

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANADA.

NUMBERED LETTER

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, OTTAWA, CANADA.

FROM: The Permanent Mission of Canada to
the United Nations, New York.

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Subject: West New Guinea.

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As part of the Dutch campaign to develop support in the U.N. for the Dutch policy of self-determination in West New Guinea, the Netherlands delegation issued an invitation to other delegates to visit West New Guinea at Dutch expense. The invitation was particularly directed at the Brazzaville group because of their sponsorship of the compromise resolution calling for self-determination at the sixteenth session. The invitation was accepted by the Ambassador of Upper Volta, Guirma, and the Counsellor of the Mission of Dahomey, Zollner. They were accompanied on the journey to West New Guinea by Louis Goedhart of the Netherlands Mission and were apparently extended facilities for travel throughout the whole territory during their stay.

TO: Mr. Stenderoy
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2. Zollner and Guirma stopped in the Hague on their return journey to New York and spoke to the press. You will have seen reports of their statements in British telegrams secured by Canada House.

3. On May 7, on their return to New York, the two men gave a press conference. On May 21st the Indonesian press office put out a release, a copy of which we attach, which expressed regret over the acceptance by Guirma and Zollner of the Invitation, took issue with a number of statements that they had made, and reaffirmed the traditional Indonesian policy on West New Guinea.

4. Mr. Robichaud of this Mission subsequently called on Zollner and Iboudo, the Counsellor at the Upper Volta Mission (Ambassador Guirma is normally in Washington) to discuss their impressions of New Guinea. His interesting reports on his two conversations are attached. It will be apparent that both Guirma and Zollner have been greatly impressed by the racial differences between the people of New Guinea and Indonesians whom they have met in New York.

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J.ROBICHAUD/ab

CONFIDENTIAL

June 7, 1962.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. DOBELL

Subject: Conversation with Mr. Maxime-Leopold Zollner, Counsellor of the Permanent Mission of Dahomey, concerning his recent visit to West New Guinea.

On June 1, I called on Mr. Zollner to chat about his visit to West New Guinea.

Zollner explained that he had been invited by the Dutch Government to visit West New Guinea, since he was the Representative of Dahomey at the plenary meetings which had taken up the Dutch New Guinea dispute at the 16th session of the General Assembly.

Zollner spent two weeks in the territory and he feels that this had given him an opportunity to see a great deal more than Ambassador Guirma (Upper Volta). Throughout that entire period, he also enjoyed special air transportation facilities put at his disposal by the Dutch authorities.

Zollner was profoundly struck by the racial differences between the inhabitants of New Guinea and those of Indonesia. He indicated, however, that the Malay language, which is lingua franca throughout Indonesia, was also the language used by educated Papuans.

Zollner's impression is that there are amongst the Papuan population three broad classes of people; (1) a very small elite; (2) a somewhat larger enlightened element; (both groups are conscious

... 2

of the future implications for the inhabitants of the territory of any settlement in the Dutch-Indonesian dispute) and (3) the overall majority of the population which is totally unaware both of the issue and of its consequences. In Zollner's opinion, the first two categories of Papuans appear in general to favour the creation of a Papuan national state and fear that integration with Indonesia would threaten the legitimate aspirations of the Papuan peoples for their own development. For this reason they are hoping for the maintenance of relations with the Netherlands in the form of Dutch investment as well as Dutch economic and technical assistance. Zollner agreed with these views and concluded that the maintenance of contacts with the Netherlands in the years to come was the only hope for the Papuans of ever achieving any significant degree of development, since both Papuans and Indonesians were deprived of the basic means to achieve this objective. Zollner fears very much that if the Bunker plan is accepted by the Netherlands and implemented with the occupation of the territory by the Indonesians, the third category of Papuans could easily be bribed to vote in favour of integration to Indonesia, whenever a plebiscite is conducted on self determination.

In replying to questions, Zollner indicated that he could not understand the motives behind the State Department policy, which he regarded as favouring Indonesia. He stated that internal difficulties in Indonesia could explain in part the aggressive behaviour of Sukarno on this issue. Zollner remained evasive about the possibility that the Brazzaville group might submit a resolution on this subject at the 17th session of the General Assembly. He did add however that this possibility should not be totally disregarded if the threat of war erupted again in that area.

Jacques Robichaud.

