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REPORT DATED 7 JANUARY 1949 FROM THE COMMITTEE OF GOOD OFFICES ON THE
INDONESIAN QUESTION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Batavia

7 January 1949

Sir,

1. The Committee of Good Offices submits to the Security Council the following report of developments since the transmission of its report dated 29 December relating to implementation by the parties of the Security Council resolution of 24 December. The report is divided into two parts. Part one deals with the course of events as from the date of the Committee's last report. In part two the Committee draws the attention of the Security Council to certain points related to the performance of its functions under the resolution of 24 December.

I: COURSE OF EVENTS

2. On 31 December, the Committee addressed the following letter to the Acting Chairman of the Netherlands Delegation:

Batavia

31 December 1948

Sir,

We have the honour to refer to numbered paragraph three, four and five of our letter dated 25 December 1948, in which we requested that arrangements be made which would make it possible for Committee's military observers to return to the field. This request was made by the Committee in order that it would be in a position to carry out the functions conferred upon it by the resolution of the Security Council of 24 December 1948.

In your reply of 25 December 1948, you indicated that you would reply to the Committee as soon as instructions had been received from Her Majesty's Government.

We are in possession as yet only of incomplete and unofficial reports of the recent debates in the Security Council. However, it would appear from these reports that Dr. Van Royen expressed himself to the effect that all possible facilities would be granted to the military observers. We are informed that, in the debate of 27 December,

/Dr. Van Royen

Dr. Van Royen made the statement that instructions had been already issued that military observers of the Committee of Good Offices be given an opportunity to study events. It seems possible that you may be now in receipt of instructions from your government.

We should, therefore appreciate immediate notification as to whether your government will now permit the Committee's military observers to return to suitable posts in the field with full use of transportation and other facilities as heretofore enjoyed.

The Committee does not wish to press you unduly. You will understand, however, that we are anxious to perform fully and expeditiously the duties entrusted to us by the Security Council. We therefore feel constrained to request a reply no later than noon of 1 January 1949. I have honour, etc.

(Signed) H. Merle Cochran,
Chairman"

3. On 1 January, the Committee received the following letter from the Netherlands Delegation:

"Batavia
1 January 1949

Sir,

As a result of your letter of December 31, 1948, I have again asked the Netherlands Government for instructions regarding the arrangements to be made to make it possible for the Military observers to return to the field. I regret to say that so far these instructions have not reached me. I have honour, etc,

(Signed) T. Elink Schuurman"

4. With a letter dated 3 January, the Acting Chairman of the Netherlands Delegation forwarded to the Committee the texts of the two statements delivered by the Netherlands Representative in the Security Council on 27 and 29 December and a translation of an undated order issued by the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Netherlands-Indonesian Army to Netherlands local Commanders in Java. The text of the Netherlands letter referred to above is as follows:

"Batavia
3 January 1949

Sir,

Under instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the text of two statements delivered by the Netherlands Representative, Doctor J. H. Van Royen, in the Security Council on December 27 and 29, 1948 respectively.

/You will

You will perceive that in the first paragraph of his statement of December 29, 1948 Doctor Van Royen, on behalf of the Netherlands Government, has declared that hostilities in Java will, as far as the Netherlands forces are concerned cease at the latest on December 31, 1948 at 2400 hours, with a view to the special emergency situation existing in Sumatra, the cessation of hostilities there cannot be effectuated until two or three days later. In accordance with these statements, the Commander-in-Chief Royal Netherlands-Indonesian Army has issued an order, translation of which is likewise attached hereto. A similar order concerning Sumatra will follow shortly. A similar order concerning Sumatra will follow shortly.

