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UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR INDONESIA

FIRST INTERIM REPORT OF THE COMMISSION

TO THE

SECURITY COUNCIL

/LETTER DATED

LETTER DATED 4 AUGUST 1949 FROM THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION
FOR INDONESIA TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL
SUBMITTING THE FIRST INTERIM REPORT OF THE COMMISSION

BATAVIA
JAKARTA

4 August 1949

We have the honour to forward herewith the First Interim Report of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, which is submitted in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Security Council at its 406th meeting on 28 January 1949.

The present report covers the period from the establishment of the Commission to 3 August 1949, and is divided into seven chapters and a conclusion, which set out the endeavours made by the Commission and the results so far achieved in the settlement of the Indonesian dispute.

As the preliminary discussions have been brought to a successful conclusion, the Commission feels that this is an appropriate time for the presentation of the report, before the commencement of the Round Table Conference at The Hague.

We take this opportunity to renew to the President and representatives on the Security Council the assurance of our highest consideration.

(Signed) T.K. Critchley (Australia)
Chairman

R. Ferremans (Belgium)

H. Merle Cochran (United States)

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LIST OF STARRED DOCUMENTS REFERRED TO IN THE FIRST INTERIM REPORT,
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Note: The starred documents, indicated thus -- (1*), (2*) -- in this Report, are available in the files of the Department of Security Council Affairs, United Nations. The documents also carry the document reference symbols and numbers of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia.

<u>Starred Document No.</u>	<u>Substance</u>
(1*)	Letter dated 11 April 1949 from the Commission to the Chairman of the Republican delegation with regard to the discussions to be held under the auspices of the Commission in Batavia (S/AC.10/293/Add.4)
(2*)	Letter dated 11 April 1949 from the Commission to the Acting Chairman of the Netherlands delegation with regard to the discussions to be held under the auspices of the Commission in Batavia (S/AC.10/294/Add.5)
(3*)	Letter dated 16 March 1949 from the Republican delegation concerning the alleged arrest of a number of prominent Republicans by Netherlands authorities in Solo and Jogjakarta (S/AC.10/284)
(4*)	Letter dated 26 March 1949 addressed to the Netherlands delegation concerning the arrest of a number of Republicans by Netherlands authorities in Jogjakarta (S/AC.10/284/Add.1)
(5*)	Letter dated 29 March 1949 from the Netherlands delegation commenting on the Republican delegation's letter of 12 February 1949 concerning political prisoners allegedly held by Netherlands authorities throughout Indonesia (S/AC.10/264/Add.3)
(6*)	Letter dated 26 April 1949 from the Republican delegation requesting the good offices of the Commission in securing the release of political prisoners arrested by Netherlands authorities since 17 December 1948 in the Republic of Indonesia (S/AC.10/302)
(7*)	Letter dated 24 May 1949 from the Netherlands delegation in reply to the Commission's letter of 26 March 1949 concerning the arrest of a number of Republicans by Netherlands authorities in Jogjakarta (S/AC.10/284/Add.2)
(8*)	Letter dated 23 June 1949 from the Republican delegation requesting the appointment of a joint sub-committee to deal with the subject of political prisoners (S/AC.10/CONF.3/
(9*)	Letter dated 29 June 1949 from the Republican delegation with further reference to Republicans arrested by Netherlands authorities in the Republic of Indonesia since 17 December 1948 (S/AC.10/284/Add.4)

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- (10*) Letter dated 16 July 1949 from the Netherlands delegation with reference to the Republican delegation's letter of 29 June 1949 concerning Republicans arrested by Netherlands authorities in the Republic of Indonesia since 17 December 1948 (S/AC.10/234/Add.5)
- (11*) Letter dated 13 July 1949 from the Netherlands delegation with regard to the Republican proposal concerning the appointment of a joint sub-committee to deal with the subject of political prisoners (S/AC.10/CONF.3/2/Add.1)
- (12*) Letter dated 26 May 1949 from the Commission to the Chairman of the Federal Consultative Assembly in reply to his letter of 22 May concerning the participation of the F.C.A. in discussions under the Commission's auspices in Batavia (S/AC.10/CONF.3/2/Add.3)
- (13*) Letter dated 27 May 1949 from the Netherlands delegation in reply to the Commission's letter of 22 April concerning restrictions on the activities of the military observers (S/AC.10/312/Add.1)

CHAPTER I

DEVELOPMENTS LEADING UP TO THE PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS
IN BATAVIA

1. The United Nations Commission for Indonesia reported its activities to the Security Council from the date of its establishment by the Council's Resolution of 28 January to 11 March 1949, in the special reports of 31 January (S/1235), 15 February (S/1258), 1, 7, 10 and 11 March (S/1270 and S/1270/Add.1, 2 and 3). These reports also covered the events and developments in Indonesia affecting the Commission's work during that period.

It will be recalled that on 1 March the Commission reported a lack of progress in implementation of the 28 January Resolution, a delay in the commencement of negotiations under that Resolution between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia, and receipt of an invitation from the Netherlands Government to a "round table conference" at The Hague, which the Netherlands Government considered to be the most appropriate procedure for carrying into effect the ultimate aims of the Security Council's Resolution (S/1270).

2. On 23 March the President of the Security Council addressed the following Directive to the United Nations Commission for Indonesia regarding several of the issues raised in the Commission's previous reports:

"It is the sense of the Security Council that the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, in accordance with the Council's Resolution of 28 January 1949, and without prejudicing the rights, claims and positions of the parties, should assist the parties in reaching agreement as to:

- (a) the implementation of the Council's Resolution of 28 January, and in particular paragraphs 1 and 2 of the operative part thereof, and
- (b) the time and conditions for holding the proposed conference at The Hague, to the end that the negotiations contemplated by the Resolution of 28 January may be held as soon as possible.

It is further the sense of the Council that, if such an agreement is reached, the holding of such a conference and the participation of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, in accordance with its terms of reference, would be consistent with the purposes and objectives of the Council's Resolution of 28 January 1949."

3. As stated in its special report dated 9 May (S/1320), the Commission
/decided,

decided, in pursuance of this Directive, to suggest to the delegations of the parties that they hold early discussions under the Commission's auspices. Having ascertained that the Netherlands authorities had no objection to Batavia as the place for the discussions, the Commission communicated with the Chairmen of the Netherlands and Republican delegations on 26 March, referring to the Council's Directive and enquiring whether, as a first step in compliance with the Directive, the delegations would be prepared to attend such discussions as soon as practicable. Furthermore, the Commission offered its assistance to the Republican delegation to facilitate contacts before and during these discussions, between Republican leaders dispersed after the military operations which began on 19 December 1948. (Appendix I).

4. On the same day the Acting Chairman of the Netherlands delegation informed the Commission that he had telegraphed the text of the Commission's letter to his Government at The Hague and that he would inform the Commission of his Government's reply as soon as possible. On 29 March he forwarded the following letter to the Commission:

"Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Netherlands Government has taken cognizance of the contents of the cable of the President of the Security Council to the Chairman of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia dated 23 March 1949 and of your letter to me dated 26 March 1949.

The Netherlands Government having taken note that it is the sense of the Security Council that the suggested discussions will be held without prejudicing the rights, claims and positions of the parties and consequently will not prejudice the responsibility of the Netherlands for freedom and order in Indonesia - which responsibility has also determined the Netherlands attitude towards the resolution of the Security Council of 28 January 1949 - is prepared to participate in the proposed discussions. If these discussions should take place the Netherlands Government intends to appoint Dr. J. E. van Roijen as leader of the Netherlands delegation. The Netherlands Government would appreciate Dr. van Roijen's participation in the discussions as from the outset and it is therefore suggested that the first meeting be postponed until Dr. van Roijen's arrival in Batavia. Dr. van Roijen will travel at an early date. I shall not fail to advise you as soon as the expected date of his arrival is known.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

/s/

T. Elink Schuurman
Acting Chairman."

5. By telegram of 27 March, the Chairman of the Republican delegation informed the Commission that his delegation was eager to co-operate in expediting compliance with the Security Council's Resolution, but that it needed "fuller information and consultation" before deciding on the next step. He therefore asked the Commission to come to Bangka for a day's stay at the Commission's earliest convenience. On 28 March the Commission held informal discussions with Republican leaders at Pangkal-Pinang, Bangka. On 1 April the Republican delegation forwarded the following letter to the Commission:

"Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your message of 26 March 1949, and the subsequent conversation between your Commission and our party in Pangkal-Pinang on 28 March and beg to inform you that it has been decided to accept your invitation to discussions in Djakarta* under the auspices of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia. Since it has not been possible to begin these discussions on Wednesday, 30 March, as you originally suggested, I presume you will let me know at your earliest convenience the proposed date for the opening of the talks.

My acceptance of the Commission's invitation to discussions with the Netherlands, before the latter has agreed to the re-establishment of the Republican Government at Djokjakarta, is likely to create grave misunderstandings among Republican leaders in other parts of the country and abroad and among the Indonesian people generally.

Such misunderstanding could not fail to make the eventual settlement of the Indonesian dispute more difficult. I would therefore stress that my participation must necessarily be limited, at least in the early stages of the discussions.

On 19 December 1948, authority was properly transferred to an emergency government in Sumatra to act on behalf of the Republican Government until such time as that Government is free to reassemble. As your Commission made clear in paragraph 2 of its report to the Security Council of 1 March, and as was emphasized by a number of speakers in the recent Security Council's debates, the restoration of the Republican Government at Djokjakarta, free to take decisions uncoerced, is a pre-requisite to any fruitful negotiations.

I shall therefore only be able to discuss initially practical details of the restoration of the Republican Government at Djokjakarta. It is my hope that the Netherlands will agree in principle to this restoration at the outset, so that the Republican Government can take at Djokjakarta, upon the basis of

* Batavia.

the ascertained wishes of its people, essential decisions regarding the Security Council's Resolution of 28 January and the Directive of 23 March.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

/s/

Mohamad Roem
Chairman
Indonesian Delegation."

6. The Commission, having been advised that Dr. van Roijen would arrive in Batavia on 12 April, informed both parties that it would open the discussions under its auspices (1* and 2*) on 14 April.

7. In opening the first meeting on 14 April, the Chairman referred to the Security Council's Directive of 23 March and stated that the Commission expected the delegations to indicate the ideas which they proposed, and the steps which they were prepared to take, towards a definite and early implementation of the Council's Directive. It was the Commission's view that the parties should go as far as their authority would permit them to reach agreement. The Commission would be available for consultation by the parties and for working out with them any technical questions. In conclusion the Chairman said:

"Difficulties and tragedies have attended this Indonesian problem. It is not for us to find fault but to find solution. We are confident of the good faith and the high motives, the ability and the determination of the representatives here assembled. We count upon them to be reasonable, tolerant and wise in their deliberations and decisions. The Commission, as agent for the United Nations of the world, is ready to lend every possible assistance toward expediting a just settlement of the Indonesian question."

(Full text of the Chairman's statement is attached as Appendix II).

8. The Chairman of the Netherlands delegation, Dr. van Roijen, pointed out that the Netherlands acceptance of the Commission's invitation to participate in the discussions was unconditional and that the discussions would therefore be held on its part entirely in accordance with the spirit of that unconditional acceptance. As a contribution to the success of the conference, and in accordance with the wishes expressed by Dr. Roem

* Batavia.

in his letter of 1 April (paragraph 5 above), the Netherlands delegation was prepared to give precedence to discussions of terms and conditions for a possible return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta. This precedence, however, related exclusively to the order of the discussions and any binding commitment resulting from these discussions would have to be postponed until agreement had also been reached on the other two subjects of the Security Council's Directive of 23 March.

(Full text of Dr. van Roijen's statement is attached as Appendix III).

9. The Chairman of the Republican delegation, Dr. Roem, pointed out that in drawing attention to the facts of the situation in his letter accepting the Commission's invitation to the discussions, the Republican delegation did not have in mind a conditional acceptance. It did not favour a partial implementation of the Security Council's Resolution and was impressed with the need for an early overall solution. Essential decisions on many of the issues connected with an overall settlement, however, could only be taken by the Republican Government at Jogjakarta.

(Full text of Dr. Roem's statement is attached as Appendix IV).

CHAPTER II

RESTORATION OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT TO JOGJAKARTA

10. In its report to the Security Council of 1 March (S/1270), the Commission stressed that "the refusal of the Netherlands Government to permit the re-establishment of the Republican Government at Jogjakarta" was a basic factor in the "political deadlock in Indonesia" at that time. That question remained one of the paramount issues in the discussions which opened in Batavia on 14 April.

In his letter of 1 April, the Chairman of the Republican delegation, while accepting the Commission's invitation to participate in the discussions with the Netherlands delegation, stated that the restoration of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta was a prerequisite for any fruitful negotiations, and emphasized that he would only be able to discuss initially practical details concerning the restoration of the Republican Government to its capital (paragraph 5 above).

11. At the first meeting under the Commission's auspices, the Chairman of the Netherlands delegation stated that, in an endeavour to meet the wishes of the Republican delegation, he was prepared "to give precedence to discussions concerning the terms and conditions for a possible return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta". He added, however that that precedence related exclusively to the order of the discussions to be held in Batavia, and that any binding commitment resulting from the discussions would have to be postponed until such time as agreement had also been reached on the other two subjects of the Security Council's Directive of 23 March, namely "firstly, that the Republican Government shall order its armed adherents to cease guerilla warfare and co-operate in the restoration of peace and maintenance of law and order, and, secondly, to make agreements concerning the time and conditions for holding of the Round Table Conference at The Hague." (Appendix III).

12. Dr. Roem reiterated the view of the Republican delegation that, only when arrangements for the restoration of Jogjakarta had been agreed upon, could the Republican delegation consider other issues connected with an overall settlement. Essential decisions could then be taken by the Government at Jogjakarta on the basis of the expressed desires of the Indonesian people. (Appendix IV).

13. At the same meeting the Chairman stated that the Commission would be pleased to see the parties come to an understanding at Batavia on as many points at issue between them as possible; that it might be arranged for
/certain decisions to

certain decisions to be taken at Batavia, for formal ratification at Jogjakarta when the Republican Government was restored there and functioning, and that the parties should go as far as their authority would permit them toward clearing up during the Batavia meetings the contentious points which had to date separated them and toward achieving progress in the direction of agreement. (Appendix II).

14. In an endeavour to assist the parties to reach agreement on the question of the restoration of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta, the Chairman of the Commission submitted an informal questionnaire, including suggested points for consideration in connection with the restoration, to the Chairmen of the two delegations. (Appendix V).

15. At the second meeting, on 16 April, the Republican delegation submitted its views with regard to the restoration of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta. In its opinion the plan for the restoration should be based on paragraphs 2 and 4(f) of the Security Council's Resolution of 28 January. The Republican delegation envisaged four consecutive phases to bring about the return of the Special Territory of Jogjakarta to the administration of the Republic. The first phase should concern the return of Jogjakarta and the immediate environs. After that, three consecutive phases should complete the return of the whole Special Territory of Jogjakarta to the administration of the Republic. The transfer should be preceded by a local cease-fire issued by both parties.

The Republican delegation further envisaged a preparatory commission composed of Netherlands and Republican authorities working under the observation of the Commission, to act during the preliminary period preceding the actual transfer of power.

The Republican delegation indicated the equipment required for the functioning of the Government. It also stressed that traffic between the city and surrounding country should be free and that supply routes connecting Jogjakarta with Solo, Magelang and Karanganyar should be opened. Pending an overall agreement, Republican currency would be legal tender, but there would be no prohibition on the use of the Netherlands Indies currency.

The Sultan of Jogjakarta would be given full powers to act on behalf of the Government of the Republic in all affairs connected with the preparation and execution of the transfer.

16. At the third meeting, on 19 April, the Chairman of the Netherlands delegation pointed out that the question of the withdrawal of Netherlands forces from the Jogjakarta area was dependent upon two assumptions: firstly

/that the

that the preliminary conference would result in a binding agreement on all the points mentioned in the Security Council's Directive of 23 March, and secondly, that in the course of the discussions, it would be made clear that the withdrawal could take place without endangering the maintenance of law and order and the security of all groups of the population.

At the following meeting, on 21 April, Dr. van Roijen confirmed the readiness of the Netherlands Government to agree to the return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta, provided a binding commitment was obtained on the other two subjects, namely, "firstly 'that the Republican Government shall order its armed adherents to cease guerilla warfare and co-operate in the restoration of peace and the maintenance of law and order', and secondly, 'to make agreements concerning the time and conditions for the holding of the Round Table Conference at The Hague'." He considered that if and when the return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta and its immediate environs took place, that would be on the basis of paragraph 2 of the operative part of the Security Council's Resolution of 28 January to which the Security Council's Directive of 23 March specifically referred. He said that the Netherlands delegation was of the opinion that a local cease-fire order, effective only for the area of Jogjakarta and its immediate environs, would not be sufficient and might even create the impression that the Republican Government was condoning the continuation of guerilla warfare outside that area. He agreed that arrangements would have to be made for a normal supply of food, textiles, medicines and fuel, and that there should be no restoration of demarcation lines and that the traffic between the city of Jogjakarta and the surrounding country should not be hampered by a blockade on either side. It was also the opinion of the Netherlands delegation that the railways and other means of communication through Jogjakarta and immediate environs should continue to function as part of the Indonesian system of communications as a whole.

17. At the third meeting, on 19 April, at the suggestion of Dr. van Roijen, it was agreed that the Chairmen of the two delegations would meet informally in order to clarify certain points raised during the discussions. The Commission welcomed that suggestion and declared its readiness to attend the informal talks, if it were felt at any stage that its participation would be of assistance.

18. At the fifth meeting, on 7 May, the Chairmen of the Republican and of the Netherlands delegations reported on the results of their informal

/discussions in which

discussions in which the Commission had participated (S/1320). Their statements constituted the turning point in the preliminary discussions in Batavia.

The Chairman of the Republican delegation stated:

"...I am authorized by President Sukarno and Vice-President Hatta, to give their personal assurances that they favour, in conformity with the Security Council's Resolution of 28 January 1949 and its Directive of 23 March:

1. issuance of an order to the Republican armed adherents to cease guerilla warfare;
2. co-operation in the restoration of peace and the maintenance of law and order; and
3. participation in a Round Table Conference at The Hague with a view to accelerate the unconditional transfer of real and complete sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia.

President Sukarno and Vice-President Hatta undertake that they will urge the adoption of such a policy by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia as soon as possible after its restoration to Jogjakarta."

The Chairman of the Netherlands delegation said that, in view of the undertaking of President Sukarno and Vice-President Hatta, he was authorized to state that the Netherlands Government agreed to the return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta. Dr. van Roijen further stated that the Netherlands Government agreed that the Republican Government should be free and afforded all facilities to exercise its appropriate functions in an area consisting of the Residency of Jogjakarta. (Other points of Dr. van Roijen's statement (Appendix VI) are dealt with elsewhere in this report).

19. As reported on 9 May (S/1320), a joint sub-committee (Sub-Committee I) under the auspices of the Commission was set up "to make the necessary investigations and preparations preliminary to the return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta". That sub-committee was composed of the representatives of the two parties and representatives of the Commission, assisted by the Commission's military advisors.

Sub-Committee I went to Jogjakarta on 12 May.

At its first meeting it agreed to the Agenda which is attached as Annex A to Appendix VII and established three working groups to consider the Agenda items.

20. Informal contacts between the members of the two delegations were immediately established and as a result of preliminary discussions

/agreement

agreement was reached in principle on a suspension of arms for the Residency of Jogjakarta, as reported in the first progress report approved by the sub-committee on 13 May (Appendix VII).

21. It was stressed at the outset by the Netherlands representative to working group 1 that opportunity to leave Jogjakarta should be given to everyone who wanted to do so before the administration was handed over to the Republican authorities. The Republican representative agreed that any persons wishing to leave Jogjakarta should be free to do so.

Measures were then adopted to facilitate such evacuations, and the Commission's military observers were requested to render their assistance. On 9 June, the Netherlands authorities declared the evacuations completed, and estimated that some 30,000 people had been evacuated from the Residency of Jogjakarta.

The evacuations took place in good order, without any serious incidents.

