

Decolonisation or more?



FIGURE 1 – ARRIVAL OF THE SURINAMESE DELEGATION AT SCHIPHOL AIRPORT FOR THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE IN THE HAGUE ON THE 16TH OF JANUARY 1948. SOURCE: NATIONAAL ARCHIEF, DEN HAAG, FOTOCOLLECTIE ALGEMEEN NEDERLANDS FOTOPERSBUREAU (ANEFO), 2.24.01.08, BESTANDEELNUMMER 934-6743.

A VIEW ON DUTCH POLICY ON SURINAME IN THE PERIOD 1945-1955

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Abstract

This thesis argues that the role of Cold War politics in Dutch policy on Suriname between 1945 and 1955 was very limited, but was characterised by the Dutch fear of nationalism, decolonisation, and Pan-Americanism in Suriname, as well as modernisation and racism. The Second World War (WW II) changed the international relations profoundly and resulted in the Cold War. Decolonisation was a quickly progressing development at the time and the Soviet-Union and the United States tried to expand their territories in the former colonies. The independence of Indonesia in 1949 has long been seen as a consequence of the American interference based on their Cold War politics. However, on the other side of the world, the Dutch colony Suriname only reached their independence 25 years later. This is concluded based on the consulted Dutch governmental sources from the National Archive of the Netherlands.

Traditionally, the wish for autonomy in Suriname after WW II was defined as very small. Reform of the current relationship was seen by the Dutch government as sufficient to satisfy the Surinamese population. Based on this study, it can be concluded that the Dutch government was aware of the growing wish for independence and tried to maintain their control in the territory. The most important indication of this was the Dutch treatment of the Surinamese wish for representation in Washington and Caracas. The Dutch lack of cooperation and the deferral that is indicated in the treatment of the Surinamese wish demonstrates the Dutch fear of Surinamese nationalism and decolonisation. Racism and modernisation were also prominent factors in the Dutch policy on Suriname. The Dutch belief of their superiority and Surinamese inferiority was very obvious in the Surinamese struggle for representation in Washington and Caracas, as the Surinamese were seen as incapable of such a task because of their intellectual shortcomings. Moreover, the Dutch policy focused on the Westernisation of the Surinamese people and the Dutch believed that Suriname should be developed by financial and technical aid.

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|--|
| CIA | Central Intelligence Agency |
| CPN | Communist Party Netherlands (Original Dutch definition: Communistische Partij Nederland) |
| GB | Great-Britain |
| ICP | Indonesian Communist Party |
| NATO | North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation |
| PPP | Peoples Progressive Party |
| RTC | Round Table Conference |
| SG | Secretary-General |
| UN | United Nations |
| US | United States |
| WW II | Second World War |

Introduction

On the seventh of December 1942, Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands gave a speech on Radio Orange that is seen as the first official step on the path towards more autonomy for the Dutch colonies.¹ “It is my intention, that after the liberation, the opportunity will be provided to talk about the structure of the Kingdom and its territories in the changing circumstances. The therefore convened conference [...] in which prominent representatives from the three Overseas Territories of the Kingdom will gather with the prominent representatives of the Netherlands at a roundtable, was prepared in the then free territories of the Dutch-Indies, Suriname and Curacao.”²

The speech was a consequence of the growth of nationalism in the Dutch colonies, most prominently in Indonesia, as well as of mounting pressure from the United States (US).³ The US believed in self-determination, and modernisation, and aspired equal access to the colonial raw materials market. These factors were instrumental for the US to put pressure on the Dutch government in exile.⁴ The Queens speech was warmly welcomed in the colonies, where the aspiration for more autonomy had grown during the Second World War (WW II). After the liberation, however, the revolutionary words of the Queen had not been put into practice straight away. The Surinamese people had to wait until 1954 for the new charter with reform measures to enter into force.⁶

The timing of these decolonisation processes is intriguing as it took place during the Cold War. Shortly after WW II, the world became divided in the Soviet-Union (USSR) with its satellite states and the US with its North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO-) allies. In this new world order, the position of the (newly independent) colonies became of increasing importance for the USSR and the US. The role of the US in the Dutch decolonisation policy on Indonesia is highly debated in historiography. This in contrast to the historiography of the Dutch policy on Suriname, where the role of Cold War politics is only slightly discussed. Therefore, this thesis will focus on the question: how can the Dutch policy on Suriname be defined in the period 1945-1955? The findings of this study are put in a broader Dutch colonial policy context, by comparing them with the Dutch policy on Indonesia.

¹ Remco Raben, “Nederland en de (post)koloniale wereld” in: Jacco Pekelder, Remco Raben en Mathieu Segers ed., *De wereld volgens Nederland. Nederlandse buitenlandse politiek in historisch perspectief* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2015) 152-176, 158.

² Instituut voor Beeld en Geluid, Hilversum, Koningin Wilhelmina van Nederland, *Rede van Koningin Wilhelmina over de Rijksstructuur: De 7 December Rede 12028*, Speech Radio Orange 7 December 1942 (London, 7 December 1942), Digital Archive dragernummer REDE_VAN_KONI_AEN56055022

<http://in.beeldengeluid.nl/collectie/details/expressie/445631/false/true> (15th October 2017). “Het is in mijn bedoeling, na de bevrijding, de gelegenheid te scheppen om gezamenlijk te overleggen over een voor de veranderde omstandigheden passende bouw van het Koninkrijk en zijn deelen. De daartoe bijeen te roepen rijksconferentie [...] waarin vooraanstaande vertegenwoordigers van de drie overzeesche deelen van het Koninkrijk met die van Nederland aan een ronde tafel zullen samenkomen, werd in de toen nog vrije gebieds-deelen Nederlandsch-Indië, Suriname en Curaçao reeds voorbereid.”

³ Rosemarijn Hoefte and Gert Oostindie, “The Netherlands and the Dutch Caribbean: Dilemmas of decolonisation”, in: Paul Sutton ed., *Europe and the Caribbean* (London: MacMillan Education, 1991) 71-99, 73.

⁴ Robert J. McMahon, *Colonialism and Cold War. The United States and the struggle for Indonesian Independence, 1945-1949* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1981) 55-60.

⁵ Mark Philip Bradley, “Decolonization, the global South, and the Cold War, 1919-1962” in: Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad ed., *Cambridge History of the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 464-485, 476.

⁶ Nederlandse Overheid, “Statuut voor het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden” (28 October 1954, author unknown) <http://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0002154/2017-11-17> (accessed 02-12-17).

This perspective is of relevance because of the contrast with the developments towards independence between the former Dutch colonies after WW II. Both countries were part of the Dutch Kingdom for centuries, but between the recognition of the independence of Indonesia and Suriname is a gap of 25 years. Suriname managed to reform the relationship with the Netherlands through negotiation alone, whereas the “police actions” in Indonesia display the violent nature of the Indonesian battle of independence.⁷ In addition, in the existing research, the focus has mostly been on Indonesia and much less on Suriname. Emphasising on Suriname is therefore of relevance.

This thesis argues that the Dutch policy on Suriname was not shaped by Cold War politics, but was largely characterised by the Dutch fear of nationalism, decolonisation and Pan-Americanism, and by racism and modernisation. The primary sources of the time demonstrate that these characteristics were of utmost importance in defining the Dutch policy on Suriname. Cold War influences, however, were much less apparent in Dutch policies in Suriname, this in contrast to Indonesia. A way to explain this difference is, the almost absence of communism in Suriname, compared to the serious communist threat in Indonesia at the time. The Dutch officials were afraid of the communist threat in the Indonesian population and asked for US support for their violent actions, who became increasingly involved in Southeast Asia as a result. The Dutch policy regarding Indonesia was in this way highly influenced by the Cold War. This in contrast to Suriname where almost no people were attracted to communism which made it less important for the US to intervene.

By focusing on the first part of the Cold War one is able to base the research on a vast variety of sources from official origin. Furthermore, the early Cold War is of fundamental interest because of the US and USSR which both tried to expand their sphere of influence. The historian Odd Arne Westad argued that the Cold War was not just superpowers contesting over military power and strategic control, mostly centred on Europe, but most important aspects were “connected to political and social development in the Third World”.⁸ The struggles for independence around the world were for that reason of importance for both nations. The local struggles for autonomy in Suriname and Indonesia go back to before WW II. However, the speech of Queen Wilhelmina is a good starting point of this thesis, as it was the first open record of proposed reform. This, however, could only be enforced after WW II.

The Bandung Conference of 1955 forms a proper end of the time period of this thesis. During this Conference, thirty leaders from newly post-colonial countries discussed transnational, anticolonial ideologies of regional, race and class solidarities.⁹ This Conference could be marked as the start of new outlines of “a nascent alternative international order made up of former colonial states and peoples that tilted neither to the Soviet nor to the American side in the Cold War.”¹⁰ The Conference initiated a continuous stream of protest, mainly in

⁷ Raben, “Nederland en de (post)koloniale wereld”, 160.

⁸ Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War. Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 396.

⁹ Bob Moore, “The Realities of Diplomacy”, in: Martin Thomas, Bob Moore and L.J. Butler ed., *Crisis of Empire. Decolonization and Europe’s Imperial States, 1918-1975* (London: Hodder Education, 2008) 318-345, 336.

¹⁰ Bradley, “Decolonization, the global South, and the Cold War”, 480.

the UN. Because the newly post-colonial countries persisted in their opinion, they undermined the legitimacy of colonialism and caused public criticism, in Western-Europe, including the Netherlands.¹¹

Methodology and Sources

This study is based on various primary sources. Most of the primary sources come from the National Archive of the Netherlands, more specifically the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Colonies, and the Ministry of Justice.¹² The documents that are used are generally memoranda's, letters and reports from correspondence between Dutch ministers in The Hague, and ambassadors and policy officers in Paramaribo, Washington and The Hague. The sources provide a first-hand insight into Dutch colonial policies. Although the sources are extensively examined, further research would be necessary to further endorse the conclusions of this thesis.

These sources demonstrate that Dutch policy on Suriname in the period of the early Cold War was largely characterised by the Dutch fear of Surinamese nationalism and decolonisation. The independence movement in Suriname has traditionally been viewed as much weaker than in Indonesia.¹³ However, in this thesis, it is demonstrated that the Dutch government feared the growth of nationalism and decolonisation in Suriname. The most prominent example of this wish for more autonomy is the issue of Surinamese representation abroad. The Surinamese aspired Surinamese representation in Washington and Caracas which would report about issues that were of special importance for Suriname. The Dutch, however, saw no added benefit of sharing their positions and wanted to keep their international position to themselves. Furthermore, the role of Pan-Americanism is apparent in Dutch policy on Suriname. This factor has never been examined extensively in existing literature. This can be explained, because Suriname was not a member of the Pan-American Conference at the time, as only independent countries could be represented. Nevertheless, this study demonstrates that Pan-Americanism did influence the Dutch policy, as the Dutch government was afraid that the ideas of independence and the removal of European interference of the American continent would be attractive for the Surinamese population.

In addition to the nationalism, decolonisation and Pan-Americanism factors, this thesis analyses the role of modernisation in Dutch policy on Suriname. According to various authors, modernisation was not developed in the early Cold War, but was deeply rooted in Western-Europe and North America and came to the forefront during the Cold War.¹⁴ The idea of modernisation finds its origin in the commercial revolution of eighteenth-

¹¹ Bart Stol, "Trouwe koloniale bondgenoten. Nederland, België en de Europese dekolonisatie, 1945-1963", in: Duco Hellema, Rik Colsaet and Bart Stol ed., *Nederland-België. De Belgisch-Nederlandse betrekkingen vanaf 1940* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2011) 78-109, 92-93.

¹² The Ministry of Colonies changed its name several times in this period, namely in Ministry of Overseas Territories in 1945, in Ministry of Union Affairs and Overseas Territories in 1951, and in Ministry of Overseas Territories in 1953. Source: Parlement en Politiek, (Parlementair Documentatie Centrum van de Universiteit Leiden) "Ministerie voor Overzeese Gebiedsdelen" https://www.parlement.com/id/vjpkhyfkvevh/ministeries_voor_overzeese_gebiedsdelen (1st November 2017). The archives of these ministries are all consulted in this research.

¹³ Raben, "Nederland en de (post)koloniale wereld", 160.

