

Trikora: A Case Study from Diplomacy to Military Campaign

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Abstract

The war between Indonesia and the Netherlands led to the Round Table Conference (KMB) negotiations in The Hague in 1949 with the main result being the formal recognition by the Netherlands of Indonesian sovereignty on 27 December 1949. One of the points of the KMB agreement stipulates that the West Irian issue will be resolved within a year. But in reality the Netherlands did not keep its promise. The effort to return West Irian back to Indonesia is a big agenda. To find out these efforts, historical research was carried out using the steps of descriptive qualitative research methods with data collection techniques using library research. The results of the study found that the Government of Indonesia in its efforts to restore West Irian had gone through three stages as follows: The first stage was through the bilateral negotiation table between Indonesia and the Netherlands. The second stage is through international mediation and the third stage is by way of confrontation or military campaign. This effort finally succeeded in forcing the Netherlands to return to negotiations to settle the West Irian issue and sign the 1962 New York Agreement.

Keywords

KMB; diplomacy; military campaign; trikora



I. Introduction

When the Allied and Dutch troops docked at Tanjung Priok Harbor, Jakarta on September 15, 1945, they did not know that Indonesia had become independent on August 17, 1945 (Jelantik, 2016: 118). The Allied and Dutch troops considered Indonesia still a Dutch colony and refused to recognize Indonesia's independence and rejected all forms of negotiations with the Indonesian side (Jelantik, 2016: 118). The return of the Dutch to Indonesia caused strong resistance from the Indonesian people and on the other hand the Dutch also took repressive actions through Military Aggression I and Military Aggression II in order to occupy Indonesia again. During the period 1945-1949 known as the period of the Indonesian War of Independence, there were battles between the Netherlands and Indonesia to defend their respective interests. To end the war, negotiations were carried out which led to the implementation of the Round Table Conference (KMB).

The KMB began on August 23, 1949 and ended on November 2, 1949. The main result was the formal recognition by the Kingdom of the Netherlands of the sovereignty of the United States of Indonesia (RIS) on December 27, 1949 (Numberi, 2014: 139). Prior to the conference, Indonesia believed that in the KMB, the transfer of sovereignty should cover all former colonies of the Dutch East Indies (Jelantik, 2016: 135). On the other hand, without the knowledge of the Indonesian government, of course, the Dutch government had outlined its position that West Irian should be made the "last colony" that remained under Dutch control (Jelantik, 2016: 135).

"Given the determination of the parties concerned to maintain the principle that all disputes that may arise or arise are resolved in a proper and harmonious manner, the status quo of the residency status of West Irian

remains in effect, so that it is determined that within a year after the date of transfer of sovereignty to RIS the issue of the state of Irian will be resolved by way of negotiations between the RIS and the Kingdom of the Netherlands” (Jelantik, 2016: 135).

But in reality, the West Irian problem dragged on, the Dutch broke their promise and had not yet returned West Irian to Indonesia in accordance with the KMB agreement. The Indonesian government has carried out various diplomatic policies in an effort to liberate West Irian but failed. When efforts in the field of diplomacy still did not bring about a solution, the Indonesian government began to take a tough stance against the Dutch. The cancellation of the cooperation between the Indonesian-Dutch Union in 1954, followed by the unilateral cancellation of the KMB agreement by Indonesia in 1956, became a sign of a diplomatic settlement between Indonesia and the Netherlands showing failure. Organization must have a goal to be achieved by the organizational members (Niati et al., 2021). The success of leadership is partly determined by the ability of leaders to develop their organizational culture. (Arif, 2019)

Tensions between Indonesia and the Netherlands escalated, especially after the Dutch government put forward the idea of decolonizing and internationalizing West Irian at the UN forum. The Dutch are trying to legalize the Papuan Council Legislation Plan complete with its flag and national anthem. This step will of course lead to the formation of the state of Papua which is very contrary to the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.