With reference to my letter of January 1, 1949, Number One, I am now in a position to state that the Netherlands Government has sent to the Government of Indonesia the necessary instructions to enable the Committee of Good Offices, the Consular Commission and the military observers to carry out the task as formulated in the sixth paragraph of Doctor Van Royen's statement of December 27, 1948 and the fourth paragraph of his statement of December 29, 1948. In this connection it is observed that the Netherlands Authorities, as a result of the shortage of material, will, especially in the beginning, only be able to place at the disposal of the Committee of Good Offices, the Consular Commission and their military observers limited transport facilities. It is therefore suggested that the Committee of Good Offices use as much as possible its own aircraft and other means of transportation. It will be clear that under the present circumstances the visit to some areas might be temporarily restricted as a result of measures taken by Netherlands Authorities for reasons of safety and military necessity. Moreover, it is pointed out that the visits to certain areas may entail considerable personal risk for which the Netherlands Government must disclaim responsibility.

Finally, it would be greatly appreciated if the Committee of Good Offices would outline its plans for performing the task referred to above.

A similar letter is being addressed to the Consular Commission.

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

(Signed) Elink Schuurman,
Acting Chairman"

The texts of the two statements forwarded with the Netherlands letter are attached as Appendices I and II.

5. The text of the order of the Commander-in-Chief, referred to above, is as follows:

"Military activities and therefore also hostilities in Java were terminated on December 31, 1948.

After that date the task of the troops is consequently confined and limited to action against roving groups, bands or individuals, who attempt to cause unrest or, as was stated by our representative to the Security Council, 'to act against disturbing elements, who either individually or collectively endanger public security or interfere with or prevent the supply of food and other essential commodities to the needy population'.

I charge you and the troops under your command to carry out this task, within its limits, strictly and with great diligence."

6. On 3 January, the Committee replied as follows to the Netherlands letter of the same date:

"Batavia

3 January 1949

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 3 January 1949, received by us at approximately 1600 today. In your letter, you note that you have now the necessary instructions which will enable the Committee's military observers to return to the field for the implementation of the duties conferred on the Committee of Good Offices by the resolution of the Security Council of 24 December 1948.

With your approval, representatives of the Committee's military Executive Board will be ready to call on the Chief of Staff of the Netherlands Army or his designated representative to discuss preliminary plans relative to the redeployment of the military observers tomorrow morning. I request that you make the necessary appointment.

We take this opportunity to express the hope that you are now in a position to furnish the Committee with information requested in the Committee's letter of 28 December 1948. Regarding the order of the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Netherlands-Indonesian Army, the Committee would appreciate being informed as to the time and date of the issue of this order and the persons to whom it was addressed and the method of its transmission.

It is the hope of the Committee that all necessary arrangements can be completed on 4 January so that the redeployment can be begun

/by tomorrow

by tomorrow afternoon.

I should much appreciate therefore, a reply to this letter with reference to the second and third paragraphs above by 1000 tomorrow, 4 January.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) T. K. Critchley
Chairman"

7. At the same time, the Committee wrote to the Secretary-General of the Republican Delegation as follows:

"Batavia

3 January 1949

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Committee has received today a letter from the Acting Chairman of the Netherlands Delegation advising that instructions ~~have been~~ received which will permit the Committee's military observers to return to the field.

In reply the Committee has suggested preliminary arrangements and has instructed its military Executive Board to consult with the Netherlands Military Command on the details of the redeployment of the military observers.

The Committee would appreciate your advice as to the manner in which you will be able to facilitate the return of the military observers to the field. It is the hope of the Committee that all necessary arrangements can be completed on 4 January so that the redeployment can be begun by tomorrow afternoon. I should much appreciate, therefore, a reply to this letter by 1000 hours tomorrow, 4 January 1949.

I have the honour, etc.

(Signed) Critchley
Chairman"

8. On 4 January, the Committee received replies from both the Secretary-General of the Republican Delegation and the Acting Chairman of the Netherlands Delegation to its letter of 3 January. The texts are reproduced hereafter: Text of letter from Secretary-General of the Republican Delegation to the Chairman of the Committee of Good Offices.

"Djakarta

4 January 1949

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your letter of January 3, 1949, requesting advice as to the manner in which the return of military observers to the field may be facilitated. This letter was delivered

/to me

to me at 0855 this morning;

Unfortunately as I am still unable to contact either the Republican Government or the Republican Delegation, I am unable at this stage to assist the Committee in the redeployment of military observers.

