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LETTER DATED 7 JANUARY 1965 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF MALAYSIA  
ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

1. I have the honour on the instructions of my Government to write to you again and I apologize for doing so, so soon after my letter of 31 December last.
2. For the last several weeks my Government has been receiving continuous information of a heavy build-up by the Indonesian Government of her forces strung along the border in Borneo between Malaysia and Indonesia. This information has been carefully checked and examined with other available corroborative facts and it is reasonably clear that the Indonesian Government has decided to commit large reinforcements to its regular forces along the border.
3. Credible information at its disposal satisfies the Malaysian Government that Indonesia is reinforcing its regular forces on the Borneo border by several brigades and some of these forces have already arrived and taken up their positions.
4. For instance, there is sufficient evidence in the possession of the Malaysian Government which discloses that some of these regular forces have been deployed along the border of the First Division of Sarawak opposite Lundu, Bau, and Serian areas, respectively to the west, southwest and southeast of Kuching, the Sarawak capital.

On 19 December Radio Pontianak (in West Indonesian Borneo) announced the presence at a ceremony in Mempawah (a town to the north of Pontianak and in Indonesian territory) of members of Battalion Brawidjaja II which, it is well known, is normally based in East Java.

Further evidence is available that personnel belonging to the Diponegoro Division normally based in Java have also been brought and stationed across the First Division border of Sarawak.

Other reports indicate the presence across the border of the First Division near Siluas of a force of battalion strength or more of Indonesian regular forces.

5. Further reports have been received by my Government of large reinforcements of regular army personnel due to arrive in East Indonesian Borneo. These reports refer to the Commander of the Diponegoro Seventh Military District in Java addressing units of his Division at a farewell ceremony held to mark their departure to the combat areas and exhorting them to continue with their efforts to destroy Malaysia.

6. Moreover President Sukarno on 22 December was reported by Indonesian and World Press as having claimed in a speech he made at Jogjakarta that -

"Indonesian guerillas were entering so-called 'Malaysia' because Indonesia did not recognize the latter's sovereignty. There was therefore no question of a violation of 'Malaysia's territorial integrity' because to Indonesia 'Malaysia' does not exist."

This attitude was faithfully reflected by the Permanent Representative of Indonesia when he twice intervened in the General Debate on 21 and 22 December by way of replying to the policy statements made by New Zealand and Malaysia before the General Assembly.

7. Excellency, just the other day on 31 December I had occasion in my letter to you of that date to refer to several attempts to land raiding parties on the southwest coast of the Malay Peninsula. These together with the latest development in the controversies and conflicts between Indonesia and Malaysia, involving the proclaimed withdrawal of Indonesia from the membership of the United Nations may in the view of my Government provide a special significance to this military build-up.

8. My Government makes no secret of its apprehension that all this build-up along the Borneo border, sought to be concealed behind the diversionary attempts at landings in the Peninsula and now followed by Indonesia's withdrawing from the United Nations cannot all be coincidental. In my Government's view they are the precursors of a more vigorous and concentrated enforcement, with the fullest use of force and violence, of the policy of "Crush Malaysia", and obviously intended to be carried forward, now that Indonesia presumably feels freed from the moral and legal restraints imposed by the United Nations Charter, that membership of the Organization involved. If Indonesia's attitudes and activities even during its

membership did not give much evidence of its feeling shackled by such restraints, its future attitudes can better be imagined than described.

9. In the light of the above, I have been instructed to inform your Excellency and through you the members of the Security Council of the seriousness of the threat of more intensive Indonesian attacks against Malaysia in 1965. I am further instructed to inform your Excellency that in the event of such attacks being launched against Malaysia my Government would immediately seek United Nations assistance in defence of its territorial integrity against such unprovoked aggression.

10. My Government has, in consultation with the other Powers assisting it in its defence taken such defensive steps as may be appropriate to meet this mounting threat: but this last act of the Indonesia President compels my Government to bring these to the attention of the Security Council, without delay.

11. I do not need to mention that notwithstanding Indonesia's ceasing to be a Member of the United Nations it is still amenable to the jurisdiction of the Security Council as Article 2, paragraph 6 specifically provides.

12. I shall be grateful for your causing this document to be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

Please accept, etc.

(Signed) R. RAMANI  
Permanent Representative of Malaysia  
to the United Nations

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