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COMMITTEE OF GOOD OFFICES
ON THE
INDONESIAN QUESTION

REPORT ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS
IN WESTERN JAVA

/LETTER

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF GOOD OFFICES
ON THE INDONESIAN QUESTION ADDRESSED TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

23 April 1948
Kaliurang, Java

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit a report of the Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question on political developments in western Java, which is submitted in accordance with the first of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council at its two hundred and fifty-ninth meeting on 28 February 1948.

The Committee has only just received information from the parties on political developments in Madura and is now preparing a report on this subject. It is expected that this report will be completed by 5 May 1948 and it will be forwarded immediately to the Security Council by airmail.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Coert duBois
Chairman

/REPORT

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF GOOD OFFICES TO THE
SECURITY COUNCIL ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN
WESTERN JAVA

(As Revised and Adopted at the Ninety-ninth Meeting on 21 April 1948)

I. NARRATIVE

1. Upon receipt of the terms of the Security Council's resolution of 28 February 1948, requesting the Committee of Good Offices to pay particular attention to political developments in western Java and Madura, and to report to the Council thereon at frequent intervals, the Committee considered the question of the most satisfactory means of obtaining information to form the basis of its reports. The Committee agreed that its primary task was to furnish the Security Council with a body of established facts and decided to address to the delegations of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia a series of questions on the political developments in these areas.

2. In the case of western Java, the Committee was of the opinion that the most significant political developments centred upon the Third West Java Conference then in session in Bandoeng. Accordingly, the Committee's questions on western Java pertained to the character of this Conference and to its antecedent bodies, the First and Second West Java Conferences. They were transmitted to the delegations of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia on 3 March, with the request that they submit replies as soon as possible. These replies were received from the Republican delegation on 6 March and from the Netherlands delegation on 23 March. The Committee had hoped that it would be possible for the questions and the replies of the parties to be submitted to the Third West Java Conference for such additional information as it might be able to provide, and for the Committee to be present at the Conference when these matters were being discussed. However, as the Third West Java Conference ended on 6 March, it was not possible for the questions and replies to be submitted for its consideration.

3. The replies from the parties to the Committee's questions on western Java disagreed in a number of instances upon matters of fact. A drafting sub-committee was therefore set up to meet representatives of the parties in an endeavour to reconcile these factual discrepancies. As a result of its meetings, several amendments or clarifications were made by the parties to their replies.

4. The following report is therefore based on the answers of the parties to the Committee's list of questions, and statements made by the

/representatives

representatives of the parties in meetings with the Committee's drafting sub-committee, as well as on independent inquiries by the Committee.

II. FIRST AND SECOND WEST JAVA CONFERENCES

5. The First West Java Conference, which was convened by the Recomba of West Java (Government Commissioner for Administrative Affairs), was held at Bandung between 12 and 19 October 1947, and was attended by forty-five out of forty-nine Indonesian delegates appointed by the Netherlands authorities. The view of the Netherlands delegation regarding the composition and powers of the West Java Conference is indicated by the following statement:

"The First West Java Conference had no specific powers; it was convened by the authorities in order to enable representatives of West Java, appointed as objectively as possible on democratic lines, to discuss problems raised by themselves."

6. The Netherlands delegation adds that in a broad sense, the purpose of the Conference was to bring together from each district representatives of the main political movements, of the intellectuals of religious circles, of the agricultural population and of the workers, in order to ascertain the direction of the thinking of these leaders with respect to political developments after the disturbances of the preceding seven years. The Republican delegation, however, does not agree that the delegates were appointed on democratic lines. Certainly Republican elements of western Java were not represented. It appears that the Republic, which had lost control, as a result of action by Netherlands forces in the preceding July, over the areas of western Java represented at the Conference, opposed and boycotted the Conference. The Partai Pakjat Pasundan, which had proclaimed the autonomy of a West Java State in May 1947, also refused to participate in the Conference.