The struggle for the liberation of West Irian reached its peak in 1962 with the announcement of the Tri Komando Rakyat (Trikorra) which was followed by a military campaign by Indonesia. This succeeded in forcing the Netherlands to be willing to re-open diplomacy with the Indonesian government in resolving the West Irian case with the signing of the New York agreement on August 15, 1962. Papua's sovereignty was officially handed over to Indonesia on May 1, 1963 by UNTEA (United Nation Temporary Executive Authority). as a UN representative. This is the culmination of the struggle of the Indonesian people, and the world also recognizes that West Irian which is now Papua is part of the territory of Indonesia.

Based on the description above, this paper is written to examine more deeply the various diplomatic efforts followed by the Military Campaign carried out by the Indonesian government to liberate West Irian from the Dutch colonialism. This is considered important as a record of the nation's history in defending the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.

II. Research Method

Writing this historical research carried out using qualitative methods that explain the phenomenon of research problems descriptively in accordance with the empirical reality of the phenomenon. The data collection technique in this study uses a literature study that uses books, journals and other scientific articles as reading material and theoretical analysis.

According to Abdurahman, historical research is "Research that describes and analyzes past events" (Abdurahman, 2007: 63). Meanwhile, according to Gottschalk (1985), historical research is "The process of critically examining and analyzing records and relics of the past" (Gottschalk, 1985: 39).

III. Result and Discussion

3.1 Diplomacy Effort

According to the contents of the KMB agreement, one year after the handover of Dutch sovereignty to Indonesia, West Irian should be returned to Indonesia. On December 29, 1949 or two days after the transfer of Dutch sovereignty to Indonesia, the Dutch Government issued an administrative decision regarding West Irian which was called Nieuw Guinea as a separate territory from Indonesia (Pekey, 2018;32). This shows that from the very beginning the Dutch intended to control West Irian and did not want to return it to Indonesia and on the basis of the trust and good faith of the Dutch to return West Irian, Indonesia was still waiting. But what happened was just the opposite, like the proverb "far from the fire", instead of handing over Papua,

Since 1950, or the time when the Dutch were supposed to return West Irian to Indonesia in accordance with the KMB agreement, the Netherlands actually strengthened the government in West Irian which was officially announced by the *Nederland Staadblad* 1949 No J.599 I (Pekey, 2018:27) that the administrative area of Irian was The West is led by a governor who is directly appointed by the King of the Netherlands with the formation of a new administrative body consisting of a governor, the Department of Public Administration, the Chair of the Departmental Council, the Advisory Council for Indigenous Affairs, the Papuan Council and the Judiciary Council (Pekey, 2018: 28). prepared a ten-year development plan for West Irian which was published in Rotterdam. To streamline the ten-year development plan,

Indonesia continues to strive with all its might so that West Irian returns to Indonesia soon, including through diplomacy and continues to seek support from various countries in the world, including through the United Nations. The Permanent Representative of the Republic of Indonesia at the United Nations in 1954-1957, Sudjarwo Tjondronegoro, submitted a request to the Secretary General of the United Nations so that the West Irian issue could be included in the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly (Ravico, 2020: 118).

The Indonesian government's efforts to bring the West Irian issue to the UN forum received strong reactions and rejection from the Netherlands because they thought that the UN had no right to interfere in the West Irian issue, and assessed that Indonesia was expanding because of misinterpreting the results of the KMB, namely that the West Irian problem was resolved through a meeting of the two countries. just.

Indonesia's efforts bore fruit by bringing the issue of West Irian to the 9th General Assembly of the United Nations in 1954, but the Draft West Irian Resolution on the initiative of Indonesia did not receive support and did not achieve the required quorum.(Karseno, 2011: 62). Subsequent submissions at the 10th (1955), 11th (1956) and 12th General Assembly sessions also failed and a special session was promised to be held in Geneva, which was never held (Idris Jusuf, 2016: 20). This failure can not be separated from the number of UN membership which is more favorable to the Netherlands. At that time, the number of members of the UN General Assembly was still largely dominated by Western countries, while the majority of developing countries were at the same time still colonies of Western countries and were not yet independent.

