO REITERATE MY REQUEST, MADE TO YOUR EXCELLENCY EARLIER THIS MONTH, TO EXPEDITE THE DESIGNATION OF YOUR PLENIPOTENTIARY FOR THE DISCUSSIONS ENVISAGED.

ACCEPT, EXCELLENCY, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION. U THANT
ACTING-SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE
UNITED NATIONS

New Release
56/1233

Please send this out
today & release both Presidents
Sukarno's cable to me & this
reply today.

28th June 1962.

Jhos
28/6

His Excellency Dr. Sukarno
President of the Republic of Indonesia
Djakarta
Indonesia

Excellency,

Have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your message of
27 June, the contents of which I conveyed to the Permanent
Representative of the Netherlands that very same day. Today I
received from ^{Ambassador} ~~Mr.~~ Schurmann a reply confirming my interpretation
as follows:

"The Netherlands Government confirms once more that,
as was already apparent from its previous statements, it accepts
the sequence of events as laid down in the Bunker proposals
on condition that it will receive, equally in accordance with
the Bunker proposals, adequate conditions and guarantees for
the rights and interests of the Papuans."

Regarding the statement by a spokesman of the Netherlands
Ministry of the Interior, mentioned in your telegram, the
Permanent Representative of the Netherlands was authorized to
inform me that no such statement exists and that neither the afore-
mentioned Ministry nor any other Government authority had made such
a statement.

In view of the above, I feel it appropriate to reiterate my
request, made to ^{your Excellency} ~~you~~ earlier this month, to expedite the designation
of your Plenipotentiary for the discussions envisaged.

E

111

Handed over to me by Amb. Schomann today
Incorporated in my reply to President Sukarno
today.

Dewar
28/6

The Netherlands Government confirms once more that, as was already apparent from its previous statements, it accepts the sequence of events as laid down in the Bunker proposals on condition that it will receive, equally in accordance with the Bunker proposals, adequate conditions and guarantees for the rights and interests of the Papuans.



RCA POSN 1
 UNATION 224537
 RC18 PN827 IM 267/7801
 3 DJAKARTA 61 4 0235 JVR

ACTION	
JUL 3 1962	
TO
FILE NO.
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INITIALS
<small>Form 1 - 11 months - Serials - Form 2874</small>	

ETATPRIORITE

HIS EXCELLENCY U THANT ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL UNITED NATIONS
 NEWYORK

EXCELLENCY (,) EYE HAVE THE NONOUR TO ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT
 OF YOUR LATEST MESSAGE OF JUNE 28 (.) IN VIEW OF THE NET-
 HERLANDS STATEMENT CONVEYED TO YOU EYE FEEL IT JUSTIFIED TO SEND AN
 ENVOY TO

WASHINGTON TO GET THE FINAL CLARIFICATION FROM THE TETHERLANDS PLE-
 NIPOTENTIARY ABOUT THE NETHERLANDS INTERPRETATION OF THE BUNKER
 PROPOSALS (.) AGREEMENT ON THIS POINT WILL PAVE THE WAY FOR
 FURTHER DISCUSSIONS (.) ACCEPT (,) EXCELLENCY (,) THE
 RENEWED ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION (.) SUKARNO (,)
 ,) PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA (.) FULL STOP

Press Release
56/1243

COLLIM 267,7801 HIS EXCELLENCY U THANT ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL
 UNITED NATIONS NEWYORK (,) 28 (.) (.) (.) (,) (,)
 (.) (,) (.)
 -SENT 325PJEST/FM

UNATION 224537

UNITED NATIONS
 1962 JUL -3 PM 4:27
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VRCA POSN 22
UNATION 224537
RC10/DI/PN927
IM 267/7801
3 DJAKARTA 61 4 0235 JVR

ETATPRIORITE

TIS EXCELLENCY U THANT ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL UNITED NATIONS
NEWYORK

EXCELLENCY (,) I HAVE THE HONOUR TO ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT
OF YOUR LATEST MESSAGE OF JUNE 28 (.) IN VIEW OF THE NET-
HERLANDS STATEMENT CONVEYED TO YOU I FEEL IT JUSTIFIED TO SEND AN
ENVOY TO

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PROPOSALS (.) AGREEMENT ON THIS POINT WILL PAVE THE WAY FOR
FURTHER DISCUSSIONS (.) ACCEPT (,) EXCELLENCY (,) THE
RENEWED ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION (.) SUKARNO (.)