7. In his opening address, the Recomba of West Java indicated to the Conference the purposes for which it had been called and the subjects for discussion. These were as follows:

- (a) the quickest way for the population of West Java to participate in government;
- (b) abolition of the segregation between Indonesian and Netherlands parts of the civil service;
- (c) the way in which West Java could participate now in the central administration and in the establishment of the United States of Indonesia;
- (d) measures to be taken in order to insure the promotion of law, order, prosperity and education in the shortest possible time;

/(e) to choose

- (e) to choose a permanent contact commission to discuss matters with the Recomba.
8. The Conference did not discuss the Recomba's provisional agenda, but proceeded to deal with the items thereon. As a result of these discussions, the First West Java Conference resolved to establish a contact commission to request the authorities to call a Second West Java Conference of representatives of groups of the population and all parts of West Java, in order to bring about the establishment of a provisional governing organization for West Java on a democratic basis. For this purpose, the contact commission was empowered to add to its members experts and representative persons from West Java, to conduct all necessary discussions and also, for the time being, to represent and see to the interests of West Java wherever this might be necessary. The Conference considered it premature, in view of the political situation at the time, to proceed with the determination of the future status of West Java.
9. Following this resolution, the Netherlands Indies Government agreed through the Recomba to the convening of a Second West Java Conference for the purpose described in the resolution. It also approved the institution and task of the contact commission, the wish expressed in the Conference to take part in the promotion of peace, order and security, and the desire of the Conference to transfer leading functions to Indonesian officials as soon as possible.
10. The Second West Java Conference was formally called by the Recomba on the recommendation of the contact commission and its powers were those expressed in the resolution of the First West Java Conference as described in paragraph 8 above. The Conference met on 15 December 1947 and lasted until 20 December 1947. It was attended by 154 delegates (112 Indonesians, 16 Netherlanders, 13 Chinese, 8 Arabs), all of whom were appointed by the Recomba on the recommendation of the contact commission. The results of the Second West Java Conference are expressed in a resolution providing that in the Third West Java Conference a provisional Government and a representative body of the people be established for West Java with the character of a negara (state).

III. THE CONVENING OF THE THIRD WEST JAVA CONFERENCE

11. The Third West Java Conference consisted of 100 delegates, 53 of whom (all Indonesian) were elected in various ways in accordance with electoral regulations drawn up by the contact committee (which had been renamed the Preparatory Committee) and 47 of whom were appointed by the Recomba of West Java in consultation with other Government authorities and upon the advice of the Preparatory Committee. Included in the 47 appointed delegates were the 3 Indonesian, 1 Netherlander, 1 Chinese and

/1 Arab

1 Arab members of the Preparatory Committee, elected by and from the delegates appointed to the previous conferences. Among the appointed delegates, there were altogether 12 Netherlanders, 9 Chinese and 4 Arabs. These three groups, represented by 25 per cent of the delegates, comprise approximately 5 per cent of the population of the area, though including probably more than 25 per cent of the literate population. The Netherlanders were appointed chiefly from existing political organizations, namely the I.E.V. (Indo-Eurasian Union), the I.K.P. (Catholic Party in the Indies), the C.S.P. (Christian Civics Party), the intellectual group of Buitenzorg and from the planters. The Republican delegation drew attention to the fact that no representative was appointed from the "Progressive Concentration" a federation of progressive parties mostly consisting of Netherlanders not agreeing with the present policy of the Netherlands with regard to Indonesia, although the Progressive Concentration had sent a request for that purpose to the Recomba. The Netherlands delegation stated that this was a comparatively small group which did not warrant representation. The Chinese delegates were appointed mainly from members of the Chung Hwa Chung Hui (organization representing local Chinese interests) and similar organizations, while the Arab delegates were appointed from leaders of various Arab associations. Lastly, 14 Indonesian delegates were appointed by the Recomba in consultation with the Preparatory Committee, a measure that, the Netherlands delegation stated, was intended as a corrective to enable such political trends to be represented as proved necessary in the interest of a true representative whole, as had been customary for the composition of the Volksraad (People's Council) in former days. These, added to the 8 Indonesians on the Preparatory Committee, raised the number of Indonesian appointed delegates to 22.

