



American Model United Nations
Commission of Inquiry of 1948

Report from the the United Nations Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question

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1 **Overview**

- 2 • The Committee has concluded its investigations into and mediations of the Indonesian Question.
- 3 • Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 31 [S/525. II], the United Nations Committee of Good Offices
4 on the Indonesian Question (UNCGO) began its investigations on 23 January 1948.
- 5 • The goal of the Commission was to mediate the pacific settlement of the dispute between the
6 Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia on the behalf of the Security Council.
- 7 • The Committee conducted a formal investigation, including in-country observations, witness tes-
8 timony, and the deployment of observers and investigators, and has compiled the following report
9 of its findings.

10 **2 Activities of the Committee to date (16 March 1948)**

11 23 January, 1948 to 31 January, 1948

- 12 • Sent a message to President Sukarno, Lt. Governor Van Mook, and Vice President Hatta to request
13 a report regarding the status of the Renville Agreement and a disposition of your governments
14 towards current negotiations:
 - 15 – To include aspirations of citizens, their attitudes towards the agreement, and any military
16 operations in the wake of this ceasefire.
- 17 • Sent Committee Personnel to monitor and assess the ceasefire of both the Indonesian and Dutch
18 in demilitarized zones:
 - 19 – These areas are: Banda, Palembang, Jakarta, and Yogyakarta.
- 20 • Received a diplomatic cable from the Government of Indonesia that states the plebiscite in Madura
21 is in violation of the Renville Agreement due to the verbal agreement that no such plebiscite votes
22 are meant to be held in the region for six months. The Government of Indonesia also informed the
23 Committee that the Dutch have been limiting political expression in Madura.
- 24 • Requested an immediate cease to the plebiscite until such time as the Commission obtains a
25 more comprehensive understanding in our investigation and one can be held while the citizenry
26 is not under duress.
 - 27 – Any plebiscite was to be held at least six months after the Renville Agreement was signed per
28 a verbal condition of the signing, with the expectation that the Commission would be notified
29 and given the opportunity to oversee said plebiscite. The Commission was not informed or
30 invited.
- 31 • Requested the movement of the USS Renville from Batavia to Madura to be at the ground level of
32 conflict and be readily accessible to engage with both parties.
- 33 • Requested an issue to interview Dutch Lieutenant Governor General Van Mook, head of the Indone-
34 sian Emergency Cabinet Vice President Muhammad Hatta, and Chief of British forces in Indonesia.
- 35 • Increased observers and necessary security forces have been dispatched to all major cities, Lesser
36 Sunda Islands, and Borneo in order to:
 - 37 – Monitor the plebiscite being held by the Dutch government on the island of Madura.
 - 38 – Monitor the armed forces of both parties to ensure the ceasefire and demilitarized zones are
39 being honored.
 - 40 – Check on the conditions of free trade within the area, including access to safe harbors for the
41 Committee to use in case of need.
 - 42 – Gauge the attitude of the peoples of Indonesia and the East Indies regarding the Republic of
43 Indonesia or the Kingdom of the Netherlands.
- 44 • Requested a report from the UNSC regarding the 1945 withdrawal of Japanese troops from the
45 area to better ascertain the origins of current conflicts in the region of Indonesia and the East
46 Indies.
- 47 • Interviewed a Representative of the Peoples of Indonesia who discussed dissatisfaction with the
48 Renville agreement, stating that it was signed under considerable duress, and a general mistrust
49 of the Dutch government's willingness to uphold a ceasefire, as well as other agreements made
50 both within the document and verbally communicated as a condition of the agreement.
- 51 • Learned of the Indonesian president cabinet Four Point Program.
- 52 • Received word back from the Commission Staff in their respective areas that intense fighting con-
53 tinues; specifically on the Dutch side.

