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MINISTERIE VAN BUITENLANDSE ZAKEN

's-GRAVENHAGE

GEHEIM.

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Directie/AMNING: Internationale Organisaties.

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Met verwijzing naar mijn bericht langs andere weg, dd. 25 dezer, inzake het bovenvermelde onderwerp, moge ik U nevensgaand doen toekomen de tekst van de rede, welke Minister Luns op 26 dezer zal uitspreken tijdens het algemeen debat van de XVIe zitting van de Algemene Vergadering der Verenigde Naties te New York, welke in hoofdzaak over Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea handelt, alsmede de tekst van een nader toelichtend memorandum.

Van deze teksten kunt U gebruik maken bij de uitvoering van Uw demarche inzake de Nederlandse plannen
met betrekking tot de internationalisatie van NederlandsNieuw-Guinea. Het memorandum kunt U echter tot nader
bericht nog niet aan Uw gesprekspartners overleggen.

Voor Uw strikt persoonlijke informatie moge ik U tevens de tekst van een ontwerp-resolutie doen toekomen, welke eventueel op een later tijdstip zal worden ingediend. Ook daarover bericht ik U later, zo mogelijk telegrafisch.

DE MINISTER VAN BUITENLANDSE JAKEN, Voor de Minister,

Het Hopfd van het Bureau Politieke

Zaken / DIO,

(Drs. F.J.A. Terwisscha van Scheltinga)

MINISTERIE VAN BUITENLANDSE ZAKEN Embargo totdat Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Directie Voorlichting) dit in overleg met Minister Luns heeft opgeheven. Kennisgeving hiervan zal via het A.N.P. geschieden.

Rede van Minister Luns, uitgesproken op dinsdag 26 september 1961 tijdens algemeen debat in XVI Algemene Vergadering van de V.N.-

Mr. President,

Never, during the many years that I have attended the sessions of this General Assembly, have I done so with such a heavy heart. Not only are the threats to peace more serious than ever before during the history of this organization, but in this tense and bewildering situation we have to do without the guidance of the man who was the embodiment of all the best that the United Nations stand for. Dag Hammarskjöld was a great Secretary-General and his tragic death is felt as a personal loss by all his friends, as a bereavement by the organization for which he gave his life, and as a calamity by the world.

It so happens that in the introduction to his last annual report on the work of the organization the late Secretary-General left us a document which is now his political testament and in which, in his clear and concise way, he traced the outline of a possible future development of the United Nations. Rejecting the theory of those who conceive of the organization as a static conference machinery for resolving conflicts he argued with force and vision for the opposite conception of the organization as a dynamic instrument of govern-

ments through which they should, jointly and for the same purpose, not only seek reconciliation but also try to develop forms of executive action, undertaken on behalf of all members and aiming at forestalling conflicts.

This introduction, Mr. President, is not only a masterly expose of opposing doctrines, it is more than that. It is a lucid and convincing rallying call to all those who have the welfare of mankind and of our organization at heart to work for a dynamic United Nations with executive and operational powers and a strong and dedicated, truly international Secretariat under one head. My Government has heard the call and will heed it - as will become apparent from the stand we shall take on various questions that will come up for discussion during this session.

Among the most ominous of the problems now endangering world peace plans in respect of West Berlin announced in such menacing terms by the spokesmen for the Soviet Union and the fact that that same country has set off a series of nuclear explosions in the atmosphere.

of life the people of West Berlin have freely chosen must be respected and not be obliterated by the to them unacceptable system that surrounds them. In East Berlin the right of self determination has lately been denied contemptuously to the inhabitants of that part of the city. It is now the future of the two and a half million inhabitants of West Berlin which is at stake. The right of self determination, which is involved, engages the very principles of our organization. Any solution - and my Government sincerely hopes that a solution will be found - must safeguard this right. I shall refrain at this moment

from expounding other aspects of the German problem, such as my Government sees them.

At a moment when three years of patient negotiation of the banning of nuclear tests seemed about to bear fruit, the Soviet Union has brusquely resumed the thunder and pollution of the atmosphere which we had all hoped to avoid. This is a negation of the concept of peaceful co-operation and has created another obstacle to the achievement of disarmament of which our world stands in such dire need.

The shadow that these dangerous developments cast over our Assembly renders it more than ever necessary that each country should make its contribution, large or small, to an improvement in the world situation, and that it should do so in the spirit indicated by our late Secretary-General.

It is with these considerations in mind that the Netherlands Government has decided to place before you a plan which we have conceived for the welfare and peaceful development of an area under our Sovereignty: Netherlands New Guinea.

I need hardly mention that Indonesia maintains a territorial claim to this territory, which would mullify the populations right to selfdetermination.

On the nineteenth of September Her Majesty the Queen declared, in Her statement from the throne: "Discussions with Indonesia on the future of Netherlands New Guinea have, unfortunately, proved to be impossible since the conditions put forward by Indonesia for such discussions are at variance with the principle of self-determination".

As is well known, Mr. President, the Netherlands at present administers the Western part of the island of New Guinea as a non-self-governing territory under the terms of chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations. The efforts that the Netherlands Government is making to speed up the process of development in this territory in order to enable its population to decide at the earliest possible moment on its own destiny are equally familiar to the members of the Assembly (or, at any rate, to those of the Fourth Committee), as my country in accordance with the rules laid down in article 73e of the Charter, has not only faithfully transmitted extensive reports on the economic, social and educational conditions in the territory, but has moreover voluntary reported on the political conditions in the territory as well.