Any assistance which the Committee can render in obtaining the release of Republican political prisoners and facilitating communications between Republican authorities would, of course, be greatly appreciated. It is also assumed that as soon as practicable arrangements will be made for the military observers to consult with Republican authorities and that the latter will be given an equal opportunity with the Netherlands officials in facilitating enquiries by the military observers

I have the honour, etc.

(Signed) R. Sudjono
Secretary-General
Delegation of Republic of Indonesia"

Text of letter from Acting Chairman of the Netherlands Delegation to the Chairman of the Committee of Good Offices.

"Batavia

4 January 1949

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated January 3, 1949 received yesterday at approximately 2045 hours and to our conversations by telephone today at 0950 hours and 1120 hours, I have the honour to confirm that a representative of the Chief of Staff of the Royal Netherlands-Indonesian Army will be ready to receive representatives of your Committee's military observers today, 1700 hours at General Headquarters to discuss preliminary plans relative to the redeployment of the military observers.

It may be noted that, since no reply has as yet been received from the Consular Commission to the letter, referred to in the last paragraph of my letter of January 3, 1949 to your Committee, these discussions can only bear a provisional character and cannot prejudice the performance of the task entrusted to the Consular Commission. Obviously it will be necessary to co-ordinate the plans of your Committee and those of the consular Commission as far as the Netherlands and Indonesian Authorities are concerned.

The remaining information requested in the Committee's letter of December 28, 1948 will be furnished as soon as the consultations with my Government regarding this matter are concluded.

/Regarding

Regarding the order of the Commander of the Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army it is pointed out that, in accordance with the first paragraph of Dr. Van Royen's statement delivered in the Security Council on December 29, 1948, hostilities in Java were terminated on December 31, 1948 at 2400 hours. This fact was confirmed in the order, a translation of which was enclosed in my letter of January 3, 1949, Number Two, which order was cabled to the territorial commanders in Java on January 2, 1949 at 1845 hours.

Finally, with reference to the first sentence of your letter, it is noted that my letter of January 3, 1949 was delivered to a member of your Committee's Secretariat shortly after 1400 hours.

A copy of your letter dated January 3, 1949, Number C07, and of the present reply have been transmitted to the Chairman of the Consular Commission.

I have the honour, etc.

(Signed) T. Elink Schuurman
Acting Chairman"

9. On 5 January, the Committee received from the Acting Chairman of the Netherlands Delegation a letter in the following terms:

"Batavia
5 January 1949

Sir,

Further to my letter dated 4 January 1949, Number 66, I have the honour to bring to the attention of your Committee that the message of the Commander Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army, a translation of which was attached to my letter, dated 3 January 1949, Number 3, was preceded by a telegram sent on December 29, 1948, at 1700 hours by the Chief of Staff of the Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army, in which he informed the territorial commanders in Java as follows: 'the Netherlands Government has stated in the Security Council that major operations will be terminated on December 31, 1948'.

With reference to the last sentence of the second paragraph of my letter, dated January 3, 1949, Number 3, I may transmit herewith for your information translation of an order issued by the Commander of the Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army and telegraphed to the territorial and troop commanders in Sumatra on January 4, 1949, at 2150 hours.

A copy of the present letter has been transmitted to the Chairman of the Consular Commission.

I have the honour, etc.

(Signed) T. Elink Schuurman
Acting Chairman"

"ANNEX

Order of Lieutenant General S. H. Spoor.

Military activities and therefore also hostilities in Sumatra will be terminated on January 5, 1949 at 1200 hours.

After that date the task of the troops is consequently confined and limited to action against roving groups, bands or individuals, who attempt to cause unrest or, as was stated by our representative to the Security Council, 'to act against disturbing elements, who either individually or collectively endanger public security or interfere with or prevent the supply of food and other essential commodities to the needy population'.

I charge you and the troops under your command to carry out this task, within its limits, strictly and with great diligence."

10. The text of the order forwarded with the Acting Chairman's letter of 5 January is as follows: Order of Lieutenant General S. H. Spoor.