- 54 • Received a message from the Dutch on their gratefulness of the Renville Agreement; however,
55 urged the continuation and implementation of this Agreement to ensure their amenability and
56 safety toward the Indonesian people.
- 57 – Due to Lt. Governor Van Mook’s delay, requested a Dutch official who is available to speak on
58 Dutch’s hand in the Madura plebiscite, sentiments since the Renville Agreement, and overall
59 gauge of their attitudes.
- 60 • Received information from Committee observers of the current opinions and emotions since the
61 Renville Agreement:
- 62 – The youth of Indonesia have become highly involved and sympathetic in the Nationality of
63 the Federal US of Indonesia; however, due to much change they have felt a disconnect with
64 their government and question the future of their country.
- 65 – Found substantial reporting of war and siege, yet found no specific evidence of voter oppres-
66 sion.
- 67 31 January 1948 to 26 February 1948
- 68 • Notified the Dutch government of our arrival at Madura.
- 69 • Landed on the island of Madura in the Dutch sector with goals of:
- 70 – Monitoring and identifying polling locations.
- 71 – Interviewing the locals in Madura.
- 72 – Begin questioning the Dutch and their local forces on their timely cooperation with this Com-
73 mission and their compliance of the Renville Agreement.
- 74 – Assess the restrictions on public expression.
- 75 • Interviewed local residents about the referendum that took place on 23 January 1948 on the state
76 of Dutch restrictions on the people of the island and the pressure put on those people by the Dutch
77 government to vote one way or the other in the election.
- 78 – Heard reports of possible pressure and mutual consensus to vote in a particular manner,
79 including arrests to secure this, though this has not yet been verified.
- 80 • Met with Lieutenant Governor-General Hubertus van Mook, who asserted that the Madura status
81 referendum of 23 January 1948 would be finalized in contradiction of the Renville Agreement, and
82 that additional referendums were being planned by the Dutch government in the East Indies, and
83 that the Dutch government would not be seeking the the observation of these elections by the
84 Committee, all in contradiction of the 14 January 1948 Renville Agreement and Security Council
85 Resolution 31 [S/525. II].
- 86 – Stated he was unconcerned with the general disregard of agreements made as conditions
87 of the Renville Agreement and stated an intent to continue to disregard the agreement, the
88 will of the Commission, and the will of the Indonesian people.
- 89 – He was also unconcerned with the reports of voter suppression occurring and its effect on
90 democracy. Substantiation of these claims are now a part of the ongoing investigation.
- 91 • Opened investigations regarding the legitimacy of statistical evidence from the Dutch-administered
92 plebiscite regarding voter turnout, election results, and other relevant data points.
- 93 – Continuing investigations into the presence of voter suppression via this inquiry.
- 94 • Pursuant to the Security Council Resolution dated 26 February 1948, placed a particular emphasis
95 on investigating the political situation in West Java and the island of Madura.
- 96 26 February, 1948 to 5 March, 1948
- 97 • Pursuant to the Security Council’s emphasis on West Java and Madura, opened land-based staff
98 offices in the city of Jakarta (Batavia) on the island of Java and on the island of Madura.

- 99 • Sent cable to the Indonesian government, specifically Indonesian Nationalist Leaders, to request
100 their presence in front of the Committee and their disposition towards the continuation of the
101 current peace plan as outlined in the Renville Agreement.
- 102 • Sent cable to the Dutch on their disposition towards the continuation of the current peace plan
103 as outlined in the Renville Agreement.
- 104 • Received reports that the Dutch government has officially established the state of West Java, in
105 contravention of the Renville Agreement and against the instructions of the Committee.
- 106 • Received a petition from the Indonesian government against the Dutch charging the Dutch with
107 violations of Renville Agreement during the referendum process in Madura and West Java and
108 questioning the validity of its results.
- 109 • Received reports from observers in rural areas stating that the overwhelming majority of citizens
110 favor Indonesian nationalism but are discouraged by the ongoing blockade by Dutch forces.
- 111 • Sent a cable to the Dutch government emphasizing the UNSC 41 Resolution, which requests the
112 halt of all plebiscites and recognizes violations of the Renville Agreement by the Dutch govern-
113 ment.
- 114 – Additionally, the Committee informed the Dutch government on its investigation regarding
115 the conflict on 9 December 1947.
- 116 • Requested observers in the Rawagede Village to report on the attack on 9 December 1947, obtain-
117 ing information regarding the origin of the skirmish, the actions of both parties, and the casualties
118 endured.
- 119 • Invited both Vice President Mohammed Hatta of the Republic of Indonesia and a representative
120 from the Kingdom of the Netherlands to speak before the Committee regarding each govern-
121 ment's disposition on the progress of peace.
- 122 5 March, 1948 to 15 March, 1948
- 123 • Interviewed a representative of the Republic of Indonesia and a representative from the Kingdom
124 of the Netherlands to speak before the Committee regarding each government's disposition on
125 the progress of peace.
- 126 – The Kingdom of the Netherlands emphasized the importance of providing safety and stability
127 in the region as a whole as their reasonings for the continued naval blockade and expedition
128 of holding a plebiscite:
- 129 1. Firmly committed that Indonesia violated the Renville Agreement first.
- 130 – The Representative of the Republic of Indonesia affirmed that their government is no longer
131 actively involved passed the "Van Mook Lines" and shows willingness to use their influence to
132 stop engagement against the Dutch military:
- 133 1. Stressed importance of ensuring the referendums are fair and free.
- 134 2. Pleaded for the removal of the blockade to allow for their people suitable resources and
135 aid.
- 136 • The representative of the Netherlands reported 4000 irregular Indonesian troops within Dutch ter-
137 ritory.
- 138 – The Committee has not substantiated these claims, but has found evidence of raiding activity
139 against the Dutch side of the van Mook lines.
- 140 – The Indonesian Government maintains it has no affiliation with these non-state actors and
141 that they fall under the territory of the Dutch as outlined within the Renville Agreement, and as
142 such are the responsibility of the Netherlands absolving the Indonesian government of any
143 violation of the Renville Agreement.
- 144 • Received reports from the representative of the Republic of Indonesia explaining the withdrawal
145 of 35,000 troops from Dutch territory after the establishment of the Renville Agreement.