Apart from the United Nations, Indonesia's efforts to gain international support to fight for the liberation of West Irian were pursued through another way, namely through the Asian-African Conference (KAA) forum which was held in Bandung in 1955. The Indonesian government made the West Irian problem a struggle from the remnants of colonialism and world imperialism. KAA fully supports Indonesia's position on the issue

of the liberation of West Irian which is based on the agreement that has been reached between Indonesia and the Netherlands previously. In addition, this conference also urges the Dutch government to immediately restart the negotiations, to fulfill the obligations as stipulated in the KMB agreement,

In 1956, the Netherlands became increasingly violent by establishing six administrative regions in West Irian called Afdeeling (Residents), each of which was led by a Resident covering the area; Afdeeling Hollandia with its capital city Hollandia (now Jayapura), Afdeeling Geelvink Bay with its capital city of Biak, Afdeeling Central Nieuw Guinea with its capital city Enarotali, Afdeeling West Nieuw Guinea with its capital city Sorong, Afdeeling Fak-fak with its capital city of Fak-fak and Afdeeling Zuid New Guinea with the capital city Merauke (Pekey,2018: 28). To further strengthen its position over West Irian, the Dutch changed the name of West Irian, which at that time was called New Guinea, to Nederlands Nieuw Guinea. The name change was more political because the Dutch did not want to lose West Irian from Indonesia at that time (Asaribab, 2020: 53).

Indonesia considered the Netherlands not serious about returning West Irian to Indonesia, so on May 3, 1956, Indonesia announced the cancellation of the KMB Agreement (Numberi, 2014: 146). Then, coinciding with the Independence Day of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1956, through Law No. 15 of 1956, the Government established the Province of West Irian whose capital was Soa-Siu, Tidore (North Maluku), which covered the territory of West Irian and the Tidore area, with a temporary governor are the Sultan of Tidore, Zainal Abidin Syah (Budi, 2015: 32).

However, the Dutch remained unmoved and seemed increasingly aggressive in preparing West Irian to become independent, therefore in 1957, the actions taken by the Indonesian government against the Dutch government became even more stringent. The Indonesian government appointed the Army Chief of Staff (KSAD) as the Central War Authority (Peperpu) General Nasution to take over all Dutch companies operating in Indonesia. This Peperpu action was then followed by the issuance of Law No. 86 / 1958 which regulates the nationalization of Dutch companies in Indonesia and compensation (Sumarkidjo, 2010: 2) and then the takeover (nationalization) of Dutch-owned companies in Indonesian territory was carried out. by the Indonesian Government (Numberi, 2014: 147).The Indonesian government also prohibited Dutch airlines and shipping companies from operating in Indonesian territory. Hundreds of Dutch citizens were repatriated to the Netherlands and all Dutch economic activities in Indonesia were cut off completely..

The Dutch still didn't care and even took action to show off their strength "show of force" and provocation by deploying the aircraft carrier Karel Doorman to West Irian to drop a number of fighter planes. The Indonesian-Dutch feud reached its peak, namely on August 17, 1960, Indonesia severed diplomatic relations with the Netherlands, as a reaction to the attitude of the Dutch who did not want peace regarding the return of West Irian to Indonesia (Numberi, 2014: 149).

Feeling his position had the upper hand in the international community, the then Dutch Foreign Minister Joseph Luns tried to convince the international community that West Irian would be more developed under the Netherlands than Indonesia (Budi, 2015: 33). The Dutch then carried out political activities to convince the international community that in West Irian a sense of nationalism was being developed to form political ties with the Netherlands.

The Dutch government began preparations to establish West Papua as an independent state independent of the Indonesian state with the aim of thwarting the incorporation of West Papua into the Republic of Indonesia. The Netherlands has intensified the establishment of various institutions needed to accelerate steps towards the

formation of a "Papuan State" such as establishing a Police School and School Civil Service, Shipping School, and the formation of the Papuan Volunteer Corps. In addition, the Netherlands also formed political parties. (Numbers, 2014: 145).