¹⁴ Mark Berger, "Decolonisation, Modernisation and Nation-Building: Political Development Theory and the Appeal of Communism in Southeast Asia, 1945-1975", *Journal of Asian Studies*, 34 (2003) 421-448, 421. Also Michael Latham, *The Right Kind of Revolution. Modernization, Development, and U.S. Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011).

century Great Britain (GB), according to the historian Amanda Key McVety. Natural philosophers had gathered data and organised it into a coherent narrative, which brought about “a history of progress or movement”. They believed that this theory could be universally applicable. In the nineteenth century, however, people in the US and GB became uncertain about the universal applicability of this theory, and more and more people started to believe that “improvement was not the fate of all, but the triumphant destiny of some.”¹⁵ In March 1947 US president Harry S. Truman declared “that it must be the policy of the United States to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.”¹⁶ Herewith he believed that the US could contain the spread of communism, by recovering the economies of Western Europe.¹⁷

Furthermore, in 1949 Truman announced a new influential approach towards underdeveloped countries. In his inaugural address, he proclaimed that American future security demanded a strong UN, a flourishing European economy, a mutual security alliance, and the development of the underdeveloped world.¹⁸ This last idea was soon dubbed “Point IV” by the media. Truman pointed out that scientific advances and industrial progress should be made available for underdeveloped areas.¹⁹ American assistance was of main importance to reach these goals.²⁰ With its coming into force, “Point IV had become slightly more openly anti-communist, more supportive of America’s economic self-interest, and more devoted to strengthening world trade”, according to the historian Amanda McVety.²¹

In Dutch policy on Suriname, modernisation was used as a political objective. The theory was attractive because of the promise of development acceleration and “the perceived potential to link the promotion of development with the achievement of security.”²² This thesis demonstrates that the Dutch believed that the Surinamese population and territory had to be developed before significant reforms could be made. In Indonesia, modernisation was also implemented in policy because the Dutch feared the spread of Islam. The development was seen as a protective measure. In addition, modernisation is closely linked to racism, as the Western countries saw themselves as the superior race that was obliged to develop the underdeveloped territories. This thesis analyses the factor of race in Dutch policy on Suriname. In the existing literature, no research had been conducted solely on the influence of race in Dutch policy on Suriname in the early Cold War. Historians, however, do mention racism in studies, but only limitedly.²³ This demonstrates the relevance of this study.

Historiography

The Dutch policy on of Indonesia in the early Cold War has been analysed extensively in the existing literature. This provides an excellent context to put this research on Suriname in perspective. The historiographical situation

¹⁵ Amanda Kay McVety, *Enlightened Aid. U.S. Development as Foreign Policy in Ethiopia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) Improving Nations 1.

¹⁶ Robert J. McMahon, *Colonialism and Cold War. The United States and the struggle for Indonesian Independence, 1945-1949* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1981) 156-157.

¹⁷ McMahon, *Colonialism and Cold War* 158.

¹⁸ McVety, *Enlightened Aid*. 1.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid. 1-2.

²¹ McVety, *Enlightened Aid*. Truman’s Fourth Point 23.

²² Latham, *The Right Kind of Revolution* 2-3.

²³ For example in Gert Oostindie and Inge Klinkers, *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden. Het Nederlandse dekolonisatiebeleid in de Caraïben, 1940-2000. Deel I, 1940-1954* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000) 80.

for Suriname is, however, very different because the intellectual debate about Suriname's independence mainly focuses on the time right before the official independence in 1975. The Dutch authorities, however, commissioned a research on the Dutch colonial policy in the Caribbean. In 2000, the research of Gert Oostindie and Inge Klinkers: *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden. Het Nederlandse dekolonisatiebeleid in de Caraïben, 1940-2000* was published.²⁴ The books are of high importance for this thesis as they provide a complete overview of the Dutch policy during the period of decolonisation of the Caribbean.²⁵

This thesis indicates that the Dutch feared nationalism and decolonisation in Suriname and that these factors seriously influenced Dutch policy. However, in existing literature, Surinamese nationalism after WW II is seen as a small movement. Historians generally agree on the reasoning behind this absence of active nationalism in Suriname.²⁶ The historian Bob Moore argues that in Suriname little or no interest in independence existed, but an ambition for autonomy within a reconstructed Kingdom of the Netherlands did exist.²⁷ The historian Remco Raben explains the lack of nationalism, by pointing to the ethnically diverse population, mostly descendants of immigrants, who were almost not politically organised.²⁸ Moore endorses this thought and states that the suspicion and uncertainties between the various groups and their political representatives in Suriname from the 1940s were the major obstacles towards independence.

Another important aspect in the decolonisation historiography is the biased view historians often have, according to the historian Mark Bradley.²⁹ Most prominent are Western-American historians that have often described the developments during the decolonisation in the Cold War through the lens of actors from former Western empires. This in contrast to historians from Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America that were more focused on the colonised people instead of the colonisers. Bradley opposes the Western-American perspective, as it often denies the power of local actors.³⁰ As this thesis focuses on the Dutch policy on Suriname, it is relevant to keep in mind the biased perspective of Western-American historians and the power of local actors.

As the focus of this thesis is on Suriname in the early Cold War, with an Indonesian perspective, a short overview of the historiography of the Indonesian struggle for independence is at place here. The early historiography of the Indonesian independence is characterised by a widespread feeling in the Netherlands that the Dutch were forced by the US to give up their precious colony, Indonesia. In words of the historian Marc Frey, "Politicians, the media, and the public at large felt betrayed by a country that the Dutch had traditionally held in

²⁴ Gert Oostindie and Inge Klinkers, *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden. Het Nederlandse dekolonisatiebeleid in de Caraïben, 1940-2000. Deel I, 1940-1954* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000) en Gert Oostindie en Inge Klinkers, *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden. Het Nederlandse dekolonisatiebeleid in de Caraïben, 1940-2000. Deel II, 1954-2000* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000).

²⁵ Oostindie et al. *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden I* 9.

²⁶ The historians Gert Oostindie, Inge Klinkers, Remco Raben, and Bob Moore.

²⁷ Bob Moore, "Decolonization by Default: Dutch Disengagement in Suriname", in: Martin Thomas, Bob Moore and L.J. Butler ed., *Crisis of Empire. Decolonization and Europe's Imperial States, 1918-1975* (London: Hodder Education, 2008) 364-381, 367.

²⁸ Raben, "Nederland en de (post)koloniale wereld", 158.

²⁹ Bradley, "Decolonization, the global South, and the Cold War", 465-466.

³⁰ Ibid.

the highest regard.”³¹ The historian Alfred van Staden presented in 1974 the classic theory of the “loyal ally”, in which the Dutch were the “loyal ally” of the US during the decolonisation of Indonesia. The historian Thomas Schoenbaum endorses this view as he states that the US played a major role in cajoling, warning and threatening the Dutch to drive them towards independence.³² The “loyal ally” theory provides a unidirectional and one-dimensional nature of American power over the Dutch scene.³³ During this early period, few studies were conducted as scholars suffered a bad conscience about the greedy colonial past.³⁴

In the 1980s the view in which the US had taken Indonesia from the Dutch started to change, for example by the work of Pieter Drooglever in 1981, who stated that “one has to bear in mind that independence was in train anyhow, even before the US entered the scene. The forces leading up to it were far too great for the Dutch to restrain nor were they consciously willing to do so.”³⁵ More recently, the historian Duco Hellema, called for a replacement of the classic “loyal ally” theory, by a more complex and comprehensive approach, in which the Dutch punctuated loyalty to the US is still present, but not as the only factor.³⁶ Historian David Snyder goes even further by stating that the Dutch possessed greater agency than the argument of punctuated loyalty supposes.³⁷

The historian Bart Stol formulated in his recent publication that the period after Indonesian independence was characterised by the assumption that Western Europe had lost their international power after WW II. The War was seen as the element that devastated the countries and for this reason, could no longer control their colonies. Stol points out that the Japanese occupation damaged the Dutch power irretrievably.³⁸ Independence was viewed as the only logical consequence of the post-war developments. Stol argues that the rise of nationalism in the colonies, combined with the anti-colonial world powers, the US and USSR, were recognised as major contributors to decolonisation.³⁹ For this research on Suriname, this historiography of the struggle for independence in Indonesia is of importance, as it provides a context to the developments in Suriname.

³¹ Marc Frey, “Decolonization and Dutch-American Relations”, in: Hans Krabbendam, Cornelis A. van Minnen and Giles Scott-Smith ed., *Four centuries of Dutch-American Relations 1609-2009* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009) 609-631, 609.

³² Cees Wiebes en Bert Zeeman, ‘United States’ ‘Big Stick’ Diplomacy: The Netherlands between Decolonization and Alignment, 1945-1949’, *The International History Review* 14:1 (feb 1992) 45-70, 68.

³³ Alfred van Staden, *Een trouwe bondgenoot: Nederland en het Atlantisch Bondgenootschap 1960-1971* (Baarn: Uitgeverij In den Toren, 1974).

³⁴ H.L. Wesseling, “Dutch Historiography on European Expansion since 1945”, in: P.C. Emmer and H.L. Wesseling ed., *Reappraisals in Overseas History* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1979) 122-140, 129-130.

³⁵ Pieter J. Drooglever, “The United States and the Dutch Applecart during the Indonesian Revolution” in: Rob Kroes ed., *Image and Impact. American Influences in the Netherlands since 1945* (Amsterdam: Amerika Instituut, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1981) 33-47, 44.

³⁶ Duco Hellema, “The Politics of Asymmetry: the Netherlands and the United States since 1945”, in: Hans Krabbendam, Cornelis A. van Minnen en Giles Scott-Smith ed., *Four centuries of Dutch-American Relations 1609-2009* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009) 579-597, 579.

³⁷ David J. Snyder, ‘The Dutch Encounter with the American Century: Modernization Clientelism, and the Uses of Sovereignty during the Early Cold War’, *Dutch Crossing* 40:1 (2016) 10-23, 11

³⁸ Stol “Trouwe koloniale bondgenoten”, 79.

³⁹ Bart Stol *‘Een goede kleine koloniale mogendheid’. Nederland, Nieuw-Guinea en de Europese tweede koloniale bezetting in Afrika en Melanesie (ca. 1930-1962)* (Utrecht 2017) 12-13.

Chapters

The Cold War and the NATO-alliance have traditionally been seen in the Netherlands as the reason behind the loss of Indonesia. Therefore, the first chapter of this thesis will focus on what the role of the Cold War politics and communism was in Dutch policy on Suriname and Indonesia. Furthermore, the role of other external factors on the Dutch policy is examined, to broaden the perspective.

In the second chapter, the role of Surinamese nationalism and decolonisation in Dutch policy is analysed. The main focus of this chapter is the Dutch policy regarding the representation of Suriname in Washington and Caracas. Furthermore, the influence of Pan-Americanism on Dutch policy in Suriname is explored in this chapter. The last chapter focuses on what the role of race and modernisation was on Dutch policy regarding Suriname. The main question of this thesis, how the Dutch policy on Suriname during the early Cold War could be defined, is answered in the conclusion.

Chapter 1 – Communism and International Context in Dutch colonial Policy

International relations changed profoundly after WW II. In the fall of 1945, tensions between the superpowers grew. In the US and Western-Europe, the anxiety about the unclear objectives of USSR's politics increased. Both camps began to see each other more and more as an opponent.⁴⁰ As a result of the growing tension, the independence movements in the European colonies became to be seen as a subset of the bipolar geopolitical order, dominated by the US-USSR rivalry.⁴¹ Yet, Westad puts this view in perspective by stating that the US and the USSR were genuinely anticolonial in their origins, but became part of the older pattern of domination of foreign territories because they feared that the opponent might gain more support. Despite their anticolonial aspirations, the methods they used to impose their version of modernity in the Third World were in line with those of European Empires.⁴²

The research question of this chapter is: what were the international influences on Dutch policy on Suriname? In the first part of this chapter, the spread of communism and Cold War influences in Suriname and Indonesia will be examined. Furthermore, an analysis is provided of the Dutch policy regarding Suriname and Indonesia in relation to the communist influences. The second part will focus on external influences on Dutch policy in Suriname, for example, the UN.

1.1 Spread and Threat of Communism

Taking into account the Cold War influences and the presence of communist aspirations in the struggle for independence in Indonesia, one would expect a similar situation in Suriname. The Dutch feared comparable communist threats in Suriname as is demonstrated in this first chapter, based on governmental sources from that time. However, those same sources reveal that the communist threat in Suriname was almost absent. This is for example demonstrated in a memo from the Foreign Information Department of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent to the Cabinet on 28th of March 1952. The memo opens with the statement that there are no open communist activities in the West. Nevertheless, the memo continues, stating that one can expect that communist facilitators did their job in spreading their ideas in the West. This could have been done by Chinese immigrants in Suriname, for example. According to the Dutch Foreign Information Department, the People's Republic of China had put strong pressure on Chinese emigrants around the whole world to support the Chinese regime, morally but also materially, and this pressure would have been successful everywhere around the world.⁴³

⁴⁰ Maarten van Alstein, "Nederland en België en de nieuwe wereldorde, 1945-1949" in: Duco Hellema, Rik Colsaet and Bart Stol ed., *Nederland-België. De Belgisch-Nederlandse betrekkingen vanaf 1940* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2011) 40-78, 55.