- 146 – Such reports were substantiated by the Committee’s in-country observers.
- 147 • Received reports from the Committee’s observers near the current Van Mook Lines that described
148 offensive maneuvers of Dutch military forces, attacking Indonesian troops on Indonesian territory
149 under conditions of retreat.
- 150 • Received reports from the Committee’s observers in the Rawagede village regarding the mas-
151 sacre on 9 December 1947:
- 152 – The observers spoke with a widow in the village and she provided information about the mas-
153 sacre.
- 154 – Dutch troops invaded the village in order to quell republican sentiments in the region;
- 155 – Unarmed men of military age were questioned about their involvement with the forces of the
156 Republic of Indonesia and promptly executed, resulting in the death of over 430 men aged 15
157 and above and the dissolution of the remaining villagers to surrounding areas.
- 158 • Sent cable to the Kingdom of the Dutch to express the Committee’s sincere appreciation for their
159 patience and cooperation in the Committee’s ongoing investigation and to inform them of the
160 Committee’s plan for implementing greater security and maintenance of the Van Mook demilita-
161 rized zones, formally agreed in the Renville Agreement, and requested by the governments of the
162 Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia.
- 163 • Interviewed the Dutch representative to the United Nations at their request in an emergency ses-
164 sion of the Committee in regard to previous conversations over the activities of the Committee.
- 165 15 March, 1948 to 30 March 1948
- 166 • Requested the presence of representatives from both the Dutch and Indonesian governments to
167 reinstate peace talks by engaging in constructive dialogue and diplomatic negotiations aimed
168 at finding a mutually acceptable resolution.
- 169 • Conducted the Jakarta Harbor Round-Table Summit aboard the USS Renville, with the participa-
170 tion of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia and the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of the
171 Netherlands.
- 172 – Dialogue was very amenable and negotiations were reached in order to achieve peace and
173 security in the region.

174 3 Determination of Fault

- 175 • Finds the Dutch government at fault for the aforementioned violations of the Renville Agreement,
176 as detailed in the 5 March 1948 and 26 February 1948 interim reports.
- 177 • Finds the Republic of Indonesia in substantial compliance with the provisions of the Renville Agree-
178 ment, in particular regarding their withdrawal of all military forces under their control onto their
179 side of the van Mook lines, totaling more than 35,000 troops.
- 180 • Finds fault on the Dutch government for taking offensive action passed the “van Mook Lines”
181 against troops of Indonesia under conditions of retreat based on observations gathered despite
182 the understanding from the Dutch government that they have upheld their commitment to re-
183 main non-aggressive.
- 184 • Finds no fault on the part of the Dutch government for the violation of the Renville Agreement in
185 substance or in spirit for the defensive actions taken against irregular forces continuing to harass
186 and raid the Dutch-administered territories on their side of the van Mook lines.
- 187 • Further finds no fault on the part of the Indonesian government for the continued presence of ir-
188 regular raiders on the Dutch side of the van Mook lines, in the view that forces that continue to
189 harass and raid the Dutch administered territories are not affiliated with the forces of the govern-
190 ment of the Republic of Indonesia in command or direction, and that those forces that continue
191 to raid the Dutch side of the van Mook lines are not military in nature, but instead criminal gangs
192 without direction or authority.
- 193 • Finds full fault on the part of the government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands for the commis-
194 sion of the Rawagede massacre, in which the Committee has substantiated the execution of no
195 less than 430 unarmed non-combatants by the forces of the Dutch government in an attempt to
196 suppress republican sentiment within the territories on the Dutch side of the van Mook lines.
- 197 • Finds full fault on the part of the government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands for the contin-
198 uation of the blockade against the Republic of Indonesia until the signing of the Jakarta Harbor
199 Agreement on 30 March 1948, in contravention of the spirit and substance of the Renville Agree-
200 ment as well as Security Council Resolution 43, adopted on 15 March 1948.