"Military activities and therefore also hostilities in Sumatra will be terminated on January 5, 1949 at 1200 hours.

After that date the task of the troops is consequently confined and limited to action against roving groups, bands or individuals, who attempt to cause unrest or, as was stated by our representative to the Security Council, 'to act against disturbing elements, who either individually or collectively endanger public security or interfere with or prevent the supply of food and other essential commodities to the needy population'.

I charge you and the troops under your command to carry out this task, within limits, strictly and with great diligence."

11. In accordance with the arrangement made by the Acting Chairman of the Netherlands Delegation, of which the Committee was advised in the latter's letter of 4 January, members of the Committee's military executive board met with a representative of the Chief of Staff of the Royal Netherlands-Indonesian Army at 1700 hours on that date. Unfortunately it was not possible at this meeting to make any concrete progress towards finalizing the arrangements for sending the military observers into the field. The Committee therefore decided to address the following letter to the Acting Chairman of the Netherlands Delegation summarizing the events of the meeting and setting out the Committee's views with reference to the discussion:

/"Batavia

"Batavia

6 January 1949

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 3 January 1949, in which you advised that you were in receipt of instructions under which the Committee's military observers could return to the field for the implementation of the duties conferred on the Committee of Good Offices by the Resolution of the Security Council of 24 December 1949. In your reply, dated 4 January, to our letter of 3 January which emphasized the Committee's desire to complete all necessary arrangements immediately, so that redeployment could be begun the afternoon of 4 January, you confirmed that a representative of the Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army Chief of Staff would receive representatives of the Committee's military assistants at 1700 hours on 4 January to discuss the plans.

Our military representatives have advised us that no concrete progress was made in this meeting towards the return of the military observers to the field. The representative of the Chief of Staff had no authority to decide on arrangements and insisted that the matter would have to be referred to the Commander-in-Chief and Chief of the General Staff, neither of whom was in Batavia at the time. The representative of the Chief of Staff undertook to advise the Chairman of the Committee's Military Executive Board when a decision was made by the Commander-in-Chief so that a further meeting could be held. Up to 1600 hours today, 46 hours later, nothing has been received from him.

The Committee has studied Mr. Van Royen's statements in the Security Council on 27 and 29 December appended to your letter of 3 January, the texts of your letters and the transcript of the meeting with the representative of the Chief of your General Staff. It wishes to make sure that no misunderstanding exists as to its position.

In your letter of 4 January, you state that as no reply had yet been received from the Consular Commission to a letter similar to that of 3 January addressed to the Committee, 'discussions can only bear a provisional character and cannot prejudice the performance of the task entrusted to the Consular Commission'. You further state that co-ordination of the plans of the Committee and of the Consular Commission will be necessary 'as far as the Netherlands and Indonesian authorities are concerned'. Similarly, Colonel Thomson, the representative of your Chief of Staff, after querying at some length the status of the military observers in relationship to the

/Committee

Committee of Good Offices and to the Consular Commission, stated: 'But still there is this confusion about the existence of two committees; if the Security Council will notify us, or either of the committees about the exact position, that will then help us greatly in going ahead with our part of the task'. Again he stated, 'we consider the clarification of the confusion regarding the functions of the Committee of Good Offices and the Consular Commission as very important'. This is one of the matters to be referred to the decision of the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of Staff before arrangements can be begun.

In the view of the Committee, there is no confusion of a type which should delay it in the performance of its urgent duty to report. Any position on the part of your Government preventing the early return of the military observers to the field until the 'confusion' has been clarified, would in effect paralyze both organs of the Security Council at a crucial time.

What is important is timely resumption by the military observers of their functions, already in suspension over the entire period in which their reporting would have been of greatest value, and not irrelevant debate as to the manner in which their reports will be channeled to the Security Council, whether through the Committee or through the Consular Commission.