The reports of the last few years, which have been discussed in the Fourth Committee of the Assembly as well as in the Committee on information from non-self-governing territories, give a clear picture of the important steps the Netherlands has taken to accelerate the development of the population of Netherlands New Guinea towards self-government through such measures as the establishment of a New Guinea Council as well as of local councils and the traning of indigenous cadres in order to speed up the Papuanization of the administration.

On the 4th of October of last year I declared in this hall that the Netherlands is prepared to subject its policy and its actions, aimed at the speediest possible attainment of selfdetermination by the Papuan people, to the continuous scrutiny and judgment of the United Nations.

Two months and ten days later the Netherlands delegation voted in favour of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which resolution declares inter alia that all peoples have the right to selfdetermination and that immediate steps

shall be taken in all territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories.

In casting this vote my Government was not making a cheap meaningless gesture. It fully intended — and intends— to apply the principles mentioned in that declaration. To that end I now have the honour of placing before you first of all five considerations which have led my Government to make to the General Assembly of the United Nations a concrete proposal concerning Netherlands New Guinea, and after that the concrete proposal itself.

CONSIDERATIONS

- a) The sole purpose of the Netherlands in its policy in respect of Netherlands New Guinea is the granting of complete selfdetermination to the people of New Guinea in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
- In conformity with resolution 1514 (XV) the Netherlands is prepared to terminate its sovereignty over Netherlands New Guinea at the earliest possible date, that is as soon as the right of self-determination of the population is properly safeguarded.
- c) The Netherlands Government, however, is aware that the territory will still for some time to come require foreign technical assistance and guidance.
- The Netherlands therefore is looking for ways by which resolution 1514 (XV) can be implemented as soon as possible with respect to Netherlands New Guinea and by which at the same time the population may receive the necessary guarantees of assistance and guidance required

for the integral development towards self-determination.

e) In its resolution 1514 (XV) the General Assembly declared that the administering powers should take immediate steps to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories administered by them at the earliest possible date. In conformity with this expressed desire the Netherlands now request that the General Assembly assist in attaining that aim.

PROPOSALS

The following are the concrete proposals, based on the aforementioned considerations, which, if approved and adopted by the General Assembly, would implement in a practical way resolution 1514 (XV) and lead to speedy development of the territory and to early termination of the present Netherlands administration while at the same time providing a bonafide guarantee of the right of self-determination.

- 1) The Netherlands is prepared to bring the administration and the development of the territory under the active supervision of the United Nations and is prepared to accept a decision of the General Assembly which clearly guarantees the right of self-determination of the population.
- 2) To this end the Netherlands is prepared to relinquish sovereignty to the population of Netherlands New Guinea.
- ared to transfer its present powers, to the extent required by the above purpose, to an organization or international authority established by and operated under the

United Nations, which would be vested with executive powers and which could gradually take over tasks and responsibilities and thus prepare the population for early self-determination under stable conditions.

The Netherlands is prepared to continue its financial contribution to the development of the territory on the basis of the present annual level of about 30 million dollars and untill such time as may be decided upon in the future.

The proposal mentioned constitutes a form of international administration by a development authority under the supervision of the General Assembly.

This new form of administration could, if required, be established by an agreement to be concluded between the United Nations and the Netherlands.

Responsibility for the economic, social and educational development should at once be entrusted to the authority with executive power. International experts could be recruited in accordance with the rules applicable to the U.N. technical assistance personnel.

The Netherlands Government is prepared to request its civil servants of Netherlands nationality at present serving in New Guinea and numbering approximately 2.800 to remain in function so long as necessary as international civil servants.

When deciding upon the establishment of an international development authority the General Assembly could simultaneously decide that, after consultation of the population, intermediate and final target dates be set for self-determination by and the further transfer of

powers to the inhabitants of New Guinea.

Since these proposals embody an entirely new concept in the history of decolonization the General Assembly might wish to study them more closely before taking a final decision on them. The General Assembly might also wish to acquaint itself with the present conditions in the territory and the wishes of the population and to have a complete and impartial report thereon.

- Therefore the Netherlands Government suggests that a U.N.-Commission be set up which could perform the following tasks on behalf of the General Assembly:
- a) to proceed to Netherlands New Guinea and to investigate:
 - the political, economic, social and educational conditions in the territory;
 - the opinion amongst the population as to its present situation and its future;
 - 3. the possibilities for organizing an early plebiscite under the supervision of the United Nations in order to register the wishes of the inhabitants of the territory.
- b) on the basis of the findings on the spot:
 - to suggest, if desirable and feasible, intermediate and final target dates for self-determination and the transfer of powers to the population;
 - 2. to investigate the possibility of bringing the development of the territory during the interim period under the administration of an international development authority.

The Commission should report together with

its recommendations to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session.

In due time my delegation will take the appropriate initiative for enabling the General Assembly to decide on these proposals.

These, Mr. President, are the considerations and proposals which the Netherlands Government has deemed it right to announce to the members of this Assembly. I feel justified in asserting that they are, on the one hand, unprecedented, and on the other hand, based exclusively on the interests of the indigenous population of Netherlands New Guinea and on the principles of our Charter.