201 4 Recommendations to the United Nations Security Council

- 202 • In response to the effect the Dutch blockade is having on the Indonesian people, the Committee
203 formally requests that the UNSC continue to support the ongoing humanitarian mission within
204 Indonesia under the auspices of UNCGO to relieve strain on the populace and help reinforce faith
205 in the processes of the United Nations.
- 206 • Pursuant to the authority granted to the UNCGO by the Security Council in Security Council Resolu-
207 tion 31 [S/525. II], as well as to the invitation of the Dutch and Indonesian governments for external
208 and impartial observers to ensure the continuation of the ceasefire and the inviolability of the van
209 Mook demilitarization lines in points 2, 3, 5, 7(d), and 8 of the Renville Agreement signed 17 January
210 1948 and in accordance with the will of the parties as expressed in the Jakarta Harbor Agreement
211 for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the preservation of the ceasefire along the van Mook
212 lines, requests the establishment of a formal observation and security force under the jurisdiction
213 of the United Nations Security Council under the direction of the UNCGO as its representatives in
214 the territory under dispute.
- 215 – Further requests that this force be additionally directed and equipped to assist in the safe-
216 guarding of the United Nations’s humanitarian assistance program to the citizens of the Re-
217 public of Indonesia and the Dutch East Indies for the duration of the humanitarian mission.
- 218 • Requests that, upon the establishment and deployment of the aforementioned observer and se-
219 curity force for the maintenance of the van Mook demilitarized zones, that the Security Council
220 remain seized on the matter of the Indonesian Question and that the representatives of both par-
221 ties be invited by the Security Council to additional future round-table conferences mediated by
222 the UNCGO with the aim of enacting the peace plan proposed and accepted by both parties in
223 the Jakarta Harbor Agreement on 30 March 1948.
- 224 • Requests that the Security Council endorse and support the provisions of the Jakarta Harbor
225 Agreement, signed by Dutch Prime Minister Willem Drees and Indonesian Prime Minister Moham-
226 mad Hatta in the presence of the United Nations Committee of Good Offices for the Indonesian
227 Question aboard the USS Renville on 30 March 1948 at the Jakarta Harbor Roundtable Summit.
- 228 – These provisions are as follows:
- 229 1. Within a six (6) month timeline, both governments will allow for UN observation and se-
230 curity forces to enter territories in conflict and replace Dutch military forces in Indonesian
231 territory.
- 232 2. After this six (6) month period, the territories administered by the Republic of Indonesia
233 and the Dutch East Indies will hold a binding referendum on the draft constitution for the
234 United States of Indonesia to be prepared in negotiation between the pirates to the dis-
235 pute with the mediation of the UNCGO.
- 236 (a) All future elections, including this referendum, will include the inclusion and collabora-
237 tion of the Dutch and Indonesian government, and local councils with the observation
238 of the United Nations under the auspices of the UNCGO.
- 239 (b) No elections, referenda, or plebiscites nor further governmental structure building are
240 to be held by either party until the enactment of the remainder of these provisions
241 along the above timeline.
- 242 3. The Dutch Government will lift the current blockade with the arrival of United Nations ob-
243 servation and security forces in currently affected regions.
- 244 (a) The Dutch government will allow humanitarian aid through the blockade and other
245 harbors as UN observation and security forces arrive.
- 246 (b) Half of this aid is to be administered through Kamala Harbor while the rest can take a
247 more diverse dispersion route throughout the archipelago.
- 248 4. The Indonesian government will receive annual reports from local authorities regarding
249 the status and security of current territories.

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5. Noting the importance of security and consistency of the maintenance of government structures, existing governments established prior to 30 March 1948 will be upheld de facto, particularly in Madura, West Java, and East Sumatra.

253 5 Interim Reports

254 5.1 UNCGO Interim Report for the period of 23 January 1948 to 31 January 1948

255 • Overview:

256 – The United Nations Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian Question has been operat-
257 ing in the region of Indonesia and the East Indies in order to facilitate the peaceful settlement
258 of the Indonesian Question, pursuant to Security Council Resolution 31 [S/525. II].

259 * As of 31 January 1948, the operation of the Committee remained ongoing.

260 • Activities of the Committee to date (31 January 1948):

261 – Sent a message to President Sukarno, Lt. Governor Van Mook, and Vice President Hatta to
262 request a report regarding the status of the Renville Agreement and a disposition of your
263 governments towards current negotiations:

264 * To include aspirations of citizens, their attitudes towards the agreement, and any military
265 operations in the wake of this ceasefire.

266 – Sent Committee Personnel to monitor and assess the ceasefire of both the Indonesian and
267 Dutch in demilitarized zones:

268 * These areas are: Banda, Palembang, Jakarta, and Yogyakarta.

269 – Received a diplomatic cable from the Government of Indonesia that states the plebiscite in
270 Madura is in violation of the Renville Agreement due to the verbal agreement that no such
271 plebiscite votes are meant to be held in the region for six months. The Government of In-
272 donesia also informed the Committee that the Dutch have been limiting political expression
273 in Madura.

274 – Requested an immediate cease to the plebiscite until such time as the Commission obtains
275 a more comprehensive understanding in our investigation and one can be held while the
276 citizenry is not under duress.

277 * Any plebiscite was to be held at least six months after the Renville Agreement was signed
278 per a verbal condition of the signing, with the expectation that the Commission would be
279 notified and given the opportunity to oversee said plebiscite. The Commission was not
280 informed or invited.

281 – Requested the movement of the USS Renville from Batavia to Madura to be at the ground
282 level of conflict and be readily accessible to engage with both parties.

283 – Requested an issue to interview Dutch Lieutenant Governor Van Mook, head of the Indonesian
284 Emergency Cabinet Vice President Muhammad Hatta, and Chief of British forces in Indonesia.

285 – Increased observers and necessary security forces have been dispatched to all major cities,
286 Lesser Sunda Islands, and Borneo in order to:

287 * Monitor the plebiscite being held by the Dutch government on the island of Madura.