We wish further to correct the tendency seen in the meeting held with the representative of the Chief of Staff, to limit unduly the scope of the work to be done by the military observers. There were many references to the military observers as having only the function of observing the 'cessation of hostilities' now that, as Colonel Thomson put it, 'there is no longer any truce, there is no longer any (word missing) and there is no longer a long list of truce infringements'. The broad scope of the observations to be carried on by the military observers is very clearly expressed in paragraph 6 of the statement made on 27 December in the Security Council by Mr. Van Royen, the Netherlands representative: 'In order to enable the Committee...to carry out its instructions to reports on the situation after December 12, 1948, the Netherlands Government has issued instructions that the military experts at the disposal of the Committee and their staff be given opportunity to study the course of events. I am authorized to add that this last provision means in practice that to use the words of the Committee of Good Offices itself, the military observers can again be dispatched to the field'. It is feared that the position of your Government is not

/fully

fully understood at all levels by those who are charged with the making of arrangements.

It is obvious, of course, that the military observers can in practice return to the field only if your Government permits them to do so. Further, as they are dependent to a very great extent, on the facilities and opportunities provided by your field commanders, they must operate, if at all, in accordance with the limitations you see fit to impose. However, you will appreciate that the Committee must comply with the instructions given to it by the Security Council. It cannot in any way consent to, or tacitly condone by acceptance, any limitation on the activities of the military observers which would prevent them from performing fully the obligations imposed on them.

Ten days have passed since the statement of Mr. Van Royen, quoted above; almost two weeks since the adoption by the Security Council of the resolution of 24 December. Not one military observer is yet in process of returning to the field, from which, as set forth in our letter of 23 December, the military observers were excluded by Netherlands Army officials soon after hostilities were begun. The Committee must emphasize that the passing of time and the progress of military action may well destroy the value to the Committee and to the Security Council of the direct observations of the military observers, by whom alone, in many cases, can the Committee procure the first hand information needed for the reports called for by the resolution of the Security Council of 24 December.

The Committee awaits further word from you or other appropriate Netherlands officials as to whether, and under what conditions, the military observers will be permitted to return to the field.

I have honour, etc.

(Signed) T. K. Critchley
Chairman"

II. CONCLUSIONS

12. The Committee is not in a position to report that there has been satisfactory compliance with sub-paragraph (A) of the resolution of 24 December, which called on the parties to cease hostilities.

(A) The telegram dispatched to territorial commanders in Java by the Chief of Staff of the Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army at 1700, 29 December, 1948, is, according to its terms, for information and cannot be construed as an order to "cease hostilities forthwith". (Paragraph 9 above). The dissemination of the order of the Commander-in-Chief to territorial commanders in Java which confirmed the fact that hostilities in Java had ended at 2400 of 31 December was begun at 1845 Batavia time, 2 January. (Paragraph 9 above). In Sumatra where a 'special emergency situation' existed, the parallel order disseminated late on 4 January had an effective time of 1200, 5 January 1949. (Paragraph 10 above).

(B) It is noted that these orders were issued at a time when the "operational phase" of military activities presumably had been completed (Appendices I and II of Netherlands letter of 3 January, paragraph 4 above). The orders noted respectively that hostilities had terminated on 31 December 1948 in Java and on 5 January 1949 in Sumatra, but charged the troops to "carry out action against roving groups, bands or individuals, who attempt to cause unrest or, as was stated by our representative to the Security Council, to act against disturbing elements, who either individually or collectively endanger public security or interfere with or prevent the supply of food and other essential commodities to the needy population." The orders permit the continuation of the very type of military action that would be required against the Guerilla resistance likely to be offered by regular or irregular Republican forces (paragraph 5 and 9 above).

(C) As a result of the immobilization of its military observers the Committee has no first hand information as to the effect of the orders discussed above.

(D) The Committee is of the opinion that these orders issued more than a week after the adoption of the resolution of 24 December, and expressed as they were, can not be looked upon as satisfactory compliance with sub-paragraph (A) of the resolution.

(E) There is no channel available to the Committee for dissemination of the resolution of 24 December to the Government or to the commanders of the Republican Army (paragraph 8 above).