⁴¹ Bradley, "Decolonization, the global South, and the Cold War", 465.

⁴² Westad, *The Global Cold War*, 397.

⁴³ Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Ministerie van Koloniën en opvolgers: Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv. nr. 10503: Memo from DBV to Dutch Cabinet, 28th March 1952.

Furthermore, the Indonesian settlers in Suriname were seen as a risk. The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs assumed that the Indonesian immigrants would look at their motherland and the communist aspirations there. With these assumptions taken into account, the Foreign Information Department advised the Cabinet that it would be desirable to closely monitor the developments of communist activities in Suriname.⁴⁴ The Cabinet followed the advice from the Ministry, and the Government of Suriname was forced to regularly deliver reports about the communist threat in their territory. These reports focused on five parameters. Most prominent was the first one, “foreign contacts and activities in the region”. The communist developments in British Guyana (modern-day Guyana and neighbouring country of Suriname), were followed closely. An example is the report of the 12th of June 1953, concerning communist activities in Suriname when the outspoken communist Peoples Progressive Party (PPP) won the elections in British Guyana. According to the Cabinet of the Gouverneur of Suriname, this development would have grave political consequences for all neighbouring countries.⁴⁵

However, in December 1953 already, the Cabinet of the Gouverneur of Suriname stated that the political developments in British Guyana had almost no consequences for Suriname. It is unclear how the Surinamese government measured the influences of British Guyana. However, his statement demonstrates that the Surinamese cabinet was not scared that decolonisation in British Guyana would lead to decolonisation in Suriname. Furthermore, it could be a strategic move to avoid possible Dutch interference.

Although the government of Suriname denied influence from British Guyana, the Surinamese population was not left untouched by the communist flourishing in their neighbouring country. On the one side, the objective of independence appealed to them, but they condemned the communist actions that went with it. Important to note here is that in the Dutch perspective, the various ethnical groups reacted differently to the developments in British Guyana. The Hindus, for example, felt greatly appreciated for the political career of the new leader. The Creoles were much more divided within their group, but were mostly glad the communist leader was forced to resign by the British in 1953. In an interview with an American correspondent, the American member of State, Pengel, stated that these communist developments could not happen in Suriname, because the Surinamese people are religious in contrast to the Hindu slaves in British Guyana.⁴⁶ Through the growth of communist support in British Guyana, the Dutch fear for communist aspirations in Suriname grew.

Besides the concern regarding British Guyana, the Cabinet of the Gouverneur of Suriname reported a few cases in the category, “the import and spread of communist writings”. In most cases, the foreign communist writings were sent to three Chinese associations in Paramaribo.⁴⁷ Furthermore, a former editor of a communist

⁴⁴ NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Memo from DBV to Dutch Cabinet, 28th March 1952.

⁴⁵ NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 5 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 12th June 1953.

⁴⁶ NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 7 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 28th December 1953.

⁴⁷ NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 4 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 7th January 1953; NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 5 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 12th June 1953; NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 6 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 3rd September 1953; NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 7 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 28th December 1953. NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 7 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 16th October 1954.

magazine called “Sang Fat” was released from prison after four months and was forced to leave the country in December 1953.⁴⁸ This demonstrates that the Surinamese government punished communist activities and were able to enforce the law. Another source of communist writing at the time was the “Communist Party Netherlands” (CPN).⁴⁹ In October 1954 approximately 3,500 to 4,000 Surinamers were subscribers of the monthly journal “Politics and Culture”⁵⁰ of the CPN. The journal was mostly read by the party ranks.⁵¹ In view of the calm choice of language and the lack of measures in the reports, the threat of the spread of this journal was not classified as dangerous.

In the category “Anti-American propaganda and agitation”, no acts were reported. It is striking that the focus of the reports was thus not only on communist threats but also on anti-American movements. This demonstrates the pro-American policy of the Netherlands. In the other categories of the reports, “trade unions”, and “sabotage and strikes” no signs of communist activities have been reported to the Cabinet in The Hague in the period March 1952 to October 1954.⁵²

From the reasoning behind these reports, it is clear that the Dutch government feared possible communist aspirations in the Surinamese population. The reports, however, demonstrate that the political consequences were perceived by the Dutch government as diverse but quite limited. The new communist leader of British Guyana was, for example, not warmly welcomed by the Surinamese population, and almost all publications, newspapers, and periodicals warned for any further contact with the communist leader.⁵³ It becomes clear that the Dutch were not alarmed by the communist developments. The reports indicate that the fear of communism was mostly focused on foreign actors, such as immigrants from Indonesia and China. Proof of seriously harmful issues lacked in the reports.

Also, the investigation by the US Special Subcommittee on Security Affairs concerning the spread and size of the communist threat around the world in 1952 and 1953 concluded that “no communist parties existed in Suriname.”⁵⁴ The absence of communism in Suriname is in contrast with Indonesia. According to the US Subcommittee, the Indonesian Communist Party (ICP) reappeared after the transfer of sovereignty in December 1949. The ICP had affected moderate domestic political and economic policies, has been in the forefront in the celebration of national holidays, and supported the Hatta and Sukarno governments. Much of the strength of

⁴⁸ NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 7 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 28th December 1953.

⁴⁹ Translated from Dutch: Communistische Partij Nederland.

⁵⁰ Translated from Dutch: “Politiek en Cultuur”.

⁵¹ NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Memo van Minister van Overzeese Rijksdelen aan Kabinet van Gouverneur van Suriname, 28th October 1954.

⁵² NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 4 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 7th January 1953; NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 5 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 12th June 1953; NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 6 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 3rd September 1953; NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 7 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 28th December 1953. NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 7 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 16th October 1954.

⁵³ NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10503: Rapport No. 6 betreffende communistische activiteiten in Suriname van Gouverneur Suriname aan kabinet, 3rd September 1953.

⁵⁴ NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 17132: US view on Communism in Oost and West: ‘Strength of the international communist movement. Special subcommittee on security affairs’ May 1954.

the ICP apparently attributed in its control of a series of front organisations with a claimed membership of 2,5 million Indonesians. The US Subcommittee furthermore stresses that the ICP tried to capitalise on unresolved “nationalist” issues and to foment and exploit social and economic discontent.⁵⁵ The Dutch ambassador in Washington agreed on the conclusions of the American report, and is concerned about the number of members of the ICP.⁵⁶

This revival is in line with the argument of the historian Stol, who states that the Renville Agreement was the reason behind the communist revival in Indonesia.⁵⁷ In January 1948 the Renville Agreement marked the official end of the first “police actions”, restated the principle of a future independent federation was, and at the same time returned the Dutch their military gains as before the action.⁵⁸ According to Moore, this fuelled the communist aspirations in Indonesia which eventually led up to the communist rising of September 1948. The Hatta government, however, proved itself perfectly able to deal with the fully-fledged rising. In fact, the communist threat was dealt with largely from within.⁵⁹ So, the Indonesian government earned the ‘clean bill of health’ according to the US. A stronger ground for confiding in the Republic and for urging the Dutch to compromise with it.⁶⁰ According to Stol, the US began to see that the Indonesian Republic seemed to be the only power in Asia that could independently counteract communism. The support for the pro-Western Republican government became a priority in the American policy on Indonesia and the Netherlands was forced to moderate their colonial aspirations for the benefit of the war against upcoming communism.⁶¹ The historian Hellema stated that “the logic of the Cold War now began to dominate American policymaking”, as the US wanted a quick and complete Indonesian independence.⁶²

Based on the primary sources, the Surinamese communist activities were closely followed by the Dutch government. However, the Surinamese communist aspirations were perceived by the Dutch as very limited. The reason for the Dutch close supervision of communist activities was the threat of Indonesian and Chinese immigrants, who might want to implement their communist thoughts in the Surinamese society. The reports about communist activities mainly focused on the communist developments in British Guyana and emphasised that these developments were not occurring in Suriname. The reports provided the Dutch with a perspective in which only a limited quantity of communist writings was present in Suriname. In Suriname, the general public was not amused by the visit of the communist leader of British Guyana. Furthermore, the calm choice of language and the lack of measures in the sources demonstrate that the Dutch policy on Suriname was only very limited influenced by the threat of communism. In Indonesia however, communism was an unmistakable appearance. Through the successful reaction of the Hatta government on the communist uprising in 1948, the US started to believe in the Indonesian Republic as a stable factor in Asia.

⁵⁵ NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 17132: US view on Communism in Oost and West: ‘Strength of the international communist movement. Special subcommittee on security affairs’ May 1954.

⁵⁶ NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 17132: Reactie van Nederlandse Ambassadeur in Washington aan Nederlands kabinet 19th April 1954.

⁵⁷ Stol “Trouwe koloniale bondgenoten”, 86.

⁵⁸ Ine Megens, *American Aid to NATO Allies in the 1950s* (Groningen: Thesis, 1994) 26.

⁵⁹ Moore “The Realities of Diplomacy”, 329.

⁶⁰ Drooglever, “The United States and the Dutch Applecart”, 43.

⁶¹ Stol “Trouwe koloniale bondgenoten”, 86.

⁶² Hellema, “The Politics of Asymmetry”, 581.

1.2 International Influences on Dutch colonial Policy

Besides the Surinamese and Dutch governments, the US and Venezuela have historically been viewed as important countries for Suriname. The UN and, though less prominently according to Oostindie and Klinkers, the Pan-American Conference also played a role in the international context for Suriname.⁶³ A brief overview of the international forces affecting Suriname and Indonesia after WW II is needed to put this thesis evaluation on the Dutch policy regarding Suriname and Indonesia in perspective.

A growing international force in this time period was the UN. Its foundation in 1945 created a platform for critique on the colonial empires. The problematic decolonisation of Indonesia harmed the Dutch reputation. According to Oostindie and Klinkers, the Dutch wanted to convince the UN their friendly manners in the negotiations on the Surinamese wish for more autonomy. This aim became most prominent between 1950 and 1955.⁶⁴ In January 1950 the interim arrangement was introduced in Suriname, which meant that the Surinamese government would receive more autonomy.⁶⁵ By granting this power, the Dutch relieved themselves from the UN obligation to annually report on their not self-governing territories, because the Dutch claimed that the Surinamese interim government was independent. This Dutch decision was not warmly received in the UN, especially by Venezuela and other Latin-American countries, but also the US doubted the independence of Suriname, based on the fact that Suriname did not have its own foreign policy, but remained represented by the Dutch foreign policy.⁶⁶ The Round Table Conferences were used by the Dutch as an argument to defend their refusal to report, since the independence was namely a running file. Moreover the Dutch stated that due to the interim government, the Netherlands could no longer force Suriname to come up with data for the report.⁶⁷

Another growing force in international politics was the Pan-American Union that pursued more integration of the states on the American continent. The Pan-American Conference of spring 1948 caused some tumult in the Netherlands. The Pan American Union adopted a resolution during this conference that stated that “colonialism and the occupation of American territories by extra-colonial countries” have to be ended.⁶⁸ Furthermore, the Venezuelan government was not content with the Dutch decolonisation policies in the Caribbean and saw the Dutch-Antilles as part of the Venezuelan territory.⁶⁹

Besides the Pan-American developments on the American continent, in Asia and Africa, the leaders of the newly post-colonial countries in Asia and Africa gathered at the Bandung Conference of April 1955. The statements at Bandung were focused on ruining the Cold War orders and to eliminate remaining European colonies in Southeast-Asia and Africa.⁷⁰ This Conference can be seen as a supportive force to the Pan-American Movement. By discussing transnational, anticolonial ideologies or regional, race and class solidarities, the leaders tried to create international space for themselves.⁷¹ This new, alternative, international order would no longer

⁶³ Oostindie et al., *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden I* 148.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 129.

⁶⁵ Moore, “Decolonization by Default”, 367-368.

⁶⁶ Oostindie et al., *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden I* 129.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 130.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 149.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Stol “Trouwe koloniale bondgenoten”, 92.