22. On 25 May, at Jogjakarta, Sub-Committee 1 approved the second progress report of its working groups.

23. The progress made in subsequent informal discussions enabled Dr. van Roijen to make the following statement at the 7th meeting, on 22 June:

"The joint committee entrusted with the task of making the necessary investigations and preparations incidental to the return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta has practically completed the preliminary part of its work. It will give its continuing attention to certain questions of supply and other measures of a technical nature. The progress reports of this joint committee will be definitely approved by my delegation as soon as we receive the necessary clearance from the Netherlands Government. The preparations for the return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta have thus proceeded to such an extent that the Netherlands Government will order its troops to start the evacuation of the Residency of Jogjakarta on 24 June. If this evacuation encounters no hindrance, the Republican Government will be able to return to Jogjakarta on or about 1 July 1949."

24. Plans for the withdrawal of the Netherlands forces were worked out between the two parties, with the assistance of the Commission's military advisors.

The withdrawal started on 24 June and progressed according to plan. On 23 June, one day prior to the beginning of the evacuation, the Sultan of Jogjakarta had issued a special order to all Republican forces in the area to avoid contact with Netherlands forces and to cease all hostile acts during the evacuation. The withdrawal was completed at 1400 hours

/on 30 June,

on 30 June, and as from that moment responsibility for law and order in the Residency of Jogjakarta was taken over by the Sultan of Jogjakarta acting on behalf of the Republican Government.

The Commission is pleased to report that owing to the co-operation between the parties, the withdrawal was carried out satisfactorily without hindrance or any serious incident.

25. During the period of the withdrawal, the United Nations Military Observers, organized in six teams under the supervision of the Commission's military advisors, took up positions between the Netherlands and Republican forces.

The Commission wishes to pay tribute to the successful efforts of its Military Observers in helping to co-ordinate plans for the transfer of military authority in the Residency of Jogjakarta and for their efficiency and effectiveness in observing the execution of this transfer in the field.

26. On 6 July, President Sukarno, Vice-President Hatta and other members of the Republican Government returned to Jogjakarta.

At the invitation of the Republican Government, the Commission attended in Jogjakarta the ceremonies connected with the return of the Government.

Conditions in the city of Jogjakarta were peaceful and orderly and the return of the Republican Government was greeted with noticeable enthusiasm on the part of the population.

27. The Head of the Emergency Government, which was entrusted with the function of deputizing for the Republican Government after 19 December 1948, returned to Jogjakarta on 11 July 1949.

The return of the Emergency Government's mandate was formalized on 13 July, at the first meeting of the Republican Cabinet held after the restoration of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta.

28. At the 8th meeting, on 1 August, the delegations of the parties formally approved the Progress Reports of Sub-Committee 1 dated 13 and 25 May and 21 June, as well as a supplement dated 31 July to the Progress Report of 21 June.

These Progress Reports are attached as Appendix VII.

CHAPTER III

CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND CO-OPERATION IN THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER

29. At the first meeting, on 14 April, the Chairman expressed the desire of the Commission that those steps necessary to consummate a cessation of hostilities be expedited during the discussions. He also expressed confidence that the Government of the Republic would issue a cease-fire order, in the most effective manner possible, as soon as it was in a position to assemble the necessary members of its Government at Jogjakarta to agree upon the manner in which the order should be given. The Commission with the technical advice of its Military Observers, would be available for consultation and eventually for working out with the parties technical questions involved in cease-fire orders and related problems. (Appendix II).

30. The Commission's report of 9 May (S/1320) apprised the Security Council of the first results regarding a cessation of hostilities and maintenance of law and order, arising from the informal talks between the parties.

As reported, the Chairman of the Republican delegation declared on 7 May that he was authorized by President Sukarno and Vice-President Hatta to give their personal assurance that they favoured, in conformity with the Security Council's Resolution of 28 January 1949, and its Directive of 23 March:

- "1. Issuance of an order to the Republican armed adherents to cease guerilla warfare;
2. Co-operation in the restoration of peace and maintenance of law and order."

He added that President Sukarno and Vice-President Hatta undertook that they would urge the adoption of such policy by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia as soon as possible after its restoration to Jogjakarta (paragraph 18 above).

On behalf of the Netherlands delegation, Dr. van Roijen reaffirmed the willingness of the Netherlands Government to ensure the immediate discontinuance of all military operations. Furthermore, he stated that in the light of the necessary co-operation in the restoration of peace and the maintenance of law and order, the Netherlands Government agreed that in all those areas outside the Residency of Jogjakarta where the civil, police and other officials of the Government of Indonesia were not operating, the Republican civil, police and other officials, where still operating, would remain in function.

/He also stated

He also stated that it was understood that the Netherlands authorities would afford the Republican Government such facilities as might reasonably be required by that Government for communication with all persons in Indonesia, including those serving in the civil and military services of the Republic, and that technical details would have to be worked out by the parties under the auspices of the Commission. (Appendix VI).

31. A joint-committee (sub-committee II) under the auspices of the Commission was set up "to study and advise on the measures to be taken in order to effectuate the cessation of guerilla warfare and the co-operation in the restoration of peace and in the maintenance of law and order". (S/1320).

This sub-committee was composed of representatives of the parties and the members of the Commission assisted by their military advisors. It met under the chairmanship of the Commission's Chairman.

32. Sub-committee II met for the first time in Batavia on 10 May.

The Chairman considered that an immediate cessation of all military operations, which was the first concern of the sub-committee, raised a number of problems. He mentioned particularly that the sub-committee would have to consider how the cease-hostilities order would be issued and what arrangements were necessary to make it effective. It would also be necessary to decide upon areas of responsibility and upon arrangements with regard to joint action for the implementation of such order. He also suggested that a "suspension of arms" in the Residency of Jogjakarta be agreed upon as a first step towards a general cease-hostilities order.

33. The Republican representatives said that no effective cease-hostilities order could be issued before the restoration of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta. The Republican delegation, however, was ready to discuss in the sub-committee problems which might arise in connection with the cessation of guerilla warfare and the maintenance of law and order. These discussions should be regarded as preliminary and orientative.

34. The Netherlands representative agreed with the Chairman that the sub-committee should start its discussions with the question of the cease-hostilities order, which should be issued jointly and simultaneously by both parties. He felt that, if the Republican delegation was opposed to issuing a cease-hostilities order before the restoration of its Government to Jogjakarta, certain other steps could be taken by joint action to prevent fighting, as postponement of a cease-hostilities order might otherwise create chaos and further bloodshed.

35. It was agreed that sub-committee I be requested to take up the matter of a suspension of arms for the Residency of Jogjakarta pending a general cease-hostilities order to be issued upon the restoration of the Republican Government (paragraph 20 above).

36. At the next meeting of the sub-committee held on 11 May, the Netherlands representative stressed that the difficulties involved in the issuance of a cease-hostilities order might be more usefully discussed in informal and private talks between the two delegations.

While agreeing with this proposal, the Republican representative suggested that the Commission should be kept currently informed of the progress of these discussions.

Thereafter the parties met privately and informally to discuss various suggestions advanced either by the parties themselves or by the Commission. These private and informal talks were also attended in their later stages by members of the F.C.A.* as representatives of areas in Indonesia other than the Republic.

37. The progress reached in the informal discussions enabled Dr. van Roijen to report, on 22 June, with regard to the cessation of hostilities and co-operation in the restoration of peace and the maintenance of law and order, that an agreement had been reached.

38. The Chairman of the Republican delegation stated that the agreement reached between the delegations concerning the cessation of hostilities constituted part of the policy to be urged upon the Government of the Republic of Indonesia after its restoration to Jogjakarta in accordance with his statement of 7 May. He reserved the right of his delegation to make amendments on lesser points of the agreement after the Republican Government had been restored and had had the opportunity to consult its military experts. The Netherlands delegation then subscribed to the agreement with a similar proviso that both parties reserved the right to propose amendments with regard to the lesser details.

39. On behalf of members of the F.C.A. as representatives of areas in Indonesia other than the Republic, Sultan Hamid II concurred in the agreement reached by the Netherlands and Republican delegations.

40. As a result of the agreement of 22 June, further informal discussions and consultations were held in Batavia and Jogjakarta which led to the adoption of three Principal Documents (1. The cease-hostilities order;

* Federal Consultative Assembly previously referred to as B.F.O.
(Bijeenkomst voor Federaal Overleg).

2. The Joint Proclamation; 3. The Regulations governing the implementation of the agreement to cease hostilities) and of a Netherlands-Indonesian Manual for the Implementation of Cessation of Hostilities (Appendix VIII).

41. At the eighth meeting, on 1 August, the Chairman of the Netherlands and the Republican delegations formally confirmed and accepted the three Principal Documents and formally approved the Netherlands-Indonesian Manual; the Chairman of the F.C.A., on behalf of representatives of areas in Indonesian other than the Republic, fully endorsed the three Principal Documents and the Manual.

42. At the same meeting, the Central Joint Board referred to in paragraph 7 of the Regulations governing the implementation of the agreement to cease hostilities, was constituted. The Central Joint Board comprises representatives of each party, representatives of territories other than the Republic, which are members of the Federal Consultative Assembly, as an associate member, and civil and military representatives of the Commission. The Central Joint Board will be under the rotating chairmanship of a civil representative of the Commission.

The Board will have the duty to observe the implementation of the cease hostilities orders, the proclamation, and any other related orders and directives, and to report and make recommendations thereon to the parties and to the Commission.

43. The cease hostilities orders were issued simultaneously by the Netherlands and the Republican Governments to their respective armed forces on 3 August to be effective respectively in the case of Java as from midnight 10/11 August 1949, and in Sumatra as from midnight 14/15 August 1949.

The Joint Proclamation was promulgated jointly by both Governments at the time of the issuance of the cease hostilities orders.

The Regulations governing the implementation of the agreement to cease hostilities, are effective simultaneously with the orders to cease hostilities (Appendix VIII).

44. It was also agreed to establish a sub-committee under the auspices of the Commission to deal with technical details arising out of paragraph 7 of Dr. van Roijen's statement of 7 May, which concerns those areas outside of the Residency of Jogjakarta where the Republican civil, police and other officials are functioning.

CHAPTER IV
POLITICAL PRISONERS

45. The Commission's responsibilities relative to the question of political prisoners in territories occupied by Netherlands forces since 17 December 1948 arise from paragraph 2 of the operative part of the 28 January Resolution, together with paragraph 4 (c) of the same Resolution. Paragraph 2 "calls upon the Government of the Netherlands to release immediately and unconditionally all political prisoners arrested by them since 17 December 1948 in the Republic of Indonesia". Paragraph 4 (c) provides that "the Commission should assist the parties in the implementation of this Resolution."

In its Directive of 23 March the Security Council also instructed the Commission to assist the parties in reaching agreement as to the implementation of paragraph 2 of the 28 January Resolution.

46. Prior to the 28 January Resolution, the Council's Resolution of 24 December 1948 had called upon the parties "immediately to release the President and other political prisoners arrested since 18 December", while the Resolution of 28 December 1948 had called upon the Netherlands Government "to set free these political prisoners forthwith and report to the Security Council within 24 hours of the adoption of the present Resolution." As reported to the Security Council by the Committee of Good Offices on 26 December (S/....) and 29 December (S/....), 3 January (S/1193), 11 January (S/1199), 14 January (S/1211), 16 January (S/1213) and 25 January 1949 (S/1224), some steps had been taken on the basis of the above Resolutions. The efforts of the Committee, however, were limited to requesting the Netherlands Government to comply with the two earlier Resolutions, with special emphasis on the release of President Sukarno, members of the Republican Government and their immediate entourage, arrested in Jogjakarta and subsequently removed to the island of Bangka.

47. After the Resolution of 28 January had been communicated to the Netherlands delegation in Batavia, the Commission, in a letter dated 2 February (S/1270, Appendix A), expressed its concern that no steps had yet been taken by the Netherlands Government to comply with the first sentence of paragraph 2 of the Resolution. In its Report to the Security Council, dated 1 March (S/1270), the Commission reported that no further developments had occurred with regard to that matter.

48. Following its 1 March Report, the Commission was informed by the Netherlands delegation on 11 March that the Republican leaders confined

in Bengkulu had been advised on 26 February that they were free:

(a) to go abroad

(b) to go to and reside in any part of Indonesia except Jogjakarta, and that the Netherlands authorities would grant them transport facilities if required.

49. On 16 March, the Republican delegation complained to the Commission concerning the arrest of a number of Republicans by Netherlands authorities in Solo and Jogjakarta (3x). The Commission, after discussing the complaint, decided that its Deputies, who were to make a trip to Jogjakarta for a general observation of the conditions there, would enquire at the same time into the question of political prisoners.

50. In transmitting the Republican delegation's complaint to the Netherlands delegation, the Commission stressed the importance it attached to the release of political prisoners and asked for any available information with regard to each particular case mentioned by the Republican delegation.

51. Upon receiving the report of its Deputies, the Commission addressed a letter to the Netherlands delegation on 26 March (4x) transmitting information collected by the Deputies concerning Republican prisoners held in Jogjakarta. The Commission also asked the Netherlands delegation for further information and comments, and stressed again the great importance it attached to the release of political prisoners.

52. In its letter of 29 March (5x) the Netherlands delegation pointed out that 'even an extensive definition of the term 'political prisoners' would not cover persons detained while being charged with a criminal offence and persons who are considered de facto prisoners of war'.

53. The Republican delegation has consistently referred, on the other hand, to political prisoners in a wider sense. In its opinion, there are prisoners being held on charges which are designated as criminal by the Netherlands authorities, but which, when regarded in the light of the prevailing circumstances and proportions, should be qualified as of a political nature.

54. In a further letter dated 26 April (6x), the Republican delegation stated that, although some of the persons who had been the subject of the above Republican complaints had been released, many were still held by the Netherlands authorities. In addition, there was an even larger number of political prisoners previously unreferred to who had been arrested by the Netherlands authorities after 17 December 1948 and had not been released. The Republican delegation was not in a position to

submit their precise number, still less their exact names and functions, or to locate their exact places of detention.

55. As reported by the Commission on 9 May (S/1320), the Chairman of the Netherlands delegation declared on 7 May that the Netherlands Government reaffirmed its willingness "to release immediately and unconditionally all political prisoners arrested by them since 17 December 1948 in the Republic of Indonesia". (Appendix VI)

56. In its reply of 24 May (7x) to the Republican complaint of 16 March referred to in paragraph 46 above, the Netherlands delegation pointed out that, of the prisoners arrested in Solo and Jogjakarta, about 36 had been released and that it was the intention of the Netherlands authorities "to hand over in jail all arrested communists to the Republican authorities, when the administration of the Residency of Jogjakarta is transferred to the Republican Government". This reply was forwarded to the Republican delegation for its information and comment.

57. On 23 June (8x) the Republican delegation proposed the establishment of a sub-committee to deal with the release of political prisoners. It was stressed that, although this matter had been discussed informally by the two delegations, the Republican delegation deemed it most desirable that the subject of political prisoners be dealt with in a sub-committee under the auspices of the United Nations Commission.

58. In a further letter dated 29 June (9x) the Republican delegation referred to the Netherlands Delegation's letter of 24 May (paragraph 56 above) and declared that it could not agree with the description as communists of certain persons detained by the Netherlands authorities in Jogjakarta. The Republican delegation pointed out in the same letter that it had been endeavouring to have those political prisoners released in accordance with paragraph 3 of the van Roijen statement of 7 May 1949, but that its endeavours had been in vain. The Republican delegation further complained that political prisoners in Jogjakarta had been transported to Netherlands-controlled territories at the very moment that the Republican Government was to be restored to Jogjakarta. The delegation requested the Commission's mediation in order that political prisoners be released without delay.

59. In its reply of 16 July (10x) to the Republican letter of 29 June (paragraph 55 above) the Netherlands Delegation stated that, in view of the danger of reprisals against communist prisoners during the transitional period, the Netherlands authorities had decided to modify their original intention of immediately handing over to the Republican

authorities "in jail all arrested communists in Jogjakarta". Instead 13 communist prisoners had been removed from Jogjakarta to Ambarawa and would be transferred to Republican custody when the Republic was established in Jogjakarta. The Netherlands delegation stated that instructions had already been given to hand over such prisoners to the Republican authorities. These prisoners have now been returned to Jogjakarta.

60. In a letter dated 13 July (11x) the Netherlands delegation stated its position with regard to the Republican proposal for the formation of a sub-committee to deal with matters concerning the release of political prisoners. The delegation reaffirmed the willingness of the Netherlands Government to release political prisoners, but stated that the Netherlands Government had in mind only the release of prisoners who were interned:

- "(1) solely on account of their nationalistic political convictions or on account of the political convictions or on account of the political significance of their functions;
- (2) because they had taken an active part in guerilla warfare -- including the carrying of arms in the T.N.I. or any other Republican armed organization -- but who, being thereby prompted by nationalistic sentiments, ought not to be considered as criminals."

The Netherlands Government, however, could not "see its way clear to release such prisoners as would, under any circumstance, constitute a danger to law and order, e.g. professional bandits, acting under cover of nationalistic motives, communists, etc." The Netherlands delegation pointed out that a plan had been evolved providing for gradual release within three months after the issuance of a "cease hostilities" order of persons considered to be genuine political prisoners.

Futhermore, the Secretary of State for Justice had invited the Republican delegation to appoint one or more Republican representatives to a committee to study the terms of an amnesty for those condemned because of crimes which were clearly a consequence of the political conflict. Therefore, in the opinion of the Netherlands delegation, there was no occasion for the institution of a special sub-committee.

61. It will be recalled that under the Joint Proclamation issued by both parties (see paragraph 43 above) both Governments had declared "that those who have been deprived of their freedom because of political convictions or functions, or because they have carried arms

in the fighting organizations of one of the parties, shall be released as soon as possible" and "that those who are being prosecuted or have been condemned because of crimes which are clearly a consequence of the political conflict between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic shall be released from prosecution or reprieved from penalty in accordance with legislative or other measures to be enacted as soon as possible. These measures shall be communicated to the other party and the UNCI. Measures concerning the social rehabilitation of those released shall be worked out in cooperation between the parties".

62. At the 8th meeting, on 1 August, the parties agreed to consider the establishment of a Joint Sub-Committee under the auspices of the Commission to advise upon and to **accelerate** the release of political prisoners and prisoners of war.

CHAPTER V

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE

63. As reported by the Commission on 1 March (S/1270, paragraph 14), on 26 February the Commission received an invitation from the Netherlands Government to attend a "round table conference" at The Hague on 12 March, to render its assistance in achieving an **accelerated transfer of sovereignty** over Indonesia to a representative Indonesian Federal Government.

The Commission viewed this invitation as a counter-proposal to the provisions of the 26 January Resolution and consequently referred it to the Security Council.

In its supplementary reports of 7 March (S/1270/Add.1), 10 March (S/1270/Add.2) and 11 March (S/1270/Add.3) the Commission forwarded to the Council further information concerning the suggested Round Table Conference.

64. The Security Council's Directive of 23 March instructed the Commission that the holding of such a conference and the participation of the UNCI in accordance with its terms of reference would be consistent with the purposes and objectives of the Council's Resolution of 28 January, if agreement were reached on points (a) and (b) of the directive.

65. In his opening address at the first meeting on 14 April, the Chairman of the Commission expressed, on behalf of the Commission, the opinion that "if the conditions under point (a) of the directive of 23 March are met or are in course of solution, there should be no great difficulty in arriving at an amicable understanding on point (b)." (Appendix II)

66. At the same meeting, the Chairman of the Netherlands delegation, Dr. van Roijen, referred to doubts which Republican circles had expressed as to whether the transfer of sovereignty which would be considerably advanced following discussions at the Round Table Conference, was to be complete. He stressed formally and categorically that it was the intention of the Netherlands Government that this transfer would be both complete and unconditional., in accordance with the principles accepted by the parties on the U.S.S. Renville.

Referring to the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, mentioned in the first additional Renville principle, Dr. van Roijen further stated that the Netherlands Government had nothing else in mind than a union consisting of two equal partners with equal rights. In this union

neither of the two partners, namely, the Netherlands and the United States of Indonesia, would be expected to transfer or concede any more rights to the union than the other, nor would this transfer include any rights other than those which either partner would voluntarily decide to concede in the conviction of serving the common interest, as well as its own. (Appendix III)

At the following meeting, Dr. van Roijen clarified the meaning of the amendments promulgated to the Netherlands constitution on 20 September 1948 (S/1085, paragraph 19 (c), Appendix VII), and stated that these amendments were based on principles agreed to in the Linggadjati and Renville instruments. Any fear that those provisions would oblige the Netherlands Government to insist upon the Union organs having certain over-ruling powers, or authority to interfere with the administration of the partners in the Union, were without any foundation whatsoever. The Netherlands Constitution did not in any way prejudice the consultations at the Round Table Conference on the establishment of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union or on any other item; moreover, it provided that the new constitutional order should be established on the basis of mutual consultations among the representatives of the populations. (Full text of Dr. van Roijen's statement attached as Appendix IX)

67. The informal discussions between the delegations of the parties, with the assistance of members of the Commission, which took place subsequently on the suggestion of the Chairman of the Netherlands delegation, covered also the question of the Round Table Conference.

