

**THE DOOR IS STILL OPEN
FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION
OF
THE WEST IRIAN PROBLEM**

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ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT SUKARNO
ON IDUL FITRI DAY, MARCH 8
1962

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DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

**MESSAGE BY H.E. PRESIDENT SUKARNO
ON IDUL FITRI AT THE PALACE GARDEN
ON MARCH 8, 1962.**

My Brothers and Sisters, the faithful,

First of all please accept my Islam greetings: Assalamu-'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.

And then—at the suggestion of Bapak Deputy First Minister, Coordinator in the Field of People's Welfare, but also consciously and readily—I ask forgiveness from all of you, Brothers and Sisters, of you here as well as from the entire Indonesian People from Sabang to Merauke, and also from whoever I know and whoever knows me. Please forgive me for all my faults made both consciously and unconsciously.

Brothers and Sisters,

Today we are saying our Id prayers at the court between Merdeka Palace and Negara Palace, and as said by Father Chatib just now, and by Bapak Muljadi Djojomartono, this day is the first day of the month, after we have performed our duty of fasting in the month of Ramadhan, a holy day and a day worthy of a celebration.

All of you know, that according to Islam, there are only two holy days for the followers of Islam, Idul Fitri and Idul Kurban. Just those two days, the others and even Friday are no holy days.

I even say, Brothers and Sisters, that although it is Id—Idul Fitri as well as Idul Kurban—a holy day, as far as I know there is not a single sentence, and not even a single word in our Holy Qur'an which read that on these two days, both Idul Fitri and Idul Kurban, we should have a holiday and

should be idle. I think, our Minister of Religious Affairs may correct me if I am wrong. It is suggested to honour this day, but there is no word in the Holy Qur'an, as far as I know, that commands us to rest and sit idle, to stop struggling and just have fun on Id-day. Am I right Pak Mul? Am I right Minister?

Now therefore, that we have heard the sermon of Father Chatib, after we have listened to the message by Pak Muljadi Djojmartono, which as usual was vigorous, enthusiastic and full of humour, let us once again consider and inscribe in our heart, that we are still in the midst of a struggle, are still making efforts, still fighting hard, working hard to the utmost of our ability to perform all the duties given to us by God Almighty and our Religion, both as concerns 'aam—our duty to ourselves—and our duties to kifajah, the community, our Fatherland, our Nation and our State. Among the duties for the benefit of our community, our Fatherland, State and Nation, there are many that we have not yet carried out, not yet completed.

Therefore, Brothers and Sisters, today it would be wise to imprint this once again. This is the first day of the month of Sjawal. Since yesterday, last night, the ninth month—the month of Ramadhan—has ended, in the middle of which all of us commemorated the Revelation of the Holy Qur'an.

Moslems everywhere in the world commemorated on that 17th of Ramadhan the Revelation of the Holy Qur'an; they did not just commemorate it, but they once again imprint in their hearts, that the Revelation of the Holy Qur'an was a happy occasion, an event which brings salvation and peace to all people who are willing to follow what has been written and ordained in the Holy Qur'an.

I, in my capacity of Head of State have therefore also delivered a message on that evening of the Revelation of the Holy Qur'an, a message which is—thank God—not only

known in our country, and has become a document to the entire nation, but it has also become well-known the world over. The echo of the Nuzulul Qur'an speech by the President of the Republic of Indonesia was not only heard in Sabang, Medan, Padang, Palembang, Tandjung Karang, Bogor, Djakarta, Bandung, Jogjakarta, Solo, Surabaya, Banjuwangi, Makasar, Ambon, on our small islands, but that echo was also heard in Washington, Moscow, Peking, London, Cairo, Beograd, Budapest, Warsaw, Paris Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, etcetera.

Why, Brothers and Sisters? Not because this Nuzulul Qur'an speech was delivered by the President of the Republic of Indonesia, no, but foremost because the basis, the content of that Nuzulul Qur'an speech was also the content of the hearts of the entire Indonesian People.