⁷¹ Bradley, “Decolonization, the global South, and the Cold War”, 479.

force states to choose a side in the Cold War.⁷² The reason for this meeting was, as historians D. Low and J. Lonsdale put it, the second colonial occupation. The raw materials in Africa that had recently been discovered caused a kind of new Enlightened colonialism that also accounted for social economic and political emancipation of the colonial subject.⁷³ The final declaration was as follows, “the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitute a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.”⁷⁴ The UN General Assembly became the main platform for their activities.⁷⁵ As the African and Asian countries formed a minority in the UN, the direct results were limited, nevertheless, their critique caused popular protest in Western countries.⁷⁶

Furthermore, NATO played a role in the international context, but the effects on Suriname and the Dutch policy on Suriname were limited. NATO was founded for three main reasons, defending Europe and prevent expansion of the USSR, prohibit nationalist militarism, and develop European political integration.⁷⁷ The Dutch government warmly welcomed the Atlantic pact because of economic and political reasons, however, another argument in favour was the Indonesian case. The NATO provided military support in Europe for the safety of the Netherlands, so the Dutch government was able to deploy more troops in Indonesia.⁷⁸ As there was no need for a big military presence in Suriname, the role of the NATO in this sense was far more limited than in Indonesia.

Besides the international fora, the American influence on decolonisation, in general, is seen in traditional historiography as the most meaningful. In March 1947 under influence of the crises in Greece and Turkey, the US announced the Truman-Doctrine to oppose totalitarianism. By organising the Marshall Aid, the US hoped to avoid economic, social and even political chaos in Western-Europe.⁷⁹ US anti-colonialism was now almost replaced by an anti-communist policy of containment.⁸⁰ For Suriname and the Dutch-Antilles, this meant a possible US defence force in their territory in 1949. This has however never been implemented because the Dutch did not agree with the conditions.⁸¹

The relatively limited influence of US politics in the Dutch policy on Suriname stands in sharp contrast with the situation in Indonesia. Historian Van Staden based his classic “loyal or super loyal ally” theory, on military expenditure, shared anti-communism beliefs, a strong Dutch belief in US nuclear safety guarantees and absence of Dutch critique on US military actions.⁸² The historian Alfred Pijpers explains this loyalty by the rational safety considerations and the belief in the American nuclear guarantee, moreover, the loyal ally strategy is also being

⁷² Bradley, “Decolonization, the global South, and the Cold War”, 480.

⁷³ Stol “Trouwe koloniale bondgenoten”, 92.

⁷⁴ Raben, “Nederland en de (post)koloniale wereld”, 152.

⁷⁵ Stol “Trouwe koloniale bondgenoten”, 92.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 92-93.

⁷⁷ NATO, “A history of NATO”, (Date and author unknown) https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/declassified_139339.htm (12th December 2017).

⁷⁸ Alstein, van, “Nederland en België en de nieuwe wereldorde”, 67.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 55-56.

⁸⁰ Moore “The Realities of Diplomacy”, 324.

⁸¹ Oostindie et al., *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden I* 149

⁸² Staden, van, *Een trouwe bondgenoot* 231.

associated with the liberators of 1945, including the US.⁸³ In the 1980s this view started to change with the study of historian Drooglever who declared that it was not only the US who caused the decolonisation of Indonesia, but that the way to independence had already started before the US entered the scene.⁸⁴

The historian Hellema, called for a replacement of the classic “loyal ally” theory in 2009, by a more complex and comprehensive approach, in which Dutch punctuated loyalty to the US is still present, but not as the only factor.⁸⁵ Hellema furthermore characterised the US-Dutch relation as asymmetrical. The US was far more important for the Netherlands than the Netherlands were for the US.⁸⁶ This international pressure is explained by Raben as the Dutch feared international isolation if they did not get along with the international demands for independence.⁸⁷

Another factor in the Dutch-American relation was the American Truman-Doctrine, that was clearly present in the Indonesian struggle for independence. For the US, the Liggadjati Agreement, in which the Dutch would recognise the sovereignty of the Indonesian Republic in Java and Madura, was a beautiful chance to implement their containment policy. They suggested modifications to make the agreement acceptable on both sides and granted the Indonesian Republic financial aid to support their economy.⁸⁸ During the Truman administration, the US attempted to work with Sukarno to try to change the political direction to their preferred Western ideas. However, during the mid-1950s the relationship with Sukarno started to crumble. Westad argues that this occurred because the US became less tolerant to Sukarno’s brand of neutralism, in particular his hosting of the Bandung Conference, but also because the Indonesian leader politically moved to the left and wanted to strengthen his ties with USSR and China.⁸⁹

The conflict in Indonesia was a key example of the chaos that the US had envisioned that would come from European powers that tried to re-establish their power in their colonies, Westad argues. After the second “police actions” in which the Dutch tried to crush the Indonesian Republic, the CIA reported a series of serious concerns on the situation in Indonesia. The weakened prestige of the UN, and the undermining of the political and economic stability of Indonesia and the Netherlands would provide the Soviets with a powerful propaganda tool. But most important of all the CIA reports that “the Dutch action has precipitated the emergence of a Pan-Asian bloc which [...] may follow an independent path. While it is non-aligned with the USSR, this Pan-Asian bloc may become strongly antagonistic toward the US because of US identification in Far Eastern minds both as champions of a discredited regime in China and as a sponsor of continued control by Western colonial powers in Southeast Asia.”⁹⁰ The second “police actions” had weakened the position of the UN because the by UN-

⁸³ Alfred E. Pijpers, “Dekolonisatie, compensatiedrang en de normalisering van de Nederlandse buitenlandse politiek”, in: N.C.F. van Sas ed., *De kracht van Nederland. Internationale positie en buitenlands beleid in historisch perspectief* (Haarlem: H.J.W. Becht, 1991) 204-219, 207.

⁸⁴ Drooglever, “The United States and the Dutch Applecart”, 44.

⁸⁵ Duco Hellema, “The Politics of Asymmetry: the Netherlands and the United States since 1945”, in: Hans Krabbendam, Cornelis A. van Minnen en Giles Scott-Smith ed., *Four centuries of Dutch-American Relations 1609-2009* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009) 579-597, 580.

⁸⁶ Hellema, “The Politics of Asymmetry”, 579.

⁸⁷ Raben, “Nederland en de (post)koloniale wereld”, 158.

⁸⁸ Moore “The Realities of Diplomacy”, 324.

⁸⁹ Westad, *The Global Cold War* 128-129.

⁹⁰ Ibid. 114.

resolution constituted Commission of Good Offices had failed in finding a peaceful solution to the situation. This defeat was also harmful to the US, who actively promoted the UN.⁹¹

Thus, Indonesia was part of the American Cold War policy. The author Raben, however, stated that the Cold War never entered the Dutch policy on Indonesia. The Dutch have always put their own economic ties before the threat of Cold War scenarios. The foundation of the ICP has been seen as a possible problem for the Dutch labour relations instead of a Cold War-threat. Raben continues that the Netherlands only used Cold War rhetoric in international fora to get mobilisation, but were in fact defending their own profit.⁹² According to the American State Department, the Dutch had created chaos, and the only actors who could establish a non-communist order in Indonesia were the nationalists. From December 1948 on, the US consciously and deliberately sought to end Dutch colonialism in Indonesia.⁹³

1.3 Conclusions: Communism and International Context in Dutch colonial Policy

This first chapter concludes that there were many external factors in Dutch Policy on Suriname. The most prominent finding is that the Dutch government searched for communist threats in Suriname, but only with very limited outcomes. Chinese and Indonesian immigrants were seen as a possible entry for the spread of communist activities. Furthermore, the rise of power of a communist leader in British Guyana led to the fear that communism might grow in Suriname. Although the communist ideologies in British Guyana did not appeal to the Surinamese population, the call for independence appealed to them. However, the reports indicate that the Dutch perceived the real threat of the spread of communism in Suriname to be very limited.

The effect on Dutch policy that followed was therefore minimal, based on the lack of action following the reports and the soft use of language in the documents. The communist writings of the time that were addressed in the reports were most of all sent to party members, the spread of communism was therefore slow. Furthermore, in the reports, it is apparent that Anti-Americanism was analysed. So, it was not only communism that was feared by the Dutch, but they also wanted to control the Surinamese aversion to America. There were, however, no accounts of that kind reported. This in sharp contrast to the Indonesian situation, where communism was one of the major forces. The communist party had many more affiliates and supported the Republican government. The role of communism in Dutch policy on Indonesia is subject to debate, as Raben states that the Dutch only used the communist threat as a way to defend their violent actions.⁹⁴ However, the US became further involved in Indonesia through the communist uprising in 1948, which made the Indonesian struggle for independence part of the American foreign politics.

An international factor that did influence Dutch policy on a broader scale was the UN. The UN became a platform for anticolonial aspirations in the world after WW II. These ideas became most apparent in the Bandung Conference of 1955, where former colonial territories were present to discuss a world where they no longer had to choose for the assistance of a Cold War power but could operate independently. Although the

⁹¹ Westad, *The Global Cold War* 114.

⁹² Raben, "Nederland en de (post)koloniale wereld", 167.

⁹³ Frey, "Decolonization and Dutch-American Relations", 613.

⁹⁴ Raben, "Nederland en de (post)koloniale wereld", 167.

general public became more and more convinced of the ambitions of the colonial countries, the Dutch policy was only to a limited extent affected by these international developments. Comparable to the Bandung Conference was the Pan-American Movement: an international factor that played a role in Dutch policy on Suriname. As the movement grew in neighbouring countries, the Dutch government became increasingly afraid, that it would cause unrest in Suriname. A much smaller external force affecting the Dutch colonial policy was NATO. For Suriname, no special accounts of NATO influences were found. Whereas for Indonesia, it meant that with the defence support of the NATO-allies in Europe, the Dutch were able to send more troops to Indonesia.

Chapter 2 – Surinamese Ambition for more Autonomy

As has been demonstrated in the first chapter, the Dutch policy on Suriname after WW II was only slightly influenced by the Cold War and international forces, such as the UN. What has, however, become apparent in Dutch governmental documents from that time is that the Dutch were confronted by Surinamese nationalism and decolonisation and that Suriname was striving for reform within the Kingdom. This second chapter, focuses on the research question: what was the role of nationalism, decolonisation and Pan-Americanism in Dutch policy on Suriname? After WW II it became clear that structural reform was needed in the relation between the Netherlands and Suriname.⁹⁵ The radio speeches of Queen Wilhelmina were the start, and the developments in Indonesia furthermore necessitated reform.⁹⁶ But not only did the developments in Indonesia demand reform. Nationalism in Suriname was also an influencing factor in Dutch policy as is demonstrated in the first part of this second chapter. In the view of the Dutch policymakers in 1952, the isolated position of Suriname during WW II had strengthened the independent thinking and handling in Suriname. There was a fast-growing political awareness that expressed itself in a wish for more autonomy.⁹⁷

In the second part, a major issue in the Dutch policy on Suriname after WW II is discussed. The Surinamese government aspired representation abroad, but the Dutch government did not see any added benefit of sharing their international positions. In the last section of this chapter, the Dutch policy and the influence of Pan-Americanism in the struggle for independence in Suriname is discussed, especially in neighbouring countries, Pan-Americanism attracted and affected Suriname and the Dutch policy.

2.1 Threat of Nationalism and Decolonisation

In this section, a view is provided on the influence of Surinamese nationalism and decolonisation in Dutch policy on Suriname. Little has been written in existing literature about Surinamese nationalism straight after WW II. Nationalism in Suriname from that time is seen in literature as a minor phenomenon. The historians Oostindie, Klinkers, Raben, and Moore generally agree on the reasoning behind the lack of active nationalism in comparison with Indonesia. Moore argues that in Suriname little or no interest in independence existed, but the ambition for autonomy existed within a reconstructed Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Surinamese discontent was focused on the powerlessness of local councils and the overweening power of the governors, rather than on the relationship between the colonies and The Hague.⁹⁸ Raben explains the lack of nationalism through the ethnically diverse population, mostly descendants of immigrants, who were almost not politically organised.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Gert Oostindie and Inge Klinkers, *Decolonising the Caribbean. Dutch Policies in a Comparative Perspective* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003) 73.

⁹⁶ Moore, "Decolonization by Default", 367.

⁹⁷ Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Ministerie van Justitie; archiefbestand van de Ronde Tafel Conferenties met Indonesië en met Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen, nummer toegang 2.09.94, inventarisnummer 13: Conferentie Nederland Suriname Nederlandse Antillen Den Haag 1952. Afdeling Voorlichting van het Ministerie van Uniezaken en Overzeese Rijksdelen.