These informal discussions, initiated on 19 April, led to the results made known on 7 May and reported to the Security Council in full on 9 May (S/1320).

68. On 7 May, Dr. Roem stated that he was authorized by President Sukarno and Vice-President Hatta to give their personal assurance "that they favour the participation in a Round Table Conference at The Hague with a view to accelerate the unconditional transfer of real and complete sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia" and that "they undertake to urge the adoption of such a policy by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia as soon as possible after its restoration to Jogjakarta." (paragraph 18 above)

At the same time, Dr. van Roijen stated:

"The Netherlands Government, consonant with the intent of the Security Council's ruling of 23 March on the subject of the proposed Round Table Conference at The Hague to the end that the negotiations contemplated by the Resolution of 28 January may be held as soon as possible, is fully prepared to do its utmost that this conference take place immediately after the return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta. At this Conference discussions will take place as to

the way in which to accelerate the unconditional transfer of real and complete sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia in accordance with the Renville principles."

69. In further informal talks which followed the "van Roijen-Roem statements", the question of time and conditions of the Round Table Conference was more fully discussed. These talks were attended by members of the Commission and in their later stages by members of the F.C.A.* as representatives of areas in Indonesia other than the Republic.

70. At the seventh meeting, on 22 June, the Netherlands and Republican delegations and the representatives of areas in Indonesia other than the Republic formalized an agreement concerning the time and conditions for the holding of the Round Table Conference at The Hague. (Appendix X)

71. At that meeting the Chairman of the Netherlands delegation stated that the Netherlands Government approved the above agreement.

The Chairman of the Republican delegation stated that he was able to declare that the agreement constituted part of the policy to be urged upon the Government of the Republic of Indonesia after its restoration to Jogjakarta in accordance with his statement of 7 May.

The Chairman of the F.C.A., on behalf of the members of that organization, representing areas in Indonesia other than the Republic, also endorsed this agreement.

72. It should be noted that, with regard to the inclusion of "New Guinea" on the Agenda of the Round Table Conference, both Dr. Roem, on behalf of the Republican delegation, and Sultan Hamid II, on behalf of the F.C.A., pointed out that they could only approve of such inclusion on condition that it was fully understood that they considered that New Guinea should be part of the United States of Indonesia.

Dr. van Roijen stated, on behalf of the Netherlands Government, that the inclusion of the item on the agenda would in no way prejudice the position to be taken on that subject by any of the participants. The Netherlands Government fully maintained its attitude on that point.

73. After its restoration to Jogjakarta the Republican Government approved the agreement on the time and conditions of the Round Table Conference.

* Federal Consultative Assembly previously referred to as B.F.O. (Bijeenkomst voor Federaal Overleg).

CHAPTER VI

PARTICIPATION OF AREAS IN INDONESIA OTHER THAN THE REPUBLIC
IN THE PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS

74. Paragraph 4(d) of the 28 January Resolution gave the Commission authority to consult with representatives of areas in Indonesia other than the Republic and to invite representatives of such areas to participate in negotiations under this resolution.

75. The Commission reported on 1 March (S/1270) that an invitation to participate in a "round table conference" had been addressed by the High Representative of the Crown to the Federal Consultative Assembly* and that this invitation had been accepted.

76. By letter dated 14 April 1949 the Netherlands delegation informed the Commission that the Chairman of the F.C.A. had made known to the High Representative of the Crown

"the unanimous wish of the states and territories co-operating within the B.F.O. to be recognized as a party to the solution of the Indonesian problem and to be afforded the opportunity of participating as such in the discussions starting to-day at Batavia on the subjects mentioned in the Security Council's ruling of 23 March 1949."

In the opinion of the Netherlands Government, the subjects mentioned in the Security Council's Directive of 23 March were the concern of the states and territories co-operating within the F.C.A., and the Netherlands delegation therefore supported their request and asked the United Nations Commission for Indonesia to take the necessary steps in this connection. (Appendix XI).

77. At the first meeting of the preliminary discussions held in Batavia on 14 April, the Chairman of the Commission referred to this letter, and announced his intention of taking the matter up with the members of the Commission and the two delegations, with a view to reaching an early decision. A copy of the letter was forwarded to the Republican delegation for comment.

78. On 21 May, the Commission received from the Chairman of the F.C.A. a letter expressing disappointment that the F.C.A. had not yet been given the opportunity to take part in the discussions. It was the opinion of the F.C.A. that the questions under discussion were the concern of the whole of Indonesia and that a true solution of the Indonesian problem was not possible without the participation, in further discussions, of the

* Previously referred to as B.F.O., i.e.,
Bijeenkomst voor Federaal Overleg.

territories co-operating within the F.C.A. For this reason, the F.C.A. repeated its request to be admitted as a "party to the discussions". The Chairman of the F.C.A. further pointed out that the territories co-operating within the F.C.A. would find it difficult to consider themselves bound by any decisions or arrangements which might concern their interests, either directly or indirectly, if these were made without their co-operation or approval. (Appendix XII). The Commission also forwarded a copy of this letter to the Republican delegation expressing the hope that its comments concerning the participation of the F.C.A. in the discussions would be made available as soon as possible.

79. In a letter dated 26 May the Republican delegation expressed the opinion that according to the decision of the Security Council, the F.C.A. could not be recognized as "a party to the Indonesian question". The delegation added that it was a matter for the Commission to decide whether it should consult, under the authority given to it by paragraph 4(d) of the Security Council's Resolution of 28 January, representatives of territories in Indonesia other than the Republic, and if so, which representatives. The Republican delegation would not object to the Commission's consulting the F.C.A. provided that this would not prejudice the rights, claims and positions of the Republic of Indonesia in accordance with the Linggadjati and Renville Agreements. (Appendix XIII).

80. Apart from the general question of the position of the F.C.A. in connection with the solution of the Indonesian dispute, the Commission felt that participation of areas represented in the F.C.A. would enhance the possibilities of fruitful results from the preliminary discussions, as matters such as the cease-fire, maintenance of law and order, and the time and conditions of the Round Table Conference would affect directly the territories represented in the F.C.A.

The Commission therefore informed the Chairman of the F.C.A. on 26 May that it hoped to invite representatives of the F.C.A. to a meeting in the near future (12x).

81. At the sixth meeting, on 10 June, the Chairman of the Netherlands delegation pointed out that the Netherlands delegation favoured the participation of the F.C.A. on a footing of complete equality. The Chairman of the Republican delegation, on the other hand, reiterated the position of his delegation that there was an essential difference between the position of the parties to the dispute (namely the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia) and that of the representatives of areas in Indonesia other than the Republic who might be invited by the

/Commission

Commission to participate in the discussions.

In reply to the request of Dr. van Roijen to allow for the participation of the F.C.A. in the preliminary discussions at the earliest possible moment, the Chairman of the Commission assured Dr. van Roijen that the Commission would give the matter its urgent consideration and that the invitation would be issued as soon as possible.

82. On 14 June, the Commission addressed to Sultan Hamid II, Chairman of the F.C.A., the following letter:

"I have the honour to refer to paragraph 4(d) of the Security Council's Resolution of 28 January 1949. Availing itself of the authority contained therein, the United Nations Commission for Indonesia has the honour to invite you and five other representatives of areas in Indonesia other than the Republic, members of the B.F.O., to participate, without prejudice to the rights, claims and positions of the parties, in discussions at present being held in Batavia under the auspices of the Commission.

The Secretariat of the Commission will make known the time and place of the meetings which you and the other representatives will be invited to attend."

As from the date of the invitation, members of the F.C.A. participated in the informal and formal meetings as representatives of areas in Indonesia other than the Republic.

83. It may be noted that under Section II of the agreement on the Round Table Conference, the F.C.A., representing areas in Indonesia other than the Republic as far as they are members of the F.C.A., is to be one of the participants in the Round Table Conference.

CHAPTER VII

OTHER PHASES OF THE COMMISSION'S ACTIVITY

84. In addition to its main task, under the Council's Directive of 23 March, of assisting the parties in the resumption of negotiations, the Commission has been concerned with several other activities which were called for by the Council's Resolutions or which, in the Commission's opinion, would facilitate the implementation of the 28 January Resolution.

A. Activities in Connection with Developments in Former Republican-Controlled Territory

85. By Decree dated 11 May the Government of Indonesia recognized "the 'Panitia Status Seluruh Tapanuli' (Committee for the Status of Entire Tapanuli) as a provisional representative body representing the population of Tapanuli in matters concerning the expression of the wishes of the population as regards the establishment of the sovereign United States of Indonesia, and the relationship between the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands".

On 20 May the Republican delegation lodged a protest with the Commission concerning that recognition. (Appendix XIV)

In the view of the Republican delegation, the action was not in conformity "with the spirit of Dr. van Roijen's statement of 7 May", according to which the Netherlands Government undertook to refrain from the establishment or recognition of "negaras" or "daerachs" in territory which had been under Republican control prior to 19 December 1948 (Appendix VI, point 4). The Republican delegation reserved its position regarding the Tapanuli Committee and expressed doubts as to whether it really represented the people of that territory. The Republican delegation requested the Commission to bring its protest to the attention of the Netherlands authorities. The Commission forwarded the Republican delegation's letter to the Netherlands delegation for comment.

86. In its reply dated 3 June (Appendix XV) the Netherlands delegation stated that on 11 March delegates from South Tapanuli, North Tapanuli and Sibolga had met for a four-day conference which took place without any interference from or control by Netherlands military or civil authorities. That conference had unanimously adopted a resolution declaring Tapanuli as a "daerah istimewa" (special territory) with its own administration and requesting the Government of Indonesia to recognize such "daerah". The Government of Indonesia, however, wishing to refrain from taking any steps which might endanger the success of the preliminary discussions in Batavia, was of the opinion that the requested recognition could not be granted.

/The High Representative

The High Representative of the Crown had therefore informed the Chairman of the Committee for the Status of Entire Tapanuli, in a letter dated 23 April, that the Government of Indonesia was still considering in what way the Committee's wishes could be met. The Government was only willing to recognize the Committee in the terms quoted in paragraph 85 above. In the opinion of the Netherlands delegation the decree of the High Representative of the Crown to which the Republican delegation's letter referred (Appendix XIV), only confirmed the earlier position taken by the Government of Indonesia.* The Netherlands delegation therefore considered that the decree was not contrary to the spirit of the van Roijen-Roem statement, which recognized the right of self-determination of the Indonesian peoples.

B. Activities in connection with the Status of the Commission's Military Observers

87. On 22 April the Commission informed the Council of reports from some teams of military observers which indicated that they were not obtaining full co-operation from some Netherlands military commanders. It also reported that the Commission had contacted the Netherlands delegation with regard to the matter. (S/1314)

In a letter dated 27 May (13*) the Netherlands delegation assured the Commission that the Netherlands Government was fully aware of the importance of close and full co-operation between the Commission's military observers and the military and civil authorities of both parties. The Netherlands Government had therefore instructed its military and civil officials to assist the military observers as much as possible in the performance of their duties. Although the Netherlands Government maintained "its objection in principle" to the observation of internal security measures, it would permit the Commission's military observers to observe the military situation in the areas of Java and Sumatra which had been under Netherlands control prior to 19 December 1948. With regard to reports that the population in certain areas had been reluctant to give information to military observers, presumably due to pressure from local Netherlands authorities, the Netherlands delegation informed the Commission that an investigation had been conducted by the competent authorities, that the investigation gave no indication whatsoever of pressure being put on the population by local Netherlands authorities, and that the Netherlands

* It may be noted in this connection that the Netherlands Government consider that point 4 of the van Roijen statement of 7 May does not prejudice any changes effected previous to 7 May in territory which was under Republican control prior to 19 December 1948 (Statement of Dr. van Maarseveen, Minister for Overseas Territories, in the Second Chamber of the States General, on 12 May 1949).

Government would disapprove very strongly of any such practice. Since receipt of the Netherlands letter of 27 May, no further complaints of that nature have been received by the Commission from its military observers.

88. Following the attack on the Commission's military observers in North Sumatra (S/1293) and several incidents of shooting at United Nations vehicles, indicating that the Commission's military observers might be exposed to increased hazards, the Commission decided to adopt additional measures for the safety of its military observers. Accordingly the following measures were put into effect:

- (a) in certain areas to be designated by the Military Executive Board, the Commission's military observers should be permitted to carry arms (either a pistol or carbine, at the observer's discretion);
- (b) both parties should be advised that their armed personnel should NOT be carried in United Nations vehicles. When armed escorts accompany United Nations vehicles, they should travel in separate vehicles.
- (c) United Nations personnel should be permitted to travel in armed vehicles of either party when necessary.
- (d) United Nations vehicles should in future fly the United Nations flag as an identification, and the Commission's military observers should wear identification armbands.
- (e) light automatic weapons should be provided for United Nations vehicles operating in certain areas to be designated by the Military Executive Board.

The necessary side arms and light automatic weapons have been provided on loan by the Netherlands authorities.

89. In view of the added responsibilities of the military observers, resulting from the adoption of a cease hostilities agreement, the Commission decided, upon the request of its Military Executive Board, that its members would recommend to their Governments an increase in the number of military observers.

C. Miscellaneous Activities

90. In response to additional requests the Commission expanded its activities in facilitating communications between the Republican leaders and between the parties.

In that respect, before and during the preliminary discussions, and on various other occasions, the United States Air Force aircraft at the Commission's disposal has transported Republican delegation members and other officials between Bangka, Jogjakarta and Batavia. The aircraft also transported Republican leaders to contact members of the Emergency Government

/in Kotaradja,

in Kotaradja, Sumatra; in addition, the Commission facilitated an important and successful meeting between a Republican special mission and the Head of the Republican Emergency Government in Sumatra, after which the latter returned to Jogjakarta (paragraph 27).

CONCLUSION

91. This First Interim Report of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia covers the Commission's activities from its establishment on 28 January to 3 August.

The Commission is glad to report that during that period it has succeeded in bringing the parties together and in assisting them towards the implementation of the 28 January Resolution insofar as provided for by the Council's Directive of 23 March.

The following objectives of the Council's Directive have been fully attained:

1. The Republican Government has been restored to Jogjakarta.
2. The parties have reached agreement on a cessation of hostilities, and have issued cease hostilities orders to their respective forces.
3. The time and conditions for the Round Table Conference at The Hague have been settled.

The preliminary discussions under the Council's Directive are thus satisfactorily concluded. The results achieved indicate a restoration of confidence and mutual trust which augurs well for the future.

The Commission also feels that the participation and co-operation of members of the Federal Consultative Assembly, as representatives of areas in Indonesia other than the Republic, will continue to be of assistance in the achievement and implementation of agreements.

The Commission does not wish to minimize the difficulties which still lie ahead in the implementation of the Orders to Cease Hostilities and in the working out of agreements at the Round Table Conference. The Commission is confident, however, that the present agreements will be implemented in the same co-operative spirit in which they were concluded.

In presenting this report the Commission therefore looks forward with hope to a final settlement of the Indonesian dispute at the Round Table Conference, and to the beginning of a new era for the peoples of the Netherlands and Indonesia.

APPENDIX I

LETTER DATED 26 MARCH 1949 TO THE ACTING CHAIRMAN
OF THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION INVITING THE DELEGATION
TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE REPUBLICAN
DELEGATION TO BE HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
COMMISSION IN BATAVIA

No: UNCI/520

Hotel des Indes,
Batavia,
26 March 1949

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to the Commission's letter (UNCI/507) forwarding the text of a telegram dated 23 March 1949, addressed to the Chairman of the Commission by the President of the Security Council, giving the sense of the recent Security Council debate on Indonesia.

As a first step in compliance with this telegram, the Commission suggests that discussions under its auspices might be held in Batavia between the delegations of the parties as soon as practicable. It is suggested that a first meeting be held on Wednesday 30 March, at 1100 hours at the Hotel des Indes, and the Commission would be glad to learn whether the Netherlands delegation will be prepared to attend.

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

Sd/ H. Merle Cochran
Chairman

Mr. T. Elink Schuurman,
Acting Chairman,
Delegation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands,
B A T A V I A.

/TELEGRAM

TELEGRAM DATED 26 MARCH 1949 TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN
DELEGATION INVOLVING THE DELEGATION TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSIONS
WITH THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION TO BE HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE COMMISSION IN BATAVIA

Dr. Roem,
Chairman, Republican delegation,
Pangkalpinang, Bangka.

Number five two one stop sir, I have the honour to refer to the Commission's letter (UNCI/507) to the Secretary-General of your delegation forwarding the text of a telegram dated 23 March 1949, addressed to the Chairman of the Commission by the President of the Security Council giving the sense of the recent Security Council debate on Indonesia.

As a first step in compliance with this telegram, the Commission suggests that discussions under its auspices might be held in Batavia between the delegations of the parties as soon as practicable. It is suggested that a first meeting be held on Wednesday, 30 March, at 1100 hours at the Hotel des Indes, and the Commission would be glad to learn whether the Republican delegation will be prepared to attend.

The Commission remains ready to lend whatever assistance it can to facilitate contacts between Republican leaders before and during the discussions.

I have the honour to be,
etc
H. Merle Cochran
Chairman

APPENDIX II

STATEMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION
AT THE FIRST MEETING OF THE PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS
IN BATAVIA, ON 14 APRIL 1949

As Chairman for the week of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia I have pleasure in welcoming the delegations of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and of the Republic of Indonesia. We were delighted to be informed that the Netherlands Government was appointing Ambassador van Roijen as head of the Netherlands Delegation to these discussions. He brings a distinguished record in the foreign service of his country and recent experience in the Security Council at Paris and Lake Success on the Indonesian question. We extend an equally warm welcome to Chairman Roem and the members of the Delegation of the Republic, all of whom are well known to us. The two chairmen have provided our Secretariat with lists of members of their respective delegations.

The Secretariat is circulating provisional rules of procedure constituting a revision of the procedure followed by conferences of this type under the auspices of the former Committee of Good Offices. The delegations are requested to study these proposed rules of procedure and be prepared to make any comments thereon at the next meeting. Until corrected or superseded, this set of rules will be considered operative. It is not intended, at least for the time being, to create any subsidiary committees. Your attention is particularly invited to Rule 18 to the effect that meetings shall be held in private, unless otherwise decided, and that decisions as to press releases shall be made following the adjournment of every meeting by the Chairman or his deputy, in consultation with a member of the delegation of each party. The Secretariat will submit agenda as circumstances warrant. Our idea is to keep the conference procedure as simple as possible.

Invitations were issued to the two delegations on 26 March to attend discussions to be held under the auspices of this Commission, as a first step in compliance with a telegram dated 23 March 1949, from the President of the Security Council to the Chairman of the Commission. The text of this telegram is as follows:

"It is the sense of the Security Council that the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, in accordance with the Council's Resolution of 28 January 1949, and without prejudicing the rights, claims and positions of the parties, should assist the parties in reaching agreement as to (a) the implementation of the Council's Resolution of 28 January, and in particular paragraphs 1 and 2 of the operative part thereof, and (b) the time and conditions for holding the proposed conference at The Hague, to the end that the negotiations contemplated by the Resolution of 28 January may be held as soon as possible.

It is further the sense of the Council that, if such an agreement is reached, the holding of such a conference and the participation by the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, accordance with its terms of reference, would be consistent with the purposes and objectives of the Council's Resolution of 28 January 1949."

I quote paragraphs 1 and 2 of the operative part of the Security Council's Resolution of 28 January 1949, since it is with the implementation of these two paragraphs in particular that the Security Council has directed the Commission to assist the two parties.

"1. Calls upon the Government of the Netherlands to insure the immediate discontinuance of all military operations, calls upon the Government of the Republic simultaneously to order its armed adherents to cease guerilla warfare, and calls upon both parties to co-operate in the restoration of peace and the maintenance of law and order throughout the area affected.