288 * Monitor the armed forces of both parties to ensure the ceasefire and demilitarized zones
289 are being honored.

290 * Check on the conditions of free trade within the area, including access to safe harbors for
291 the Committee to use in case of need.

292 * Gauge the attitude of the peoples of Indonesia and the East Indies regarding the Republic
293 of Indonesia or the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

294 – Requested a report from the UNSC regarding the 1945 withdrawal of Japanese troops from
295 the area to better ascertain the origins of current conflicts in the region of Indonesia and the
296 East Indies.

- 297 – Interviewed a Representative of the Peoples of Indonesia who discussed dissatisfaction with
298 the Renville agreement, stating that it was signed under considerable duress, and a general
299 mistrust of the Dutch government's willingness to uphold a ceasefire, as well as other agree-
300 ments made both within the document and verbally communicated as a condition of the
301 agreement.
- 302 – Learned of the Indonesian president cabinet Four Point Program.
- 303 – Received word back from the Commission Staff in their respective areas that intense fighting
304 continues; specifically on the Dutch side.
- 305 – Received a message from the Dutch on their gratefulness of the Renville Agreement; however,
306 urged the continuation and implementation of this Agreement to ensure their amenability
307 and safety toward the Indonesian people.
- 308 – Due to Lt. Governor Van Mook's delay, requested a Dutch official who is available to speak on
309 Dutch's hand in the Madura plebiscite, sentiments since the Renville Agreement, and overall
310 gauge of their attitudes.
- 311 – Received information of the current opinions and emotions since the Renville Agreement:
- 312 * The youth of Indonesia have become highly involved and sympathetic in the Nationality
313 of the Federal US of Indonesia; however, due to much change they have felt a disconnect
314 with their government and question the future of their country.
- 315 * Found accurate reporting of war and siege, yet found no specific evidence of voter op-
316 pression.
- 317 • **Determination of Fault**
- 318 – There is no question currently before the Committee that requires a determination of fault.
- 319 • **Recommendations to the United Nations Security Council**
- 320 – The Committee recommends that the UNSC advise the Dutch government to adhere to the
321 terms of the Renville agreement and the mutual understandings under which the agreement
322 was made between the Dutch government and the Indonesian government, mediated by the
323 Committee of Good Offices.
- 324 – In particular, the Committee recommends that the Security Council remind the Dutch gov-
325 ernment of their obligations under the Renville Agreement and the agreements they made
326 during the negotiation process, including the agreement to:
- 327 * A six (6) month period between the Renville Agreement and the administration of any
328 plebiscite;
- 329 * The inclusion of both governments in the proctoring of said plebiscite;
- 330 * And the oversight of the Committee of Good Offices in the administration of the plebiscite.
- 331 – Recommends a call for an immediate halt to the ongoing plebiscite occurring on the island
332 of Madura.
- 333 * Any results already generated should not be considered binding.

334 **5.2 UNCGO Interim Report for the period of 31 January 1948 to 26 February 1948**

335 • **Overview:**

- 336 – The Committee has continued investigations regarding the Indonesian question.
- 337 – The Committee met with Lieutenant Governor-General Hubertus van Mook on the island of
338 Madura to discuss the referendum that took place on that island on 23 January 1948 in con-
339 tradiction to the Renville Agreement signed 14 January 1948.