12. The 53 elected delegates were elected from the 15 Regencies of West Java at present under the Netherlands authorities. (The three regencies of Bantam, in the extreme west of Java, are under Republican control.) These delegates resided, at the time of their election, in the areas they represented. The rules of election prepared by the Preparatory Committee followed the indirect system of election traditional in Java and were substantially as follows:

The electors in each *desa* (the smallest administrative unit) elected one district elector. The voting at this stage was oral, in accordance with custom and hence not secret. The district electors in turn elected three representatives from among their number in each district. The district representatives met in the regency capitals and there elected, by secret ballot, the number of delegates assigned to each regency

/(i.e. 5

(i.e. 5 delegates each for Bandoeang, Batavia, Buitenzorg and Cheribon and 3 delegates for each of the other regencies). In the desca, the basis of the franchise was universal adult suffrage but, for religious reasons, the suffrage was in fact exercised only by the male portion of the population.

Section 4 of the Rules of Election provides, inter alia:

1. The choice of an elector in a dessa shall be declared valid if two-thirds of the number of the inhabitants of the dessa participate in the voting.
2. If, by any circumstance, it is not possible to assemble two-thirds of the inhabitants of the dessa, the elector shall be chosen by those present.
3. If this is also impossible, the Lurah (dessa head man) shall appoint the elector, who must be a person of representative qualities and who is devoted to the community and who does not represent only one party.
4. The choice of an elector in the dessa shall be supervised by the respective Tjamats (sub-district heads).

To qualify for election as a delegate, a candidate was required to be sane, literate, 25 years of age, resident in the regency to be represented, with no criminal record and "preferably belonging to the intellectual group".

13. The first announcements of the manner of holding the elections were made in Indonesian and Chinese-Malay newspapers between 10 and 15 January, while the elections commenced on 25 January. The Republican delegation points out that Republican adherents in Batavia first learned of the forthcoming elections on 22 January. It may be said, therefore, that the electorate heard of the elections no more than 15 days and perhaps no less than 3 before the actual holding of the elections.

14. The results of the Second West Java Conference had already been publicized. Under the regulations pertaining to a state of war and siege, enacted by the Netherlands Indies Government upon the outbreak of the war in the Far East and not yet repealed, the holding of public meetings is prohibited and the holding of private political meetings (i.e. meetings to which only invited persons and private members are admitted), is permitted only if the Assistant Resident is given five days notice of such meeting. These regulations empower the Assistant Resident to prohibit such meetings without citing cause. The Netherlands delegation stated that according to directives of the Attorney General these regulations are not enforced as a rule, but the Republican delegation gave the following instances in which the regulations were applied:

- (a) Leaders of the Masjumi (Islamic party) tried to convene a private meeting in Bandoeang early in February, but the meeting was forbidden;

(b) promoters of the Republican Plebiscite movement in Buitenzorg were twice forbidden to call a private meeting, once in February and once in March;

(c) the same situation as in (b) arose in Cheribon.

15. The Netherlands delegation does not claim that the First West Java Conference was called in response to any widely expressed public demand, but reports that intellectual and religious circles in West Java appeared to feel the need of mutual contact in order to review the various political and economic problems and to discuss how the reconstruction of a normal economy could be set in train and law and order be re-established. It adds that the political organization of West Java had not progressed so far that it might be considered capable of arranging any such conference by itself which would produce decisions representative of the opinions of the inhabitants of West Java; the First West Java Conference was organized to fill this deficiency. The Second West Java Conference followed as a result of the deliberations of the First, the Third as a result of those of the Second. The Republican delegation, however, claims that not only was there no active or expressed public demand for the Conferences but also that there was considerable opposition to the proposal to hold such Conferences. As evidence of this opposition, a manifesto denouncing the decisions of the Second West Java Conference was presented to the representatives of the Committee of Good Offices. The manifesto was issued by a committee of twenty influential, Indonesian, Sundanese-born citizens of the Netherlands - controlled areas of western Java (population approximately 10 million) and was supported by approximately 250,000 signatories living in the area.

16. With regard to the degree to which the Third West Java Conference may be considered a representative body, the following may be noted:

(a) For a variety of reasons, including the absence from their homes of numbers of the population who had removed to the mountains at the time of the action by Netherlands forces six months before, it was necessary in a number of cases for the elector to be designated in accordance with the second and third of the provisions in paragraph 12, namely, to be elected by a reduced electorate or appointed by the Lurah. The Netherlands delegation presented letters from several Regents (heads of Regencies), stating that owing to disruptions of administration and communication it had proved impossible to hold elections in many areas. In Batavia, according to the Netherlands delegation, elections were not attempted owing to the lack of a Desa organization, incomplete registration and the difficulty of assembling voters from their places of occupation.