⁹⁸ Moore, "Decolonization by Default", 367.

⁹⁹ Raben, "Nederland en de (post)koloniale wereld", 160.

Moore endorses this belief and states that the suspicion and uncertainties between the various groups and between their political representatives in Suriname from the 1940s onwards were the major obstacles towards independence. Furthermore, the domestic politics were mostly oriented on internal affairs. The international aid and development organisations provided alternative sources for more financial autonomy but were often out of reach. The fourth obstacle in the movement towards independence was, according to Moore, the Cold War politics and the fear of chaos and disorder, as was been the case in Cuba and British Guyana.¹⁰⁰

Moore's argument of suspicion is endorsed by a letter of Surinamese Minister of Economic Affairs, Julius de Miranda to the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dirk Stikker, in February 1950. The Indian ambassador to the Netherlands aspired a visit to Suriname. De Miranda, however, feared that such a visit would ignite nationalist feelings among the Hindi population in Suriname. He was concerned that the Hindi people would feel a stronger connection with the Indian citizenship and kinship than with Dutch. This would endanger the unity of Suriname.¹⁰¹ In Dutch perspective, the fear of nationalist feelings in Suriname existed, but there was also an anxiety of division in the population.

In accordance with the developments in Indonesia, the preparations for the negotiations about the future of Suriname started in May 1946 with the Commission-De Niet. The Dutch Cabinet appointed the commission that was entrusted to report about the Surinamese wishes for reform. The report revealed that only very few of the Surinamese people wanted to leave the Kingdom.¹⁰² However, the report concluded that the actual condition of dependence and lack of freedom was also subjectively felt as dependence and a lack of freedom by the Surinamese population. This indicates that the Surinamese people were not satisfied with their position and that the time for reform had come.¹⁰³ The commission furthermore indicated that despite the low levels of development of political parties in the West, constitutional reform was desirable. Through this reform, the political parties would be forced to carry responsibilities and to develop themselves.¹⁰⁴

The respondents informed the commission that they believed that Suriname was not ready for independence; that Suriname lacked self-discipline and responsibility; that the Asian people have been able to develop themselves under 'pax Neerlandica' and the respondents were afraid they might lose this advantage under a different rule and denounced self-government; the Asian people feared Creole domination, and first local autonomy had to be developed. The commission concluded that an extension of the existing charter would be sufficient to grant wishes to the Surinamese people.¹⁰⁵ Noteworthy in this context is that only "the thinking part of the heterogeneous population of Suriname" had been interviewed.¹⁰⁶ Which parts of the population had been ignored in this research is unclear and by consequence what their ideas were on decolonisation and

¹⁰⁰ Moore, "Decolonization by Default", 374.

¹⁰¹ NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 15013: Brief van De Miranda aan Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Stikker, 20th February 1950.

¹⁰² Oostindie et al., *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden I* 80.

¹⁰³ NL-HaNA, Justitie / RTC, 2.09.94, inv.nr. 13: Conferentie Nederland Suriname Nederlandse Antillen Den Haag 1952. Afdeling Voorlichting van het Ministerie van Uniezaken en Overzeese Rijksdelen.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Oostindie et al., *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden I* 80-81.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 80. Translated from Dutch: "Bij het denkende gedeelte van Suriname's heterogene bevolking ...".

nationalism as well. With this report, an incomplete picture had been shaped on which Dutch policy would be based.

This report, along with other articles, was arranged to form the basis for the First Round Table Conference (RTC) in 1946. This RTC, however, was overshadowed by the developments in Indonesia.¹⁰⁷ The Indonesian Liggadjati Agreement of 1946, was drafted as a solution to the unrest in Indonesia. In the agreement, the ambition for a Dutch Union was founded, in which all Dutch overseas territories were represented. The conditions under which the colonies in the West would be represented had to be discussed in the RTC. Because of the developments towards the Liggadjati Agreement, the RTC with Suriname and the Dutch-Antilles was delayed until January 1948.¹⁰⁸ During the first RTC with the Netherlands, Suriname and the Dutch-Antilles, the tone was moderate and loyal to the Crown. The Surinamese claims for reform demanded no constitutional changes.¹⁰⁹ The Dutch objective of this meeting was not only to meet the wishes of the Surinamese and Antillean delegations, but also to improve its international reputation after the condemned acts in Indonesia. The only thing agreed upon during this Conference was the addition of overseas representatives to the Dutch House of Commons whenever “affairs of the Kingdom” were being discussed.¹¹⁰

In the aftermath of the first RTC, the discussion about the preamble for the new charter became of high importance. Suriname demanded that the right of self-determination should be incorporated in the preamble. The Dutch policymakers feared that such a passage would eventually lead to the right of secession for Suriname. In a letter from the Minister of Overseas Territories, Willem Kernkamp, to Prime Minister Willem Drees, he explained that recognition of the right of self-determination did not automatically mean the right of independence for Suriname. However, in the current international situation, a country could no longer hold on to an unwilling colony, according to Kernkamp. He referred to the speech of the Queen, “I know, that no political entity can continue to exist in the long run if it is not supported by voluntary acceptance and loyalty by the vast majority of the bourgeoisie.”¹¹¹ In this view, Kernkamp advised to give in to the Surinamese demand, because it was not desirable to hold on to it in the long-run.¹¹² Moreover, Kernkamp concluded that a constitutional amendment was needed to implement the Surinamese wish, as in line with its predecessors. From his own international experience, he commented that there is no real question of nationalism in Suriname. The nationalism that existed in Suriname was based on other Latin-American countries to save their face. According to Kernkamp, the Surinamese did not want the right to secession, but to keep all options open for the future.¹¹³

In the second RTC, in spring 1952, the Dutch policy was focused on agreements about mutual assistance. The Surinamese delegation, however, insisted on the integration of the right of self-determination in the

¹⁰⁷ Oostindie et al., *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden I* 82.

¹⁰⁸ NL-HaNA, Justitie / RTC, 2.09.94, inv.nr. 13: Conferentie Nederland Suriname Nederlandse Antillen Den Haag 1952. Afdeling Voorlichting van het Ministerie van Uniezaken en Overzeese Rijksdelen.

¹⁰⁹ Oostindie et al., *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden I* 87-88.

¹¹⁰ Oostindie et al., *Decolonising the Caribbean* 77.

¹¹¹ Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Ronde Tafel Conferentie Nederland-Suriname-Nederlandse Antillen: Serie H, 1951-1956, nummer toegang 2.10.16, inventarisnummer 10: Brief van Minister van Overzeese Rijksdelen aan Minister President, 21st April 1953. Translated from Dutch: ‘Ik weet, dat geen politieke eenheid en verbondenheid op den duur kunnen blijven bestaan die niet gedragen worden door de vrijwillige aanvaarding en trouw van de overgrote meerderheid van de burgerij’.

¹¹² NL-HaNA, Ronde Tafel Conferentie Ned.-Sur.-Ned. Antillen, 2.10.16, inv.nr. 10: Brief van Minister van Overzeese Rijksdelen aan Minister President, 21st April 1953.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

preamble of the new charter.¹¹⁴ Moreover, the Surinamese stated that the agreement should at least give Suriname an equal position in the Kingdom.¹¹⁵ This demand led to a quick stalemate. The Dutch threatened their counterpart to counteract, by stopping the financial aid. Suriname threatened to take their grievances to the UN.¹¹⁶

Despite the issues faced in the second RTC, the negotiations quietly continued in May 1954.¹¹⁷ The third RTC resulted in the Charter of Kingdom of the Netherlands that was implemented in December 1954. This agreement was reached after five days because Suriname realised they needed financial aid. Furthermore, only after the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia, the Dutch government was able to implement the new constitution in which Suriname and the Dutch-Antilles received more autonomy.¹¹⁸ The most important financial aid projects in the agreement were the hydroelectric programme at Brokopondo on the Suriname River, and a 10-year plan for development assistance. Furthermore, Suriname would have the authority over internal affairs, whereas The Hague kept the important elements of power, of which defence, foreign relations, judiciary and civil rights were most prominent.

Additionally, the Gouverneur Generaal became a dual role, as the representative of the Crown. He received the command of the Surinamese armed forces and became the constitutional head of government. The charter of 1954 was a reform measure but kept the real power at the Crown's representative, so equality was in fact, an illusion, as Moore states. However, this reorganisation had a positive influence on the Dutch international position as the US was generally positive, and in 1955 the UN dropped its requirement for the Netherlands to report on its progress towards decolonisation.¹¹⁹

According to Oostindie and Klinkers, the Dutch approach to Indonesia and Suriname could also be defined based on the traditional cultural divides. The Dutch in the Netherlands felt much more affiliated with Indonesia than with the West. Dutch thinking about colonialism in Indonesia was dominated by the idea that Asian societies could not maintain themselves in a Western-dominated international arena without European guidance. The Netherlands believed based on easy assumptions that the indigenous people would feel the same way and were gratified with their presence.¹²⁰ As Indonesia was, and always has been the more important Dutch colony after WW II the Dutch government was driven to extreme measures to retain its colonial realm. On the sideline, Suriname and the Dutch-Antilles would be spectators, growing increasingly impatient, but also profiting from the Dutch concessions in the East.¹²¹

Despite the educational policy of the late-nineteenth century that spread the Dutch language and culture in Suriname, the Dutch felt more connected with Indonesia. In the Netherlands, Suriname was figuratively

¹¹⁴ Moore, "Decolonization by Default", 368.

¹¹⁵ Oostindie et al., *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden I* 125.

¹¹⁶ Moore, "Decolonization by Default", 368.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 368.

¹¹⁸ NL-HaNA, Ronde Tafel Conferentie Ned.-Sur.-Ned. Antillen, 2.10.16, inv.nr. 10: Werkstuk door de gemachtigden van Nederland, Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen aan de Regering aangeboden, bestemd om te dienen als basis van bespreking op de eerlang te houden conferentie Nederland-Suriname-Nederlandse Antillen tot opstelling van en ontwerp van een Statuut voor het Koninkrijk.

¹¹⁹ Moore, "Decolonization by Default", 368-369.

¹²⁰ Stol "Trouwe koloniale bondgenoten", 79.

¹²¹ Oostindie et al., *Decolonising the Caribbean* 72.

much further away than the East. A relatively large group of Dutch citizens immigrated to Indonesia and developed to a colonial “elite” that saw “Our East Indies” as an essential part of the Dutch realm, which was spread throughout broader layers of Dutch society.¹²²

2.2 Representation in Washington and Caracas and the Round Table Conferences

In examining the Dutch policy on Suriname, an interesting issue is the case of Surinamese representation in Washington and Caracas. This discussion demonstrates the Surinamese ambition for more autonomy. On the last day of 1949, a Surinamese delegation, existing of Surinamese Minister of Economic Affairs, De Miranda and General Representative of Suriname in the Netherlands, Raymond Pos, visited the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stikker.¹²³ In this meeting, the Surinamese delegation pointed out their objectives for the Surinamese representation abroad. They requested a Surinamese representative affiliated with the Dutch mission in Caracas and one in Washington specially appointed for the Caribbean Commission to report on issues that are of Surinamese special interest, for example, Truman’s Four Points. De Miranda suggested that Suriname would pay for the representatives themselves. The Dutch delegation for the Caribbean Commission existed at the time of two Dutchmen, one Surinamer, and one Antillean. The Surinamese delegation asked for an extension of the delegation to five representatives.¹²⁴

The Dutch Minister Stikker commented on the meeting in his letter to Ministers Josef van Schaik, Johannes van Maarseveen and Lubbertus Götzen that he had refused to promise the Surinamers any support, and pointed out that the Surinamers first had to use their energy in their home country, before participating in the international arena.¹²⁵ In the days after this first request, Dutch policymakers and ministers reacted with scepticism and reluctance. The department for the Caribbean Territory of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for example, stated that the number of commissionaires was established at four persons per country during the foundation of the Caribbean Commission. An extension of the delegation was for that reason not possible according to them.¹²⁶ Minister Van Schaik replied to Minister Stikker that he thought a two-person delegation would be somewhat heavy for Suriname, especially with “the lack of intelligent forces in Suriname,” he responded.¹²⁷ He furthermore warned for giving in to this aspiration without any conditions attached. Schaik was afraid of possible similar wishes from the Dutch-Antilles and did not want to mingle in the discussion if it was desirable for the Netherlands to have a minority position in the Commission.¹²⁸

¹²² Oostindie et al., *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden* / 21.