340 • **Activities of the Committee to date (26 February 1948):**

- 341 – Notified the Dutch government of our arrival at Madura.
- 342 – Landed on the island of Madura in the Dutch sector with goals of:
- 343 * Monitoring and identifying polling locations.
- 344 * Interviewing the locals in Madura.
- 345 * Begin questioning the Dutch and their local forces on their timely cooperation with this
- 346 Commission and their compliance of the Renville Agreement.
- 347 * Assess the restrictions on public expression.
- 348 – On the island, the Committee interviewed local residents about the referendum that took
- 349 place on 23 January 1948 on the state of Dutch restrictions on the people of the island and
- 350 the pressure put on those people by the Dutch government to vote one way or the other in
- 351 the election.
- 352 * Heard reports of possible pressure and mutual consensus to vote in a particular manner,
- 353 including arrests to secure this, though this has not yet been verified.
- 354 – The Committee also met with Lieutenant Governor-General Hubertus van Mook, who asserted
- 355 that the Madura status referendum of 23 January 1948 would be finalized in contradiction of
- 356 the Renville Agreement, and that additional referendums were being planned by the Dutch
- 357 government in the East Indies, and that the Dutch government would not be seeking the the
- 358 observation of these elections by the Committee, all in contradiction of the 14 January 1948
- 359 Renville Agreement and Security Council Resolution 31 [S/525. II].
- 360 * Stated he was unconcerned with the general disregard of agreements made as condi-
- 361 tions of the Renville Agreement and stated an intent to continue to disregard the agree-
- 362 ment, the will of the Commission, and the will of the Indonesian people.
- 363 * He was also unconcerned with the reports of voter suppression occurring and its effect on
- 364 democracy. Substantiation of these claims are now a part of the ongoing investigation.
- 365 – Opened investigations regarding the legitimacy of statistical evidence from the Dutch-administered
- 366 plebiscite regarding voter turnout, election results, and other relevant data points.
- 367 * Continuing investigations into the presence of voter suppression via this inquiry.
- 368 – Pursuant to the Security Council Resolution dated 26 February 1948, the Committee has placed
- 369 a particular emphasis on investigating the political situation in West Java and the island of
- 370 Madura.
- 371 • **Determination of Fault:**
- 372 – This Committee has determined the hosting of a plebiscite by the Dutch government on the
- 373 island of Madura on 23 January 1948 was in violation of with the guidelines set in place by the
- 374 Renville Agreement, due to the following:
- 375 * The plebiscite was held on 23 January 1948, only nine (9) days after the signing of the
- 376 Renville Agreement, violating the agreed-upon six (6) month waiting periods;
- 377 * The plebiscite was not observed by the Committee or other UN officials to ensure fairness
- 378 and impartiality during the election;
- 379 * The government of the Dutch East Indies made no attempt to seek the Committee's over-
- 380 sight of the referendum;
- 381 * The government of the Dutch East Indies made no attempt to communicate the existence
- 382 of a referendum to the Committee;
- 383 * The government of the Dutch East Indies advised the Commission to not delve further into
- 384 our investigation of pressures and oppression in this election;
- 385 * When contacted by the Committee, the government of the Dutch East Indies gave no
- 386 response to inquiries about the existence or status of the Madura island referendum;

- 387 * The government of the Republic of Indonesia was not involved in the discussion or ad-
388 ministration of this referendum.
- 389 – For the above violations of the Renville Agreement, the Committee additionally finds fault on
390 the part of the government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands for acting in bad faith before
391 the Committee, in contravention of Security Council Resolution 31 [S/525. II].
- 392 • **Recommendations to the United Nations Security Council:**
- 393 – The Committee further recommends that the UNSC advise the Dutch government to ad-
394 here to the terms of the Renville agreement and the mutual understandings under which
395 the agreement was made between the Dutch government and the Indonesian government,
396 mediated by the Committee of Good Offices.
- 397 – Recommends that the UNSC instruct the Dutch government to adhere to the expectation of
398 good faith in its relations with the government of Indonesia, the Committee, and the United
399 Nations.
- 400 – In particular, the Committee recommends that the Security Council remind the Dutch gov-
401 ernment of their agreement to:
- 402 * A six (6) month period between the Renville Agreement and the administration of any
403 plebiscites;
- 404 * The inclusion of both governments in the proctoring of any such plebiscites;
- 405 * And the oversight of the Committee of Good Offices in the administration of the plebiscite.
- 406 – Recommends that UNSC not recognize the results of the Madura island plebiscite due to the
407 government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands's violations of the 14 January 1948 Renville
408 Agreement in the administration of said plebiscite on 23 January 1948.
- 409 – Recommends that the Security Council call for an immediate halt to the ongoing process of
410 government formation occurring on the island of Madura and in West Java in contravention
411 of the Renville Agreement and without the supervision of the Committee.
- 412 * Further, that the results of any plebiscites conducted in violation of the Renville Agreement
413 already generated should not be considered binding, and that any such election should
414 be delayed or reorganized with the oversight of the Committee and in compliance with
415 the six (6) month waiting period established therein.

416 **5.3 UNCGO Interim Report for the period of 26 February 1948 to 5 March 1948**

- 417 • **Overview:**
- 418 – The Committee has continued investigations regarding the Indonesian question.
- 419 – We have determined continued fault on the part of the Dutch government and have ex-
420 panded our inquiries into the humanitarian situation caused by the ongoing violations of the
421 Renville Agreement by the government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.
- 422 • **Activities of the Committee to date (5 March 1948):**
- 423 – Pursuant to the Security Council's emphasis on West Java and Madura, the Committee opened
424 land-based staff offices in the city of Jakarta (Batavia) on the island of Java and on the island
425 of Madura.
- 426 – Sent cable to the Indonesian government, specifically Indonesian Nationalist Leaders, to re-
427 quest their presence in front of the Committee and their disposition towards the continuation
428 of the current peace plan as outlined in the Renville Agreement.
- 429 – Sent cable to the Dutch on their disposition towards the continuation of the current peace
430 plan as outlined in the Renville Agreement.