The Netherlands delegation made available to the Committee of Good Offices electoral statistics from 10 Regencies, statistics from the other Regencies having proved unobtainable. These show that out of a total population in the 10 Regencies of 6,593,746 there were 824,550 males qualified to vote and that, of these, 471,506 actually voted in the election.

(b) Two of the finally elected delegates were excluded from taking part in the conference by the Netherlands Indies authorities. They were as follows:

1. Agoestji (delegate for the Krawang Regency). This man had served a term of 20 months in prison for embezzlement which disqualified him according to the Rules for Election.
2. Soegiman Wirajasa (delegate for the Krawang Regency). According to the Netherlands delegation, this man was excluded because of suspicion that he had committed misdemeanors, including embezzlement. The charges were subsequently dismissed.

Both these delegates were of Republican sympathies. In addition, R.H.O. Djoenaedi, whose appointment as a delegate had been recommended by the Preparatory Committee, was arrested and his appointment was not confirmed by the Recomba. The Netherlands delegation related this action to suspicions of Djoenaedi's connection with terrorist activities while the Republican delegation related the arrest to his visits to Republican leaders in Batavia.

(c) The parties were questioned as to whether any delegates or other persons concerned with the issues before the Conference were subjected to intimidation, threats or reprisals and the following instances were adduced:

1. The house of Mr. Nana, a Republican delegate, was entered by NEI police on the night of 29 February and his papers searched.
2. In the district of Soemedang, during the preparation for the elections, according to the Netherlands delegation, a dessa head was abducted and another shot.
3. Eleven members of the Preparatory Committee received letters warning them not to "try to interfere in the status of West Java without the K.T.N. [Committee of Good Offices] or the Republic" at peril of their lives.
4. In two regencies dessa heads received leaflets threatening their lives if they carried out any orders they might receive in connection with the election of delegates to the Conference.

/(d) Some

(d) Some reference may be made to the standards of representation so far attained in the area. Before the war, Desa Councils were composed of representatives elected by direct ballot, there having been a property and educational qualification on the exercise of the franchise. On the next administrative level were the Regency Councils of which the members were chosen in part by indirect election and in part by appointment. There are, as has been stated, 15 Regencies in the Netherlands-controlled territory of western Java. In the Provincial Council for West Java, which represented approximately the same area as the Third West Java Conference, the members were chosen in part by the members of the Desa and Regency Councils by secret ballot and in part by appointment. Of the 45 members of this Provincial Council, 20 were Indonesian, and of these 13 were elected by the Desa and Regency Councils. As previously indicated, 75 of the 100 delegates to the Third West Java Conference were Indonesian and of these 53 were elected by elections that were indirect at two stages. In Republican territory, on the lower administrative levels, the members of the Desa and Regency Councils are all chosen by the people. The Residency Council, on the next administrative level in the Republic, is composed of 42 representatives appointed by the political parties, 9 appointed by other organizations, 14 appointed by the Government and 10 appointed by the Regional Defense Council, in which representatives of the people's organizations have seats. The Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat (the Republican Parliament) is composed of representatives designated by the President of the Republic upon the recommendation of the political parties, who agree as to the number of seats allotted to each party. In respect to the size and population of the territory represented, the Third West Java Conference would be intermediate (in comparison with Republican administrative units) between the Residency Council and the Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat.

IV. PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD WEST JAVA CONFERENCE

17. Before the Third West Java Conference met, a provisional agenda was drawn up by the Reccmba of West Java and the Preparatory Committee. In preparing this agenda, the Reccmba and the Preparatory Committee were bound by the resolutions of the Second West Java Conference. The provisional agenda was as follows:

1. To instruct the Preparatory Committee to petition the Netherlands Indies Government to recognize the Third West Java Conference as a provisional parliament for West Java.
2. The preparation of the provisional constitution.
3. The election of a Wali Negara (Head of State).

The first item was subsequently changed to contain an instruction to the Preparatory Committee to petition the Government to designate to West Java the status of a negara. Only the first item was discussed by the Third West Java Conference as such, the second and third items being considered after the Conference had been transformed into a provisional parliament.