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
(,) PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA (.) FULL STOP

COLLXLLIM 267/7801 HIS EXCELLENCY U THANT ACTING
SENT 1317AM EST

W1

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

TO: SECRETARY-GENERAL, LONDON
FROM: ENGERS
DATE: 5 JULY 1962
NO: 90-12

Ambassador Schurman called me shortly after noon July 4, to inform you of following reaction to Sukarno's cable. Netherlands Government are of course prepared for discussions envisaged, but would appreciate if contact remained through Secretary-General or the person designated by him (Banker). He also wanted to apprise you orally of incident 28 June when 4 Indonesian transport planes flew over certain New Guinea territory and dropped materiel and food stuffs for guerilla forces. No request to communicate this to Member states, but Netherlands Government might refer to this notification in subsequent more official messages to U.N. organs. Have notified Banker of first part of message.

Kudus

*Can. C
He*

Trust

DECLASSIFIED
PER ST/1326, 28 DEC 1984
DATE 10/25/88 BY SP-10/10/88

Handwritten notes below stamp:
Handwritten
Handwritten
Engels

5 July 1962

My dear Ambassador Bunker,

Following our telephone call this morning, I am sending you enclosed a copy of President Sukarno's cable to the Secretary-General, dated 4 July.

As I told you, Ambassador Schurmann informed me that the Netherlands Government were, of course, prepared for the discussions envisaged but would appreciate if the contacts remained through the Secretary-General, or the person designated by him, namely you. We felt that neither the cable nor the statement required any replies at the present time and none is being prepared.

Sincerely yours,

J. F. Engers

The Honorable
Mr. Ellsworth Bunker
Department of State, Room 6209
Washington 25, D.C.

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

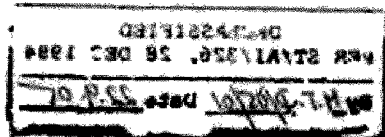
TO: Secretary-General, Geneva

FROM: Rogers

DATE: 12 July 1962

NO: 88-41

Bunker informed that Malik arrived this morning. Sekarife expected today. Bunker proceeding Virginia this afternoon where discussions will open tomorrow morning. Will keep you fully posted.



OUTGOING CODE CABLE

TO: SECRETARY-GENERAL, DUBLIN

FROM: EICHENS, ROBO

DATE: 13 JULY 1962

SG-50

RE:

SG-49.

Further our / . Bunker told me that discussions were off to a good start, will continue on Saturday, to be resumed on Monday. Indonesian delegation consists of Ambassadors Malik and Surio Tardjo, Netherlands delegation Ambassadors van Royen and Schurmann. Netherlands negotiat^{ors}~~ions~~ have consented in increase of Indonesian delegation tomorrow to four, adding Ambassadors Soen and Sudjarwo.

CLASSIFIED
BY SP-1/10/50 28 DEC 1984

CLASSIFIED
BY SP-1/10/50 28 DEC 1984

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ETAT PRIORITE

SECRETARY-GENERAL, UNITED NATIONS

CARE MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

DUBLIN (IRELAND) -

SG-49 AT THE REQUEST OF AMBASSADOR BUNKER WE HAVE

ISSUED FOLLOWING COMMUNIQUE AGREED BY BOTH PARTIES I QUOTE DELE-
GATIONS REPRESENTING THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE NETHERLANDS AND INDONESIA
HAVE RESUMED TALKS IN THE PRESENCE OF MR. ELLSWORTH BUNKER, WHO -

P2/35/33 -

IS REPRESENTING THE ACTING SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
LOOKING TOWARD A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST NEW GUINEA
DISPUTE ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BUNKER PLAN -

ENDERS NEWYORK +

COL SG-49 +

UNITED NATIONS
TELETYPE UNIT
MAY 13 11 5 07

W. L. Bunker

14 July 1962

My dear Ambassador Bunker,

I am sending you herewith three copies of yesterday's
communiqué as it was issued at United Nations Headquarters.

