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MINISTERIE VAN BUITENLANDSE ZAKEN

Kopie No. 1

AFDELING VERBINDINGEN

's-GRAVENHAGE, LANGE HOUTSTRAAT 28

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# ONTVANGEN CODEBERICHT

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AFKOMSTIG VAN: new york

PARAAF/OPM:

van Luns

**AFGELEZEN**

**GEHEIM**

*Land  
Pays  
Canton*

vlak voordat stevenson s onderhoud met subandrio plaatsvond hedenmiddag heb ik eerstgenoemde toegesproken en sterk aangedrongen op openlijke steun aan nederland zijdens amerika stp ik wees erop dat amerikaans stil zwijgen ons reeds veel kwaad doet met name doordat indon delegatie rondvertelt o m aan persvertegenwoordigers van reuter en aneta dat amerika zich zal onthouden stp indien onze voorstellen geen tweederde meerderheid zouden halen in assemblee als gevolg van ontbreken amerikaanse steun zou zulks tot scherpe reacties in nederland leiden stp voorts wees ik erop dat amerikaans verwijt aan ongecommiteerde landen van het volgen van dubbele standaard politiek t o amerika in vergelijking met houding tot rusland zich tegen amerika keert indien washington t o v ons dezelfde politiek voert stp stevenson antwoordde dat hij subandrio duidelijk zou maken dat indonesie moet kiezen tussen het amerikaans ontwerp of anders moet verwachten dat amerika de nederlandse resolutie steunt stp morgen zal stevenson mij inlichten over zijn gesprek met subandrio stp

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**GEHEIM**

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Nummer - 7251

**Bijlage**

**Rede van Mr. Luns in de plenaire Vergadering  
op 8 november 1961**

What we are here to discuss at present is not just another step along the road that leads from colonialism to the equal status of all peoples in this world. It is much more than that, no less, in fact, than the closing of an era. The aim and essence of our debate should be to reach agreement on the final measures, necessary in order that concrete results may be obtained from the practical application of three sets of rules. They are firstly: the general principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations, secondly: the specific obligations imposed by it and by various General Assembly resolutions on Member-States administering non-self-governing territories, and thirdly the directives laid down in resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

Allow me to give a brief enumeration of these principles, obligations and directives.

First of all we find in the Charter the principle of respect for the equal rights and self-determination of peoples, mentioned in Article 1, paragraph 2, and that of respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, embodied in Article 1, paragraph 3.

Among those human rights and fundamental freedoms the right of self-determination occupies a prominent place. The right of peoples and nations to self-determination was made the subject of a declaration, adopted under General Assembly resolution 637 (VII) (1952) which, after having reiterated that States-Members of the United Nations shall uphold the principle of self-determination of *all* peoples and nations, goes on to state, in operative paragraph 2, that "the States-Members . . . . . shall recognize and promote the realization of the right of self-determination of the peoples of non-self-governing territories and trust territories . . . . and shall facilitate the exercise of this right by the peoples of such territories according to . . . the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, the wishes of the peoples being ascertained through plebiscites or other recognized democratic means, preferably under the auspices of the United Nations." In operative paragraph 3 of the same resolution it is said that "pending the realization of the right of self-determination and in preparation thereof" the indigenous populations should be made to participate in the legislative and executive organs of government of the territories and be prepared for "complete self-government or independence".

The specific obligations of administering powers are mentioned in the well-known Articles 73 and 74 of the Charter. Prominent among them are the duty to recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants are paramount and the undertaking to develop self-government and to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples.

These obligations have also been further elaborated in a General Assembly resolution, viz. resolution 1541 (XV). That resolution makes it clear that the task of every administering power is to bring to the people under its administration a full measure of self-government, through emergence of the non-self-governing territory as a sovereign State, through its free association with an independent State, or through its integration with an independent State. Concerning integration with an independent State the resolution has the following to say:

- a. the integrating territory should have attained an advanced stage of self-government with free political institutions, so that its peoples would have the capacity to make a responsible choice through informed and democratic processes;
- b. the integration should be the result of the freely expressed wishes of the territory's peoples acting with full knowledge of the change in their status, their wishes having been expressed through informed and democratic processes, impartially conducted and based on universal adult suffrage. The United Nations could, when it deems it necessary, supervise these processes.

