

by Major General Charles A. Willoughby

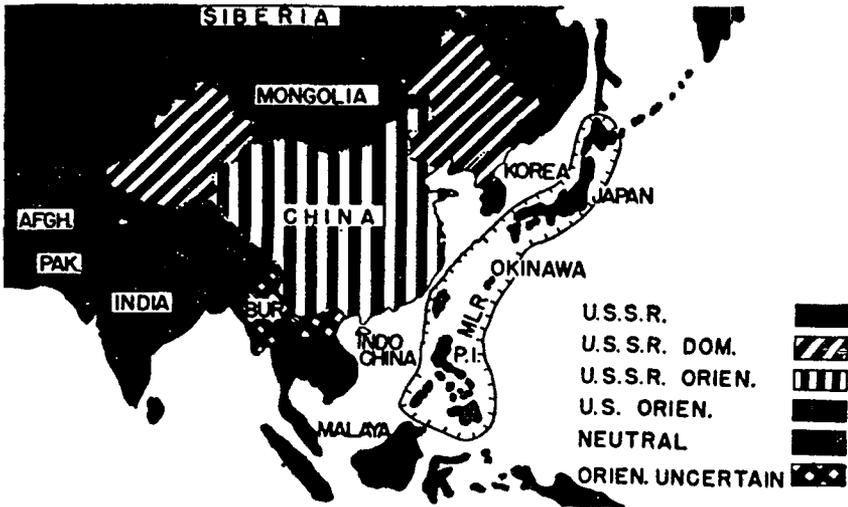
## Indonesia, The U.S. and The UN

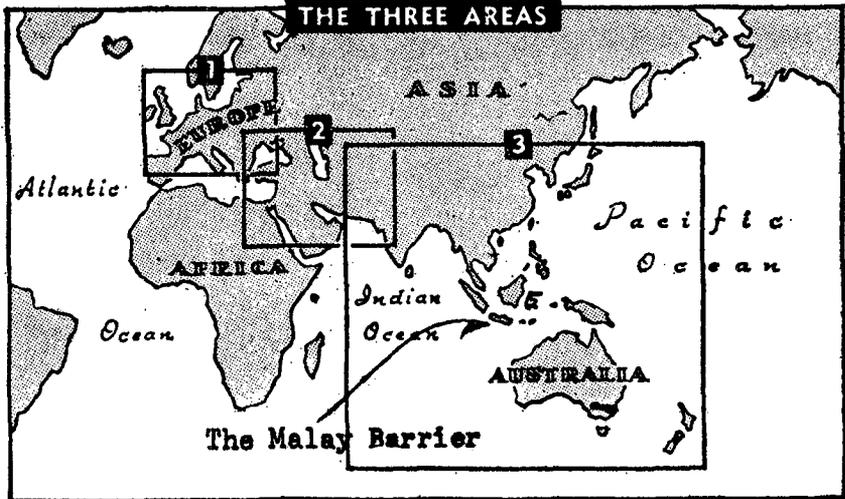
INDONESIA, a chain of 3,000 islands, is sometimes known as the *Malay Barrier*, as it separates the Indian Ocean from the Pacific Ocean and controls the historic sea lanes from India to the Orient. This area is as important as the Suez Canal. It is no accident that global Communism is active in this region. Soviet operations, from the Carribean to the Middle East and Indonesia have a common denominator—Oil!

As far as the United States is

concerned, the “sovietization” of Indonesia would challenge the ultimate purposes of the Pacific War: we would have fought it uselessly.

The United States has defined an ultimate defense line in the Pacific, an “American Main Line of Resistance,” from which it cannot retreat: the island chain running from Japan, via Okinawa, Formosa, the Philippines and Dutch New Guinea, toward Australia. Indeed, MacArthur’s wartime advance to





the Philippines was by way of Australia, Papua and the Mollucas.

The communization of Indonesia is a direct threat to the southern anchor of the American main line of resistance. The weakening of this line is a prime Sino-Soviet objective; it explains the war in Korea and the ceaseless pressures on Formosa.

The Russians follow the Japanese wartime invasion path in Southeast Asia, utilizing local Communist parties, puppet governments, fellow travellers and stooges.