The peak was on April 1, 1961, the Netherlands formed the "New Guinea Council" or Nieuw Guinea Raad which consisted of 19 people, then the Dutch formed a National Committee on October 19, 1961 to accelerate the self-determination process (YBKKBPIB, 1996: 48). This committee consists of 80 people including the members of the New Guinea Council. At the suggestion of this committee, on December 1, 1961 in Hollandia, this Council was allowed to fly the "Morning Star" flag and the song "Hai Tanahku Papua", the symbol "Bird Mambruk", and the motto "One People One Soul". (YBKKBPIB, 1996: 48). On February 16, 1962, the Papuan Council confirmed to the Dutch Government that the people of West Irian had chosen December 1, 1970 as the date and day for the full independence of West Irian. Anti-Indonesian propaganda continued to be intensified by stating that the Dutch Government would grant full independence after 10 years to West Papua which would be carried out in 1970. Therefore, in order to prepare for independence, the Dutch gradually prepared government administrative employees. In 1961, the position of The official ownership held by Irians is around 52%, and it is expected that in 1970 it will increase to 95% (Pekey, 2018: 28). Keep strengthening the cake

According to Liiphart in Pekey (2018: 32), there are several reasons why the Dutch tried to maintain power in West Irian. First, the psychological factor, because the entire territory of the Dutch East Indies had to be handed over to Indonesia according to the KMB agreement except for the status of West Irian. Second, the factor of moral responsibility, where the Dutch felt responsible for the future fate of West Irian and third, the desire of the Indo Peranakans to make West Irian their homeland. Meanwhile, according to Drooglever's opinion, which was also quoted by Pekey (2018; 32), he stated that the main reason for the Dutch to defend West Irian was the Dutch Parliament's thinking regarding the factor of self-determination for West Irians and the fate of Indo Peranakans.

3.2 Military Campaign

The failure of diplomatic efforts in the West Irian issue peacefully either through bilateral, UN or support from the Asia-Africa Conference, has forced Indonesia to change its attitude from being defensive to later becoming offensive and carrying out a policy of total confrontation against the Netherlands, including the military (Pusjarah, 1996: 39). This policy of confrontation was a strong and decisive action by the Indonesian government against the Dutch who still refused to return West Irian with various means and efforts. So that there is no other way for Indonesia than to carry out a military campaign.

Diplomacy is very closely related to the resolution of problems carried out by peaceful means, but if peaceful means fail to achieve the desired goals, diplomacy allows the use of real threats or force as a means to achieve its goals (Sterling, 1970: 233). so it can be said that war is also a means of diplomacy in the international world. Roy also explained the same thing that

"If diplomacy is not a solution, then the use of national power can be done to achieve the goal. In achieving this goal, it is carried out by mobilizing national power as a threat force" (Roy, 1995: 5).

The main function of the implementation of diplomacy is negotiation and its scope is to resolve differences and guarantee the interests of the State through successful negotiations, if negotiations fail, war is part of the means of diplomacy (Prayuda, 2020: 85).

Preparations for the military campaign began in 1960, President Soekarno sent the Minister of National Security / Army Chief of Staff General AH Nasution to lead the purchase of weapons to Russia. This step was taken because the arms purchase contracts with the United States and Western countries had been suspended for shipment to Indonesia due to the political problems of the PRRI/Permesta rebellion and the increasing confrontation between Indonesia and the Netherlands. The mission led by Nasution was successful, in January 1961 a contract was signed for the purchase of various types of Main Weapon System Equipment (Alut Sista) on the basis of long-term credit that would not burden Indonesia's economic growth (Pusjarah ABRI, 1996: 42).

When the Netherlands began to make a policy that made West Irian a separate country separate from the Republic of Indonesia by forming a "New Guinea Council" or Nieuw Guinea Raad and National Committee for self-determination made Indonesia react strongly not to delay carrying out its military campaign any longer. Seeing the increasingly heated situation, on September 9, 1961, the President of the United States John F. Kennedy personally sent a letter to President Soekarno asking that Soekarno not to commit violence in the West Irian issue (Poulgrain, 2017: 233). President Soekarno replied to this letter nine days later on 18 December 1961 by saying that he expressed his desire to cooperate closely and friendly with the United States, but acknowledged that Indonesia had reached a boiling point with the Dutch political presence in West Irian (Poulgrain, 2017: 233). The next day, Sukarno announced Trikora.