J. ROBICHAUD/ab

CONFIDENTIAL

May 24, 1962.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. DOBELL

Subject: Conversation with Mr. Pierre Ilboudo, Counsellor of the Permanent Mission of Upper Volta, about Ambassador Guirma's visit to West New Guinea

On May 22, I called on Pierre Ilboudo, to enquire about Ambassador Guirma's recent visit to West New Guinea and his subsequent press conferences on this subject.

Ilboudo was very forthcoming in providing background information on his Ambassador's journey. He stated that at the close of the resumed session in February the Netherlands Government had invited a number of West African Permanent Representatives, to visit Dutch New Guinea so that they might see for themselves what were the conditions in that Territory. Although most of those invited (including the Nigerian Permanent Representative), turned down this invitation, Ambassador Guirma (Upper Volta) and Maxime-Leopold Zollner (Counsellor of the Dahomey Mission), were authorized by their Governments to undertake the trip.

Guirma spent only six to seven days in the Territory and Zollner ten to twelve. Both were provided with special transport facilities to witness conditions outside of major areas. Upon his return to The Hague and subsequently in Paris and New York, Guirma had given three press conferences. According to Ilboudo on each occasion Guirma made it

quite clear that, in accepting such an invitation, he had wanted in no way to express support for the Dutch position on the East Irian issue and that "he would have accepted a similar invitation from Indonesia if it had been forthcoming".

Although Guirma expressed considerable reservations about the Dutch contribution to their colony, as was quite apparent from the backwardness of its population, he indicated that the few educated Papuans which he had met generally favoured the retention of some form of connection with the Netherlands and hoped to benefit from Dutch assistance. Ambassador Guirma did record that he had also encountered some Papuans who were in favour of integration with Indonesia. He was, however, deeply impressed by the ethnical differences between Papuans and the inhabitants of Indonesia which led him to disregard Djakarta's contention that West Irians are Indonesians. Moreover, Guirma rejected as spurious the Indonesian argument that Irian Barat had been considered as part of Indonesia from pre colonial days to the proclamation of Indonesian independence. In his opinion, the 800,000 Papuans could very well constitute in due course an independent national state.

Ildoudo assured me that at no time during his visit had Guirma sought to convey the impression that he was acting as the representative of the Afro-Asian group. He added that Upper Volta was a small and under-developed African country, with no specific interest in the settlement of the Dutch New Guinea issue. He deplored, however, the lack of objective information on this question amongst Afro-Asian diplomats at United Nations Headquarters as well as their reluctance to commit themselves to any objective solution "since they are dependent on the support of other countries for election to various United Nations organs and offices." Ildoudo felt that the Netherlands proposal at the sixteenth session to turn over its colony to the United Nations provided a

practical first step towards the establishment of an interim direct United Nations trusteeship over ~~East~~ West Irian, during which a free plebiscite could be held on the future status of the territory. He felt that as a member of the United Nations Indonesia would be given fully opportunity during that time to promote its position in favour of integrating Irian Barat to Indonesia. Although Papuans might turn out to be in favour of integration, he doubted whether they would wish to link their future to an already economically under-developed country, which would certainly attempt to exploit the resources of New Guinea in its own interest rather than those of the inhabitants.

Ilboudo does not plan to issue any reply to the Indonesian press release of May 21 which had attacked Guirma and Zollner for undertaking the trip to New Guinea and for their statements to the press, although he expected that Guirma would probably issue a statement in Washington. Ilboudo remarked that although many USA journalists were present at the New York press conference on May 7, no American newspaper had published any account of it. He saw in this an indication that the American press wanted not to embarrass the State Department at a time when it was trying to act as an honest broker in finding a peaceful settlement of an issue, which if delayed too long, could provide the Soviet Union with an excellent opportunity for increasing its influence over Indonesia. Subsequently, we enquired from journalists at the United Nations about this silence of the local press and they indicated that it was probably due to a general lack of interest in the future of that territory on the part of American readers, who are chiefly concerned with basic cold war.

Ilboudo discarded with a smile, the Indonesian accusation that Upper Volta was a valet of colonialism by pointing out that similar accusations had been voiced against Ambassador Touré in the Third Committee at the 16th session of the General Assembly and that the latter rejected them, saying that it was only fair to recognize that in spite of all their evils, colonial influences had given the African countries a sense for certain values which they now cherished as their own. Questioned as to whether he would apply the concept of colonialism to any exploitation of man by man irrespective of colour differences, Ilboudo replied affirmatively by referring to the Algerian situation.

Jacques Robichaud.