The United States fought the Pacific War to stop Japanese imperialist expansion. Are we to capitulate now to indirect infiltration by World Communism, aiming at the same strategic targets, in terms of control of the sea lanes from the Indian Ocean to the China Sea, in

terms of control of the richest strategic prize in the Far East?

There are many factors contributing to this dangerous state of affairs. We identify at least two of them—the Soviet *appeasement* at Yalta and political *maneuvers* within the United Nations, in particular, the noisy, ideological sponsorship of *anti-colonialism*. The United States has long been a party to this glittering, political deception; we can be said to have been the originators and ardent promoters.

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It was Woodrow Wilson who coined the phrase, "self determination for all nationalities," only to usher in the Communist take over, from the Baltic to the Black Sea. It became an *idée fixe* with the State Department, heavily underscored by Sumner Welles ". . . the age of Imperialism is over. The right of people for freedom must be recognized. . . ." Nothing was said that *freedom* also entails moral responsibility. No time was allotted for a gradual evolution toward fiscal responsibility and law and order, which were Teddy Roosevelt's prerequisites in dealing with unstable, revolutionary governments in South America, a position of realistic common sense, differing widely from Wilson's or Welles' semantic idealism.

**T**HE United States has made use of the United Nations—and vice versa—to force the British from their Suez Canal position, the Israeli from the fruit of victory, the French from the Levant (and now North Africa) and the Dutch from Indonesia. Nothing was done, however, about Russia's own "colonialism," ranging brutally from Riga to Budapest.

*Anti-colonialism* and *self determination* became a convenient cover for adventurers and wartime Quislings, while the American public was brainwashed to accept these people as modern replicas of George Washington.

The evolution of Nasser, the explosive situation in the Middle East, the civil war in Algiers, the Nixon incidents in the Caribbean are part of a common pattern of corrosive subversions, to uproot Western influence.

Current events in Indonesia, although years in the making, represent a characteristic example of how Wilson's "self determination" can boomerang to the ultimate ruin of Western interests.

It is a significant case history of how a fanatical Japanese collaborator, a clear-cut wartime Quisling, was eventually parleyed into control of 3,000 islands, with the idiotic connivance of the United Nations. It is also a case history of the cynical betrayal of a faithful, wartime ally, the Dutch Government, which could have struck a profitable bargain with the Japanese invaders and, like Siam, survived unscathed. Instead, it chose to fight, as did Chiang Kai-shek, only to be sold down the river by postwar Stalinist appeasers.

Here are the highlights of a sinister betrayal:

1923: The "Communist International," the Soviet staff for foreign subversion, fostered colonial unrest all over the world.

1927: Communist revolts broke out in Sumatra and Java though the Dutch stopped this movement. Sukarno and Hatta were implicated.

1940: On the eve of World War

II, Indonesia became important to the West because of vital raw materials, tin, oil, rubber, bauxite and other products. The Japanese army understood this and Indonesia became one of its chief targets for conquest. Conversely, the Allies decided to defend the area. If we substitute Russia, 1957, for Japan, as of 1941, Indonesia remains as important as ever and its control, in wrong hands, spells diplomatic problems and strategic danger for the West.

1942: The Japanese overran the Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia). The Dutch population was herded into concentration camps, to endure every privation and indignity. The chief instigator of that repressive policy was Sukarno. He had become the political advisor to the Japanese occupation forces. Sukarno's collaboration with the invader was complete and went much further than the Hitlerite "Quislings" of Western Europe. He arranged for the delivery of 2,000,000 Indonesians as a labor force, *Romusha*, for the Japanese Army, on military projects in Java, Papua, Soroco, Burma and Siam, where they were treated as coolie slaves. He formed a home-guard Army, similar to the "Hitler Jugend" to be trained and armed by the Japanese. In spite of this record, Sukarno was supported by the postwar UN, an early example of that "double standard of morality" for which the UN was to become notorious in

the wake of the Hungarian uprising: the Quislings and collaborators of Europe were tried as war criminals; in the Far East, they were parleyed into positions as chief magistrates.

1945: When defeat was imminent, Count Terauchi, the Japanese officer in Command, summoned Sukarno and Hatta to Saigon, August 9, and the "Indonesian Republic" was formed under Japanese instructions. Technically, it was the "Communist Students Committee" that proclaimed the "Republic" on August 17 from the house of Japanese Rear-Admiral Maeda. The Japanese troops then withdrew to comfortable camp sites and refused further responsibility for law and order. Contrary to the terms of surrender, they furnished arms and equipment to the Javanese "home guards." Weeks elapsed before a small British force appeared to take charge. In the interim, Sukarno was free to assume power, and a reign of terror was promptly instituted.