Finally I come to the directives of resolution 1514 (XV) the implementation of which is the agenda item under discussion. From that resolution I would highlight the following pronouncements:

that the United Nations has an important role in assisting the movement for independence in trust and non-self-governing territories;

that *all* peoples have the right to self-determination and that by that right they freely determine their political status;

that immediate steps shall be taken, in trust and non-self-governing territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories . . . in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire . . . in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

The directives I have mentioned have been approved in this Assembly by large majorities of votes and have created great expectations, particularly in Asia and Africa where the development towards self-government has not yet been completed. What is expected from us now is not that we should indulge in lengthy theoretical discussions but – and the leaders of the African States have made this quite clear to us – that we should devise practical methods to achieve our aims.

To mention just one instance: the declaration issued on the 18th of September of this year after the conference of Tananarive states that the United Nations should accelerate the decolonization process by using every possible means of applying resolution 1514 (XV). Practical solutions is what that declaration asks for.

Another point emphasized by a number of African leaders is that their countries and their aspirations should not be used as pawns in the cold war. My delegation fully understands and sympathizes with this view. We too hope and trust that the main objective of achieving full self-government for all peoples will not be obscured or frustrated by those whose intentions are rather to fight their own political battles than to aid in the attainment of accelerated independence for dependent peoples and territories. To make haste with the practical application of the guiding principles we adopted last year is necessary, not only in the interests of the still dependent peoples but just as much in that of all other countries because the continuance of inequality creates dangerous tensions that our divided world can ill afford.

Before I turn to one particular instance of the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) I would like to sum up once more the desiderata mentioned in the Charter and in the various Assembly resolutions I have quoted.

We found them to be:

paramountcy of the interests of the inhabitants;  
 taking into account of their political aspirations;  
 development of complete self-government or full independence;  
 the right of self-determination;  
 the ascertaining of the wishes of the people through plebiscites or other recognized democratic means, preferably under United Nations auspices;  
 no integration with any independent State except in compliance with the expressed will of the people through informed and democratic processes, impartially conducted and based on universal adult suffrage;  
 and finally an important role to be played by the United Nations in this whole process.

Now, how have we applied these maxims to the sole non-self-governing territory remaining under Netherlands administration, West New Guinea?

1. We have taken all steps within our power to speed up the educational, cultural, economic and political development of the inhabitants as much as is humanly possible. The New Guinea Council has been established, the majority of whose members are elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage; of the 28 members 23 are Papuans. A number of local councils, elected on the same basis, are functioning and many indigenous inhabitants have been appointed in the administrative services which in fact now are made up for more than fifty percent of Papuans.
2. We have offered to transfer sovereignty over the territory to its people as soon as the United Nations are able to take over those necessary administrative services for which the population itself is not yet able to assume full responsibility.
3. We have suggested that the United Nations, aware of the important role it has to play in this development, should establish an authority for this purpose.
4. We have made it a condition (and this is the sole – but essential – condition), that the full and free exercise of the right of self-determination of the Papuans in the territory should be unequivocally guaranteed and carried out in good faith through a plebiscite under United Nations auspices and let me repeat once more that the Netherlands Government will fully respect whatever decision the Papuan people will make, including of course that of joining Indonesia.
5. We have announced that we are willing to continue our contribution to the development of the territory on the basis of the present outlay, which is 30 million dollars per annum, until such time as may be decided upon in the future.
6. If the United Nations so desires, the Netherlands is also prepared to request members of the Netherlands Civil Service in West New Guinea to stay for a certain time.
7. We have suggested that, as a first move towards the attainment of these aims and in order that even the appearance of our trying to prejudice the decision be avoided, the General Assembly should set up a United Nations Commission and instruct it to visit the territory and enquire the political, economic, social

and educational conditions there, as well as into the opinion amongst the population as to its present situation and its future. We have also proposed that the commission should report on the possibility of organizing a plebiscite under the supervision of the United Nations in order to register the wishes of the population concerning their future, on the timing of such a plebiscite, and on the possibility of bringing the territory, during the interim period, partially or wholly under the administration of an international development authority, established by and operating under the United Nations.