- 431 – The Committee received reports that the Dutch government has officially established the
432 state of West Java, in contravention of the Renville Agreement and against the instructions
433 of the Committee.
- 434 – Received a petition from the Indonesian government against the Dutch charging the Dutch
435 with violations of Renville Agreement during the referendum process in Madura and West
436 Java and questioning the validity of its results.
- 437 – Received reports from observers in rural areas stating that the overwhelming majority of cit-
438 izens favor Indonesian nationalism but are discouraged by the ongoing blockade by Dutch
439 forces.
- 440 – Sent a cable to the Dutch government emphasizing the UNSC 41 Resolution, which requests
441 the halt of all plebiscites and recognizes violations of the Renville Agreement by the Dutch
442 government.
- 443 * Additionally, the Committee informed the Dutch government on its investigation regard-
444 ing the conflict on 9 December 1947.
- 445 – Requested observers in the Rawagede Village to report on the attack on 9 December 1947,
446 obtaining information regarding the origin of the skirmish, the actions of both parties, and
447 the casualties endured.
- 448 – Invited both Vice President Mohammed Hatta of the Republic of Indonesia and a represen-
449 tative from the Kingdom of the Netherlands to speak before the Committee regarding each
450 government's disposition on the progress of peace.
- 451 • **Determination of Fault:**
- 452 – The determination of fault at this time remains unchanged from the previous interim report of
453 the Committee, transmitted to the Security Council on 26 February 1948, with continued fault
454 on the part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in violation of the Renville Agreement.
- 455 • **Recommendations to the United Nations Security Council:**
- 456 – The Committee reaffirms the recommendations transmitted to the Security Council on 26
457 February 1948, and recommends further action by the Security Council to reinforce the sen-
458 timents expressed therein should the Dutch government continue to act in contravention of
459 the Renville Agreement and Security Council Resolution 41 [S/678].
- 460 * To this end, the Committee recommends that the UNSC continue to withhold recognition
461 of the results of the Madura island plebiscite due to the government of the Kingdom of the
462 Netherlands's violations of the 14 January 1948 Renville Agreement in the administration
463 of said plebiscite on 23 January 1948.
- 464 * Recommends that the Security Council continue to call for an immediate halt to the on-
465 going process of government formation occurring on the island of Madura and in West
466 Java in contravention of the Renville Agreement and without the supervision of the Com-
467 mittee.
- 468 * Further, recommends that the Security Council renew its insistence to the government of
469 the Kingdom of the Netherlands that any activities undertaken by that party in the East
470 Indies must abide by the stipulations of the Renville Agreement and that any elections
471 or referenda scheduled by Dutch authorities in the region in question must be delayed
472 or reorganized with the oversight of the Committee and in compliance with the six (6)
473 month waiting period established in the aforementioned agreement.
- 474 – Requests an end to the Dutch blockade surrounding the Indonesian territories, with the under-
475 standing that to blockade or otherwise interdict trade without just cause may be considered
476 an act of war by the affected parties and in violation of previous agreements made by the
477 Dutch government.
- 478 – In response to the effect the Dutch blockade is having on the Indonesian people, the Com-
479 mittee formally requests that the UNSC begin a humanitarian mission within Indonesia under

480 the auspices of UNCGO to relieve strain on the populace and help re-establish faith in the
481 processes of the United Nations.

482 **5.4 UNCGO Interim Report for the period of 5 March 1948 to 15 March 1948**

483 • **Overview:**

- 484 – The Committee has continued investigations regarding the Indonesian question.
- 485 – UNCGO has received new information on the military movements and dispositions of Dutch
486 and Indonesian forces that have prompted new action and new findings on the part of the
487 Committee.

488 • **Activities of the Committee to date (15 March 1948):**

- 489 – Interviewed a representative of the Republic of Indonesia and a representative from the King-
490 dom of the Netherlands to speak before the Committee regarding each government's dis-
491 position on the progress of peace.
 - 492 * The Kingdom of the Netherlands emphasized the importance of providing safety and sta-
493 bility in the region as a whole as their reasonings for the continued naval blockade and
494 expedition of holding a plebiscite:
 - 495 · Firmly committed that Indonesia violated the Renville Agreement first.
 - 496 * The Representative of the Republic of Indonesia affirmed that their government is no
497 longer actively involved passed the "Van Mook Lines" and shows willingness to use their
498 influence to stop engagement against the Dutch military:
 - 499 · Stressed importance of ensuring the referendums are fair and free.
 - 500 · Pleaded for the removal of the blockade to allow for their people suitable resources
501 and aid.
 - 502 – The representative of the Netherlands reported 4000 irregular Indonesian troops within Dutch
503 territory.
 - 504 * The Committee has not substantiated these claims, but has found evidence of raiding
505 activity against the Dutch side of the van Mook lines.
 - 506 * The Indonesian Government maintains it has no affiliation with these non-state actors
507 and that they fall under the territory of the Dutch as outlined within the Renville Agreement,
508 and as such are the responsibility of the Netherlands absolving the Indonesian govern-
509 ment of any violation of the Renville Agreement.
 - 510 – Received reports from the representative of the Republic of Indonesia explaining the with-
511 drawal of 35,000 troops from Dutch territory after the establishment of the Renville Agree-
512 ment.
 - 513 * Such reports were substantiated by the Committee's in-country observers.
 - 514 – Received reports from the Committee's observers near the current Van Mook Lines that de-
515 scribed offensive maneuvers of Dutch military forces, attacking Indonesian troops on Indone-
516 sian territory under conditions of retreat.
 - 517 – Received reports from the Committee's observers in the Rawagede village regarding the
518 massacre on 9 December 1947:
 - 519 * The observers spoke with a widow in the village and she provided information about the
520 massacre.
 - 521 * Dutch troops invaded the village in order to quell republican sentiments in the region;
 - 522 * Unarmed men of military age were questioned about their involvement with the forces of
523 the Republic of Indonesia and promptly executed, resulting in the death of over 430 men
524 aged 15 and above and the dissolution of the remaining villagers to surrounding areas.