13. Sub-paragraph (b) of the Security Council's resolution of 24 December calling for the immediate release of the President of the Republic and

/other

other political prisoners, has not been implemented. So far as the Committee is aware, President Sukarno, Vice-President Hatta, and the other members of the Republican Government, who were captured by Netherlands forces on 19 December, are still under detention.

The direct questions relating to the present status, welfare and whereabouts of the political prisoners, addressed to the Netherlands Delegation in our letter of 25 December.

14. As pointed out in paragraph 15 of the report of 26 December, the task imposed upon the Committee by the Security Council in its resolution of 24 December, to observe and report upon the implementation by the parties of the earlier portions of the resolution, was fraught with inherent difficulties, from the outset. These difficulties include the absence of demarcation lines between the armed forces of the parties, the impossibility of establishing contact with the Republican forces, and the extreme difficulty in distinguishing hostilities between the parties from security measures.

15. Despite the statements made to the Security Council by the Netherlands representative on 27 and 29 December, the Committee has not been in a position to make independent investigations of any kind in the field for the purpose of carrying out its functions under the resolution of 24 December. As a result of the failure of Netherlands authorities to authorize or facilitate the return of the Committee's military observers to the field command Bandung without any opportunities for observation. It has been heard unofficially and informally that certain military and naval liaison officers attached to some of the consular officials in Batavia took advantage of a Netherlands offer to conduct them on a tour of some of the military areas on 5-6 January. These officers are not the military observers of the Committee of Good Offices and their observations are not available to the Committee, even if their tour was the type of field investigation and observation required by the functions of the Committee.

16. If the Committee of Good Offices is to continue to function, it is requested that the Security Council define the respective functions of the Committee and of the Consular Commission under the resolutions of 24 and 28 December 1948. Inability to determine whether the functions of one are at this point exclusive of the other or concurrent, and the problem of to whom the military observers are primarily responsible, has already created some difficulty and has been made an occasion for delay. (Paragraph 11 above). It is understood that this point has been raised independently in a telegram from the Consular Commission to the Security Council dated 6 January.

/The Committee

17. The Committee invites the attention of the Security Council to the problem of its present and future status.

The functions exercised under the truce by the Committee and its military assistants have disappeared with the truce itself. The Committee was set up under the resolution of the Security Council of 25 August 1947 to aid the parties in reaching a pacific settlement of their dispute. The first of the twelve Renville Principles provided that the Committee would assist in the working out and signing of a political agreement to be achieved by negotiation. But negotiations and the methods of pacific settlement have now been rejected in favour of military action.

The Committee feels a deep and abiding concern for the welfare of Indonesia. It does not, however, wish to be put in the position of seeming to approve by its participation, or even its authentication, any settlement based on force rather than true negotiation.

Divested of the broad functions it formerly exercised by the change in circumstances resulting from the military action instituted on 19 December, there remains to the Committee the function of reporting to the Council under the terms of the resolution of 24 December. Sub-paragraphs (A) and (B) of the resolution have already been the subject of report. The Committee is also called upon in the resolution of 24 December to exercise what may be looked upon as a continuing reporting function, that of reporting to the Council on the 'events which have transpired in Indonesia since 12 December 1948'. The inability of the Committee to carry out effectively this direction as a result of its failure to obtain permission or facilities for the return of its military observers to the field has already been emphasized as have the inherent difficulties in the way of useful reporting (paragraphs 14 and 15). But even if its military assistants were permitted to move freely everywhere in Indonesia without undue restrictions and were given adequate facilities it must be emphasized that the Committee itself was designed primarily as an instrument of negotiation.

These considerations inevitably raise the question whether the continuation of the Committee of Good Offices in the present circumstances would serve any useful purpose or could contribute to a peaceful settlement of the Indonesian problem.

We have the honour, etc.

(signed) Critchley, Australia, Chair
Herremans, Belgium
Lisle, United States"

APPENDIX I

STATEMENT DELIVERED BY THE NETHERLANDS REPRESENTATIVE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT THE 393RD MEETING HELD ON 27 DECEMBER 1948

Mr. Van Royen (Netherlands): I have asked for permission to speak because I should like to make a brief statement in the name of my Government. The Netherlands Government has taken note of the Resolution of the Security Council dated 24 December 1948, regarding the Indonesian question, document S/1130 - in which the parties are called upon to cease hostilities forthwith and to release political prisoners.