¹²³ NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 15014: Memo van Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Stikker aan Ministers van Schaik, van Maarseveen en Götzen, Den Haag 2nd January 1950.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 15014: Memo van Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Stikker aan Ministers van Schaik, van Maarseveen en Götzen, Den Haag 2nd January 1950. Josef van Schaik was Vice-Minister and also Minister without portfolio, entrusted with the preparations for the new structure of the Dutch Kingdom, Johannes van Maarseveen was Minister of Union Affairs and Overseas Territories and Lubbertus Götzen was Minister without portfolio, entrusted with Financial and Economic Affairs in the Overseas Territories, at the time.

¹²⁶ NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 15014: Memo van Hr. May, Bureau Caraïbische Gebied van Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken aan Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Stikker, 4th January 1950.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 15014: Bericht van Minister zonder portefeuille en Vice-Minister President Van Schaik aan Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Stikker, 4th January 1950.

Two weeks after the visit of the Surinamese delegation to Minister Stikker, the Department of the Caribbean Zone of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a letter to De Miranda, saying that the Ministry would examine the Surinamese wish for representatives in Washington and Caracas with the appropriate authorities. The costs of the extension would be for the Surinamers themselves. When these costs were calculated, the Department would get back to the Surinamese delegation. Furthermore, the Surinamese were informed that the delegation for the Caribbean Commission could not be extended, because of the fact that the founding principles stated that the number of commissioners should be four.¹²⁹

In October 1951, Jan van Gorkom, from the Cabinet of the Gouverneur of Suriname noted in a letter to Minister Stoppelaar of Union Affairs and Overseas Territories that for Suriname, only Washington would be an option for representation. A representation in Caracas or Rio de Janeiro would be superfluous, because of the long distances between the countries and the fact that the countries are separated by jungles. However, representation in Washington was desirable according to the Cabinet of the Gouverneur in Suriname, because of the international developments in agriculture. From a meeting with the head of Surinamese Department of Agriculture, Stock Breeding and Fishery, the Surinamese Cabinet had become convinced of the Surinamese necessity to develop their country on an agricultural level, "especially in the current phase of development."¹³⁰ Moreover, the Cabinet emphasised the Surinamese structural need for skilled management staff.¹³¹ This intelligence was supported by the Secretary-General (SG) of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in an instruction to the Department of the Western Hemisphere, in which he stated that representation in Washington was the only option, as Rio de Janeiro and Caracas were too far away and separated by jungles.¹³² So, the Surinamese delegation not only demanded representation, they were also responding to the Dutch considerations that Suriname was an underdeveloped country that required development.

This wish for Surinamese representation was part of a broader question during the RTC. While preparing for the RTC of spring 1952, the SG of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs submitted instructions to investigate the options to involve Surinamese and Antilleans in the Dutch Foreign Service. The SG stated that it could be desirable to invite representatives from the overseas territories to cooperate directly with some particular missions around the world. For Suriname, only representation in Washington would have potential, for the same reasons as the Cabinet of the Gouverneur of Suriname had pointed out. The SG, however, suggested that the costs for foreign representation should be divided between the Netherlands and Suriname, so the Netherlands would still be able to partly control the mission. An example of such control was the appointing of the Surinamese second delegate.¹³³

¹²⁹ NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 15014: Brief van Directie Westelijk Halfrond, Caraïbische Zone aan De Miranda, voorzitter van het College van Algemeen bestuur van Suriname te Paramaribo, 13th January 1950.

¹³⁰ NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 15014: Afschrift Kabinet van de Gouverneur van Suriname, Jan van Gorkom, aan Minister van Uniezaken en Overzeese Rijksdelen Stoppelaar, 29th October 1951.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 15014: Memo van Secretaris-Generaal Buitenlandse Zaken, Dr. H.N. Boon aan Directie Westelijk Halfrond, 17th december 1951.

¹³³ Ibid.

It becomes clear from these primary sources that the fear for the Surinamese wish for more autonomy was received by the Dutch government. Although Suriname gained more autonomy due to the RTCs, the Dutch did not want to share the right to be a full member of the international arena. This is demonstrated in the Dutch slow and laborious treatment of the Surinamese ambition. Furthermore, it is interesting that it was not just one minister that was not cooperative, but there are different departments within ministries in The Hague and high-ranking officials that shared the same opinion.

2.3 Threat of Pan-Americanism

Besides the Dutch fears for decolonisation and nationalism in Suriname, another anxiety that is apparent in primary sources is the concern for Pan-Americanism. Pan-Americanism is a movement that strives for the political alliance or union of all states on the American continent, so as to promote good understanding and fraternal harmony between the states, and to act always in accordance with a view to prevent the dominance or the influence of European powers in American territory.¹³⁴ A part of the foundation of Pan-Americanism was the Monroe Doctrine, as stated by US President James Monroe in 1823. He introduced the idea that states on the American continent should not merely have nominal independence with Old World attachments remaining, but independence in the sense of complete political separation, where European powers could no longer interfere in the affairs of American states.¹³⁵

The Dutch anxiety for Pan-American forces in Suriname is indicated in the letter from Vice-Minister, and also Minister without portfolio, entrusted with the preparations for the new constitutional structure of the Dutch Kingdom, Van Schaik. In the letter, he reacted on the Surinamese ambition to have Surinamese representatives in Washington and Caracas. He literally stated that “there are political forces, especially working in other West-Indies (also in France), that strive to federate all islands in the West-Indies, as independent from their motherlands.”¹³⁶ Van Schaik warns the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that the idea of federalism in Latin-America has been very attractive for a long time now.¹³⁷ Although Van Schaik does not give strong arguments why there is a threat in Suriname of Pan-Americanism or federalism, it did play a role in Dutch policy.

Furthermore, in a memo from the ambassador in Washington to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Beyen, the ambassador emphasised that the Pan-American Conference of Caracas connected the communist threat to the European colonies on the American continent. The Cuban delegation had stated that there was no communism in the Central-American Republics, but only in European colonies communist influences existed, such as Martinique, British Guyana and Honduras. A Dutch diplomat answered that in Suriname and on the Dutch-Antilles no communism was present. The Cuban delegate was forced to admit. In the memo, the Dutch delegation explained the Cuban statement, by stating that the Cuban delegation hoped for American assistance,

¹³⁴ Joseph Lockey, *Pan-Americanism. Its Beginnings* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1920) 3.

¹³⁵ Lockey, *Pan-Americanism* 33.

¹³⁶ NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 15014: Bericht van Minister zonder portefeuille en Viceminister President Van Schaik aan Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Stikker, 4th January 1950. Translated from Dutch: “[...] er zijn politieke stromingen, speciaal in de andere West-Indische gebieden werkzaam (ook in Frankrijk), die trachten aan te sturen op een federatief samengaan van alle W.I. eilanden, los van hun moederlanden.”

¹³⁷ Ibid.

as they were concerned for communist influences, and in this way cooperate in the elimination of European interference in Central-America.¹³⁸

Moreover, in a report from the Dutch Research Bureau for Latin-America on Nationalism and the Monroe Doctrine from 1954, it becomes clear that the Monroe Doctrine was an important force in national politics in Latin-America. Next to the resentment against the economic colonialism, the Latin-American countries that had reached full autonomy felt they were still not completely independent, as long as there were European powers in the Western hemisphere. The urge for nationalism in Latin-America came and went during this period. One cannot mark this development as a post-war phenomenon, as the ambition for total independence had been present for much longer. However, the tone considerably tightened during the last years of the war, caused by the world situation, but in particular the emancipation of many former colonial territories around the world.¹³⁹

In existing literature, Pan-Americanism in Suriname is almost never discussed. This could be because the Conference was intended for independent countries. However, the influence of the objectives was, as these sources indicate, present in Suriname. This is demonstrated in the report of the Research Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on nationalism and the Monroe Doctrine in Latin-America. The Monroe Doctrine opposed all European powers on the Western hemisphere, but was in 1954 most present in Belize and the Falkland Islands, the territories claimed by European powers on Antarctica and to a lesser extent in the Dutch territories in the West.¹⁴⁰

2.4 Conclusions: Surinamese Ambition for more Autonomy

This chapter points out that the Dutch policy on Suriname was influenced by the fear of Surinamese nationalism and decolonisation. According to the Dutch government, nationalism in Suriname had matured through the isolated position of Suriname during WW II, when they were forced to think and act more independently. The parliamentary commission of 1947 concluded that Suriname was not yet ready for independence and an adjustment of the existing charter would be sufficient to meet the Surinamese wishes for more autonomy. Although the commission was entitled to investigate the ambition of the whole population of Suriname, they only interviewed the “thinking” part of the society. The Dutch policy regarding Suriname was therefore based on incomplete information. However, the commission concluded that the Surinamese population felt dependent on the Dutch and in a lack of freedom.

The most prominent example of the Surinamese aspiration for autonomy was the struggle for representation in Washington and Caracas. This was perceived in Dutch policy as a pointless wish and reacted to with scepticism and reluctance. Moreover, the Dutch believed that Suriname should instead focus on their own development and was considered incapable to participate in the international arena, given the lack of intelligent forces in Suriname. The debate also addressed the cost sharing. The first consideration was to let the Surinamese

¹³⁸ NL-HaNA, Ronde Tafel Conferentie Ned.-Sur.-Ned. Antillen, 2.10.16, inv.nr. 4 Verslag Kleine Commissie 12th January 1954.

¹³⁹ NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10450: Onderzoeksrapport van Bureau Onderzoek Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken over Latijns-Amerikaans Nationalisme en de Monroeleer, 19th November 1954.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

people pay for themselves, yet later on, the idea spread that the Dutch had to pay a part to keep their grip on the Surinamese delegation. Another factor influencing the Dutch policy was the Pan-American Movement. The Movement aimed for an American continent without European interference, but with American cooperation. While little has been written on Pan-Americanism in Suriname, this chapter nevertheless argues that Pan-Americanism was feared in Dutch policy on Suriname. Although Suriname was not independent yet and nor part of the Pan-American Union, the ideals of neighbouring countries might ignite a revolutionary movement in Suriname.

Under pressure of the Linggadjati Agreement, the Surinamese population was forced to wait for reform, as the main focus in Dutch policy was on Indonesia during the first years after WW II. The discussion on the position of the right of self-determination in the new charter eventually led to the understanding that a colony could no longer be governed without loyalty and voluntary acceptance. However, ultimately, in the second RTC, the Surinamese delegation accepted the Dutch condition that the right of self-determination would not be part of the preamble of the new charter, because of the promise of financial and technical assistance. The new charter looked like a new start for the Surinamese-Dutch relation, but in fact, the power remained at the Dutch Crown.

Chapter 3 – Dutch Policy of Development

The previous chapter concluded that decolonisation, nationalism and the fear of Pan-Americanism had a prominent role in Dutch policy on Suriname. These comprise, however, not all elements that characterised Dutch policy in the early years of the Cold War. In this chapter, the main question is: what was the role of modernisation and racism in Dutch policy on Suriname? From the Dutch policy documents from this time, it becomes clear that racism and modernisation have played a major role. A meaningful document that demonstrates the Dutch thinking about Suriname and its development, is the report that the Ministry of Union Affairs and Overseas Territories composed for the background dossier of the third RTC in 1952. This report had clear modernisation characteristics to it and portrays the Dutch government as the main and good Western developer of a backward territory, based on racial differences. In this chapter, these two aspects are examined, especially the role of race in relation to the issue of Surinamese representation in Washington. Furthermore, in the second part of this chapter, the role of modernisation theory in the Dutch policies in Suriname and Indonesia is analysed.

3.1 The Role of Race in Dutch colonial Policy

To understand racism and discrimination in Dutch policy on Suriname it is important to keep in mind the high levels of ethnic diversity in Suriname, this being in contrast to the more homogenous population in Indonesia. An interesting starting point, in this case, is the “short course” of the relations between the Netherlands and the East- and West-Indies by researcher O. Damsté, who lived in the East-Indies at the time of publication in 1946. He first pointed out that the histories of the East- and West-Indies had to be examined separately. According to Damsté, the distinction already started during the colonisation of the territories. In the East-Indies an indigenous population existed to trade with, while in the West-Indies, indigenous people were absent, which made settlement the most important task. This settlement had to be reached by the “import of negro slaves from Africa”.¹⁴¹ Damsté states that the Dutch were of less importance in slave trade, compared to the Spanish, Portuguese and even the British. He puts this statement in perspective by stating that the Dutch made the settlement to a trade themselves by shipping of slaves.¹⁴² So, the history of Suriname is unquestionably connected with race, discrimination and Dutch policy, as the African people were enslaved by the Dutch and forced to immigrate, and had a completely different starting point than Indonesia.