525 – Sent cable to the Kingdom of the Dutch to express the Committee’s sincere appreciation for
526 their patience and cooperation in the Committee’s ongoing investigation and to inform them
527 of the Committee’s plan for implementing greater security and maintenance of the Van Mook
528 demilitarized zones, formally agreed in the Renville Agreement, and requested by the govern-
529 ments of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia.

530 – Interviewed the Dutch representative to the United Nations at their request in an emergency
531 session of the Committee in regard to previous conversations over the activities of the Com-
532 mittee.

533 • **Determination of Fault:**

534 – Finds the Dutch government still at fault for the aforementioned violations of the Renville
535 Agreement, as detailed in the 5 March 1948 and 26 February 1948 interim reports.

536 – Finds the Republic of Indonesia in substantial compliance with the provisions of the Renville
537 Agreement, in particular regarding their withdrawal of all military forces under their control
538 onto their side of the van Mook lines, totaling more than 35,000 troops.

539 – Finds fault on the Dutch government for taking offensive action passed the “van Mook Lines”
540 against troops of Indonesia under conditions of retreat based on observations gathered de-
541 spite the understanding from the Dutch government that they have upheld their commitment
542 to remain non-aggressive.

543 – Finds no fault on the part of the Dutch government for the violation of the Renville Agreement
544 in substance or in spirit for the defensive actions taken against irregular forces continuing to
545 harass and raid the Dutch-administered territories on their side of the van Mook lines.

546 – Further finds no fault on the part of the Indonesian government for the continued presence of
547 irregular raiders on the Dutch side of the van Mook lines, in the view that forces that continue
548 to harass and raid the Dutch administered territories are not affiliated with the forces of the
549 government of the Republic of Indonesia in command or direction, and that those forces that
550 continue to raid the Dutch side of the van Mook lines are not military in nature, but instead
551 criminal gangs without direction or authority.

552 – Finds full fault on the part of the government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands for the com-
553 mission of the Rawagede massacre, in which the Committee has substantiated the execution
554 of no less than 430 unarmed non-combatants by the forces of the Dutch government in an
555 attempt to suppress republican sentiment within the territories on the Dutch side of the van
556 Mook lines.

557 – Finds full fault on the part of the government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands for the con-
558 tinuation of the blockade against the Republic of Indonesia, in contravention of the spirit and
559 substance of the Renville Agreement as well as Security Council Resolution 43, adopted on 15
560 March 1948.

561 • **Recommendations to the United Nations Security Council:**

562 – In response to the effect the Dutch blockade is having on the Indonesian people, the Com-
563 mittee formally requests that the UNSC continue to support a humanitarian mission within In-
564 donesia under the auspices of UNCGO to relieve strain on the populace and help re-establish
565 faith in the processes of the United Nations.

566 – Pursuant to the authority granted to the UNCGO by the Security Council in Security Council
567 Resolution 31 [S/525. II], as well as to the invitation of the Dutch and Indonesian governments
568 for external and impartial observers to ensure the continuation of the ceasefire and the invio-
569 lability of the van Mook demilitarization lines in points 2, 3, 5, 7(d), and 8 of the Renville Agree-
570 ment signed 17 January 1948 and in accordance with the will of the parties as expressed to
571 the Committee for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the preservation of the cease-
572 fire along the van Mook lines, requests the establishment of a formal observation and security
573 force under the jurisdiction of the United Nations Security Council under the direction of the
574 UNCGO as its representatives in the territory under dispute.

- 575 * Further requests that this force be additionally directed and equipped to assist in the safe-
576 guarding of the United Nations's humanitarian assistance program to the citizens of the
577 Republic of Indonesia and the Dutch East Indies for the duration of the existence of the
578 blockade.
- 579 - Requests that, upon the establishment and deployment of the aforementioned observer and
580 security force for the maintenance of the van Mook demilitarized zones, and the establish-
581 ment by the Committee of conditions amenable to the continuation of formal negotiations
582 between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia, that the representa-
583 tives of both parties be invited by the Security Council to a round-table conference mediated
584 by the UNCGO with the aim of enacting the peace plan proposed and accepted by both par-
585 ties under the Linggadjati Agreement signed 25 March 1947, the Renville Agreement signed 17
586 January 1948, and the unanimous will of the Security Council under Security Council Resolu-
587 tion 31 [S/525. II], adopted 25 August 1947.