Although the Netherlands Government has always taken and still takes the view that the dispute between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia is outside the competence of the Security Council, the Netherlands has immediately given the resolution of the Security Council its serious attention and has communicated with the Government of Indonesia in order to obtain additional information and advice to enable it to determine its position with regard to the resolution.

Pending this the Government is already in a position to state the following. The action which was undertaken has generally not led to hostilities on a large scale. The operational phase of the action in Java has now practically reached its end. Whether and how far clashes with irregular armed bands can be avoided cannot be predicted with certainty. It became apparent during the action that the population in the areas concerned is in many respects living in emergency conditions. The Netherlands authorities have immediately taken steps to alleviate the first needs. Permanent improvement, however, can be brought about only when the return of order and security has been assured, when a political solution has been achieved, and when these areas are again playing their part in the normal process of production.

The aim of the Netherlands Government unalterably remains the establishment in the shortest possible period of a federal interim

/government

government as a result of mutual consultations with representatives of all the areas of Indonesia without exception.

The federal interim government will be an all-Indonesian government. Subsequently elections will take place, as soon as possible, for a representative body with a view to the definite establishment of the United States of Indonesia -- to which state sovereignty will be transferred -- and to the constitution of the Netherlands Indonesian Union.

The Government of the Netherlands and the Government of Indonesia will see to it that all those who participate in these consultations will be able to do so in full freedom, no matter whether or not their freedom of movement happens still to be restricted at the present moment.

Meanwhile, fourteen prominent Republicans in Batavia whose freedom of movement has been restricted have already been released, including Mr. Hatta's personal representative in Batavia, Fr. Darmasetiawan.

In order to enable the Committee of Good Offices to carry out its instructions to report on the situation after 12 December 1948, the Netherlands Government has issued instructions that the military experts at the disposal of the Committee, and their staff, be given opportunity to study the course of events.

I am authorized to add that this last provision means in practice that, to use the words of the Committee of Good Offices itself, the military observers can again be dispatched to the field.

APPENDIX II

STATEMENT OF THE NETHERLANDS REPRESENTATIVE DELIVERED IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT THE 396TH MEETING ON 29 DECEMBER 1948

In addition to the provisional statement which I read before the Security Council on Monday 27th of December, I have now been authorised to make the following declaration on behalf of the Netherlands Government.

Since the 22nd of December the Security Council has adopted three resolutions which affect the Netherlands Government. Therein the parties were called upon:

- a) to cease hostilities forthwith,
- b) immediately to release the President and other political prisoners whose freedom of movement has been restricted since the 13th of December while
- c) the Committee of Good Offices and the Consular Committee were instructed to report on the development of the situation in Indonesia since the 12th of December.

In connection with the foregoing the following concrete statement can be made.

1) Hostilities are in the course of being terminated. In any event hostilities in Java will, as far as the Netherlands forces are concerned, cease at the latest on the 31st of December 1948 at 24 hours. With a view to the special emergency situation existing in Sumatra, the cessation of hostilities there cannot be effectuated until 2 or 3 days later. It will of course remain necessary to act against disturbing elements who, either individually or collectively, endanger public security or interfere with or prevent the supply of food and other essential commodities to the needy population.

2) As the restriction of the freedom of movement of a number of prominent personalities was the inevitable consequence of the military measures which were taken and which will now shortly come to an end, the

/understanding

understanding that the persons concerned will refrain from activities endangering public security.

3) To further constructive co-operation in the task of rebuilding the whole of Indonesia, the Netherlands Government has decided that the Prime Minister, Dr. Drees will leave for Indonesia within a few days.

4) In order to assist in the carrying out of the request of the Security Council to be fully informed regarding the situation since the 12th of December, the Netherlands Government has already declared that all possible facilities will be granted to the military observers and their staff. The necessary facilities will also be given to the Members of the Consular Committee.