THE DELAY of entry into action by the British was due to a poorly disguised but suspicious international maneuver: MacArthur had just completed the easy conquest of Borneo and could have proceeded to Java next door without difficulty. He was suddenly deprived of authority and the area was turned over to Mountbatten, who was in Ceylon. The latter had no troops

available. The Dutch wanted to step in but had no ships, as they were all under the control of the British, who refused to release them. These measures were obviously designed to keep the Dutch from resuming authority and promote Sukarno's hold on Java. The plot must have been hatched in either London or Washington and represents the betrayal of a faithful wartime ally and the calculated promotion of a communist-tainted Japanese collaborator.

ADOPTING Wilson's and Sumner Welle's doctrine of self determination" (savagely abused by Russia), fellow-travelling Sukarno made clever use of this stereotyped American obsession in pronouncing his own slogan: *Mordeka* (i.e. "national unity"). This was sheer demagoguery. The Indonesian reality comprised 58 languages or dialects, varying customs, laws and stages of social development, with hostility toward each other the rule rather than the exception.

The calculated absence of authority spawned irresponsible and criminal elements. The ensuing months saw horrible scenes of cruelty and mass hysteria. All the successive phases of the French Revolution seemed to follow each other inexorably, in Soerabaya, with a gruesome "peoples' tribunal" in the principal club, where a number of defenseless Dutch and Eurasians were "tried" and delivered to a

criminal mob, to be clubbed and speared to death. The Governor of East Java, estimated that in the Republican disorders some 2,000,000 natives and other inhabitants lost their lives and properties.

1946: The Dutch sought a peaceful solution in recognizing Sukarno on Java. As early as 1942, the Queen had promised a "federation of autonomous colonies" after the war. Understanding the Indonesian reality, the Dutch recognized the so-called "outer islands," Celebes, Borneo and the Molluccas, which were never reconciled to a central government on Java. The Dutch plan was never given a chance for implementation. Today, the spontaneous rebellion of the "outer islands" against centralist Java affirms the soundness of Dutch initial planning.

1947: Sukarno pledged acceptance of the principle of federation and a "Dutch-Indonesian Union." The Dutch entered into formal agreements at Lingadjati and aboard the *USS Renville*. At this point, the Republic "Army" declared that they did not consider themselves "bound by these agreements." The Dutch retaliated at once in a brilliant parachute operation that captured Sukarno and his entire cabinet. This "police action" raised a world-wide furor. United Nations intervention was demanded by India (which was no surprise) and a strange bedfellow, Australia. The Security Council

had no prima-facie right to take action. The Dutch were still "sovereign." Belgium filed a resolution to test the competence of the Council with the International Court of Justice; it was brusquely denied. This is another instance of the "double standard," the moral cancer eating at the vitals of that body. The UN then appointed a "good offices committee" which eventually disposed of the Dutch. Competent American correspondents on the spot, of the caliber of H. R. Knickerbocker, summed it up: "We have forced out the Dutch so fast that the place of power they leave empty will be filled either by the Soviet Union or the United States. Considering the American record in China, the only people that can be happy about this are the Communists. . . ."

1949: The Dutch made a last attempt in a conference at the Hague. The "outer islands" looked to the Dutch when the Molluccas, a Christian enclave, flared into rebellion in 1950 and have been fighting Sukarno ever since. The pious phrases of the UN "charter" and Wilson-Welles "self-determination," of course, were not made applicable to this heroic minority. Wearied by pressure from London and Washington, the Dutch caved in and recognized the "Republic" of three thousand islands and the fiction of *Mordeka*.

1957: The "outer islands" successively developed separation based

on economic necessity and ethnographic differences. These include the Celebes, the lesser Sundas, the Molluccas and South Borneo. It is significant that the Dutch Government proposed this subdivision in 1942. The rebel leaders object to Sukarno's pro-Communist tendencies, though their real reasons were economic. Java contributes less than 20 percent toward exports that sustain Indonesia's foreign exchange. The other 80 percent come from outside Java. The "provincials" feel that Java absorbs the major share of income at the expense of badly needed local improvements. Dutch "colonialism" managed these problems efficiently while maintaining peace, order and prosperity.