Announcement of implementation People's Tri Command (Tri Komando Rakyat) was officially carried out by President Soekarno in the North Square of the city of Yogyakarta on December 19, 1961. President Soekarno issued the Trikora edict in 1961 as a policy of military confrontation to avenge the Dutch crackdown which still refused to return West Irian which contained the following (Numberi, 2014: 152):

1. Failed the formation of the "Papuan Puppet State" made by the Colonial Dutch.
2. Raise the red and white in West Irian, the homeland of Indonesia.
3. Be prepared for general mobilization to defend the independence and unity of the homeland and the nation.

The choice of date for the announcement of Trikora was not based on choosing a date or a coincidence on December 19, but the date was chosen because it has historical value. As we know that on December 19, 1948, the Dutch attacked the capital city of Indonesia, Yogyakarta and launched Military Aggression II and took Indonesian leaders captive. For APRI itself, this date is also suitable, because it is a symbol of the TNI's unyielding attitude towards the Netherlands (Sumarkidjo, 2010:4).

In general, the contents of Trikora discuss ways to re-establish the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in West Irian by raising the Red and White Flag and mobilizing military forces to liberate it. From this we know that the Indonesian nation and government are ready to fight for the return of West Papua.

Trikora explicitly contains a message to all Indonesian people to get ready to carry out general mobilization in order to seize West Irian from Dutch rule, the three Trikora orders with the emphasis on sentences that lead to the seizure of West Irian by force but do not specifically take the form of a military operation. has aroused and focused the public on one big national issue, namely returning West Irian to the Unitary State of the Republic

of Indonesia at all costs. Intrinsically, Trikora is a declaration of war that gives the Indonesian Armed Forces legality to take the necessary planning and preparation steps.

With the announcement of the Trikora, the confrontation with the Dutch began. Then the Indonesian government formed the Mandala Liberation Command for West Irian by deploying its military forces starting with infiltration, followed by operations in the West Irian region and finally prepared for the exploitation stage with a large-scale operation to simultaneously invade the Netherlands in West Irian and ending with the consolidation stage. The Mandala Command has two main tasks, namely planning, preparing and carrying out military operations for the liberation of West Irian and the second is to develop the military situation in West Irian in line with the steps of the diplomatic struggle,

In fact, the Indonesian Armed Forces (APRI) at first did not have time to think about the option of taking over and seizing West Irian through a military campaign. But in the end the use of military force was taken for four reasons (Sumarkijo, 2010:4); first, the decision regarding West Irian is a political decision that must be decided by Indonesian political leaders; second, since 1950 APRI has always been busy with operations to restore internal security to crush very heavy insurgencies, but on the other hand, these operations have made APRI soldiers mature, more professional and trained in carrying out joint ground-to-ground operations. very complicated sea-air. The success of quelling the PRRI/Permesta rebellion that had just been carried out has boosted the confidence of APRI soldiers (Pour, 2007; 82). This experience became the main and valuable asset when APRI had to design and execute the plan for the operation to liberate West Irian which was later coded as "Operation Jayawijaya." Third, the defense equipment owned by the TNI is generally still a legacy and gift from the Dutch government and fourth, the APRI organization is still transforming in the stage of organizational change.