The background dossier of the RTC of 1952 emphasised the heterogeneous nature of the population in Suriname. In 1950 the population existed of 82,408 Surinamese (Creoles), 66,829 Hindus, 38,165 Indonesians, 2849 Chinese, 22,000 “Negro’s”, 3,700 Indians and 5,390 others, most of which were white Dutch people. The Surinamese population was divided over the following religions, Islam 51,633, Hinduism 48,557, Roman Catholic 36,980, Evangelical Brotherhood 35,890, Dutch Reformed Church 10,008, Evangelical Lutheran Church 4,710,

¹⁴¹ Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Collectie 586 O. Damsté en P.J. Damsté-Wind, nummer toegang 2.21.294, inventarisnummer 52: Overzicht van een korte cursus over de geschiedenis van de betrekkingen tussen Nederland en Oost- en West Indië. Door Dr. O. Damsté 1946.

¹⁴² NL-HaNA, Damsté, 2.21.294, inv.nr. 52: Overzicht van een korte cursus over de geschiedenis van de betrekkingen tussen Nederland en Oost- en West Indië. Door Dr. O. Damsté 1946.

Confucianism 4,068, Judaism 499, Apostolic Church 323, Mennonites 117, Baptized Christians 33, others 2,743.¹⁴³ According to the report, the Creole part of the population could be traced to the “negro population” that were former slaves. Only parts of the top layer and middle class of them had mixed with Western blood. This group had opened up for the Western culture which they predominantly assimilated into. “This was to a much lesser extent the case for the actual Creole popular mass.”¹⁴⁴

By far the biggest part of the population were not Christians, in contrast with the basis of Western society. From the Dutch description, it is obvious that Western society and views were perceived as the top of civilisation. Only the degree of mixture of Western culture with existing Surinamese culture is furthermore examined. The mixture of Asian or African cultures is not measured, which demonstrates that only the spread of Western values is of concern. Also, the prominent position within the report demonstrate the importance of race and religion for the Dutch government.

Another very evident case of discrimination and Dutch feeling of superiority is the treatment of the Surinamese wish for international representation in Washington and Caracas. In the first document about the Surinamese request, the factor race is already present. Minister Stikker opened its letter to the Ministers Van Schaik, Van Maarseveen and Götzen by stating that “After a not entirely clear outline”, the Surinamese delegation asked for representation in Washington and Caracas.¹⁴⁵ This is a kind of reluctance to understand the Surinamese wishes because the explanation of the arguments of the Surinamese aspiration is in the letter itself. Stikker, explains in the document why the Surinamese delegation wanted representation in Washington and Caracas, as stated “who (the representative) can report directly to Suriname about problems that are of Surinamese importance, for example, Truman's Point 4.”¹⁴⁶ One could state that starting with saying that it is not exactly clear what the Surinamese intention is for representation was an inappropriate action of Stikker.

In the reaction of the Vice-Minister and also Minister without portfolio, entrusted with the preparations for the new structure of the Dutch Kingdom, Van Schaik, arguably the most obvious form of racism is revealed. Van Schaik is opposed Surinamese representation in Washington and Caracas, because he believed that a second Surinamese representative “seems to be somewhat heavy, if Suriname, with its lack of intellectual power, wants to see two persons affiliated with the embassy in Washington.”¹⁴⁷ It is peculiar that Van Schaik does not mention any examples or evidence that indicate the shortcomings of Surinamese actions. The fact that the representative would be Surinamese was considered as sufficient to mistrust the persons. This demonstrates the Dutch feeling of superiority.

¹⁴³ NL-HaNA, Justitie / RTC, 2.09.94, inv.nr. 13: Conferentie Nederland Suriname Nederlandse Antillen Den Haag 1952. Afdeling Voorlichting van het Ministerie van Uniezaken en Overzeese Rijksdelen.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. Translated from Dutch: “Met de eigenlijke Creoolse volksmasse is een en ander nog in veel mindere mate het geval.”

¹⁴⁵ NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 17132: Memo van Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Stikker aan Ministers van Schaik, van Maarseveen en Götzen, Den Haag 2nd January 1950. Translated from Dutch: “Na een niet volstrekt duidelijke uiteenzetting [...]”

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. Translated from Dutch: “die rechtstreeks aan Suriname zouden rapporteren over problemen welke voor Suriname van belang zijn, zoals b.v. Truman's Point 4.”

¹⁴⁷ NL-HaNA, Buitenlandse Zaken / Code-Archief 45-54, 2.05.117, inv.nr. 15014: Bericht van Minister zonder portefeuille en Vice-Minister President Van Schaik aan Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Stikker, 4th January 1950.

3.2 Modernisation and Truman's Point IV

In 1949 a new approach towards underdeveloped countries appeared in the US. In the inaugural address of Harry S. Truman, he proclaimed that future American security demanded a strong UN, a flourishing European economy, a mutual security alliance, and the development of the underdeveloped world.¹⁴⁸ This last idea was soon dubbed "Point IV" by the media. Truman specified that "We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and our industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas."¹⁴⁹ He believed that development could not happen without American assistance and that "the grinding poverty and the lack of economic opportunity for many millions of people in the economically under-developed parts of Africa, the Near and the Far East, and certain regions of Central and South America, constitute one of the greatest challenges of the world."¹⁵⁰

The idea of strengthening world trade spread worldwide with a UN report of spring 1951, on development in the undeveloped world, concluding that every domestic development program should entail an international component to succeed. Participation in the global market and foreign investment were the two main forms. "The report encouraged capitalism, free trade, public education, and, less emphatically democracy. Above all, it emphasised mankind's ability to conquer nature via the application of new technologies and new ideas."¹⁵¹ With its coming into force, "Point Four had become slightly more openly anti-communist, more supportive of America's economic self-interest, and more devoted to strengthening world trade", according to the historian McVety.¹⁵² The statement of McVety is also apparent in the Dutch policies on Suriname and Indonesia.

The role of the Netherlands as a supporter of the Surinamese economy, for example, appears in the elaborated description of the financial aid. "The development of Suriname's economic potential has been taken up strongly, explicitly after the war."¹⁵³ In the report that formed the basis for the Dutch background dossier for the third RTC in 1952, in the opening sentence of the economic chapter, the ministry already praised itself for its efforts to develop Suriname. Earlier, in 1947 the Dutch government agreed upon the Welfare Fund. This fund of 40 million Dutch guilders was intended to develop the economic welfare sources in Suriname and the social circumstances of the population. Every year, for a period of five years, eight million guilders would be invested in Suriname.¹⁵⁴

To invest in Suriname, a new administrative institution was established. Advisors from the Netherlands were sent to Suriname to examine if it was possible to start mechanic rice companies.¹⁵⁵ It is quite remarkable that Dutch advisors were sent to Suriname to analyse the possibilities for rice production, while no rice was being

¹⁴⁸ McVety, *Enlightened Aid*, Improving Nations 1.

¹⁴⁹ McVety, *Enlightened Aid* 1.

¹⁵⁰ McVety, *Enlightened Aid*, Truman's Fourth Point 1-2.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 38-39.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 23.

¹⁵³ NL-HaNA, Justitie / RTC, 2.09.94, inv.nr. 13: Conferentie Nederland Suriname Nederlandse Antillen Den Haag 1952. Afdeling Voorlichting van het Ministerie van Uniezaken en Overzeese Rijksdelen. Translated from Dutch: "De ontwikkeling der economische mogelijkheden van Suriname is voor al na de oorlog krachtig ter hand genomen."

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

produced in the Netherlands. There are no notes of involvement of, or cooperation with Surinamese advisors, who would have known the agricultural circumstances better than anyone. It could be interpreted as a form of distrust in Surinamese abilities. The Dutch analyses of the Surinamese agricultural possibilities led to the establishment of the organisation for mechanical agriculture in Suriname. According to the report of 1952, the foundation already had made great progress. One of the projects was the construction of polders for agriculture that would lead to the settlement of two hundred companies. The idea existed that young Dutch farmers should be invited to participate financially in these companies. Another project was the Lelydorp Plan in which former plantations were redeveloped to make room for local farmers. The third project focused on the question what could be done with the former plantations across the country. Therefore, the plantations had first to be identified by aerial mapping.¹⁵⁶

In these projects, the report summarises, the Welfare Fund was mainly meant “to initiate development and to bring about the conditions for the economic and social development that could remain functioning after the fund was depleted.”¹⁵⁷ The fund was not intended to carry out all economic possibilities of Suriname. The Assessment Agency, however, made the first draft with twelve projects for the ten-year plan. These plans all focus on the development of Suriname in a broad perspective, from traffic planning to agricultural scientific research.¹⁵⁸ The ten-year plan and the Welfare Fund clearly demarcate the modernisation thinking in Dutch policy, as all those plans were designed to develop Suriname, such as Western existing ideas.

The education in Suriname that was mandatory since 1876 was focused on culture formation. “As indicated before, specifically the Creole top-layer and middle-class population adopted a European orientation on cultural needs.”¹⁵⁹ This, however, did not mean that the European culture was blindly copied. Under the influence of the Surinamese “soul”, the European culture was adjusted and has developed an own identity.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, in the period after WW II, much time had been spent on “community development”. The “Foundation Cultural Centre Suriname”, in cooperation with the Netherlands based “Foundation Cultural Cooperation”, have provided useful support and is constantly looking to extend their territories.¹⁶¹ The modernisation in this section is very obvious. The link between “community development” and the cooperation with an organisation based in the Netherlands makes it very clear that the cultural Western values and customs had to be transmitted to Suriname, according to the Dutch government.

Another proof of modernisation in Dutch policy is the opening speech of Prime Minister Drees during the second RTC. He underscores the importance of cooperation between the different parts of the Kingdom and the willingness to sacrifice something to grow stronger together. He furthermore emphasised that he views the mutual assistance as a special element in the cooperation. In his opinion, the possibilities for cooperation have not yet been fully investigated, in Suriname. The disclosure of this country is a great task, “that exceeds the limits

¹⁵⁶ NL-HaNA, Justitie / RTC, 2.09.94, inv.nr. 13: Conferentie Nederland Suriname Nederlandse Antillen Den Haag 1952. Afdeling Voorlichting van het Ministerie van Uniezaken en Overzeese Rijksdelen.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. Translated from Dutch: Zoals reeds eerder werd aangegeven, hebben in het bijzonder de Creoolse bovenlaag en de middengroep zich bij hun culturele behoeften Europees georiënteerd.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

of its own power.”¹⁶² The Netherlands can and will provide with useful support, so the purpose of the whole Kingdom will be served. This view was confirmed by the Dutch head of delegation and Minister of Union Affairs and Overseas Territories, Leonard Peters. He stated that the Netherlands would provide the necessary aid and assistance in the future.¹⁶³ These remarks demonstrate that the Dutch were willing to help and cooperate with the Surinamese population. They saw their job as “necessary” and as something, that Suriname was not capable of itself. It is very evident that the Dutch policy was focused on developing Suriname.

The Dutch modernisation policy was more or less imposed on Suriname. This forced Dutch involvement, was, however, not a problem for the Surinamese delegation to the RTCs. Moreover, they supported the Dutch claim that Suriname needed to be developed. Raymond Pos, the Surinamese representative during the third RTC 1954, mentioned that during the second RTC of 1952, no agreement could be reached because the views were too far apart. Pos envisions the solution in the future by stating that “Suriname is still at the beginning of its development, so the focus is on the future. Otherwise, not much will happen in Suriname. The Kingdom would not have a purpose if they will not look to the future.”¹⁶⁴ The idea that Suriname could be developed in a more modern way was thus part of the approach of the Surinamese delegation. The source does not tell whether this was a shared opinion amongst the Surinamese people.

Through developing the country, the Surinamese goal was to receive the “dominion status”, and subsequently more autonomy. Pos emphasised that Suriname understands that this development cannot be reached overnight, but also notes that it is important for Suriname that the new charter should enable Suriname to reach the “dominion status”. Pos furthermore brings up the comparison with other countries on the American continent that have reached independence.¹⁶⁵ This is in line with the statement of Moore, who emphasised that the RTCs were convened to modernise the Dutch constitutional relationship with imperial territories.¹⁶⁶

Modernisation played a role in Dutch policies on Indonesia as well. In 1954, Prime Minister Jan Willem Beyen wrote in a coded telegram to the Ambassador in Washington that if any Dutch people in Indonesia would be threatened, even without concrete violence, this would mean an end to all Dutch economic and technical aid in Indonesia. “This would lead to a significant lowering of the Indonesian standard of living and would lead to a fertile ground for communism.”¹⁶⁷ From this section, it is clear that the Netherlands saw itself as the superior party, who was supporting Indonesia to avoid slipping off in communism.