SUKARNO's predilection toward Communism is subjective: a means for political power and personal aggrandizement. It is of long standing. He has neglected no opportunity to glorify the Soviet Union. Prewar Red leaders returned from exile, headed by Alimin. The record of communist connections by persons in the Sukarno entourage is voluminous. Sukarno's visit to Moscow impressed him deeply. He talked against "Western parliamentary systems" and proposed a "guided democracy" (i.e. Communism). In Jakarta, the Communists moved from fourth place, 96,000 to second place, 137,000. Nationwide, the commies won about 1,500,000 more votes than in 1955.

The so-called nationalist movements all over the world contain elements of communist agitation and guidance in every known instance; nationalist "leaders" are frequently communist stooges or socialists en route to communism. Fiscal responsibility and respect for private property used to be prime requisites for orderly government. Teddy Roosevelt used it as a criterion for political recognition. This sound principle went by the board. There is a growing tendency to repudiate financial and contractual obligations. Nationalism has become synonymous with confiscation of property. Nasser set the pace, recently; Mossadegh tried it in Iran. The UN is distinctly evasive on protection of property against confiscatory practices. Indonesia naturally repudiated her indebtedness to the Netherlands; then proceeded to expel Dutch citizens. Confiscation of properties was engineered by Sukarno as was the internment of the Dutch by the Japanese.

This latest outrage actually was in "retaliation" of the refusal of

the West to dislodge the Dutch from their last colonial area: West New Guinea. Sukarno called it "Irian," a phony appellation. There is not the slightest ethnic connection between Indonesia and New Guinea, occupied largely by savage, cannibalistic "stone age" tribes, Negritos, Papuans, and Melanesians. The New Guinea area is about 157,789 square miles and the natives are estimated at 194,460. "Colonialism"—the energy and skill of experienced administrators like the Dutch—may eventually develop this savage and raw land; Sukarno's Javanese are not likely to do it.

SUKARNO's aspirations must have shocked the Australians since there is no difference between Dutch and Australian New Guinea. The moral taint in these maneuvers is the fact that a war-time ally was betrayed. Yet, the Dutch are expected to stand with NATO, as if the "anti-Communist" front were exclusively limited to Europe—when we know that it is equally active in the Far East.

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### It Happened in September

- September 2: Treasury Department created by Act of Congress, 1789.
- 6: Colonists began settlement of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1628.
- 8: Last spike of Northern Pacific Railroad driven, 1883.
- 12: Orville Wright remained aloft one hour, 14 minutes, 1908.
- 18: Cornerstone of Capitol laid by President Washington, 1793.
- 30: Munich Pact signed by governments of England, France, Germany and Italy, 1938.

# REPORT from SAIGON

—Where our money may already have installed Ho chi Minh at the airport.

by Hilaire du Berrier

PRESSURE is building up in South-east Asia, towards an inevitable explosion. It may come tomorrow or next week or next year, and when it does the reverberation may well shake America. To put it simply, *the American taxpayer has been pouring around two million dollars a day into South Vietnam for the past three and a half years under the artificially-maintained delusion that he is bolstering a nation, and in turn, the free world, against Communism. An admitted 64 per-*

cent of this money has gone to pay a national army of 150,000 men, a civil guard of 45,000 men, and a police force of 15,000. How much more

has been diverted to pay the vast armies of informers attached to *the half dozen security organizations oppressing the country we shall never know. They are paid directly by the President, Ngo dinh Diem.*

*Mr. du Berrier is a former associate of Ngo dinh Diem. He accompanied the Diem mission to the Big Four conference in Geneva and has had wide-ranging experience in Indo-China politics. This article advances a point of view in regard to South Viet Nam which is strikingly different from that which has been advanced by other American commentators. In the interest of free public discussion, we believe that Mr. du Berrier's interpretation of the Saigon situation should be given serious consideration by the American people. His facts give a different picture of the Southeast Asia problem.*

No honest, informed authority can say that this sprawling, police-state machine with its interlocking networks of soldiers, civil guards, police, and paid informers, has hindered the infiltration of communists at all. What it has done is permit an unwanted dictator to remain in power. He was imposed on a people who never wanted him. Our money and arms and the advisers who have organ-