And it is also because of that that I say, thank God, that not only the Indonesian People of 96 million, but also the whole of mankind all over the world understand that the Nuzulul Qur'an speech delivered at the Negara Palace on the 17th of Ramadhan last, is the content of the hearts of the Indonesian People. The content of the hearts of the Indonesian People which is based on two matters:

First, that the Indonesian People love peace, that the Indonesian People will always endeavour that there will be peace—not only all over the world, but also between the Indonesian Nation and the Dutch Nation—but also that the Nuzulul Qur'an speech exposed the picture of the full resolve of the Indonesian People who love peace but love independence more, to restore West Irian as soon as possible within the territory under the authority of the Republic.

As regards these matters, Brothers and Sisters, there is no doubt any more among the people in the world, except for some persons among the Dutch whose minds are still frozen. It is even so that the U.S. Attorney General, Robert Kennedy,

did not hesitate to say that the claim to restore West Irian within the territory under the authority of the Republic was a serious claim of the Indonesian People. It is not just a claim of Sukarno, Subandrio, or Djuanda, or Nasution, but the claim of the entire Indonesian People, and the Indonesian People are prepared to do everything to bring West Irian under the authority of the Republic.

This is thoroughly understood, Brothers and Sisters, and today I sent up my thanks to God Almighty that people all over the world have come to know these two main points of my Nuzulul Qur'an speech. Now I confirm and affirm for the second time, that the Indonesian People love peace and is in the pursuit of peace, that the Indonesian People have resolve to restore West Irian within the territory under the authority of the Republic of Indonesia. That Nuzulul Qur'an speech was even an invitation of Indonesia to the Dutch People to solve the problem of West Irian peacefully. Inviting, offering, "let us have a peaceful solution of the problem of West Irian. Let us spare even a single drop of blood".

This is clear. I offered the Dutch in my Nuzulul Qur'an speech, "come, come, come let us solve this problem peacefully" I even said at that time, "do not think that we, the Indonesian People intend to humiliate the Dutch people". Yes, I said, if the West Irian problem has been solved peacefully by the Dutch with us, I shall go to the Netherlands to say frankly, open-heartedly, "thank you Dutch people, let us from now on normalize anew the international relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia".

This is clear, but from this place I affirm for the second time what I have said in my Nuzulul Qur'an speech at the Negara Palace at that time. I clearly said at the time, "to transfer the authority over West Irian to the Republic of Indonesia, the Republic of Indonesia, the Republic of Indonesia".

We, the People of Indonesia are not satisfied with Luns' statement the other day, that once West Irian will be decolonized, which means colonization, colonialism, subjugation of West Irian will be ended. Subjugation of West Irian will be ended, yes, there were words like "to give independence to West Irian". We want clarity as to what is meant by "giving independence, giving freedom, ending colonialism, subjugation of West Irian".

We object against, "in West Irian", so they say, "there will be liberty, independence, a Papua state established which is free". Neither do we want West Irian abandoned by the Dutch, and transferred to the United Nations. No, it must be abandoned by the Dutch, by the Dutch authority together with the Dutch army and all their power, and transferred to the Republic of Indonesia.

This is clear. The Dutch would say "Daar is geen woord Frans bij" — there is not a single word French in it, that is plain talk". Crystal clear, "het is zuiver Hollands, zuiver Nederlands — pure Dutch language".

Brothers and Sisters, in the Nuzulul Qur'an speech I also explained that while we want the use of peaceful means whereas I was offering, inviting formal negotiations, open and frank, "let us have formal talks, the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands, based upon the transfer of sovereignty over West Irian, Dutch sovereignty over West Irian to the Republic of Indonesia". In stating all these things I also said in that Nuzulul Qur'an speech, that the "Tri-Command" I gave on December 19, 1961 must be carried on. And I said this, not only to the Indonesian People, but also to the international world, to all the people in the world, that once the "People's Tri-Command" was issued on December 19, 1961, that "Tri-Command" must be carried on. And I repeat it here to the Indonesian people: "Come, carry on that People's Tri-Command, for there is

not a single word from me saying that I revoke that People's Tri-Command, not any word. Carry on that People's Tri-Command".