"2. Calls upon the Government of the Netherlands to release immediately and unconditionally all political prisoners arrested by them since 17 December 1948 in the Republic of Indonesia; and to facilitate the immediate return of officials of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to Jogjakarta in order that they may discharge their responsibilities under paragraph (1) above and in order to exercise their appropriate functions in full freedom, including administration of the Jogjakarta area, which shall include the city of Jogjakarta and its immediate environs. The Netherlands authorities shall afford to the Government of the Republic of Indonesia such facilities as may reasonably be required by that Government for its effective function in the Jogjakarta area and for communication and consultation with all persons in Indonesia."

The Commission as a subsidiary organ to the Security Council, has been instructed to "assist the parties in reaching agreement" on the points covered by the Security Council's directive of 23 March. It is assumed by the Commission that in the course of these discussions the representatives will wish to avail themselves of the opportunity to discuss all such matters. The Commission expects the delegations to indicate the ideas which they propose and the steps which they are prepared to take towards a definite and early implementation of the Security Council's directive.

The Commission would be pleased to see the parties come to understanding at Batavia on as many points at issue between them as may be possible. It might be arranged for certain decisions to be taken at Batavia, for formal ratification at Jogjakarta once the Republican Government is there restored and functioning. It is the Commission's idea, in any case, that the parties should go as far as their authority will permit them toward clearing up during the Batavia meetings the contentious points which have to date separated them, and toward achieving progress in the direction of agreement.

It is the desire of the Commission that those steps necessary to consummate a cessation of hostilities be expedited. With this in mind, the Commission is confident that the Government of the Republic will issue a cease fire order, in the most effective manner possible, as soon as it is in a position at Jogjakarta to assemble the necessary members of its Government to agree upon the manner in which such order should be given. The Commission, with the technical advice of its military observers, will be available for consultation by the parties and for possibly working out with the parties technical questions involved in cease fire orders, in establishing police and security measures for the Republic, and in creating a set of rules to govern the relations between the Netherlands and Republican military forces, which must be considered in connection with establishing the area to be administered by the Republic.

The Security Council has in its directive of 23 March stated that if agreement is reached by the parties on points (a) and (b) of its directive, the holding of such a conference as that proposed for The Hague is consistent with the purposes and objectives of its Resolution of 28 January. It has asked the Commission to assist the parties in reaching agreement as to the time and conditions for holding the proposed conference, to the end that the negotiations contemplated by the Resolution of 28 January may be held as soon as possible. This question should be given full and sympathetic study by the parties in these present meetings. It would appear that if the conditions under point (a) of the directive of 23 March are met or are in course of solution, there should be no great difficulty in arriving at an amicable understanding on point (b).

The Commission did not see fit, when issuing its invitations, to fix a time limit for the duration of the present discussions. It believes that both parties are entirely cognizant of the need for clearing up misunderstandings promptly and moving quickly toward a fair and final solution of the Indonesian question.

Difficulties and tragedies have attended this Indonesian problem. It is not for us to find fault but to find solution. We are confident of the good faith and the high motives, the ability and the determination of the representatives here assembled. We count upon them to be reasonable, tolerant and wise in their deliberations and decisions. The Commission, as agent for the United Nations of the world, is ready to lend every possible assistance toward expediting a just settlement of the Indonesian question.

APPENDIX III

STATEMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION
AT THE FIRST MEETING OF THE PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS
IN BATAVIA, ON 14 APRIL 1949

Mr. Chairman,

At this first formal meeting of the preliminary conference, convoked by your Commission in accordance with the wishes of the Security Council stated in the cable sent by the President of the Council on 23 March 1949, the Netherlands Delegation I feel will be expected to define its attitude and indicate how in its opinion this conference on which so very much depends, can be brought to a successful conclusion.

I will gladly attempt, Sir, to set forth our point of view as simply as possible.

It is our earnest and sincere desire to have these discussions succeed, and to that end we on our part shall do everything in our power. In this connection I may be allowed to point out that, despite many protestations to the contrary, the Netherlands acceptance of the invitation of your Commission to participate in these discussions was unconditional. Therefore, in my capacity as Chairman of the Netherlands Delegation I may assure you, Sir, that on our side the discussions will be held entirely in accordance with the spirit of such unconditional acceptance.

Furthermore, we are prepared to make a further contribution to the success of this conference. From the letter of the Chairman of the Republican Delegation of 1 April '49 to the Chairman of your Commission we note in particular that Mr. Roem stated that he would only be able to discuss initially practical details of a possible restoration of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta. In this respect we shall endeavour to meet the wishes of the Republican Delegation and, hoping this example will be followed, take the initiative to achieve the so fervently hoped for rapprochement and conciliation.

The Netherlands Delegation, Sir, is therefore prepared to give precedence to discussions concerning the terms and conditions for a possible return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta. However, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, I should add immediately that the order or precedence in which we are prepared to acquiesce in accordance with the wishes of the Republican Delegation relates exclusively to discussions now about to be held, but that any binding commitment resulting from these discussions will have to be postponed until such time as agreement has also been reached on the two other subjects of the ruling of 23 March 1949, namely, firstly "That the Republican Government shall order its armed adherents to cease guerilla warfare and cooperate in the restoration of peace and the maintenance of law and order" and secondly "to make agreements concerning the time and conditions for the holding of the Round Table Conference at The Hague".

I may avail myself of this opportunity on which I have had the pleasure of meeting for the first time Mr. Roem and the members of his delegation to clarify one point which has, as I have had occasion to note, caused considerable misunderstanding. I have in mind, Sir, the question of the transfer of sovereignty which, in accordance with the Beel Plan will be considerably advanced, following discussions at the Round Table Conference. In Republican circles some doubt has been expressed as to whether this transfer of sovereignty is to be complete and unconditional. In this

connection I desire to state in the most formal and categorical manner that it is the intention of the Government of the Netherlands that this transfer will indeed, in accordance with the principles accepted by the parties on USS Renville, be both complete and unconditional.

May I, Sir, clarify some further points in order to reassure those who may still be in doubt with regard to conceptions which exist on the Netherlands side on the subject of the creation of the Netherlands Indonesian Union, mentioned specifically in the first of the six additional Renville principles. May I therefore state, Sir, that the Netherlands Government have nothing else in mind than a union consisting of two equal partners, with equal rights. In this union neither of the two partners, namely the Netherlands and the United States of Indonesia, shall be expected to transfer or concede any more rights to the Union than the other. Nor will this transfer include any rights other than those which either partner may voluntarily decide to concede in the conviction of serving thereby as best he can the common interest as well as his own. It follows and it would seem almost unnecessary to emphasize the point - that it is most certainly not the intention of my Government that this Union be created in the form of a super state.

I am convinced that in my foregoing statement I have gone far along the road of accommodation and compromise. I have done so, fully confident that the Republic will understand and interpret this gesture in the spirit in which it has been made, that is, as a first step on the way to final agreement and definitely not, Sir, as is so often assumed in negotiations of this sort, as a sign of weakness. The latter interpretation would obviously very soon lead to complete disillusionment.

There is still one last point which I feel compelled to mention, though at least at present, I do not intend to make an issue of it. I have in mind the reply of the Republican Delegation to your Commission's invitation to attend this conference. If I am not mistaken, Sir, Mr. Roem endeavours to stress in this reply that the Republican leaders at Bangka cannot be considered the legal representatives of the Republic because the Republican Government has transferred its authority to an emergency Government on Sumatra. This in turn would presumably imply that Mr. Roem cannot enter into any binding engagement or commitment on behalf of his Government. If I interpret Mr. Roem's attitude correctly and if he, as Chairman of the Republican Delegation, should persevere in this attitude, I should regret this exceedingly. For this would only lead to a situation whereby no agreement could be reached at this conference, particularly not with regard to a possible return to Jogjakarta as the Delegation of the Republic would in that case not be able to enter into any binding commitment or engagement for the maintenance of law and order in that territory. However, at this first meeting I do not want to enter any further into this matter as it might so easily become controversial.

May I conclude, Mr. Chairman, by congratulating you on the initiative which you have taken in convoking this conference and allow me, Sir, on behalf of my Delegation and of my Government, to express the hope that the conference, within a short time, will arrive at a solution, a solution so keenly desired both in the Netherlands and in Indonesia, by Republicans as well as Federalists, by Indonesians as well as Netherlanders, by Chinese as well as Arabs, in brief, Sir, by all those who hold this country dear.

APPENDIX IV

STATEMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN DELEGATION
AT THE FIRST MEETING OF THE PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS
IN BATAVIA, ON 14 APRIL 1949

Mr. Chairman:

I should like to state my appreciation for the speech you made which indicated in clear terms the direction in which we have to go for bringing this preliminary conference to its consummation. I should also like to thank Dr. van Roijen for his formulation of the Netherlands standpoint.

The negotiations between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia are resumed today. The efforts to reach a settlement in the grave conflict between the two peoples which has taken so many thousand lives now start anew.

The military action which the Netherlands started on 19 December 1948, at a time when strenuous efforts towards a settlement were being made both by the Committee of Good Offices and the Republic has shaken the faith of the Indonesian people. The effect of this military action among the Indonesians was the total removal of all remaining confidence in the outcome of peaceful negotiations.

That this action also did not pass unnoticed by the Indonesian people outside the Republic has been made evident through the crises in the cabinets of East Indonesia and Pasundan, and through the resolutions adopted by the Representative Bodies of Pasundan, Madura, East Java and other areas of Indonesia.

The world at large and in particular the Security Council and the New Delhi Conference, was not long in expressing the opinion that the Indonesian question must be settled through peaceful means.

Any other method, through the use of force, can no longer find justification, and so long as humanity upholds its noble ideals so long can violence not be tolerated as a means for settlement of any dispute.

From the outset the Republican leaders have pursued a policy of pacific settlement.

This meeting is convening at the invitation of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia to implement the resolution of the Security Council of 28 January in the light of the directives of the Council of 23 March. We are here to give the Commission our utmost assistance.

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia has always carried out the directions of the Security Council, and has always extended the closest co-operation to the Council's organs in Indonesia. The Republican leaders at Bangka, and those from Jogjakarta and Djakarta, are all agreed that everything possible should be done to further the implementation of the Council's resolution with the greatest dispatch. The Commission and all men of goodwill may therefore rest assured that from our side there will be no impediment in reaching a settlement consistent with the Security Council's resolution.

/Unfortunately

Unfortunately the position of the Republican leaders has been greatly prejudiced by the events of recent months. We have been exiled - we are no longer a government - we are no longer in touch with our people - while parts of our territories are under Dutch military occupation. These events have made it impossible, for the time being, for the two parties to the Indonesian dispute to hold free negotiations.

Now, as the initial step in the equitable settlement of the Indonesian dispute the resolution of the Security Council calls for the restoration of the Republican Government at Jogjakarta.

In drawing attention to the facts of the situation, in our letter accepting the Commission's invitation to hold these preliminary discussions, we did not have in mind a conditional acceptance.

The primary task of the Commission is to create an atmosphere in which the parties can negotiate. We should like to know whether the Netherlands accept the resolution of the Security Council in the light of the directives of 23 March and we should like to obtain certainty as to whether the responsibility of the Netherlands Government for law and order as set forth in the Netherlands letter will not stand in the way of the implementation of the resolution. If the resolution and the directives are accepted in the spirit in which the Security Council was engaged when it adopted the resolution on 28 January 1949, we are certain that there will be no difficulty in the course of the negotiations and in achieving a peaceful overall settlement.

We do not covet only a partial implementation of the Security Council's resolution. We are impressed with the need for an overall solution and with the grave urgency to achieve such a solution speedily. However, we are not of the opinion that the particular sections of the Security Council's directives are inextricably interwoven.

The time at our disposal is now extremely short. In the interests of the two peoples and of the peoples of the world we must endeavour toward a just settlement without further delay.

Once the arrangement for the restoration of our Government has been agreed upon we can begin the actual implementation thereof, and we can consider the many other issues connected with the efforts of achieving an overall settlement. As stated in my letter of 1 April, essential decisions on these matters could then be taken by the Republican Government at Jogjakarta on the basis of the expressed desires of the people.

It is our sincere hope that by agreeing at the outset to the restoration of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta the Netherlands will open the way for fundamental negotiations and provide genuine evidence of its goodwill which will contribute considerably to restore the confidence lost in the last four months.

APPENDIX V

SUGGESTED POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE RESTORATION OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT TO JOGJAKARTA, SUBMITTED TO THE PARTIES BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION ON 14 APRIL 1949

1. Has the Republican Government prepared any overall plan for restoration which could be made available for study?
2. Does the Republican delegation desire that the Sultan of Jogjakarta come to Batavia on any specified date for consultation and explanation as to what conditions obtain at Jogjakarta, and what suggestions the Sultan might make for restoration?
3. Has the Republican delegation an estimate of the materials and equipment which would be required initially, but are lacking, for installation and functioning of the Government?
4. Would it be necessary for the Republican delegation to send a committee of investigation to Jogjakarta to ascertain the answer to the preceding question, or could the Sultan make the necessary investigation?
5. Is the Republican delegation aware of the number of civil police available for Jogjakarta and immediate environs?
6. Has the Republican delegation an estimate as to the total number of civil and perhaps auxiliary police that would be required for Jogjakarta and immediate environs?
7. Has the Republic data with respect to the automotive vehicles, uniforms, arms, etc., that would be required for the police force?
8. Has the Netherlands Delegation an idea as to how much time would be required for the withdrawal of Netherlands armed forces from Jogjakarta and immediate environs?
9. Has the Sultan of Jogjakarta a plan for immediately taking over responsibility for law and order in Jogjakarta, and for insuring the security of all population groups, upon withdrawal of Netherlands forces?
10. Would there be certain installations in Jogjakarta which have been set up by the Netherlands military forces which would be required for continued functioning of a government there?
11. Have the parties ideas to advance on the functioning of the railways and other means of communication through Jogjakarta and immediate environs?
12. Have the two parties ideas on establishing joint road blocks, but restricting as little as possible the necessary legitimate travel and movement of goods into and out of Jogjakarta and immediate environs?
13. Has the Republican delegation made a study of the financial and exchange situation which will be met at Jogjakarta and has it formulated any requests or suggestions thereon?

14. What are the points upon which the Netherlands delegation desires information from the Republican delegation in considering plans for restoration?
15. Will the delegations bear in mind the Commission's offer that the technical assistance of the Commission's military observers be utilized in connection with plans for restoration of Jogjakarta, and let the Commission know if and when studies or consultations by the military observers may be desired?
16. To what extent does the former civil administrative machinery of the Republican Government still exist in Jogjakarta and are there plans for its reorganization?
17. Has either party data with respect to the fuel, food, sanitary and health conditions in Jogjakarta?

APPENDIX VI

STATEMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION AT THE
FIFTH MEETING OF THE PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS IN BATAVIA ON
7 MAY 1949

1. The Netherlands delegation is authorized to state that, in view of the undertaking just announced by Dr. Mohammed Roem, it agrees to the return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta.

The Netherlands delegation agrees further to the setting up of one or more joint committees, under the auspices of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, for such purposes as:

(a) to make the necessary investigations and preparations preliminary to the return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta; and

(b) to study and advise on the measures to be taken in order to effectuate the cessation of guerilla warfare and the co-operation in the restoration of peace and in the maintenance of law and order.

2. The Netherlands Government agrees that the Republican Government shall be free and facilitated to exercise its appropriate functions in an area consisting of the Residency of Jogjakarta and that this is a step taken in the light of the Security Council's directive of 23 March 1949.

3. The Netherlands Government reaffirms its willingness to insure the immediate discontinuance of all military operations and to release immediately and unconditionally all political prisoners arrested by them since 17 December 1948 in the Republic of Indonesia.

4. Without prejudice to the right of self-determination of the Indonesian peoples as recognized by the Linggadjati and Renville principles, the Netherlands Government will refrain from the establishment or recognition of negaras or daerahs on territory under Republican control prior to 19 December 1948 and from the expansion of negaras and daerahs affecting the said territory.

5. The Netherlands Government favours the existence of the Republic as a state to take its place in the United States of Indonesia. When a Provisional Representative Body for the whole of Indonesia is to be established and it consequently becomes necessary to determine the number of representatives from the Republic to said Body, this number will be one-half of the total membership exclusive of the Republic's membership.

6. Consistent with the intent of the Security Council's ruling of 23 March 1949 on the subject of the "proposed Round Table Conference at The Hague to the end that the negotiations contemplated by the Resolution of 28 January 1949 may be held as soon as possible" the Netherlands Government is fully prepared to do its utmost that this Conference take place immediately after the return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta. At this Conference discussions will take place as to the way in which to accelerate the unconditional transfer of real and complete sovereignty to the U.S.I. in accordance with the Renville principles.

7. In the light of the necessary co-operation in the restoration of peace and the maintenance of law and order, the Netherlands Government agrees that in all those areas outside the Residency of Jogjakarta where the civil, police and other officials of the Government of Indonesia are not operating at present, the Republican civil, police and other officials, where still operating, will remain in function.

It is understood that the Netherlands authorities shall afford to the Republican Government such facilities as may reasonably be required by that Government for communication and consultation with all persons in Indonesia, including those serving in the civil and military services of the Republic, and that technical details will have to be worked out by the parties under the auspices of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia.

APPENDIX VII

SUB-COMMITTEE I

PROGRESS REPORT OF 13 MAY 1949

WORKING GROUP I

GENERAL

Before discussing the points mentioned under numbers 1, 2, 3, 12 and 13 of the agenda, it was stated by the Netherlands representative that according to the explicit wish of the Netherlands Government, opportunity to leave Djokja should be offered to everyone who wants to do so before the administration is handed over to the Republican authorities. Through the intermediary of Resident Lycklama, all heads of services have been requested to make at short notice an investigation as to the number of people who want to evacuate. Only after receipt of these particulars can an estimate be made about the time required for the evacuation. The Republican representative appreciated the advisability of the abovementioned measures, as the Republic wants to leave everyone free to make a decision.

Item No. 1 - SUSPENSION OF ARMS IN THE RESIDENCY OF DJOKJAKARTA

It is obvious that the suspension of arms has to precede the transfer of authority. Major Smit informed His Highness The Sultan that already on the 10th of May an order had been issued by the Netherlands Command to avoid as far as possible any contact in arms. Only in case of a direct threat will force be applied. Major Smit promised to produce the abovementioned order.

In order to effectuate the suspension of arms, the Netherlands Military Command will submit the necessary suggestions in writing. To this draft order, a sketch will be attached of the military posts to be cleared in due course.

These suggestions will be studied by the Republican representative, who will require some time for this as consultations will be necessary with military experts who at the moment are not on the spot.

In reply to a question put forward by the Netherlands representative as to whether it would be possible to issue an order to the armed adherents of the Republic, of the same tenor as the Netherlands order of the 10th of May the Sultan stated that He would certainly do so, but that it would be very difficult for Him to give guarantees in this respect in view of unsatisfactory communications.

Item No. 13. WITHDRAWAL OF NETHERLANDS FORCES

It has been agreed that a plan will be developed to withdraw the Netherlands forces first from the southeastern part of the Residency of
/Djocjekarta.

Djoejakarta. A corridor will be established for the protection of the evacuation in the direction of Nagelang.

Both representatives will continue discussions on this matter after consultation with experts.

Item No. 2. FORMATION OF REPUBLICAN POLICE FORCE

A schedule drafted by Mr. Sumarto regarding the proposed police-formation after the return of the Republican authority was put up for discussion. This schedule calls for a police force totalling 2,400. In view of the fact that men of the Republican police force are at the moment widely spread over the country, and cannot be concentrated at short notice, His Highness the Sultan prefers to use a few TNI-units as auxiliary police. These auxiliary police, together with those members of the former Republican police who are available, will be able initially to undertake the maintenance of law and order. This would solve for the time being the problem of armament for the police, and the necessary time would be available for organization of the actual police force which will take over from the auxiliary police as soon as possible.

The Republican representative drew special attention to the urgent need for transportation, as the available means of communications are utterly insufficient for the future task of the police force. In this connection he requested supply of trucks, jeeps and bicycles. He also requested a supply of textiles for uniforms for the auxiliary police force and other materials necessary for supplying the regular police force with complete equipment.

The Netherlands representative has promised to enquire as soon as possible as to what extent these requests can be met.

There is complete agreement that no vacuum should be allowed to arise in the course of handing over authority in the Netherlands-controlled areas. Immediately after the withdrawal of the Netherlands forces, authority should be taken over by the auxiliary police forces.