8. Our proposal is that the commission reports to the next General Assembly which could then, on the basis of such an objective report, take all the measures necessary for the further implementation of our plan.

We have considered it necessary to introduce these two phases into our proposals for three reasons. The first reason is that New Guinea, although it is the second largest island in the world, is to many Members of the United Nations a very far-away country which, in spite of the voluminous reports which the Netherlands Government has for twelve years past submitted each year to the Assembly through the Secretariat, has remained almost *terra incognita*, on the future of which they might find it difficult to make a final decision at this time.

The second reason is that our proposal is so novel that members may prefer not to pronounce themselves on such a concept as a United Nations development authority until all the implications have been seriously studied by a commission. I may stress again that such an offer as ours has never before made by any administering power to the United Nations and that the circumstances that have prompted us to make it are unique.

The third reason stems from the attitude, claims and allegations of a third State, namely Indonesia. My fellow delegates know only too well that Indonesia has claimed the right to incorporate Netherlands New Guinea (or West Irian, as Indonesia calls it) into its own State, and to do so without allowing the Papuan people to "express through informed and democratic processes, impartially conducted and based on universal adult suffrage, under United Nations supervision" (I am quoting from General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), Mr. President) whether it desires to be so incorporated. I shall not, at this stage, enter into a discussion of the arguments Indonesia has adduced for this truly extraordinary claim, the allowing of which would constitute an open violation of all the principles, obligations and directives of the Charter and of the pertinent General Assembly resolutions.

All I wish to say about it now is that, in support of its pretensions, Indonesia has made statements to the effect that the Papuans consider themselves part of Indonesia and wish to be integrated in Indonesia and that the Netherlands administration is cruelly suppressing them and preventing them from achieving their desire to be part of Indonesia. Were I merely to deny these blatant untruths there might remain in the mind of some delegation doubts concerning the real situation. It is for that reason also that the Netherlands Government would welcome a complete impartial investigation *in loco* by a United Nations commission which can report on the conditions in the territory and give an unbiassed account of the feelings among the Papuan inhabitants and of the Netherlands stewardship, so that the

General Assembly may be able to make its final decision next year in full knowledge of the facts.

On the strength of these considerations I recommend to all my fellow delegates the adoption of draft resolution A/L. 354.

The proposals contained therein have been favourably received by a great many delegations. A few delegations, however, have asked us why we had "ignored Indonesia" in making these proposals and whether the territorial dispute between the Netherlands and Indonesia should not be settled first.

My answer to these questions is simple.

First of all we were unable to consult Indonesia beforehand because Indonesia has broken off diplomatic relations with my country and has even gone so far as to refuse to accept the normal procedure in such cases, which is that a third country should be allowed to represent the Dutch interests in Indonesia. Moreover, all the Indonesian leaders and spokesmen have reiterated over and over again that Indonesia could agree to only one solution: the handing over of the territory and people of Netherlands New Guinea to Indonesia without any previous consultation of the Papuan people.

With regard to the settlement of the territorial dispute I would remark that what is important as the present juncture is not so much the legal issue whether sovereignty over New Guinea rests with the Netherlands or with Indonesia, although I may remind the Assembly that we have repeatedly offered to submit that legal issue to the International Court of Justice, and that Indonesia has consistently refused to do so. What is important now and of paramount importance, is the *future* of Netherlands New Guinea. On that future no one except the Papuans themselves is entitled to decide. To let them decide for themselves is the only method compatible with the principles of the Charter. It is also the only way to achieve a peaceful and durable settlement.

I still cherish the hope, Mr. President, that Indonesia will come to realize that this is the right way, and that our withdrawal from New Guinea and the establishment of a United Nations authority there will enable the two countries to reach a better and friendlier relationship. To that end co-operation from the Dutch side will always be forthcoming.