Yours sincerely,

J. F. Engers
Executive Officer
Office of the Secretary-General

The Honorable Ellsworth Bunker
Department of State
Washington 25, D. C.

UNITED NATIONS

Press Services
Office of Public Information
United Nations, N.Y.

(For use of information media -- not an official record)

Press Release SG/1261
13 July 1962

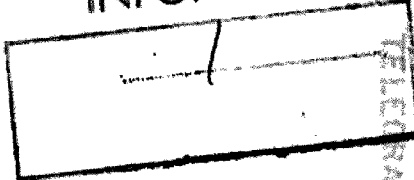
NETHERLANDS AND INDONESIA RESUME NEGOTIATIONS

The office of the Acting Secretary-General today announced the following joint communique:

"Delegations representing the Governments of the Netherlands and Indonesia have resumed talks in the presence of Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, who is representing the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, looking toward a peaceful settlement of the West New Guinea dispute on the basis of the principles of the Bunker Plan."

* *** *

INFO. COPY *best here*



UNITED NATIONS
M22.11.16 PM 6.59
TELEGRAM UNIT

Y268 5 (UN2) NY 297/291 16 2220Z-

ETATPIORITE

PAR OMNIPRESS

PARIS (FRANCE)-

SG-59 FOR SECRETARYGENERAL ONLY.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE OPENING STATEMENT BY THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION AT THE RESUMED PRIVATE TALKS ON WEST NEW GUINEA, TEXT OF WHICH WILL BE RELEASED TO PRESS TOMORROW MORNING IF AND AFTER VAN BOYEN HAS RECEIVED NECESSARY AUTHORIZATION FROM THE HAGUE.

QUOTE THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION IS VERY HAPPY AT THE-

P2-

RESUMPTION OF THESE SECRET PRELIMINARY TALKS AND I PERSONALLY WELCOME THE RETURN OF AMBASSADOR MALIK TO THESE HOSPITABLE SURROUNDINGS. WE ARE VERY GLAD THAT AMBASSADOR BUNKER HAS FOUND IT POSSIBLE AGAIN TO BE PRESENT AS THIRD PARTY AT THESE NEGOTIATIONS. PARA I SHOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY-

P3-

OF MAKING A SHORT STATEMENT. I WISH TO DO SO IN ORDER TO TAKE AWAY ANY UNCERTAINTY WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA MAY STILL FEEL WITH REGARD TO THE POSITION AND ATTITUDE OF THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT IN RESPECT OF THE BUNKER PROPOSALS. PARA I THEREFORE WISH TO REPEAT WHAT-

P4-

I HAVE ALREADY SAID TO MR. ZAIN, MY INDONESIAN COLLEAGUE IN WASHINGTON. PARA THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS THE BUNKER PROPOSALS IN PRINCIPLE. THIS MEANS THAT MY GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS

PROPOSALS IN PRINCIPLE. THIS MEANS THAT MY GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS
THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS AS LAID DOWN IN POINTS 2 AND 3 OF THOSE
PROPOSALS. AFTER THE PHASE=

P5/52/50=

OF U.N. ADMINISTRATION THERE WILL BE A PERIOD OF FULL ADMINISTRATIVE
CONTROL BY INDONESIA FOLLOWED, AFTER A NUMBER OF YEARS STILL TO
BE SPECIFIED, BY THE EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION
OF THE PAPUANS. PARA THE ACCEPTANCE BY THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT
OF THE FOREGOING IS SUBJECT=

P6/45/41=

ONLY TO THE ONE CONDITION MENTIONED IN POINT 4 OF THE BUNKER
PROPOSALS, NAMELY THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NETHERLANDS RECEIVES
ADEQUATE GUARANTEES FOR SAFE-GUARDING THE INTEREST, INCLUDING
THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION, OF THE PAPUANS. UNQUOTE=

ENCERS NEWYORK+

COLL 56-592 3 4+