Item No. 3. TRANSFER OF PUBLIC SERVICES

The Republican representative pointed out that he has not yet information as to the number of workers who wish to stay and the number who prefer to evacuate. The Sultan therefore requested a statement of the respective numbers in each section. The Netherlands representative promised to supply such particulars.

The Netherlands representative underlined the advisability of publishing in all offices and establishments a statement by the Sultan guaranteeing personal and material safety for everybody, irrespective of nationality. A statement to this effect will probably prevent an exodus of workers and others, with all the undesirable consequences that would entail for the Republican authorities.

/This suggestion

This suggestion will be taken into consideration by the Republican delegation. As soon as the Republican delegation has agreed to this suggestion, the wording of the necessary public announcement will be prepared without delay, after which the greatest possible publicity will be given to it.

The Netherlands representative has no objection in principle to the wish of the Republican representative to start as soon as possible preparations for the reinstatement of the former Republican departments and civil services. The Netherlands representative will urge that as much as possible of the stationery and other materials which will be needed, will be made available.

Item No. 12 will be considered in Batavia during the coming week and Item No. 13 will also be further considered in Batavia.

WORKING GROUP II

I. GENERAL

It is agreed that the management of the public utilities of Federal character (such as railways, post, telephone and telegraph) in Netherlands and Republican territories respectively will be separate pending an overall solution of the Indonesian problem.

The unity of operations, both technical and administrative, of these services will be maintained as it now exists.

The V.F.R. (Provisional Federal Government) will place at the disposal of the Republican Government the necessary materials and equipment for the operation of these services of Federal character, and other public utility services in the territory of the Republic.

The Republican Government will operate them on its own responsibility and will maintain them in good condition as to the working and upkeep of these services.

Equipment rendered useless due to operation shall be removed and replaced by the V.F.R. (Provisional Federal Government). An agreement has been reached concerning equipment and materials not necessary for operation of these services in Republican territory.

II. Item No. 5

With a view to the most favourable transfer of public utilities, with exception of power and light, it is agreed that the Republican authorities will appoint as soon as possible the personnel who will be in charge in the future of these public utilities. The Republican authorities will instruct this personnel to contact the persons at present in charge of public utilities. The direct and normal needs of equipment and materials will be estimated by the present heads of the public utilities together with above mentioned Republican civil servants, and the estimate will be provided to the Working Group as a basis for future discussions. Measures have already been taken to implement this agreement.

"c". The date of transfer has not yet been decided.

"d". If and when the necessity arises, each problem will be taken into consideration.

Add "e". Irrigation problems will be settled by joint discussions between the head of "De Technische Dienst in Midden-Java" in Semarang and the responsible Republican authorities.

Add "f". The "A.N.I.E.N." will carry on the supply and distribution of electricity in the territory of the Republic in accordance with its concession. For this purpose further negotiations will be held with the management of the "A.N.I.E.N.". The importance of a quick repair of the high tension line Djelok - Djocja is stressed. At present this line is only in working order from Djelok up to Moentilan.

III. Item No. 6

The head of the "Technische Dienst Midden-Java" in Semarang will endeavour to draw up a joint plan together with the responsible authorities of the Republic for repair of roads and bridges. This plan will estimate the duration of the work, and the needs in material and equipment, and will be considered by the Working Group.

"b". The requirements of road transport equipment will be based on:

- (i) The need to transport the average monthly imports as agreed upon by Working Group III. It is understood that this road transport will only be necessary until railroad communications are restored.
- (ii) The needs of the various services and public utilities as agreed upon between the parties.

These estimates will serve as a basis for calculation of the number of vehicles to be made available by the V.F.R. (Provisional Federal Government).

c. Railways

In accordance with the provision of paragraph 1 "General", the V.F.R. (Provisional Federal Government) will make available the necessary rolling stocks with accessories for rail transport.

Republican personnel, who will in future be in charge of the railways, will be appointed as soon as possible.

This personnel will be instructed to contact the present head of the railways with a view to:

- (i) preparing for the transfer
- (ii) drawing a working programme for the workshop, and estimating the equipment and materials required.

These findings will then be used by the Working Groups.

As soon as railway communications between Djocja and the rest of Java are restored, regulations for traffic will be jointly established.

d. Telephone, telegraph and radio communication materials will be made available in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 "General" above. As soon as possible, the future heads of these services will be appointed from the Republican side, and will make preparations for the transfer of the services and will estimate the immediate and normal monthly needs in agreement with the present heads of these services.

This estimate will be used as a basis by the Working Group.

Jocja's radio communications will be taken up into the general P.T.T. radio network.

The same will apply, if necessary, to Atjeh radio communications

In connection with a Radio Broadcast Station in Jodja, further conversations will be held.

e. Air communications

Maguwo airfield will conform with the necessary conditions to fit into the K.L.M. route. Further discussions will be necessary to fit an airfield in Atjeh into the K.L.M. routes.

As already agreed upon in Batavia, the Republic will follow the I.C.A.O. air traffic regulations.

f. Postal facilities

The normal postal services existing for the whole of Indonesia will also be applied to Republican territory. This implies the use of Indonesia stamps for traffic between Republican territory and the other areas in Indonesia as well as with foreign countries. These stamps will be made available to the public in Republican territory according to regulations which will be established by the Republican authorities. Republican stamps will be used only inside Republican territory.

g. Workshops and other repair facilities

A workshop will be handed over to the Republican authorities to meet the actual needs for repairs.

IV. Detailed regulations for the various Federal services will be agreed upon later by joint negotiations.

WORKING GROUP III

Item No. 4. TRADE

1. There will be no restriction on the free movement of commercial goods either in the case of trade carried on by the Republican Department of Economic Affairs or in the case of private trade.

The Netherlands representative has no objection to the Republican Government restricting the export of important foodstuffs like rice, maize and cassava when in short supply in the Residency of Jogyakarta.

Whether and to what extent a restriction shall be imposed on the movement of persons into and out of the Residency of Jogyakarta will be discussed later after consultations in Batavia.

2. Facilities shall be given for export and import to and from the outside world, in agreement with the Department of Economic Affairs in Batavia.

SUPPLIES

3. The V.F.R. (Provisional Federal Government) is prepared to supply the Republican Government with essential goods on the same basis as for other parts of Federal Indonesia which came under control of the V.F.R. (Provisional Federal Government) after 19 December 1948, taking into consideration the special circumstances connected with the return of the Republican Government to Jogyakarta.

Item No. 8. MEDICAL SUPPLIES

4. The same arrangement as in 3 (above) applies to medical supplies and accessories.

5. Facilities to P.M.I. (Indonesian Red Cross) will be considered as soon as possible.

Item No. 10. CURRENCY

6. Discussions on this subject will be continued immediately.

GUARANTEES FOR SAFEGUARDING PRIVATE PROPERTY

7. The Netherlands representative has requested from the Republican representative that special attention be given to the safeguarding of private property in the territory of the Republic, especially where the owners of such property are absent from the territory of the Republic.

The Republican representative has replied that the safety of persons, regardless of nationality, and of property, regardless of the nationality of the owner, will be guaranteed by the Republican authorities.

SUB-COMMITTEE I

PROGRESS REPORT OF 25 MAY 1949

WORKING GROUP I

RETURN OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT TO JOGJAKARTA

The date of the handing over of authority to the Republican Government depends on the period needed for the civilian evacuation (two weeks) and for the military evacuation afterwards. In this light, it is hoped that the return of the Republican Government may take place about the middle of June.

Item No. 1. SUSPENSION OF ARMS IN THE RESIDENCY OF JOGJAKARTA

Agreement has been reached on the following points:

1. Both parties will issue an order immediately to all the armed forces stationed in the Residency of Jogjakarta, police and armed organizations, to avoid all contact in arms and to cease immediately any form of sabotage, destruction, obstruction, mining and subversive activity.
2. At a date to be determined later and after the order referred to in paragraph 1 has been issued, the suspension of arms shall be formally announced. Detailed conditions will be worked out and will be included in a separate agreement.
3. If the date and time of evacuation of the areas, places and posts now occupied by the Netherlands forces can be determined, the Netherlands delegation shall give notice to the Republican representative of this decision 2 x 24 hours prior to carrying out such evacuation in order to enable the latter to execute a speedy occupation of the areas left by the Netherlands troops.

The UNCI military observers will be requested to render their co-operation so as to prevent incidents.

4. It is strictly forbidden to all Netherlands and Indonesian commanders to contact each other directly in any way. If a contact is urgently necessary, it will be effected only through the commissions concerned and/or the military observers of the UNCI.
5. Both parties agree that the military observers of the UNCI will be requested to observe the implementation of the orders set forth in paragraphs 1, 2 and 4.

Item No. 2. PLAN FOR FORMATION OF REPUBLICAN CIVIL POLICE FORCE FOR MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER IN THE WHOLE RESIDENCY OF JOGJAKARTA

1. With regard to the supply of material needed by the police an agreement has been reached in respect of uniforms and other equipment. Delivery orders have already been given. With regard to armaments some difficulties have arisen which will be taken in further consideration as soon as possible.

WORKING GROUP II

GENERAL

As has been agreed and in view of the taking over of the public services, both parties have instructed their personnel concerned to contact each other and to jointly draw up a list of the immediate and normal requirements as regards stocks and materials needed for the functioning and maintenance of the services.

Mutual contact has been established in the following services: public works, railways, postal, telegraph and telephone services. The compilation of complete and necessary data is expected to be ready in the course of this week.

Settlement of accounts regarding the stocks and materials shall be arranged between the Provisional Federal Government and the Republican Government. This question will be entirely dealt with by Working Group III.

Item No. 5. PUBLIC WORKS

A list of the required stocks and materials has been drawn up and agreed to by both parties, and will be submitted to Working Group II.

Add "f": Negotiations with the managements of private companies, particularly with ANIEM to continue operations have already commenced and will be continued.

Item No. 6. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

(b) Data as regards the determination of the number and kinds of road transport equipment are being compiled and it is expected they will be ready in the course of the week.

(d) Telephones, telegraph and radio communications

Mutual contact has been established.

1. Inter-insular and international telegraph communications have been arranged.
2. Radio communication between Jogjakarta and Semarang is in existence, while that between Jogjakarta and Jacarta has been established.
3. As concerns foreign broadcasts, this matter will be taken up with Working Group I. Regarding home broadcasts an agreement has been reached.

(e) Air communications

The Netherlands delegation has stated that:

1. The KLM will include Maguwo in its flight schedule if the security of aircraft and passengers will be guaranteed, subject to the decision of the Provisional Federal Government.

2. The use of Republican aircraft under I.C.A.O. and the Provisional Federal Government regulations are under discussion; it is expected that a solution may be found which will make it possible for Republican aircraft to fly the routes Jogjakarta - Semarang or Atjeh - Medan or Sabang.

As to Republican communications between Republican areas and foreign countries, no agreement has as yet been reached.

(f) Postal facilities

An arrangement has been reached concerning several postal facilities.

WORKING GROUP III

SUPPLIES

With regard to the supply of textiles, petroleum, salted fish, salt and soap, full agreement has been reached.

With regard to rice and sugar further discussions will be held afterwards. Full particulars will be submitted as soon as possible.

Item No. 8. MEDICAL SUPPLIES

Discussions on this subject will be continued.

Item No. 10. CURRENCY

1. Pending the overall settlement of the Indonesian issue the Republican currency (U.R.I.) shall be legal tender of the Republic of Indonesia.
2. There shall be no prohibition against the N.I. currency.
3. There shall be no determination of a rate of exchange between Republican and N.I. currency.
4. Technical assistance shall immediately be given to the Republican Government to the end that it will obtain the necessary amount of currency on its return to Jogjakarta.
5. With regard to goods, materials and services delivered by the Provisional Federal Government, settlement of accounts shall be made between the Republic as a member state and the Federal Government after the establishment of the U.S.I.
6. The Provisional Federal Government is willing to put a certain amount of N.I. currency at the disposal of the Republican Government for payments in this currency.

SUB-COMMITTEE I

Progress Report of 21 June 1949

FORMATION OF REPUBLICAN POLICE FORCE

Agreement has been reached on all points - with the exception of transportation and armament - between parties as regards provision of equipment as estimated to be necessary for the Republican civil police force (total strength 2,549) which will maintain law and order in the Residency of Jogjakarta.

a. Uniforms (with headcovering)

8,260 pairs will be supplied, 5,500 of which are ready for dispatch at Semarang. The manufacture of the remaining quantity will be completed within a few days.

b. Other equipment

The goods requested by the Republic and agreed upon shall be supplied from the stocks of the "Algemene Politie" or ordered through her intermediary at private firms.

For a detailed list see appendix. Part of these goods have been sent already to Semarang.

c. Transportation

The Republican request can only be met partly by the Netherlands authorities. The complete list of the Republican request

was:

2,231 bicycles

24 2-ton-trucks

57 jeeps

2 ambulance cars

1 limousine

51 motor-bicycles with
sidecar)

14 motor-bicycles)

For the present the following
will be supplied:

1,200 (the remaining number is
still in discussion)

24

20 (the additional number
of 37 will be supplied
as soon as new stocks
arrive)

2

1

the number to be given
is still in discussion

d. Armament

Failing agreement on this subject, it was decided that this should be handled on the highest level.

E. Plan for transfer

The Republican delegation has authorized 2 persons who will contact the local chief of police at Semarang and will take over the goods and materials at Semarang and organize the transport of the goods to Jogjakarta.

TECHNICAL SERVICES

I. Public works

Lists of the required stocks and materials have been transferred to the Head of the Department W. & W., who gave further instructions to the Head of Public Works of Middle Java at Semarang concerning the furnishing of the materials.

Negotiations concerning the management of the A.N.I.E.M. are continuing. It has already been agreed upon to introduce a Republican electrical engineer in the Power Plant at Jogjakarta in case the circumstances will oblige that during a short period the Republican Government shall provide in the management of this plant and the distribution of power on the base of an agreement with the Aniem which agreement has not yet been attained to.

With regard to the bad condition of the power station at Jogja two complete sets emergency power supply of 75 kw each, are ordered and will be placed at Jogja. The supply of other small aggregates is in discussion.

II. Transport and communications

It is agreed upon that concerning the practical operations of the P.T.T.-services direct contact between the "Hoofdbestuur P.T.T." at Bandoeng and the Republican P.T.T.-Service at Jogjakarta shall be maintained.

Radio-telegraphy communications between Jogjakarta and Semarang, Jogjakarta and Batavia via Bandoeng are established. A direct radio telegr/telef. comm. between Jogjakarta and Batavia is in study.

The installation of a transmitter of $2\frac{1}{2}$ kw capacity used for broadcast to countries outside of Indonesia, has not yet been further discussed.

Contact has been established between the R.O.I.O. (Broadcast Organization of Indonesia) and the Republican Broadcast Management.

III. Air-communications

Still in discussion.

IV. Road transport

The number of the motor vehicles for the economic supply is fixed at: 75 trucks, 5 jeeps, provided the railway communication from Jogjakarta to Magelang cannot be used. In case this is possible the amount of trucks can be reduced to 25.

The number of the motor vehicles for the various departments and their services is as first step proposed at:

- 27 trucks
- 18 station wagons
- 35 pick ups
- 70 small passenger cars
- 32 big passenger cars
- 8 motor-cycles
- 37 jeeps
- 1 fire-engine
- 1 service wagon (bestelwagen)
- 5 ambulances (will be further discussed with the D.V.G.)

It is agreed upon that the motor vehicles will be transported in three shifts, the first shift will be delivered before 27 June and contains:

25 trucks	- Dodge and Fargo
15 pick ups	- Chevrolets
15 small passenger cars	- 5 Fiats and 10 Vauxhall
20 big passenger cars	- Chevrolets
3 motor-cycles	- B.S.A.
15 jeeps	- "Landrovers"
1 crash truck	
1 trailer for a jeep	

The two other shifts will - if possible - be delivered within two weeks after the transfer and after a decision shall be reached about the proposed number and kind of vehicles.

For service purposes the required quantities of tools, spare parts, and reserve tires will be also supplied.

The following quantities of fuel will be delivered before 27 June: 70,000 L. gasoline, 750 L. motoroil (600 L. - S.A.E. 20, 150 L. - S.A.E. 30) and other necessary greases.

For the administration of the Jogjakarta area (Daerah Istimewa Jogjakarta) the following number of vehicles will be delivered during the second week after the transfer:

- 7 big passenger cars
- 5 jeeps
- 10 pick ups
- 5 trucks
- 2 motor-cycles

The number and type of the vehicles for the other shifts will be fixed according to needs.

The several types of the vehicles, supplied after the transfer will be fixed in this week.

V. Restoration of rights

Discussions with the representative of the "Raad van Rechtsherstel" resulted in a proposition concerning the transfer of property under administration of "Rechtsherstel" at Jogjakarta to the Republican service of Restoration of Rights, as well as the administration of these properties.

VI. Communication by road

Discussions with the "Afdeling Wagverkeer" of the Department V.E.M. by the Republican representatives have taken place. From that side the proposition was made concerning the local traffic to follow the general rules now valid for the whole of Indonesia in view to facilitate the uniformity of rules in the V.S.I. in the future.

With regard to the intertown road traffic it was requested to take as much as possible into consideration the historical rights of the prewar bus services, whereas it was agreed upon that internegara traffic will be considered jointly. The prevailing rules of road traffic and the bus regulations for Indonesia have been handed over to the Republican representatives.

VII. Means of motor transport for private use

Means of motor transport for private use will be requested direct from "Prioriteits Commissie Indonesie", after having been screened by a "Prioriteits Commissie" in the Republic.

SUPPLIES

1. General

It is agreed upon that the Republican Government will guard all economical objects in the Residency of Jogjakarta.

2. Rice

About 350 tons, now present at Jogjakarta will be handed over to the Republican Government. Also the stock of the V.M.F. at Semarang of approximately 300 tons will speedily be conveyed to Jogja and will be handed over to the Republican Government.

During the expected shortage period assistance will be given with a maximum quantity of 2,500 tons rice per month for a period of six months, thus totalling 15,000 tons. In principle distribution will take place only if the consumers' price in the Residency of Jogjakarta exceeds an agreed upon price per kilo.

In order to enable the Residency of Jogjakarta to supply itself during the shortage period out of the surrounding residencies - as was always possible in the past - it has been agreed that the V.M.F. will refrain from engrossment of rice in the Residency of Surakarta, Kedu and Madiun. In this respect, however, a restriction as to Madiun is made, namely that the V.M.F. engrossment will take place insofar as this will appear to be necessary as a supporting measure to ensure the population sufficient proceeds for their products. It is hoped that by this arrangement the assistance by the Provisional Federal Government will be either unnecessary or will be needed to a considerable smaller amount than the 15,000 tons guaranteed.

3. Sugar

As soon as possible a reserve stock of 400 tons will be formed. As there are indications that important quantities still are present in the Residency of Jogjakarta, it is hoped that these 400 tons will be sufficient. If the sugar position might prove to be disappointing, the Netherlands authorities are willing to supply another 2 x 400 tons pursuant to the first 400 tons.

4. Salted fish/sojabeans

Importation of fish from abroad practically does not occur anymore. The fish needed by the Residency of Jogjakarta therefore will have to be supplied from Bagan/Siapi-api and Makassar. Initially the promise is given for full co-operation; that every month a quantity of 150 tons be made available. Definite promises however could not be made, as this trade is entirely private. V.M.F. and the Board for Sea-fishing were to be contacted further, in order to define which qualities of fish are desirable.

Since then the Republican representative requested to supply 50 tons of fish and 200 tons of sojabeans instead of 150 tons of fish. This demand can be met so far as the first 200 tons are concerned. The V.M.F. is shipping 200 tons out of its Batavia stock to Semarang to be forwarded to Jogja as soon as possible. Thereafter the regular supply of 200 tons sojabeans per month - insofar as needed - will be furthered. Full co-operation shall be given that every month a quantity of 50 tons salted fish be made available.

5. Salt

As an initial stock 400 tons will be conveyed to Jogja as soon as possible. After that 200 tons per month will be put at the disposal of the Republican Government for the time being.

6. Petroleum

Monthly 650 tons of petroleum will be made available. Apart from the fact that this quantity will prove to be somewhat on the large side it is already brought to attention that packing difficulties may turn out to be a bottleneck as a result of which the supply in the beginning might not come up to expectations. Meanwhile discussions are going on between the Republican delegation and the N.I.P.B., the latter aiming at an arrangement of its own with the Republican Government.