¹⁶² NL-HaNA, Justitie / RTC, 2.09.94, inv.nr. 9: Verslag Conferentie Nederland-Suriname-Nederlandse Antillen 3rd April 1952. Translated from Dutch: “[...] die het eigen vermogen te boven gaat.”

¹⁶³ NL-HaNA, Justitie / RTC, 2.09.94, inv.nr. 13: Conferentie Nederland Suriname Nederlandse Antillen Den Haag 1952. Afdeling Voorlichting van het Ministerie van Uniezaken en Overzeese Rijksdelen. NL-HaNA, Justitie / RTC, 2.09.94, inv.nr. 9: Verslag Conferentie Nederland-Suriname-Nederlandse Antillen 3rd April 1952.

¹⁶⁴ NL-HaNA, Ronde Tafel Conferentie Ned.-Sur.-Ned. Antillen, 2.10.16, inv.nr. 4 Verslag Kleine Commissie 12th January 1954. Translated from Dutch: “Suriname is nog slechts aan het begin van zijn ontwikkeling, waardoor het accent sterk op de toekomst gericht is. Er zou van Suriname niet veel terecht komen, indien men dat niet deed. Het Koninkrijk zou ook geen zin hebben als het niet deze instelling had en de blik op de toekomst gericht werd.”

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Moore, “Decolonization by Default”, 364-365.

¹⁶⁷ NL-HaNA, Koloniën / Dossierarchief, 2.10.54, inv.nr. 10496: Codetelegram voor Ambassade Washington van Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Jan Willem Beyen, 21st December 1954. Translated from Dutch: “[...] ten gevolge hebben dat Nederlandse economische en technische medewerking aan Indonesische welvaart zou verdwijnen, hetgeen tot aanzienlijke verlaging Indonesische levensstandaard zou leiden en daarom voedingsbodem voor communisme steeds meer doen rijpen.”

The idea of development is broadly shared in the existing literature, for example by Pijpers, who stated that the common idea in Dutch policy was that a lot needed to be done to improve the Indonesian people. The process of decolonisation did not mean the end of the civilisation work.¹⁶⁸ According to Oostindie, the modernisation theory, however, had been part of Dutch policy since the end of the nineteenth century. In theory, the focus of Dutch policy was no longer only on the motherland, but also on the archipelago. This had been known as the debt of honour that had to be repaid by the Dutch.¹⁶⁹

Minister Van Maarseveen looked back in Dutch parliament in December 1949, by stating that the Dutch had a task in Indonesia. This mission is characterised by Oostindie as a mixture of concrete infrastructural and social economic programs and a cultural offensive.¹⁷⁰ Already before WW II, the Indonesian Ethical Party program was designed by the Dutch to develop the Indonesian archipelago into a modern Western country by financial assistance that could be used for extension of health and education services and to develop agriculture to stimulate the growth of the village economy. Furthermore, the Dutch had committed itself to broadening educational opportunities for natives. Moreover, Dutch officials believed that an educational program would turn the Indonesian population away from a growing Islamic modernist movement that Dutch authorities saw as a challenge to continuous Western hegemony. This program, however, proved counterproductive, as a great majority of educated Indonesians became increasingly discontented with colonial structure.¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, the Dutch were proud of their efforts in Indonesia. An example of this is the book "There were major efforts realised", in which the modernisation mission was described. This book was compiled in 1941 to support the people of the occupied Netherlands, to demonstrate the good work the Dutch had done in Indonesia.¹⁷²

After the transfer of sovereignty, the Netherlands had given itself the big task of developing Indonesia. This policy made an end to the unilateral economic exploitation but was accompanied with a clear mission with an obviously ethnocentric coloured superiority feeling that weakened, rather than strengthened the colonial ties.¹⁷³ The need to support development in Indonesia was a serious matter for the Dutch government. Minister Van Maarseveen spoke to Parliament in December 1949 that the Netherlands still had a task in Indonesia. Oostindie stated that that mission was a mix of concrete infrastructural and social economic programs and a paternalistic civilisation offensive.¹⁷⁴

3.3 Conclusions: Dutch Development Policy

This chapter demonstrates that besides the fear of decolonisation and nationalism, the Dutch policy on Suriname was characterised by racism and modernisation. The population of Suriname was shaped by settlers, especially by former slaves from Africa and Asian immigrants. In reporting about the population structure, the Dutch

¹⁶⁸ Pijpers, "Dekolonisatie, compensatiedrang", 206.

¹⁶⁹ Gert Oostindie, *Postkoloniaal Nederland. Vijfenzestig jaar vergeten, herdenken, verdringen* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010) 148-149.

¹⁷⁰ Oostindie, *Postkoloniaal Nederland* 148-149.

¹⁷¹ McMahon, *Colonialism and Cold War* 27.

¹⁷² Oostindie, *Postkoloniaal Nederland* 149.

¹⁷³ Pijpers, "Dekolonisatie, compensatiedrang", 205.

¹⁷⁴ Oostindie, *Postkoloniaal Nederland* 149.

government focused only on the degree of Westernisation of the population. Unfortunately for the Dutch, the masse of the “negro population” had only assimilated with Western values to a very limited degree. This demonstrates the superior feeling of the Dutch government in comparison to the Surinamese population. Furthermore, discrimination played an important role in the way the Surinamese aspiration for representation in Washington and Caracas was treated. The inappropriate way of not taking the Surinamese ambition seriously, by stating that it is not clear why the Surinamese wanted representation, demonstrates the unwillingness of the Dutch government. But above all the distrust in the Surinamese intellectual capacity demonstrates the racism in Dutch policy on Suriname.

This racism aspect fits together with another characteristic of the Dutch policy on Suriname, namely modernisation. This belief was most prominent in the US as the “Point IV” program of Truman, which renders the thought that underdeveloped territories should be supported by Western technical and financial aid. According to Truman, the underdeveloped world should be given access to new technologies and ideas, and participate in the global market. This chapter demonstrates that this philosophy is also apparent in the Dutch policy on Suriname and Indonesia. The will to cooperate with Suriname was based on the idea of serving the whole Kingdom. The Dutch Welfare Fund for Suriname was founded in 1947 and focused on technical development mainly in agricultural aspects. This was a top-down approach, in which Dutch specialists indicated what the needs of the Surinamese people were. No sign of Surinamese cooperation is demonstrated in the sources. The Surinamese, however, were open to cooperation, as they knew that Suriname needed to be developed in order to become independent.

In the Dutch policy on Indonesia, similar characteristics are apparent. The financial aid that the Dutch provided for Indonesia, was seen by the Dutch as necessary. They were convinced that if they would quit their financial aid, the Indonesian people would impoverish, and communism would get a chance. By aiding the Indonesians, the goals were similar to the Surinamese. Most important were agricultural developments. However, in contrast to Suriname, the Dutch were afraid that a lowering of the standard of living in Indonesia, would lead to the growth of Islam. As Indonesia had always been the economically most important country for the Netherlands, the Dutch were convinced that they needed to return something for the territory that had enabled them to develop.

Conclusion

The decolonisation of Indonesia has traditionally been seen in historiography as a product of Cold War politics, and the US was perceived as the aggressor that forced the Dutch government to give up their most important colony, Indonesia. On the other side of the world the Dutch colony Suriname only reached their independence 25 years later. In this thesis, the role of Dutch policy in Suriname has been examined. If one follows the traditional historiography of the decolonisation of Indonesia, one would expect that the Dutch policy on Suriname was also shaped by Cold War influences. This thesis, however, concludes that Dutch policy on Suriname after WW II was not defined by Cold War politics, but was marked by five characteristics, the Dutch anxieties for nationalism, decolonisation, and Pan-Americanism, and by racism and modernisation.

As the tensions grew between the superpowers during the Cold War, the independence movements came to be seen as a subset of the bipolar geopolitical order. In Dutch governmental sources, it becomes clear that the Dutch felt slightly threatened by the possibility of foreign communist influences in Suriname. Especially immigrants from Indonesia and China were viewed as dangerous actors. Therefore, the Dutch government demanded regular reports about communism in Suriname. From these reports, it is clear that a real communist risk did not exist in Suriname and that the Dutch perception of communist developments was not as alarmed, nor was the Dutch policy shaped by anti-communist activities. This in contrast to Indonesia, where a communist uprising took place in 1948, which the Dutch saw as a serious threat to their rule. The new Indonesian government, however, was able to defeat the communist uprising itself. This provided them with the support of the US, and resulted in the forced modernisation of Dutch colonial aspirations for the benefit of the war against communism. Cold War influences were thus certain more apparent in Dutch policy on Indonesia, than in Suriname.

Although Cold War influences were limited in Dutch policy on Suriname, the fear of decolonisation and nationalism in Suriname was clearly present. Most important indication for this was the Dutch treatment of the Surinamese wish for representation in Washington and Caracas. The lack of cooperation, the deferral, and the racism that is demonstrated in the treatment indicate that the Dutch were afraid that the Surinamese government would get too much international power. Furthermore, their own position would be less dominant if they shared their chairs. Another sign of the Surinamese aspiration for independence and the Dutch anxiety for decolonisation was the issue of self-determination in the new charter. Suriname insisted that the right would be part of the preamble of the new charter. However, the Dutch government was afraid that this could mean decolonisation in the nearby future. The new charter seemed to be a new start for the Surinamese-Dutch relation, but the real power stayed at the Crown.

In existing research, Surinamese nationalism had only a minor role. The Dutch policy was based on a report from a parliamentary commission that concluded that the wish for independence in Suriname was not substantial, and reform of the current relationship would be sufficient to satisfy the Surinamese population. As this research is only based on the “thinking” part of the population, it provides an incomplete picture of the Surinamese demands. Because of the ethnic diversity of the population, the lack of political organisation and suspicion between the population groups, the wish for independence among the Surinamese population was not

clearly received. Only the need for reform of the Dutch-Surinamese relation was evident for Dutch policymakers and politicians. Furthermore, the Pan-American Movement became part of the Dutch policy on Suriname. Although the Conference was only accessible for independent states, the Dutch were afraid that the foreign dangers would spill over to Suriname. In Indonesia a similar development took place, Indonesia however, was one of the leading forces in the Bandung Conference where newly independent states tried to stand up together against the bipolar international order.

Racism and modernisation were also prominent factors in the Dutch policy on Suriname. As the Surinamese population was ethnically very diverse, due to the import of slaves from Africa and Asian immigrants, the situation was very different from the perceived ethnic homogenous population in Indonesia. The thought that the people in Suriname were inferior was very obvious in the struggle for representation in Washington and Caracas, as the Surinamese were seen as incapable of such a task because of their intellectual shortcomings. Moreover, in describing the Surinamese population, the Dutch only measured the degree of Westernisation of people. Furthermore, the economic and technical aid in the Welfare Fund was a way to develop the underdeveloped territories.

In Indonesia, racism and modernisation factors were also apparent in Dutch policy. European guidance was seen as a necessity for Asian societies to develop. Western technical and financial assistance was delivered in the belief that the Netherlands was obliged to provide aid for the fact that Indonesia had been the most important colony for the Netherlands for centuries. The provided aid was seen as a gift in serving the whole Kingdom. However, the reform programs had a top-down approach in which Western ideas were implemented in colonial territories. The Dutch were even keener on developing Indonesia, as they feared that a lowering of the living standard would mean the growth of Islam.

Further research will be necessary to analyse the factors that influenced the Dutch policy on Suriname. As this thesis only examined nationalism, decolonisation, Pan-Americanism, modernisation and racism, it cannot be excluded that other factors might influenced the Dutch policy. Furthermore this thesis only focused on the Dutch policy, but the influence on the Surinamese and Indonesian people is not examined. The force of local actors is not analysed, this would be an excellent opportunity for further research.

Because the Dutch government was concerned of Surinamese decolonisation, modernisation and Pan-Americanism, the Dutch colonial policy became influenced by these factors. Furthermore the belief in modernisation and racial superiority were strongly felt by the Dutch. These aspects are also clearly recognisable in the Dutch policy. This in contrast to the Cold War politics that were part of the Indonesian struggle for independence, but did only slightly influence Dutch policy on Suriname. The ideology of modernisation and racism were, however, similarly implemented in Dutch policy on Suriname as in Indonesia.

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