18. During the first day's proceedings (23 February) the Conference adopted a proposal by Mr. Soejoso, an elected delegate and leader of the 27 members of the Republican faction, that the Conference and not the chairman alone had the right to determine its agenda. On 24 February, Mr. Soejoso moved to change the agenda so as to permit discussion by the Conference of the future status of West Java (i.e. whether it should be a negara), which would be excluded if the provisional agenda were adhered to.

After preliminary debate of this motion, the Conference was adjourned and an informal meeting was held between the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee and the leaders of the 27 members, which resulted in agreement to submit the following resolution to the Conference:

"In connection with the resolution as adopted by the West Java Conference II and conveyed to the N.E.I. Government through the Reccmba on 19 December 1947, and whereas this resolution has delegated the Committee for the Preparation to institute in the West Java Conference III a provisional government for West Java on the basis of a Negara and of a Council of People's Representatives, I avail myself on behalf of the Committee for the Preparation to respectfully request the N.E.I. Government to promote the Conference to a Provisional Representative Body, with the understanding that the character of a Negara should be so interpreted that the Provisional Government is to have the character of a Negara and that the Status of West Java is to be determined by a plebiscite as referred to in the Renville Agreement."

/On 25 February,

On 25 February, the chairman, a signatory of the above agreement, read to the Conference a letter from the Recomba to the effect that the Negara Djawa Barat (West Java State) was already in the process of being created. The chairman gave his opinion that, in view of this letter, West Java had already been recognized as a negara, and he consequently withdrew his agreement to the compromise motion indicated above. Mr. Soejoso attempted to protest the chairman's ruling, but was not given the opportunity.

19. On the basis of this ruling of the chairman, the Preparatory Committee petitioned the Netherlands Indies Government to recognize the Third West Java Conference as a provisional parliament. The reply from the Lieut. Governor General dated 25 February, stated that before any action could be taken on the petition, it should be endorsed by the Conference. When this reply was presented to the Conference, Mr. Soejoso, the first speaker in the ensuing discussion, requested that first of all his previous proposal regarding the agenda be discussed. Mr. Soejoso argued that the Netherlands Indies Government had not yet determined the status of West Java, even if the chairman was of the opinion that it had.

He suggested that the conference discuss the future status of West Java, in which case he would urge the adoption of the resolution quoted above. The chairman, however, gave no opportunity for discussion of Soejoso's proposal, and the Conference proceeded to a discussion of the Lieut. Governor General's answer. According to the rules of procedure, the Conference had to deal first with incoming documents before other subjects could be discussed.

20. Eventually, the following resolution was passed, the voting being 62 for and 35 against:

"That it is the desire of the Conference that the delegates at the Conference forthwith, as a provisional representative assembly of West Java, draw up the provisional constitution of this state and in accordance with this constitution establish a provisional Government of West Java";

and

"To instruct the Preparatory Committee to communicate the Conference's desire described in the foregoing to the general authorities through the intermediary of the Recomba of West Java and to request them therefore to recognize the delegates at the Conference as the provisional representative assembly of West Java, whose task it is to draw up the provisional constitution of this state and on the basis of this constitution to establish a provisional Government of West Java."

/On 26 February,

On 26 February, the Netherlands Indies Government issued the following decree regarding the resolution of the Conference:

"Having read the Resolution of the Third West Java Conference dated 26 February 1948, in which expression is given to the wish of the Conference to conclude at once as provisional Government of West Java based upon this regulation:

Considering that the Recomba of West Java has brought to the notice of the Government that the above-mentioned Resolution has been accepted in the meeting of the Conference of 26 February 1948 by 62 votes in favour, 35 against and 1 abstention of a total of 98 out of the 100 members:

Considering that through the intermediary of the Recomba of West Java has been transmitted the request of the Conference as drawn up by the Committee for the Preparation, to acknowledge the delegates at the Conference as the provisional representation of West Java, whose task it is to conclude the provisional constitution of this State, and to form a provisional Government of West Java based upon this regulation:

Considering that the desire of the inhabitants of West Java as expressed in the before-mentioned Resolution, to organize themselves in a democratic way into an independent political unit, to be called Djawa Barat, ought to be fulfilled:

Considering that for the organization and the formation of such a political unit a provisional representative body will be necessary:

HIS APPROVED OF AND UNDERSTOOD:

Firstly:

To comply with the above-mentioned desire and therefore to acknowledge the delegates at the Third West Java Conference as the provisional representation of Djawa Barat, whose task it will be to conclude the provisional constitution of this State and to form a provisional Government of Djawa Barat, based upon this regulation:

Secondly:

To decide that the funds required for the activities of the provisional representative body will be kept available by the Government for future settlement."