7. Soap

The local soap-factories may be considered to be able to cope with the consumption; the Netherlands delegation promised to co-operate fully in making available the needed caustic soda.

/In the

In the meantime agreement was reached in principle to put at the disposal of the Republican Government 150 tons of soap as a reserve stock.

Last week the stock in Jogja proved to amount to 20 tons only, but on the other hand it appears that the A.I.O. has been able to sell only 10 tons of soap since the beginning of January as a result of the very big local retail stocks. Under these circumstances a further conveyance of soap from Semarang will be suspended until more information is available concerning this matter. Meanwhile it has been calculated in Jogja that the consumption of soap in the Residency of Jogjakarta may be put at 100 tons per month; in principle the Netherlands authorities are willing to supply about $12\frac{1}{2}$ tons of caustic soda needed for the manufacture thereof.

8. Textiles

As a first provision the Netherlands delegation promised the supply of 3 million metres, intended for the first three months. After that will be taken into consideration the supply of a second quantity to the same amount dependent on the general stock position.

9. Medical supplies

All measures are taken for an immediate transfer of all medical supplies and medical inventory at Jogjakarta. It is agreed that for the future medical supplies will be obtained from the Federal Department of Health.

CURRENCY

1. For the time being Netherlands Indies currency as well as Republican currency (ORI) will circulate in the Residency of Jogjakarta.
2. No fixed rate will be determined between the N.I. and ORI currency.
3. In order to finance the expenses in N.I. currency in the Residency of Jogjakarta the Provisional Federal Government shall put sufficient N.I. currency at the disposal of the Republic.
4. The goods, materials and services, as well as N.I. currency, supplied to the Republic shall be administered on one account; the accounts shall be settled after the establishment of the U.S.I.

Appendix to PROGRESS REPORT dated 21 June 1949

SUPPLY OF MATERIAL NEEDED BY THE REGULAR REPUBLICAN POLICE-FORCE

	requested totals of equipment by Republican delegation	totals of equipment supplied from Fed. police-department-stock Batavia	totals of equipment ordered through intermediary of Fed. police-departments from private firms
1. American handcuffs	2549	2550	-
2. police whistles	2549	2550	-
3. constables truncheon (gummy)	2549	2550	-
4. water bottles (comp.)	2549	2550	- 1)
5. raincoats	2549	-	- 1)
6. bamboo hats	2549	-	2549
7. mess kits	2549	2550	-
8. pocket knives	2549	2550	-
9. spoons and forks	2549	2549	2549
10. duplicator	1	1 1 2)	-
11. typewriters	66	-	- 1 3)
12. dactyloscopy appliances	90	-	60
13. fire extinguishing	95	35	-
14. petromax lamps	44	40	-
15. petroleum lamps	242	95	-
16. alarm clocks	35	-	35
17. stop-watches	6	6	-
18. flashlights (compl.)	2549	500	-
19. " spare dry cells	2549	1000	-
20. " " bulbs	-	500	-
21. emblems and rank indications	2549	-	6000
22. field beds	1600	3000 4)	-
23. knapsacks	2549	2549 1 4)	-
24. anklets	2549	3000 1 4)	-
25. belts	2549	3000 1	-
26. uniforms with i sed-covering	8254	8260	-

Appendix to PROGRESS REPORT dated 21 June 1949
(continued)

totals of equipment ordered through intermediary of Fed. police-departments from private firms

totals of equipment supplied from Fed. police-department-stock Batavia

requested totals of equipment by Republican delegation Batavia

27. shoes	5503	5100	- 5)
28. medicine chests for first aid	139	139	- 6)
29. sport shorts	3300	-	- 17)
30. red-white-bands	-	-	- 1)
31. pants	6000	6000	-
32. socks	6000	6000	-
33. overalls and caps	-	508	-
34. singlets	3000	3000	-
35. towels	6000	6000	-
36. khaki drill	500 yards	500 yards	- 8)
37. transmitter for police purposes	1	-	- 19)
38. mobilophones	14	-	- 110)
39. stationery	-	-	- 1)

Particulars

- 1) not available until October 1949.
- 1) temp. borrowed from Fed. Police Batavia. All typewriters used by Neth. police force at Djocja will be handed over to Republican police force. Completion will be obtained from N.I.B.I. dump at Djocja. If necessary, further completion will be possible through Neth. authorities.
- 1) complete sets not available, slips etc. will be given
- 1) negotiations still going on with local factory
- 1) as the requested number is only partly available the missing chests will be sent afterwards
- 1) 6000 M white drill 28" supplied by Depart. of Ec. Affairs.
- 1) item 4,000 yards bleached yeans 28"
- 1) not available
- 1) not available
- 1) supplies for 3 months already delivered, further requests will be considered together with requests from other Republican departments.

ANNEX A

SUB-COMMITTEE I

AGENDA

1. Issuance of local "Suspension of Arms" order
2. Plan for formation of Republican civil police force for maintenance of law and order in the whole Residency of Jogjakarta, including:
 - (a) the size of force
 - (b) the manner of recruiting personnel
 - (c) organization and training
 - (d) requirement of arms and equipment
 - (e) provision of same
 - (f) estimate of date on which force will be ready to assume responsibility for maintenance of law and order in restored territory
3. Plan for taking over by Republican authorities of civil departments in Jogjakarta and for assumption of responsibility for civil administration
 - (a) status of civil servants at present working for Netherlands administration in restored territory
 - (b) estimate of number of additional civil servants required by Republican administration
 - (c) responsibility for recruiting necessary civil servants and for appointing senior civil officials
 - (d) date on which Republican officials will be prepared to take over civil departments and procedure for such take-over
4. Trade
 - (a) details of restrictions on the free movement of goods and persons into and out of the Residency of Jogjakarta.
 - (b) freedom of Republican authorities in Jogjakarta to establish trade and communications with other Republican-controlled areas in Indonesia and with the outside world
5. Public works
 - (a) comprehensive survey of public works in the Residency to be taken over by the Republican administration (water, irrigation, power, light)
 - (b) essential repairs and details of materials and equipment required
 - (c) estimate of date on which Republican administration will be in a position to take over
 - (d) provision of public utilities from outside of Residency (if necessary)
6. Transport and communications
 - (a) Roads: essential repairs, materials and equipment required
 - (b) Road transport equipment: vehicles required and source of supply

/(c) Railways:

- (c) Railways:
 - (i) essential repairs, material and equipment required
 - (ii) regulation of rail service between Residency of Jogjakarta and rest of Java
 - (d) Telephone, telegraph and radio communications: essential repairs, material and equipment required
 - (e) Air Communications:
 - (i) control of Maguwo airfield
 - (ii) agreement on restrictions, if any, on civilian flights to and from Maguwo
 - (f) Postal facilities
 - (g) Workshops and other repair facilities
7. Food
Plan for regular supplies of food from surrounding areas to area under Republican administration
8. Medical supplies
 - (a) Details of the medical supplies required by the Republic
 - (b) Sources of supply
9. Fuel
Estimate of quantities of fuel, lubricants, etc. required both immediately and periodically after restoration of Republican Government to Jogjakarta, to implement plans prepared under Item 5.
10. Currency
11. Office equipment
Details of requirements of office and administrative equipment including typewriters, stationery, duplicating and printing equipment, filing cabinets, etc.
12. Co-ordination
Machinery for co-ordination between Republican Government and Netherlands authorities
13. Finally, on the basis of agreements reached regarding the foregoing subjects, a detailed plan for withdrawal of the Netherlands forces, hand-over of civil departments, public works, and restoration of Republican administration.

APPENDIX VIII

PRINCIPAL DOCUMENTS
ON THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES
AND
NETHERLANDS-INDONESIAN MANUAL
FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES

A. PRINCIPAL DOCUMENTS:

- 1 -- The Cease Hostilities Orders
- 2 -- The Joint Proclamation
- 3 -- The Regulations Governing the
Implementation of the
Agreement to Cease Hostilities

B. MANUAL:

PREFACE

PART I -- GLOSSARY OF TERMS

PART II -- RULES

APPENDIX:

Rules of Procedure for the Central Joint Board

A. Principal Documents

I. THE CEASE HOSTILITIES ORDERS

Pursuant to the "van Roijen-Roem statements" of 7 May 1949, and in order to implement the Security Council's directive of 23 March 1949 and paragraphs 1 and 2 of the operative part of the Security Council's Resolution of 28 January 1949 referred to particularly in the above-mentioned directive, the following orders are issued simultaneously:

A. By the Netherlands Government:

"As from midnight 10/11 August 1949, in the case of Java, 14/15 August 1949, in the case of Sumatra, hostilities between the parties shall cease.

"All measures shall be taken to cease fire and to terminate all acts intended to harm the other party.

"The orders issued by the Commander-in-Chief on 1 and 5 January 1949 are hereby supplemented and it is ordered, as from midnight 10/11 August 1949, in the case of Java, 14/15 August 1949, in the case of Sumatra, that Netherlands armed forces shall discontinue all military operations.

"The ending of military operations throughout Indonesia will render possible the maintenance of peace and order through co-operation between the Netherlands and Republican armed forces. Mutual co-ordination in patrolling, co-operation in avoiding clashes and in maintaining peace and order shall be effected between local commanders in accordance with directives to be issued by the parties, with the assistance of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia.

"Directives and pertinent orders for the implementation of the cease hostilities order shall be issued in the shortest time possible, beginning from today, by the respective commanders-in-chief through the appropriate channels to their forces. These include a proclamation, regulations and a field manual.

"All persons are hereby warned that any act in violation of this order committed after the above-mentioned times and dates shall be punished in accordance with the existing military regulations."

B. By the Government of the Republic of Indonesia:

"As from midnight 10/11 August 1949, in the case of Java, 14/15 August 1949, in the case of Sumatra, hostilities between the parties shall cease.

/"All measures

"All measures shall be taken to cease fire and to terminate all acts intended to harm the other party.

"All personnel of the Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI) and all other armed adherents of the Republic are ordered, as from midnight 10/11 August 1949, in the case of Java, 14/15 August 1949, in the case of Sumatra, to cease guerilla warfare.

"The cessation of guerilla warfare throughout Indonesia will render possible the maintenance of peace and order through co-operation between the Netherlands and Republican armed forces. Mutual co-ordination in patrolling, co-operation in avoiding clashes and in maintaining peace and order shall be effected between local commanders in accordance with directives to be issued by the parties, with the assistance of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia.

"Directives and pertinent orders for the implementation of the cease hostilities order shall be issued in the shortest time possible, beginning from today, by the respective commanders-in-chief through the appropriate channels to their forces. These include a proclamation, regulations and a field manual.

"All persons are hereby warned that any act in violation of this order committed after the above-mentioned times and dates shall be punished in accordance with the existing military regulations."

II. THE JOINT PROCLAMATION

Simultaneously with I the following proclamation shall be promulgated jointly by both Governments:

Orders to cease hostilities have today been issued by the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. This means that an end has come to conflict between the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands.

Henceforth the endeavours of everyone must be dedicated to banishing any thought of enmity or revenge and to removing any vestige of fear or distrust.

Many problems remain to be solved. This can be achieved through constructive co-operation in an atmosphere of confidence and security. Efforts with this purpose must have the genuine support of all authorities. Co-ordinated measures must be taken to deal with all persons who would continue to disturb peace and order, disregarding the policies adopted by both Governments. To this end both parties shall make use of radio broadcasts and other means in order to inform all troops and civilians as clearly as possible of the contents of the cease hostilities order and of this proclamation, and at the same time make them realize the necessity of strictly obeying such order and proclamation and any other directives that may be required.

In the common interest of the peoples of the Netherlands and Indonesia, and with a view to accomplishing steady progress toward early consummation of happy agreement and the transfer of real and complete sovereignty, both Governments have decreed in common agreement:

1. That there shall be neither prosecution by course of law nor measures of administrative character against anyone who by the sole fact that he, by offering his services, by seeking protection, or by acting in any other way, has taken sides in the dispute which has divided the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands.
2. That those who have been deprived of their freedom, because of political convictions or functions, or because they have carried arms in the fighting organizations of one of the parties, shall be released as soon as possible.

/3. That those

3. That those who are being prosecuted or have been condemned because of crimes which are clearly a consequence of the political conflict between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic shall be released from prosecution or relieved from penalty in accordance with legislative or other measures to be enacted as soon as possible. These measures shall be communicated to the other party and the UNCI. Measures concerning the social rehabilitation of those released shall be worked out in co-operation between the parties.
4. That everyone concerned is ordered:
 - a. To refrain from radio broadcasts, press reports, or any other form of propaganda aimed at challenging or alarming the armed forces or the civilians of the other party;
 - b. To refrain from sabotage and terrorism, and from all direct or indirect threats, destruction and other similar acts directed against persons or groups of persons, or against property wherever it may be or of whomsoever it is;
 - c. To refrain from all acts which might be harmful to mutual co-operation;
 - d. To refrain from all acts of reprisal or retaliation; and
 - e. To avoid and to prevent provocations and incidents of any kind.

All persons are hereby warned that any act in violation of this proclamation shall be severely punished.

III. REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
AGREEMENT TO CEASE HOSTILITIES BY THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS AND THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

It is agreed by both parties that the following shall constitute the regulations for the implementation of the Order to Cease Hostilities, and the Proclamation promulgated jointly by both Governments.

1. The armed forces of the parties shall not extend their zones of patrolling, to be delineated in accordance with paragraph 6, or otherwise endeavour to improve their respective military positions at the expense of the other.

2. The armed forces of each party may be moved to any location within the zones of patrolling of that party referred to in paragraph 6.

3. Free movement of civilian population and free traffic of goods between zones shall be permitted without hindrance, except for the right of both parties to take such measures as may be required to ensure that there is no illegal carriage of arms, munitions and other materials of an exclusively warlike character, or propaganda material of a subversive nature.

4. Both parties shall co-operate fully in maintaining law and order, in protecting all elements of the population, and in facilitating each other's measures of self-defence.

5. Patrols of each party shall only be permitted in the areas allocated for that purpose to the respective parties in accordance with paragraph 6. All patrols shall be limited to the maintenance of law and order, including protection of all elements of the population.

6. After consultation among themselves, the parties shall delineate and allocate, according to administrative units, zones of patrolling for the maintenance of law and order. The Central Joint Board, referred to in paragraph 7, shall indicate lines of procedure for that purpose. If in any instance the parties fail to reach agreement on such delineation and allocation, the Central Joint Board shall make recommendations thereon to the parties and to the UNCI.

7. A Central Joint Board consisting of representatives of both parties, of representatives of territories other than the Republic which are members of the Federal Consultative Assembly, participating as an associate member, and of civil and military representatives of

/the UNCI

the UNCI and under the chairmanship of a representative (rotated) of the Commission, shall be established. It will be the duty of the Central Joint Board to observe the implementation of the present regulations, as well as the Cease Hostilities Order, the Proclamation, and any other related orders and directives, and to report and to make recommendations thereon to the parties and to the United Nations Commission for Indonesia. The Central Joint Board shall, as required, establish local Joint Committees, consisting of representatives of both parties and of the UNCI, which shall be responsible directly to the Central Joint Board. In the local Joint Committees dealing with territories outside of the Republic, representatives of territories other than the Republic which are members of the Federal Consultative Assembly shall participate with the status of at least associate member in the discussion of questions of direct concern to them.

8. In the zones of patrolling allocated to the Republic in accordance with paragraph 6, the Republican Government accepts in addition to the duty and task for maintaining law and order, the responsibility for feeding, clothing, the provision of medical supplies and medical services, and in general the provision of all services needed by the population. Should these facilities not be available to the Republican Government, the latter will report any deficiencies to the Government of Indonesia, if desirable through the UNCI, with a view to seeing what arrangements can be worked out, keeping in mind the interests of the population of Indonesia as a whole, and to determining the manner in which the future Government of the United States of Indonesia may be responsible for the expenditures involved.

9. All times quoted by either side shall be stated in both Netherlands and Republican local times.

10. Consultation, communication and supply between responsible civil and military authorities in all areas will be facilitated by both parties.

11. The present Regulations shall enter into force simultaneously with the Order to Cease Hostilities.

B. Manual

P R E F A C E

This publication shall be known as
"NETHERLANDS-INDONESIAN MANUAL
FOR THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES"

It is mutually agreed that the contents of this Manual shall be binding upon the Governments of both the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia and upon their respective instrumentalities and adherents.

The Manual consists of military definitions and of rules to provide for the implementation of agreements between the parties as set forth in three documents designated:

- (1) The Cease Hostilities Orders
- (2) The Joint Proclamation
- (3) The Regulations Governing the Implementation of the Agreement to Cease Hostilities.

The material contained herein provides the technical details considered necessary to achieve a satisfactory carrying out of the policies in the military field, agreed upon by the parties.

No material is included which contravenes any of the final provisions of the three basic documents listed above.

With the approval of the parties, this Manual may be supplemented and amended to such extent as found necessary in actual practice, so long as the terms of the above-mentioned three basic documents are not contravened thereby.

It must be stressed that it is of utmost importance to the successful implementation of the agreements that differences be solved at the local level. Likewise it is equally important that decisions reached either locally or at higher level be implemented promptly.

PART I
GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Wherever used in this Manual or in the documents mentioned therein, terms will be construed as shown in the following glossary:

"Acts intended to harm the other party" include, in addition to the acts mentioned under "Hostilities" below:

- (a) The issue and/or dissemination of propaganda or any material of similar nature by press, radio or other means, which might provoke disorder or disturb the amity between the parties.
- (b) Intimidation by force or any other means, employed by either party against individuals or groups belonging to the other party.
- (c) Any other act which might reasonably be expected to obstruct attainment of the aims agreed upon between the parties.

"Administrative units" means areas, of whatever size, which both sides recognize as traditionally having that status, such as *dekkas*, *margas*, sub-districts, districts, regencies, residencies of provinces.

"Armed adherents" comprise the armed forces of a party as defined under the term "Armed forces" below and in addition armed individuals or groups fighting for the Republic under the orders of the commanders of the T.N.I.

"Armed forces" comprise the navy, the air force and the land forces as defined in Sec. I, Chapter I, Arts. 1, 2 and 3 of the Annex to the International Convention concerning The Laws and Customs of War on Land signed at The Hague, 19 October 1907, which reads as follows:

Art. 1

"The laws, rights, and duties of war apply not only to the army, but also to militia and volunteer corps fulfilling all the following conditions:

1. They must be commanded by a person responsible for his subordinates;
2. They must have a fixed distinctive sign recognizable at a distance;
3. They must carry arms openly; and
4. They must conduct their operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war.

/In countries

In countries where militia or volunteer corps constitute the army, or form part of it, they are included under the denomination "Army".

Art. 2

"The inhabitants of a territory not under occupation who, on the approach of the enemy, spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading troops without having had time to organize themselves in accordance with Article 1, shall be regarded as belligerents if they carry arms openly, and if they respect the laws and customs of war."

Art. 3

"The armed forces of the belligerents must consist of combatants and non-combatants. In the case of capture by the enemy, both have the right to be treated as prisoner's of war."

"Arms, munitions and other materials of an exclusively warlike character" shall be considered items for which a satisfactory peaceful purpose is not established.

"Cease fire" will be considered as cessation of all acts enumerated in the definition of "Hostilities" given below.

"F.C.A." means the Federal Consultative Assembly, representing the areas in Indonesia other than the Republic, as far as they are members of this organization.

"Guerilla warfare" is irregular warfare or "hostilities", even if independently waged, individually or by small groups of "armed adherents".

"Hostilities" will include:

- (a) Any warlike act involving the use of armed forces or armed adherents or any movement of such forces or adherents which might reasonably be expected to provoke, directly or indirectly, retaliatory action by the other party.
- (b) All acts of destruction, sabotage, sniping, placing of mines, obstruction of roads and railroads by any means, and any other such act which might disturb public order.
- (c) All acts of intimidation and of reprisal or retaliation committed individually or collectively against either persons or property.

"Military operations" are any of the acts defined under "Hostilities" above, conducted by organized military forces and directed or authorized by competent authority responsible to its government.

"Parties" will be construed to denote both the Netherlands and Republican Governments and their respective adherents and instrumentalities

"Patrolling": a police activity - not assuming the character of a military operation - carried out by armed personnel, belonging to either the police, guard forces, or, if necessary, armed forces, including military police, with the purpose of maintaining law and order and/or all other legal purposes which may require such activity.