And all of you know the content of that People's Tri-Command. It is clear, the People's Tri-Command. As a preamble of that Tri Command I said, that I have already instructed the entire Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia to prepare themselves, to be ready for action. To be prepared at any moment to receive the instruction for liberating West Irian from Dutch colonialism.

That was the preamble of that Tri-Command. Further, it was clearly stated in the Tri-Command, "frustrate the Papua State, hoist the Red-and-White flag in West Irian, prepare for general mobilization". Daar is geen woord Frans bij — That is plain talk, that is clear Brothers and Sisters. So, if there is somebody who asks, what really is the People's Tri-Command, the answer will be, first of all, it is clear that I told the entire Indonesian people, 96 million strong from Sabang to Merauke, that I have already instructed the entire Armed Forces, yes, the entire Armed Services of the Republic of Indonesia, to be ready, to prepare themselves for my command at any moment to liberate West Irian from the stranglehold of the Netherlands,

That is number one.

Secondly, to frustrate efforts to establish the Papua State. Thirdly, to hoist the Red-and White flag in West Irian; fourthly to prepare for general mobilization.

These four points, Brothers and Sisters, I summarize in one phrase, which I often repeat, that is, to liberate West-Irian by whatever rightful means. The Indonesian people must liberate West Irian by whatever rightful means. And how? Oh, manifold Brothers and Sisters, it can be by way of infiltrations, entering into West Irian, our Fatherland. It can be by means of skirmishes, or large-scale fightings, or total war. All rightful ways must be followed, Brothers and Sisters, to restore West Irian

into the territory under the authority of the Republic. "Ook hier is geen woord Frans bij — this too is plain talk". It is clear.

I repeat, we, the Indonesian People are resolved to use whatever rightful means to restore West Irian into the territory under the authority of the Republic of Indonesia this very year, this year 1962.

Brothers and Sisters, this is the essence of the Nuzulul Qur'an speech: To propose peace, to propose negotiations, to propose working toward a peaceful solution, to propose that as a result of that peaceful solution, we will be able to normalize relations between the Netherlands and Indonesia, and vice versa. Yes, frankly, we intend to normalize anew the relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands, and the only way is peaceful solution of the West Irian problem. It is thus clear what the People's Tri-Command means. This was the essence of the Nuzulul Qur'an speech.

Now, at Idul Fitri, 14 days after Nuzulul Qur'an-day, I am again facing all of you who are saying Id prayers at this court between the Merdeka and Negara Palace, but also the entire Indonesian People from Sabang to Merauke, who are listening to this speech, yes, more than that, at this moment I am facing the whole world from the north pole to the south pole, circling the equator, all the people in the world. What should I say on a day like this, Brothers and Sisters, what should I say?

Brothers and Sisters, during the 14 days since the Nuzulul Qur'an speech, I got some information, signs, indications that the Dutch show some inclination to prepare themselves for formal talks — inclinations, signs, which I got from diplomatic sources. I see the signs of an existing tendency from the Dutch side to prepare themselves for formal negotiations to solve the West Irian problem.

Well then, there are signs, inclinations, preparations for formal negotiations to solve the West Irian problem. I frankly say that I have not received well-rounded and clear information as

yet, whether those formal negotiations are on the basis of solely discussing the procedure of transfer of authority over West Irian to the Republic of Indonesia. Possibly, there is some inclination to that effect, but it is not well-rounded and clear yet, that the formal negotiations will only proceed on the basis of *discussing the procedure of transfer of authority, of power, over West Irian to the Republic of Indonesia.*

Well then, you may evaluate for yourselves my words: signs, inclinations, preparations for talks, formal negotiations. But I repeat that to me it is not yet well-rounded and clear, whether or not the formal talks will be conducted solely for discussing the procedure of transfer of the administration of West Irian to the Republic of Indonesia. Possibly there is a tendency to that effect, but I have not received clear and well-rounded information yet.

Well then, Brothers and Sisters, that is how it now stands, now on Idul Fitri which we are celebrating together.