It is the understanding of the Committee of Good Offices that the creation of a West Java State has been recognized by the Netherlands Indies Government only to the extent of this decree.

21. On 4 March, the Provisional Parliament passed a resolution establishing the procedure for the election of a Wali Negara (Head of State),
/stipulating

stipulating that for election a candidate required two-thirds of the total number of valid votes cast and that, in the event that in the first and second voting no candidate obtained the required number of votes, the election would then be decided by a simple majority. The elections were held the same day.

The Candidates were:

R.A.A.M. Wiranatakoesoema, Chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council of the Republic of Indonesia and formerly Regent of Bandung.

R.A. Hilman Djajadiningrat Recomba of West Java.

On the first ballot, the candidates obtained 52 and 48 votes respectively, and on the second, 53 and 47 votes. On the third ballot, Wiranatakoesoema received 54 votes to 46 for his opponent and was declared elected Wali Negara of West Java. On the following day, the Committee of Good Offices inquired of the parties whether there were any comments they wished to make on the election. The Netherlands delegation replied by letter dated 18 March, stating that the Government considered that the issue of the election was a democratically expressed desire of the popular movement in West Java and that as such, in conformity with the principles accepted by itself and the Republican Government, no obstacles should be placed in its way. The Republican delegation, in a letter dated 16 March, stated that the election of Wiranatakoesoema proved that despite what it considered the undemocratic methods by which the Conference was established and conducted, devotion toward the Republic still prevailed to such an extent as to make possible the choice of a Republican. The letter added that Wiranatakoesoema had accepted his appointment, declaring that all affairs pertaining to West Java should be dealt with in the sphere of the Republic, and that at his request, the President of the Republic of Indonesia had relieved him of his office as Chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council of the Republic.

22. Following the election of the Wali Negara, the Provisional Parliament by acclamation rejected the designation Negara Djawa Barat (State of West Java), in favour of Negara Pasundan (Sundanese State). It further resolved to stress that the Conference fully recognized the Renville Principles, in particular Article 4 of the six additional principles. It also decided that the constitution should provide for a government of the parliamentary type.

23. On 5 April, a number of influential members in the Provisional Parliament informally approached Dr. Kusuma Atmadja, President of the Republican Supreme Court, to form a cabinet. However, Dr. Kusuma Atmadja

/declined the

declined the invitation on the grounds that he was opposed to the formation of the Pasundan State which, in his opinion, was contrary to the Renville Principles.

24. In the questionnaire submitted to the two parties, the Committee of Good Offices asked whether the administrative arrangements existing in western Java before the creation of the Provisional Parliament could have been continued without the creation of a state government and in what respects the creation of a West Java state might promote or limit the efficiency or representative character of these administrative arrangements. The parties agree that the arrangements existing before the creation of the Provisional Parliament could, technically, have been continued. The Republican delegation, however, objects both to these arrangements (on the grounds that the civil service as before the war is dualistic in nature, comprising both an Indonesian and a Netherlands service, with the latter in fact in control, and that this system does not reflect the preponderant preference of the population for a Republican administration) and also to the creation of a West Java state, which the Republican delegation contends would limit the efficiency and representative character of the administrative arrangements through the opposition of the population to the creation of a state government and the refusal of important Republican political leaders and officials to co-operate with such a government in the work of reconstruction. The Netherlands delegation argues that under the previous administrative arrangements there was no institution of any kind reflecting the opinions of the population with regard to the administration of western Java, and that the Provisional Parliament and Provisional Government of West Java were created in order to meet the desires of the population for such an institution, which might therefore be expected to bring about an improvement in the administration of the areas involved.

29. The parties agree that the creation of a West Java state could be only provisional in nature since, under the principles accepted by both parties on board the U.S.S. Renville on 19 January the delineation of states in Java, Madura and Sumatra will be determined in accordance with a plebiscite among the populations concerned or through another method for ascertaining the will of the populations upon which the parties may agree.