"Propaganda material of a subversive nature" includes books, pamphlets, posters and other media of dissemination which are detrimental to the maintenance of established law and order or harmful to either party.

"Reprisal or retaliation" is an act committed by a person or persons against another or others to satisfy a grievance, or to get even, for an act previously performed or alleged to have been performed against their interests, or for any opinion held or alleged to be or to have been held contrary to their opinions or interests. The term shall therefore include any act, taken by the supporters of one party against people because of their political affiliation to the other party, such as:

- a. physical violence,
- b. arrest,
- c. expulsion from dwelling places,
- d. discharge from jobs,
- e. seizure, confiscation or destruction of property.

"Sabotage" includes any act committed by armed forces or adherents or their agents for the purpose of denying the full use of public utilities, or installations of a military, industrial or commercial nature.

"Terrorism" is systematic intimidation accomplished by the actual use, presence or threat of force or power thereby inducing a willingness to comply with the will of the intimidator(s) when otherwise such compliance would not be freely and willingly given.

PART II
R U L E S

This Part contains the rules for the implementation of Agreements between the parties.

Central Joint Board

1. The Central Joint Board referred to in paragraph 7 of the Regulations Governing the Implementation of the Agreement to Cease Hostilities shall be comprised of the following:

- (a) An equal number of representatives to be designated by each party.
- (b) An equal number of representatives to be designated by the FCA as Associate Member.
- (c) 3 civilian and 3 military representatives designated by the Commission.
- (d) Such advisory and secretarial assistants as desired by either party, the FCA or the Commission.

2. The functions of the Central Joint Board shall be as prescribed in paragraph 7 of the Regulations Governing the Implementation of the Agreement to Cease Hostilities.

3. (a) Matters referred to the Central Joint Board may be submitted by the Board to the representatives of each party and the FCA for informal discussion and study, and, if desired, with the assistance of the Commission's Board representatives.

(b) When an agreement is reached, the Central Joint Board shall formalize it and shall provide its further assistance for the implementation.

(c) If no agreement can be reached, the Board representatives of each party and of the FCA shall submit their views in a formal meeting. It will then be the duty of the Commission's Board representatives to make such recommendations to the parties, the FCA and/or to the Commission as may be required.

4. In its formal meetings the Central Joint Board shall carry out its functions in accordance with the Rules of Procedure prescribed in Appendix 1.

Local Joint Committees

5. The Local Joint Committees referred to in paragraph 7 of the Regulations Governing the Implementation of the Agreement to Cease Hostilities shall each be comprised of the following:

- /(a) 2 representatives

- (a) 2 representatives designated by each party and by the FCA when the latter is concerned.
- (b) The members of the local Military Observer team of the Commission and such civilian representatives of the Commission as shall be determined by that body.
- (c) Such advisory and secretarial assistants as desired by either party, the FCA or the Commission.

6. The functions and procedure of the Local Joint Committees shall correspond, on the local level, to those prescribed for the Central Joint Board (Appendix), except that (1) FCA representatives may have a vote on matters of procedure and (2) for their meetings the chairmanship of the Local Joint Committees shall be held by the Co-ordinator of the Commission's Military Observer team or his representative. In the event of a civilian representative of the Commission being present, he shall occupy the chair.

7. When agreement is reached on any matter placed before a Local Joint Committee, a full report shall be submitted promptly to the Central Joint Board. If no agreement can be reached on any such matter the representatives of each party and of the FCA shall submit their views in writing to the Chairman of the Local Joint Committee. The latter shall forward the above-mentioned views together with the recommendations of the Commission's representatives to the Central Joint Board.

Delineation of Zones of Patrolling

8. Zones of patrolling shall be delineated as agreed upon by the Local Joint Committee and/or the Central Joint Board on the basis of the following principles. In the territories outside the Residency of Jogjakarta zones of patrolling shall be allocated in such a way that law and order will be maintained by the Netherlands armed forces, or by the Republican armed forces. To this end both armed forces shall perform their duties under the command of their own officers in areas to be decided upon in joint consultation. In allocating the zones of patrolling the principle of maintaining the status quo shall be adhered to. This implies that the military position of one party shall not be improved at the expense of the other party.

In addition, the following practical considerations should be taken into account:

(a) zones should

- (a) zones should be delineated as much as possible according to administrative units, in the interest of effective administration;
- (b) the economic situation should meet as little hindrance as possible;
- (c) zones should be allocated in such a way as to facilitate as much as possible the supply of troops and police forces responsible for law and order and the maintenance of the population within the zone, it being understood that the use of lines of communication may be granted by one party to the other by mutual arrangement;
- (d) in order to avoid an undesirable splitting up of an area in too many or too small zones which would be undesirable for the effective maintenance of law and order, zones where either party has in fact been maintaining law and order may for purposes of patrolling be combined or interchanged.

9. The Central Joint Board shall as soon as possible, and utilizing all the facilities which shall be extended by both parties, issue necessary instructions and the Local Joint Committees shall without delay arrange meetings between the local commanders of both parties.

Patrols and Patrolling

10. Local commanders shall impress upon their forces that the more sincere and effective the response to the Cease Hostilities Orders, the sooner the diminution of patrols and other military burdens can be accomplished. Improvement in the situation that permits diminution in patrols should clear the way for the next step of diminution of outposts. As this process develops, the way is prepared for reduction in armed forces, return of members thereof to their homes and to productive pursuits, and the achievement of the desired goal of peace and prosperity.
11. In order to insure co-operation in the maintenance of law and order, local commanders shall establish direct lines of communication with each other. They shall exchange information and provide, where practicable, material support at the request of the other party. This particularly applies, should special measures be necessary.
12. Each party shall limit its patrolling activity to its assigned zone unless the responsible party requests assistance of
/the other party.

the other party. If difficulties arise in such circumstances, the matter shall be referred to the Local Joint Committee which shall arrange the necessary co-ordination in the general scheme of co-operation between the armed forces of the parties.

13. Armed personnel of one party shall not enter the zone of patrolling assigned to the other party except upon request. If armed personnel of one of the parties should enter by mistake the zone of patrolling of the other party, this personnel immediately upon becoming aware of this crossing, shall discontinue the carrying out of all measures in progress, and shall return immediately by the shortest route to their own zone of patrolling, without taking with them any persons or goods which may have been seized in the zone of patrolling of the other party. Such a crossing shall be reported within 2 x 24 hours to the other party as well as to the Local Joint Committee.

14. Should a patrol of one party by any chance contact a patrol of the other party the challenge "Siapa" ("Who's there") shall be used and the following procedure will pertain:

- (a) By daylight: The Leaders of both patrols shall expose themselves and signal by alternatively raising one arm to shoulder height and lowering it until signal is returned by the other patrol.
- (b) By night: The Leaders of both patrols shall signal by giving 3 flashes with a torch and continue the signal until returned by the other patrol.

Following the recognition signals both patrols shall withdraw from contact unless either patrol requests assistance of the other.

Variations in the above practices may be adopted as local circumstances require.

15. The strength, frequency and equipment of patrols shall be limited to that considered reasonable for the accomplishment of their respective missions. Information on these subjects shall be exchanged between local commanders.

Identification of U.N. Military Observers

16. United Nations Military Observers shall be in uniform and shall wear white armbands inscribed "K.T.N." and "U.N." in blue. Normally vehicles carrying United Nations personnel are painted white with a blue triangle on the motor hood and bear the

/inscription

inscription "United Nations" and "K.T.N.". The vehicles will display a white flag lettered in blue "K.T.N." and "U.N."

Rules in Solving Violations

17. (a) Each party shall refrain from publicizing any act of the other party which it considers a violation of the agreements, unless the alleged violation and its publication have been discussed by the Central Joint Board.
- (b) Complaints concerning violations in any territory shall be forwarded to the Local Joint Committee without delay. If no solution is reached, the Local Joint Committee shall communicate the matter to the Central Joint Board.
- (c) Only complaints of a very important nature shall be forwarded directly to the Central Joint Board.

Use of Aircraft

18. The offensive or provocative use of aircraft is prohibited.
19. In the event that, owing to bad weather or technical trouble, aircraft are forced to land on an airfield, or to make a forced landing in territory controlled by or allocated for patrol to the other party, the safety of passengers and crew shall be guaranteed and the necessary assistance given to enable them to return to their own base as soon as possible. In these events both parties shall permit personnel and spare parts to be brought in so that the aircraft can be made airborne again or all usable parts can be salvaged.

APPENDIX
RULES OF PROCEDURE

To govern meetings of the Central Joint Board.

Rule 1

The Chairmanship of the meetings shall be held by the Chairman of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia or his representative.

Rule 2

Meetings shall be held at the call of the Chairman at the headquarters of UNCI or elsewhere as circumstances may warrant.

Rule 3

The Chairman shall call a meeting at the request of the Commission or of the chief representative of either party. The place of the meeting shall be determined by the Chairman of the Board in agreement with the parties.

Rule 4

It shall be agreed in advance whether a meeting shall be informal, or formal with records maintained.

Rule 5

A provisional agenda shall be drawn up for meetings by the Secretariat in consultation with the Chairman. The provisional agenda shall include any item the consideration of which has been requested in writing by the chief representative of either of the parties or of FCA or by a member of the Commission.

Rule 6

If possible the provisional agenda shall be communicated by the Secretariat to the members of the Commission, the parties and FCA twenty-four hours prior to a meeting, except in emergency.

Rule 7

The first item on the provisional agenda of each meeting shall be the adoption of the agenda. At the discretion of the Chairman additional items may be included in the provisional agenda immediately prior to the adoption of the agenda.

Rule 8

In the event of disagreement over the adoption of any item on the provisional agenda the decision of the Chairman on behalf of the Commission and after consultation with the other members of the Commission, shall be final.

Rule 9

Each party and the FCA shall have one or more representatives at a meeting. The credentials of the representatives shall be communicated to the Secretariat not later than twelve hours before the representative participates in the meeting.

Rule 10

The Secretariat of the Commission shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the Board.

Rule 11

The Secretariat shall be responsible for the preparation of all documents required for the meetings and shall when possible distribute them in advance of the meeting at which they are to be considered. Documents for consideration at meetings shall be communicated to the Secretariat as far in advance of meetings as possible.

Rule 12

The Chairman shall call upon the members of the Commission or the chief representative of any of the parties or of FCA participating in the meetings, in the order in which each signifies his desire to speak. At the request of the chief representative of a party or of the FCA, a representative or adviser of the party or of the FCA may speak on a particular point about which he has a special knowledge upon being recognized by the Chairman. The Chairman may permit other persons to supply the meeting with information or to give other assistance in examining matters pertaining to the meeting.

Rule 13

If a speaker raises a point of order the Chairman shall immediately state his ruling. If the ruling is challenged, the Chairman shall submit his ruling to the immediate decision of the meeting as in Rule 14.

Rule 14

Decisions on all matters of procedure shall, when necessary, be taken by a majority vote of the Chairman, on behalf of the Commission and after consultation with the other members of the Commission, and the chief representatives of the parties, each of them having one vote.

Rule 15

Dutch, English, French and Indonesian may be employed at any meeting. All speeches delivered in Dutch, French and Indonesian shall be translated into English. Parties using Dutch or Indonesian shall furnish their own interpreter. All interpretations into English shall serve for purposes of the record. Speeches shall also be interpreted into Dutch.

Rule 16

Documents shall be made available by the Secretariat in English. Documents submitted to the United Nations Secretariat in a language other than English shall be accompanied by an authorized English translation.

Rule 17

The United Nations Secretariat shall maintain summary records of the meetings, copies of which shall be transmitted to the members of the Commission, to the parties and to the FCA.

Rule 18

Corrections to be made in the summary records shall be communicated in writing to the Secretariat by the members of the Commission or by the chief representative of either party or of the FCA within three working days after receipt of the record as indicated by the date of documentation. Corrections that have been requested shall be transmitted to the members of the Commission, to the parties and to the FCA and shall be considered approved unless objections are made within three working days after receipt. Any objections shall be annexed to the record of the meeting.

Rule 19

The summary record to which no correction has been made within the period of time specified in Rule 18 or to which corrections have been incorporated as provided in Rule 18 shall become the official record of the meeting.

Rule 20

Communications shall be considered as having an official status when they bear the signature of the chief representative of a party or of the FCA or his authorized deputy. Working papers shall be clearly marked as such, shall be classified and marked as confidential, and shall not have any binding character. Copies of such documents may be given a symbol number and be distributed at the discretion of the Chairman in consultation with the Secretariat to the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, to the parties and the FCA.

APPENDIX IX

STATEMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NETHERLANDS
DELEGATION CLARIFYING THE AMENDMENTS TO THE
NETHERLANDS CONSTITUTION PROMULGATED ON
20 SEPTEMBER 1948

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I should like to take the opportunity of saying a few words on a subject that apparently needs some clarification as it seems to have caused certain apprehensions on the Republican side.

I am referring to the amendments to the Netherlands Constitution, which came into force last year. In the meeting of the Security Council of March 16 of this year, I answered a question of the Republican representative on this same point. Mr. Palar asked me at that time how the transfer of real and complete sovereignty could be reconciled with the new article 208 sub-sections 3 and 4 of our Constitution.

I feel that it might be useful to explain again very succinctly, what the actual position is, in order to eliminate any possible misunderstanding which might still exist.

I shall repeat in part, therefore, what I said before in Lake Success, and add a few clarifications in trying to make myself as clear as possible, but my delegation will be happy to give any further explanations on this point which the Republican Delegation might wish to receive.

May I assume, Sir, that your Commission and the Republican Delegation are familiar with the wording of the new articles.

I must first of all point out that the aim of the amendments to our Constitution was to render possible the creation of a new legal framework for the relationship between the Netherlands and Indonesia. This was in accordance with article 15 of the Linggadjati Agreement, in which the Netherlands Government undertook the obligation,

"to adjust the constitutional and international position of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the new situation".

The article of the Constitution referred to by Mr. Palar, which as amended has in the meantime been renumbered 209, opens with the following sub-section:

"In the preparation and establishment of the new legal order, the result of past mutual consultations as it is circumscribed in the following clauses of this article shall be observed".

It is clear from this text that this article lays down certain principles which are to form the basis of a new constitutional order. These principles are the result of past mutual consultations. In conformity herewith the following sub-sections of the same article

/enumerate

enumerate the principles which are those which had been agreed to by the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia in the Linggadjati and Renville instruments, and subsequently adhered to by the representatives of the Federal areas.

Sub-section 2 of article 209 states that a Union will be formed in which the Netherlands and the United States of Indonesia will participate as equals. It is, in essence the same provision as that contained in article 6 of the Linggadjati agreement.

Sub-section 3 of the article in turn has the same meaning as article 8 of that Agreement.

Likewise, sub-section 4 of the amended article 209 is mainly a pure repetition in different words of article 7, paragraphs 1 and 3, and article 10, sub-section "e" of the Linggadjati Agreement. It lays down the purposes of the Netherlands Indonesian Union in conformity with the Linggadjati Agreement.

I only want to clarify two expressions, used in this sub-section 4 of article 209, which, as they do not specifically appear in the texts of the Linggadjati and Renville documents, may well have caused the apprehension which seems to exist. I am referring to the clause that the Union will guarantee "rechtszekerheid" - which could perhaps best be translated by "inviolability of life and property", or by "constitutional security" - and also "deugdelijk bestuur", the translation of which is "sound government" or in English usage "good government".

It seems that it is sometimes feared that these provisions will oblige the Netherlands to insist upon the Union organs having certain overruling powers or authority to interfere with the administration of the partners in the Union. Let me state, Sir, here clearly and positively that such fear is without any foundation. The Netherlands Constitution does not compel to anything of the sort, nor does my government intend to insist on any power of interference by the Union in the domestic affairs of the partner States.

Sub-section 5 of the article does not concern the relations between the Netherlands and Indonesia but has to do with those between the Netherlands, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles.

Sub-section 6 expressly states that the United States of Indonesia will be established in accordance with the federal principle.

The text of sub-section 7, the last of this article, is a re-wording of article 3 of the Linggadjati agreement and is identical with it in meaning.

I may finally mention that article 208 of our Constitution, which is the first of the new articles, states that a new constitutional order shall

be established "on the basis of the outcome of past and future mutual consultations among the representatives of the populations".

This makes it abundantly clear that the Netherlands intends in the coming conversations to base itself on the agreements already reached, and we presume that the Republic intends to do likewise.

With the foregoing I have, I hope, made clear that our Constitution does not stand in the way of reaching an entirely voluntary agreement on the Netherlands-Indonesian Union. Furthermore, the Netherlands Constitution does not prejudice the consultations at the Round Table Conference on this or any other item.

May I, Mr. Chairman, end these remarks with a question in my turn? The other party to the dispute has been looking rather suspiciously at the Netherlands Constitution, which, however, as I have just pointed out, is entirely in accordance with the Linggadjati Agreement and the Renville principles. But what - may I ask of Dr. Roem - is the precise position with regard to the Constitution of the Republic? It would serve no useful purpose, Sir, to conceal that the Republican Constitution has given and is giving considerable apprehension to us and to the Federal areas, as - to take just one example - it explicitly excludes the federal principle. If you permit me, Mr. Chairman, I would say that I should highly appreciate, if my republican colleague would be able and willing to explain at some later meeting of this Conference, what the Republic intends to do about its Constitution in view of removing a possible obstacle in the way of the establishment of the United States of Indonesia.

APPENDIX X

AGREEMENT ON TIME AND CONDITIONS OF THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

I. AIM OF THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The aim of the Round Table Conference is to bring about a just and lasting settlement of the Indonesian dispute as soon as possible, by reaching an agreement among the participants concerning the ways and means to transfer real, complete and unconditional sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia in accordance with the Renville Principles.

The participants in the Round Table Conference undertake to strive for convening of the Conference by 1 August 1949, and for the completion of the Conference within two months thereafter. The participants undertake to ratify the agreements resulting from the Conference within six weeks after its termination. Consequently sovereignty should be transferred to the United States of Indonesia before the end of 1949.

II. PARTICIPANTS

Participants of the Round Table Conference will be:

1. representatives of the Government of the Netherlands;
2. representatives of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia; 1 and 2 parties in the Indonesian dispute before the Security Council
3. The B.F.O. (Federal Consultative Assembly) representing the areas in Indonesia other than the Republic, as far as they are members of this organization.

It is understood that participation in the Round Table Conference shall not prejudice the rights, claims and positions of the participants.

III. UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR INDONESIA

The United Nations Commission for Indonesia will participate in the Round Table Conference in accordance with its terms of reference as they have been established by the Security Council.

IV. PROCEDURE OF THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

1. The Conference itself will decide upon its Rules of Procedure, in addition to the points established in this present document;
2. Formal and informal meetings shall be held;
3. Formal meetings shall be held with the UNCI;
4. Informal meetings shall be held with or without the UNCI as circumstances may require;
5. Resolutions shall be passed at the formal meetings;
6. The Round Table Conference shall give representatives of minorities (European, Chinese and Arabic) the opportunity to express their views to the Conference in all matters which are deemed to concern their interests;
7. Applications of representatives of other significant interests who

V. RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE

The results of the Conference shall be laid down in documents and agreements binding upon the parties thereto. These documents and agreements shall be subject to ratification and shall include, among others, a Charter of the transfer of sovereignty and the Statute of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, establishing the fundamental provisions of future co-operation.

VI. RATIFICATION OF THE AGREEMENT REACHED AT THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The documents and agreements referred to sub V shall be submitted immediately afterwards to the Netherlands States General, to the Provisional Representative Body of the Republic of Indonesia and, in a way to be decided upon in due time, to the Representative Bodies of the B.F.O. areas.

VII. ITEMS OF THE AGENDA

A. The Provisional Constitution of the U.S.I.

Sovereignty will be transferred to the Provisional National Federal Government of the U.S.I. which shall function on the basis of a Provisional Constitution.