In organizing the Joint Military Operation to seize West Irian, the implementation of the military campaign includes the following stages:

Planning Stage. The first step in using military force to seize West Irian was carried out intensively by holding joint meetings. The APRI Chiefs of Staff Joint Meeting led by the Army Chief of Staff began to discuss plans for joint military operations in its regular meetings. In a meeting held on April 12, 1961, the Army Chief of Staff as Joint Chief of Staff officially conveyed the order he had received from the President of the Republic of Indonesia as commander in chief to carry out a joint military operation to seize West Irian. At the meeting it was decided to form a Military Operations Planning Team consisting of representatives of the Forces and led by Major General Achmad Yani. On June 13, 1961, The Joint Planning Team held a meeting for the first time to discuss the Staff Study on the steps to seize West Irian by military force. The Staff Review compiled by the Army was finally agreed to be a working paper that would be further processed into a military campaign plan. Discussions on the working papers that had been prepared by the Joint Planning Team took place intensively and on June 30, 1961, three ways of acting were drawn up to carry out military operations to seize West Irian, namely: 1) Method of Action I (B-1). Carry out a fully open military operation to seize and occupy all of West Irian in the shortest possible time. 2) Method of Act II (B-2). Carry out military operations with a limited target to seize parts of West Irian for political gain. 3) Method of Act III (B-3). Carry out infiltration to obtain bases for the next military operation (Puspren, 1995:127-142).

Of the three choices of ways of acting that were produced in the initial planning, it turned out that none of the ways of acting could fulfill the expected strategic objectives due to various limitations faced by APRI, especially the limitations of the means to implement the method of action. Therefore, the Joint Chiefs of Staff decided to intensify infiltration

actions in enemy areas to finalize the conditions for the implementation of the B-1 concept. With reference to the decision, each Force prepares operational concepts that include several stages according to the operational support capabilities available while waiting for the ordered weapons system equipment to arrive. During the planning stage, infiltration activities into enemy areas continued to be carried out to obtain information about the enemy.

Preparation phase. The preparatory action taken is to develop an organization that will control the implementation of the operation. On December 14, 1961, the National Security Council led by the President determined the formation of the Supreme Command (Koti) which would control the course of the military campaign to seize West Irian. With the formation of the Koti, structurally a command center has been formed which is responsible for formulating a grand strategy for the use of military force.

Furthermore, on December 19, 1961, the President as Commander in Chief of Koti proclaimed the Trikora which explicitly contained a message to all Indonesian people to get ready to carry out general mobilization in order to seize West Irian from Dutch rule. Intrinsically, Trikora is a declaration of war that gives the Indonesian Armed Forces legality to take the necessary planning and preparation steps. Furthermore, Koti formed the Mandala Command (Kola) which was in charge of preparing campaign plans as well as the main executing command for the joint military operation to be held. The Mandala Command Center is located in Makassar with the area of responsibility covering the eastern part of Indonesia. Under the Kola, there are Force components in charge of drafting the operational concept based on the campaign plan compiled by Kola. Other preparatory steps carried out to support the implementation of joint military operations include the establishment of the Mandala Command planning staff bodies needed to plan military operations, prepare main weapons system equipment and equipment, prepare operational support infrastructure and carry out troop shifts from initial bases. Each headed to the preparatory area in the operation Mandala. While waiting for the decision to carry out the operation, intelligence activities to obtain information about the enemy's condition continue to be carried out with higher intensity.

Implementation Stage. Based on the campaign plan prepared by Komando Mandala, operational steps to achieve strategic objectives are arranged in operational phases which include: 1) Infiltration Phase. This phase is carried out by infiltrating 10 companies of infiltrators to form pockets of resistance in the enemy's area so that the enemy will be depressed. In the end it is hoped that the enemy will have difficulty dealing with small mobile units. The purpose of infiltration is to isolate the enemy in separate positions, force the enemy to deploy reserves prematurely, weaken the enemy's position politically, economically, and militarily and gain the advantage of the time needed to carry out basic operations. 2) Exploitation Phase. According to the plan drawn up by the Mandala Command, the exploitation phase will be carried out after all preparations for obtaining a relative combat power advantage have been completed. As predicted, this phase is expected to start in early 1963. In this phase, the forces of the Navy, Air Force and Army will be deployed simultaneously to destroy the Dutch military forces that still exist in West Irian. This phase is planned as the peak of the operation with the code Operation Jayawijaya with the "H" day still tentative, namely August 12, 1962 with the consideration that the tides in Biak are very favorable for amphibious landings (Biak is the main target where there is a Dutch military power center in Biak). West Irian), and expected on August 17, 1962, The Red and White Flag has been hoisted to coincide with the Indonesian Independence Day (Puspren ABRI, 1996: 263) 3) Consolidation Phase. In this phase, it is

hoped that all Dutch forces in West Irian will be destroyed and all elements of APRI will consolidate.