In the meantime, I again repeat what I have said on Nuzul Qur'an, do not revoke the People's Tri-Command. The People's Tri-Command must be carried on! I even say at this moment, that I expect from the Indonesian People that they intensify, intensify, intensify the application of what has been written, instructed in that Tri-Command. Intensify it, because remember Brothers and Sisters, within this year 1962 West Irian must be included already in the territory under the authority of the Republic.

Remember your friends in West Irian, not one or two, but lots of them are in prison. They are waiting for their liberation by the Republic of Indonesia. Remember, that the greater part of the West Irian people are living under Dutch colonial yoke. Remember, that the voices we hear from the West Irian in favour of the Dutch are only voices coming from the mouths of some people who are Dutch puppets only. But the greater part of the West Irian population have their mouths as if sealed,

-muted. They like to voice pro the Republic of Indonesia, they like to voice that West Irian be speedily returned to the territory under the authority of the Republic of Indonesia, but we know equally from the colonial period. Here also, Brothers and Sisters, here was only a handful, some per cent only, who dared state pro Republic, the greater part of the people was mute. This is also the case in West Irian at this moment. But I can say, that the greater part of the Indonesian people, the greater part of the Indonesian people living in West Irian are awaiting the liberation of West Irian by the Republic of Indonesia.

Therefore, Brothers and Sisters, let us clearly and firmly implement the People's Tri-Command. In the meantime, Brothers and Sisters, I continue, and I say this to the whole world: I continue to keep the door open for the Dutch to work out a peaceful solution with us, with the Republic of Indonesia. The door is still open, the door is still open for the Dutch to have a peaceful solution about West Irian with us, the Republic of Indonesia.

I ask this to be put down by, not only the ambassadors participating in the Id prayers here, but I ask this also to all pressmen here, Indonesian as well as foreign. I keep saying: "The door is still open for a peaceful solution, the door is still open for peaceful negotiations". But I also firmly say, I even instruct the entire Indonesian People to intensify the implementation of the People's Tri-Command, because history marches on, history does wait no more.

Apart from that, Brothers and Sisters, it has been repeatedly said by the Imam, the Chatib, by Pak Muljadi Djojomartono, by all the leaders of the Indonesian People, by me personally, that the liberation of a territory of ours which is occupied by the enemy, is a sacred duty so that we have the conviction and the resolve that the liberation of West Irian as soon as possible by whatever means — God willing — will get God's blessing.

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But inspite of this, Brothers and Sisters, let us not forget even for one second to pray to God Almighty for His blessing. Allah Whom we always praise, Allah Whom we always ask for strength and guidance, Allah Whom we always worship, Allah Who is the only place to find strength and guidance, Allah to Whom only we ask forgiveness, true forgiveness, Brothers and Sisters.

Allah Rabbul'alam, Allah the Creator of Mankind, the Creator of the Universe. God, Who is not only my God, not only Pak Muljadi Djojmartono's, not only Pak Djuanda's, not only Pak Martadinata's, not only Pak Saifuddin Zuhri's, not only Pak Subandrio's, not only Pak Zainul Arifin's, not only your God, and yours, and yours (pointing to those present-Ed.), but Allah Rabbul'alam, God the Creator of the Universe, in worship by the entire Universe. The God of Mankind.

This has been said clearly by Pak Muljadi just now, but he also said, that fitrah does not only come from man, but from all creatures. God is not only for Mankind, God is the centre of worship not only for human beings but also for the entire Universe. He is the God of those moving white clouds, Brothers and Sisters, He is also the God of that blue sky. He is the God of the sea wildly unfolding itself at the shores, the God of this tiny grass, on which all of you are seated, the God of the trees that shelter us beneath their branches, the God of-listen-those singing little birds-listen, Brothers and Sisters. God is also theirs, the God of those singing little birds, the God of all what lives, on this earth.

To Him, Brothers and Sisters, we pray for strength, for guidance, for blessing and guidance, in restoring part of our Fatherland, called Irian Barat within the territory under the authority of the Republic of Indonesia. And-God willing-may we obtain His blessing!

Assalamu'alaikum warachmatullahi wabarakatuh.

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