1. The Provisional Constitution shall include provisions with regard to the structure and powers of the Provisional Federal Government;
2. It shall stipulate that existing legislation insofar as it is not inconsistent with the provisions of the Provisional Constitution or with agreements reached by the Round Table Conference shall remain in force until replaced by legislation enacted by competent organs according to rules to be worked out in the Provisional Constitution.
3. All powers of the Netherlands Supreme Legislative Body, of the Crown and of the Governor-General, including those which the Governor-General had in consultation with the "Volsraad" or the "Raad van Nederlands-Indie" shall be vested in the Provisional Federal Government. The supreme authority with regard to foreign relations and the federal armed forces shall exclusively be vested in the Provisional Federal Government.
4. The Provisional Constitution shall not contain any provision inconsistent with the Charter of the transfer of sovereignty, the Statute of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union or other documents relating to future co-operation.
5. The Provisional Constitution shall include provisions to guarantee the effective realization of the right of self-determination of the peoples of Indonesia and the holding of free and secret elections for the Constituent Assembly.

B. The Charter of the transfer of sovereignty

The Charter shall include the following provisions:

1. Real, complete and unconditional sovereignty shall be transferred in accordance with the Renville Principles;
2. A Union shall be established by the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the United States of Indonesia on the basis of voluntary and equal partnership with equal rights;
3. An agreement with regard to the transfer of the rights, powers and obligations of Indonesia (the Netherlands-Indies) to the United States of Indonesia.

C. Fundamental provisions of the Statute of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union

In the Union, neither of the two partners, namely the Netherlands and the United States of Indonesia, shall be expected to transfer or concede any more rights to the Union than the other. Nor will this transfer include any rights other than those which either partner may voluntarily decide to concede in the conviction of serving thereby as best as he can the common interests as well as his own. The Union shall not be a super state.

D. Observation of the implementation of agreements

The United Nations Commission for Indonesia or another United Nations agency shall observe in Indonesia the implementation of the agreements reached at the Round Table Conference.

E. Other Items

Other items to be discussed at the Round Table Conference shall include: foreign relations, the right of self-determination of the peoples, contracts with self-governing regions, nationality and citizenship, the financial and economic relations and the cultural relations, the military agreements and the withdrawal of Netherlands forces, the exchange of High Commissioners, the status of the civil servants functioning at the time of the transfer of sovereignty and New Guinea.

APPENDIX XI

LETTER DATED 14 APRIL 1949 FROM THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION WITH
REGARD TO THE PARTICIPATION OF THE B.F.O. IN DISCUSSIONS UNDER
THE COMMISSION'S AUSPICES IN BATAVIA

NETHERLANDS DELEGATION
No: 1306

Batavia,
14 April 1949
Paleis Rijawijk

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Chairman of the "B.F.O." (Assembly for Federal Consultation) has made known to the High Representative of the Crown that it is the unanimous wish of the states and territories cooperating within the "B.F.O." to be recognised as a party to the solution of the Indonesian problem and to be afforded the opportunity of participating as such in the discussions starting today at Batavia on the subjects mentioned in the Security Council's ruling of 23 March 1949.

As it is the opinion of the Netherlands Government that these subjects concern, both directly and indirectly, the aforementioned states and territories and that therefore the fulfilment of the wishes they have expressed would greatly further a solution of the pending problems in a way satisfactory to all interested parties, I beg to request the United Nations Commission for Indonesia to take the necessary steps in this connection.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

/s/

(for the Chairman)

G. C. Stuyt
Secretary-General

To the Chairman,
United Nations Commission for Indonesia,
B a t a v i a .

APPENDIX XII

LETTER DATED 21 MAY 1949 FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE B.F.O. (ASSEMBLY FOR FEDERAL CONSULTATION) REGARDING THE PARTICIPATION OF THE B.F.O. IN THE DISCUSSIONS AT PRESENT BEING HELD IN BATAVIA UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE COMMISSION

BIJEEENKOMST VOOR FEDERAL OVERLENG
Voormalig Volkraadbebouw
Herjogspark
No: B.F.O. 33/1/6

Batavia,
21 May 1949

Sir,

On the 27th of March last I informed the High Representative of the Crown that it was the unanimous wish of the member territories cooperating within the B.F.O. (Assembly for Federal Consultation), that this Assembly be recognized as a party in the Indonesian question, and that the Assembly wished to be given the opportunity to be included as such in the discussions indicated in the Security Council's ruling of March the 23rd, 1949.

The Chairman of the Netherlands delegation informed me that this request had been passed on to the U.N.C.I. on the 14th of April. As yet, however, I have received no reply concerning this request.

Meanwhile discussions between the Netherlands and the Republican delegations have continued, and have led to the "van Royen-Roem Statements" of May the 7th.

The Assembly cannot refrain from expressing its disappointment concerning the circumstance that, despite the fact that meanwhile deliberations in the joint committees referred to in point I of Dr. Van Royen's statement have begun, the Assembly has not yet been given the opportunity to take part in these discussions.

It is the opinion of the B.F.O. that in connection with the above, the special attention of the U.N.C.I. should be drawn to questions concerning the Cease-fire order, the cessation of guerilla warfare, and cooperation aimed at the restoration of peace and order, as well as the time and conditions for participation in a Round Table Conference at The Hague.

These questions concern the whole of Indonesia, and are not exclusively connected with the differences between the Netherlands and the Republic.

It is the opinion of the Assembly that a true solution of the Indonesian problem is not possible without the participation in further discussions of those territories cooperating within the B.F.O. and it is for this reason that the Assembly repeats its request

/to be admitted

to be admitted as a Party to the discussions. These territories would furthermore find it difficult to consider themselves bound by any decisions or arrangements which might concern their interests either directly or indirectly, if these were made without their cooperation or approval.

In connection with the above, I would request the United Nations Commission for Indonesia to promote the inclusion of the territories cooperating within the B.F.O. in the discussions referred to above at the earliest possible date.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
Sd/ Hamid
Chairman

To the United Nations
Commission for Indonesia,
B A T A V I A

APPENDIX XIII

LETTER DATED 26 MAY 1949 FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN DELEGATION
CONCERNING THE PARTICIPATION OF THE B.F.O. (FEDERAL CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY)
IN DISCUSSIONS UNDER THE COMMISSION'S AUSPICES IN BATAVIA

DELEGASI REPUBLIK INDONESIA
No: 97

Jakarta,
26 May 1949

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 22 May, No:UNCI/779, attaching a request from the B.F.O. to participate in discussions held under the Commission's auspices.

The Republican delegation is taking part in these discussions on the understanding that they are being held in order to implement the Security Council Resolution of 28 January in the light of the directive of 23 March. Our attitude to the B.F.O.'s request is, therefore, determined by the decisions of the Security Council. According to these decisions the B.F.O. cannot be recognized or participate as a party in the Indonesian question, since the Security Council recognizes only two parties to the dispute -- the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia.

On the other hand, under paragraph 4(d) of the Security Council Resolution of 28 January, "the Commission shall have authority to consult with representatives of areas in Indonesia other than the Republic and to invite representatives of such areas to participate in the negotiations referred to in paragraph 3 above". It is, therefore, a matter for the Commission to decide whether it should consult representatives of these territories, and if so, which representatives.

The Republican delegation would not object to the Commission consulting the B.F.O. providing that this does not prejudice the rights, claims and position of the Republic of Indonesia in accordance with the Linggadjati and Renville agreements.

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

Sd/ Mohd. Roem,
Chairman,
Delegation of the
Republic of Indonesia

The Chairman,
United Nations Commission
for Indonesia,
J A C A R T A.

APPENDIX XIV

LETTER DATED 20 MAY 1949 FROM THE REPUBLICAN DELEGATION
COMPLAINING AGAINST RECOGNITION BY NETHERLANDS AUTHORITIES
OF "PANITYA STATUS SELURUH TAPANULI" (COMMITTEE FOR THE
STATUS OF ENTIRE TAPANULI)

DELEGASI REPUBLIEK INDONESIA

NO. 87

Jakarta
20 May 1949.

Sir,

It has come to the attention of the Delegation of the Republic of Indonesia that the Government of Indonesia by decree of 11 May 1949 has recognized the "Panitya Status Seluruh Tapanuli" (Committee for the Status of Entire Tapanuli) as a provisional representative organ of the population of that part of Tapanuli, which is situated on the mainland of Sumatra. It has been further stipulated that the recognition is granted with regard to the expression of the desire of the population in connection with the establishment of the sovereign United States of Indonesia and the relation between the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, as long as that committee is not replaced by another organ created according to democratic procedures.

It would seem to my Delegation that this official act by the Government of Indonesia is not in conformity with the spirit of point 4 of Dr. van Royen's statement of 7 May 1949, according to which the Netherlands Government will refrain from the establishment or recognition of negaras or daerahs on territory under Republican control prior to 19 December 1948.

The above mentioned official act has aroused a feeling of uneasiness in Republican circles which consider it to have been taken with complete disregard of the spirit of point 4 of Dr. van Royen's statement. Moreover, it is not conducive to the mutual confidence, which both Delegations have been trying to establish in Netherlands-Republican relations, and which is essential for the speedy implementation of the preliminary accord of 7 May.

The Republican Delegation must therefore reserve its position regarding the "Tapanuli Committee", the more so, as it has its doubts whether this committee really represents the people of the Territory of Tapanuli, since in Tapanuli fighting and disorder are still prevailing while large parts of Tapanuli still remain under Republican control.

The Republican Delegation therefore feels obliged to protest against the aforementioned official recognition of the "Panitya Status Seluruh Tapanuli" by the Government of Indonesia and would be grateful if you could render the good offices of your Commission to bring this matter to the attention of the Netherlands authorities.

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

/s/ Moh. Roem, Chairman,
Delegation of the Republic of
Indonesia.

The Chairman
of the United Nations Commission
for Indonesia,
Jakarta.

APPENDIX XV

LETTER DATED 3 JUNE 1949 FROM THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION CONCERNING
THE RECOGNITION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA OF
"PANITYA STATUS SELURUH TAPANULI"
(COMMITTEE FOR THE STATUS OF ENTIRE TAPANULI)

NETHERLANDS DELEGATION
No. 1729

Batavia, 3 June 1949
Paleis Rijswijk

Sir,

In answer to your letter of 21 May 1949, No. UNCI/770, in which you enclosed a letter* addressed to your Commission by the Republican delegation concerning the recognition by the Government of Indonesia of the "Panitya Status Seluruh Tapanuli" as a provisional representative body of the population of that part of Tapanuli which is situated on the mainland of Sumatra, I have the honour to inform you of the following.

As early as January 1949 a movement took shape in South Tapanuli notably in Padang Sidempuan, with the object to deliberate as to which future political development should be considered the most desirable for Tapanuli. This movement was led by two persons in particular, Dr. Abbas Siregar who was (Republican) Military Governor of Tapanuli until he was arrested by the Republican authorities and Dr. Abdul Sjukur Soripada, President of the (Republican) tribunal at Padang Sidempuan.

At the initiative of these two gentlemen and of the recently appointed bupati Pangeran Nasution an assembly of some 250 prominent members of the population met on 13 February 1949 to give thought to the political development of Tapanuli. After having held extensive discussions, at which no Netherlander was present, the assembly unanimously adopted a resolution urging the establishment of a Daerah Istimewa Tapanuli, in direct relationship to the Federal Government of Batavia. Moreover, following up this assembly a committee of 15 members was formed in which different religious groups (Christians and Muslims) as well as the various political parties were represented by prominent persons, while the representation of the more important geographical areas of South Tapanuli (Sipirok, Angkola, Padang Lawas and Mandailang), was taken into account.

After several preliminary discussions an assembly met in the office of the bupati at Tarutung (North Tapanuli) on 27 February 1949.

This assembly expressed itself in favour of the establishment of a daerah istimewa and appointed a deputation of 6 persons to contact like-minded people elsewhere.

Deputations from the whole of North Tapanuli (Tarutung, Siborong-borong, Balige and Sidikalang) met in Tarutung on 8 and 9 March 1949. At this meeting similar political aspirations were formulated and the Panitya Persiapan Status Tapanuli dari Bagian Utara came into being in which all subsections of North Tapanuli are presented. The meeting was presided over by Radja Berita Sinambela.

* See Appendix XIV.

/On 11 March

On 11 March 1949 15 delegates from South Tapanuli, 23 delegates from North Tapanuli and 9 delegates from Sibolga met at Sibolga. This conference, which lasted from 11-14 March 1949, also took place without any interference from or control by the Military or civil authorities, so that the participants were able to exchange views in complete privacy.

Ultimately a resolution was adopted unanimously by which the conference declared to recognize Tapanuli as a daerah istimewa with its own administration.

A translation in English of the resolution is attached to this letter as Annex I.

At the Medan-conference, where representatives of the whole of Sumatra, with the exception of Atjeh, consulted together on the possibility of co-operation, Tapanuli was represented by a deputation of 18 persons.

Thereupon five representatives came to Batavia in order to be admitted as observers to the BFO -- a request to this end was granted by the BFO -- and to obtain from the Government of Indonesia the recognition of Tapanuli as daerah istimewa.

Although convinced by the course of events as described above that an important section of the population of that part of Tapanuli which is situated on the mainland of Sumatra, and notably the politically developed part of the population, had clearly expressed itself in favour of the fitting-in of Tapanuli as an autonomous territory in the federal structure, the Government of Indonesia nevertheless was of the opinion that the requested recognition could not be granted. This decision was taken because the Government wished to refrain from taking any steps which might jeopardize the success of the discussions which at that time had just been resumed.

Consequently the High Representative of the Crown informed the Chairman of the "Panitya Status Seluruh Tapanuli" in a letter dated 23 April 1949 that the Government of Indonesia was still considering in which way the wishes contained in the resolution of 11 March 1949 could be met. At the same time the Government expressed its willingness immediately to recognize said committee as a provisional representative body of the population of Tapanuli in matters concerning the expression of the wishes of the population as regards the establishment of the sovereign United States of Indonesia and the relationship between the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands. A translation in English of abovementioned letter is enclosed as Annex II.

The Decree of the High Representative of the Crown, alluded to in the letter addressed to your Commission by the Republican Delegation, merely confirms what the Government of Indonesia previously had stated in the letter of 23 April 1949, as regards recognition of the Panitya Status Seluruh Tapanuli.

As will be clear from the above, this Decree can in no way be considered to be contrary to the spirit of the van Roijen-Roem statements, which put on record the recognition by both parties of the right of self-determination of the Indonesian peoples.

A translation in English of said Decree is enclosed as Appendix III.

To the Chairman,
United Nations Commission
for Indonesia,

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

/s/ J. H. van Roijen

ANNEX I

COMMUNIQUE NO. 1
of the
"Panitya Status Seluruh Tapanuli".

1. In the meeting of the Panitya Status Seluruh Tapanuli, which is composed of the Committees Status Tapanuli of Sibolga, North Tapanuli and South Tapanuli (Padang Sidempuan) of Friday 11 March 1949, a resolution was adopted concerning the provisional status of Tapanuli during the transitional period, in a close relationship to the independent and sovereign Indonesia, while retaining the good from the past.
2. The text of the resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION TAPANULI

The Indonesian population of Sibolga, North Tapanuli and South Tapanuli having reached complete agreement in the joint Committee on the status of the whole of Tapanuli as regards a new constitutional structure;

HAVING HEARD

The discussions in the meeting of Friday 11 March 1949 at Sibolga;

HAVING TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT

The right to independence for the peoples of Indonesia and the necessity of a good political organization for Indonesia;

HAVING MET

To consider a new political organization for Indonesia;

DECLARES

To recognize Tapanuli as a Daerah Istimewa with its own administration, for the present in direct relationship to the free and sovereign United States of Indonesia or a Government preceding it;
to have reached agreement on the future place of this daerah in the structure of the United States of Indonesia; that consultation will take place to reach agreement on the relative principles;
to voice its desire that Tapanuli take part in all agreements and discussions concerning the construction of said United States of Indonesia.

Sibolga, 11 March 1949.
Panitya Status Seluruh Tapanuli

Secretary

(sgd.) R.L. TOBING

Chairman

(sgd.) Dr. A. ABBAS

ANNEX II

April 23 1949

To the Chairman of the "Panitia Status Seluruh Tapanuli".

Acting upon the instructions of the High Representative of the Crown I have the honour to convey the following message to your Committee.

The delegations of North Tapanuli, South Tapanuli and Sibolga made known to the High Representative of the Crown the resolution which was unanimously passed by your Committee, and which has the object of declaring Tapanuli to be an autonomous daerah for the present in direct relationship to the free and sovereign United States of Indonesia or a Government preceding it.

The Government of Indonesia has taken cognizance of the contents of this resolution with great interest.

The Government fully admits the right of the population of Tapanuli to make known, by democratic means, the manner in which the population wishes to see the place of Tapanuli in the United States of Indonesia regulated.

The Government is now considering in what manner the wishes of the population of Tapanuli, expressed in the resolution of March 11, 1949, can be met.

Pending a decision on this matter the Government is gladly prepared to recognize the "Panitia Status Seluruh Tapanuli" as the provisional representation of the population of Tapanuli in matters concerning the expression of the wishes of the population as regards the establishment of the sovereign United States of Indonesia and the relationship between the U.S.I. and the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Finally the High Representative of the Crown requested me to inform your Committee that His Excellency is following with the greatest interest all developments in Tapanuli, and that he hopes that the continuance of the labours of your Committee, will with God's help, prove a blessing to the country and the people of Tapanuli.

Dr. A.J. Piekhaar
Secretary to the High Representative
of the Crown.

ANNEX III

Batavia, May 11th, 1949.

No.9
(Staatsblad No.117)

Having taken cognizance of the letter of the Secretary of State for Internal Affairs No. B.Z. x 11/1/30 of April the 20th (secret) and the resolution of the "Panitia Status Seluruh Tapanuli", dated March 11th at Sibolga, together with the memorandum of the Advisor for Civil Affairs for Tapanuli dated April the 14th 1949, and taking into consideration

THAT the "Panitia Status Seluruh Tapanuli" has convoked a meeting between March the 11th and 14th at Sibolga, which was attended by 47 delegates (of which 8 were observers) of the Indonesian population of Sibolga, North Tapanuli and South Tapanuli, which had as its objective to give expression of its ideas concerning the future status of Tapanuli;

THAT the above-mentioned delegates are members of committees which have been set up in Sibolga, Tarutung and Padang Sidempuan, and which are designated as "Status Tapanuli" committees;

THAT the above-mentioned committees, in which all classes and all political and religious convictions are represented as far as is possible have come into being out of the free initiative of the population and have been composed at meetings held by prominent Indonesian persons;

THAT the above-mentioned delegates must be considered representative to give expression to the wishes of the population of the part of Tapanuli situated on the mainland of Sumatra, which will be referred to hereafter as "Tapanuli", with regard to the political future of this territory;

THAT the above-mentioned resolution of the "Panitia Status Seluruh Tapanuli", dated March the 11th 1949 was accepted unanimously, and has the object of declaring Tapanuli to be an autonomous daerah, for the present in direct relationship to the Provisional Federal Government of Indonesia;

THAT the population of Tapanuli has the right to make known by democratic means the manner in which it wishes the place of Tapanuli to be regulated in the United States of Indonesia;

THAT this right is expressly recognized in the Linggadjati Agreement of November the 15th 1946 and the Renville Principles of January the 17th 1948;

THAT a decision concerning the above-mentioned resolution of the "Panitia Status Seluruh Tapanuli", must provisionally be suspended because of the Van Roijen-Rum statements made on May the 7th 1949;

THAT pending a decision on this resolution the right must be recognized of the "Panitia Status Seluruh Tapanuli" to express the wishes of the population as regards the establishment of the sovereign United States of Indonesia and the relationship between the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands;

/Having heard

Having heard the Provisional Federal Government (meeting of 21 April and 11 May 1949);

IT HAS BEEN APPROVED AND UNDERSTOOD:

FIRSTLY. To note that the Government has taken cognizance of the resolution adopted unanimously by the "Panitia Status Seluruh Tapanuli" the object of which is to declare Tapanuli to be an autonomous daerah, provisionally in direct relationship to the Government of the free and sovereign United States of Indonesia or to a Government preceding it;

SECONDLY. To note that the right of the population of Tapanuli to make known its wishes along democratic lines with regard to the regulation of the place Tapanuli is to take in the United States of Indonesia is recognized;

THIRDLY. Pending a further decision on the resolution mentioned in the first paragraph above to recognize the "Panitia Status Seluruh Tapanuli" as a provisional representative body representing the population of Tapanuli in matters concerning the expression of the wishes of the population as regards the establishment of the sovereign United States of Indonesia, and the relationship between the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, such to be so as long as the "Panitia Status Seluruh Tapanuli" is not replaced by another, democratically composed body.