At first the Dutch ridiculed the formation of the Mandala Command. They thought that it was impossible for Indonesian troops to enter West Irian. It turned out that the infiltration operations of Indonesian troops succeeded in disrupting the cities of Teminabuan, Sausapor, Raja Ampat, Sorong, Fak-fak and the cities of Merauke (Idris Jusuf, 2016: 24). This forced the Dutch to be willing to sit at the negotiating table to resolve the Papua dispute. The outside world, including the United States, which initially supported the Dutch position in the UN forum, began to realize that Indonesia was not playing games with its demands

When Trikora was announced, weapons purchased from the Soviet Union began to arrive and made the Indonesian military the strongest force in Southeast Asia. This situation created an important shift in the political and military balance in Southeast Asia. America was worried about Indonesia's proximity to Russia, and worried about a bigger war involving the Eastern and Western Blocs. At that time the Indonesian military forces were already in various places in West Irian, while the Dutch were already under pressure (Suryohadiprojo, 1996: 117-119).

At that time, the Dutch began to realize that the price to be paid in maintaining the sovereignty of West Irian was very high and resulted in a protracted war that would never end. Although a large-scale physical confrontation never took place, the military campaign through Trikora finally succeeded in forcing the Dutch to renegotiate to resolve the West Irian case. As a result of pressure from the Indonesian military, the Dutch decided to change their policy by canceling the plan for self-determination for West Irian and willing to negotiate with the Indonesian government. Meanwhile, Indonesia was willing to negotiate only if the Dutch were willing to hand over West Irian.

On August 5, 1962, all TNI troops who were about to attack West Irian had gathered at their respective gathering points waiting for the "H" day and "J" hour, suddenly the "H" day was pushed back to H+14 by the Commander of Mandala . This was due to the sudden willingness of the Dutch to settle the West Irian dispute. The concentration of Indonesian troops was reported by the United States surveillance plane to the Dutch that the Indonesian troops were really ready to carry out a massive attack on the Dutch position in West Irian. Finally, on August 15, 1962, the New York Agreement was signed between Indonesia and the Netherlands with the facilitators of the United States Government and shortly thereafter on August 18, 1962, President Soekarno ordered the cessation of shooting.

Thus Operation Trikora as the largest military campaign ever planned by the TNI was canceled, but the planning and preparation of Trikora had a very high strategic and political value so that it was able to pressure the Dutch to hand over West Irian to Indonesia by peaceful means.

IV. Conclusion

The West Irian problem dragged on for 13 years. Diplomatic efforts were fruitless until finally it was released through the mobilization of Indonesia's national resources by carrying out the Trikora Military campaign. Based on the results of research and discussion, it can be concluded that the Government of Indonesia has gone through three stages in an effort to liberate West Irian as follows:

1. The first stage is carried out through the Indonesia-Netherlands bilateral negotiation table. This attempt was unsuccessful, because the Dutch always refused to discuss the issue of returning West Irian.
2. The second stage, in 1953-1957, was carried out through international mediation using the mechanisms of the UN General Assembly and the Asian-African Conference. This attempt also always failed because the support did not reach the required quorum of votes.
3. The third stage is taken by means of confrontation or military campaign. Large-scale war had never happened between Indonesia and the Netherlands, but the large-scale deployment of military forces by Indonesia had forced the Netherlands to sign the New York Agreement on August 15, 1962.

If diplomacy is not a solution, then the use of national power mobilization can be carried out to achieve the goal. To fight for its interests, each country will maximize all existing potential by developing its national power to obtain and achieve its national interests.

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