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GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Thirty-first session
Item 24 of the preliminary list*
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON
THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO
COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-first year

Letter dated 15 June 1976 from the Deputy Permanent
Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose herewith the texts of the following communications concerning developments in East Timor:

1. Cable dated 1 June 1976 sent by the Provisional Government of East Timor to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Decolonization, and Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General (annex I);
2. Cable dated 7 June 1976 sent by the Provisional Government of East Timor to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Decolonization, and Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General (annex II);
3. Cables dated 8 June 1976 sent by the Provisional Government of East Timor to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Decolonization, and Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General (annex III);
4. Statement made by Mr. Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, Chief Executive of the Provisional Government of East Timor, on 7 June 1976 on the occasion of presenting to President Suharto the petition of the people of East Timor addressed to the Government and people of the Republic of Indonesia (annex IV);
5. Statement made by H.E. President Suharto on 7 June 1976 in response to the address presented by the delegation of the Provisional Government of East Timor (annex V).

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I would be grateful if Your Excellency would arrange for these communications to be published as an official document of the General Assembly under item 24 of the preliminary list of items to be included in the provisional agenda of the thirty-first session, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) August MARPAUNG
Ambassador
Deputy Permanent Representative

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ANNEX I

Cable dated 1 June 1976 sent by the Provisional Government of East Timor to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Decolonization, and Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General

1. On 31 May 1976, on behalf of the people of East Timor, the Popular Representative Assembly democratically expressed its view on their future, an occasion to which we had extended Your Excellency our invitation to H.E. Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the Special Committee of 24, and the Security Council, orally as well as by cable.
2. The occasion was witnessed by the representatives of foreign Governments to Indonesia and 40 foreign journalists from Jakarta, including Indonesian journalists.
3. On the basis of existing regulations in East Timor, the Popular Representative Assembly consists of 37 members properly elected so as to represent the wishes of the people of East Timor in accordance with living realities in the country as well as with the identity and cultural traditions of the people. The process of election was democratic and free from any form of pressure.
4. The decision of the Popular Representative Assembly takes the form of a petition directed to the Government and people of the Republic of Indonesia for the latter to accept East Timor as an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia.
5. The petition has been made with complete free will and with full awareness of the future of East Timor without any form of coercion from outside.
6. We request your good offices to persuade the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to accept immediately our petition for integration so as to ensure the future of the people of East Timor, which has been uncertain for quite some time, and to alleviate their sufferings.
7. We also request your assistance in transmitting this petition to Members of the United Nations and to appropriate agencies of the United Nations.
8. Your advice concerning the successful implementation of self-determination by the people of East Timor towards integration with the Republic of Indonesia will be highly appreciated.

ANNEX II

Cable dated 7 June 1976 sent by the Provisional Government of East Timor to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Decolonization, and Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General

Excellency,

With reference to previous cable of the Provisional Government of East Timor relating to the decision taken by the open and plenary session of the Popular Representative Assembly on 31 May 1976, I have the honour to inform you that a 44-member delegation consisting of members of the Popular Representative Assembly and high functionaries of the Provisional Government of East Timor today, Monday, 7 June 1976, submitted to H.E. Mr. Suharto, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, at his palace in Jakarta the decision of the Popular Representative Assembly taken at its session on 31 May 1976. This decision, which takes the form of a petition, reads as follows:

"Petition

With the blessing of God Almighty, we, on behalf of the entire people of East Timor, in witness of the resolution passed by the open and plenary session of the Popular Representative Assembly of the Territory of East Timor on 31 May 1976 in Dili, which in fact constitutes a realization of the aspiration of the people of East Timor as inscribed in the Proclamation of integration of East Timor on 30 November 1975 in the town of Balibó, do hereby resolve to urge the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to accept, in the shortest possible time, and to undertake constitutional measures for the full integration of the people and territory of East Timor into the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia without any referendum.

Done at the city of Dili on the
31st day of May 1976

The Chief Executive of the Provisional
Government of East Timor

(Signed) Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo
Chairman of the Popular
Representative Assembly

(Signed) Guilherme M. Gonçalves

Accept, Excellency, our highest consideration.

Mario Carrascalão
Head of Liaison Office of the Provisional
Government of East Timor, Jakarta"

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ANNEX III

Cables dated 8 June 1976 sent by the Provisional Government of East Timor to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Decolonization, and Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General

A.

"United Nations Secretary-General H.E. Kurt Waldheim and Chairman United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization

Having informed you on the proceedings of and decision adopted by the Popular Representative Assembly in Dili on 31 May 1976 in my previous cable, I regret very much that no positive reply has been given to my invitation to attend the said session.

However, we would like to draw to your attention that the Government of Indonesia is sending a mission to East Timor on 24 June to make an on-the-spot assessment.

This will provide another opportunity for you or a mission of the Special Committee on Decolonization to come to Dili to see for yourselves the firm determination of our people to be reunited with Indonesia. The Provisional Government of East Timor for its part will render its full co-operation in this regard. We are aware and we are appreciative of the fact that the Committee on Decolonization is considering sending a mission to East Timor in the near future. It is our earnest hope that this is also the position of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Highest consideration.

Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo
c/o Liaison Office of the
Provisional Government of
East Timor in Jakarta"

B.

"Following yesterday's cable, I have the honour to inform you that today, Tuesday, 8 June, the delegation of East Timor paid a call on the leadership of the People's Consultative Assembly, the House of Representatives and that of the five factions. In his statement before the session of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Mr. Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, Chief Executive of the Provisional Government of East Timor, inter alia, reported that on 7 June the delegation submitted to President Soeharto a petition representing the total will and aspiration of the people of East Timor to be integrated with the Republic of Indonesia as soon as possible. He said it was for the same reason that his delegation appeared before the session of the House of Representatives to convey the sincere wishes of the people of East Timor to the people of Indonesia through the members of this important body. Mr. Araujo further elaborated on the process of the adoption of the petition by the Popular Representative Assembly of East Timor during its first session. The wish to be integrated with their brothers in Indonesia was not a new phenomenon, he added, but it has been kindling in the heart of each and every son of East Timor. The biggest uprising broke out in 1959 in Viqueque, where the people demanded to be integrated with the territory of Indonesia. However, this uprising was crushed by the Portuguese colonialists and any aspiration for integration with Indonesia was always smothered. Everything akin to Indonesia and knowledge of Indonesia had to be abandoned. Part of the people of East Timor previously thought that Indonesia was the western part of Timor; however, they have since realized that they and the people of Indonesia were one big family who inhabited the thousands of islands in the archipelago. He said further: 'We the people of East Timor are ready for integration with Indonesia; everyone can see and sense how impatient we get awaiting that historic reunion. We have invited the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization, foreign embassies and journalists in Jakarta to come to Dili and see for themselves how determined we are to be reunited with our brothers. With the same objective in mind, we extend our invitation to the distinguished members of this house to come to East Timor to observe the firm determination of our people to be reunited in the big family of Indonesia.' Concluding his statement, Mr. Araujo requested the House to convey to the Indonesian Government and people that the people of Timor were becoming impatient from waiting for the Indonesian decision with regard to the question of integration and called upon them to accept the petition without further delay in order to accelerate the process of complete integration.

Accept, Excellency, our highest consideration.

Mario Viegas Carrascalão
Liaison Office of the
Provisional Government of
East Timor"

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ANNEX IV

Statement made by Mr. Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, Chief Executive of the Provisional Government of East Timor, on 7 June 1976 on the occasion of presenting to President Suharto the petition of the people of East Timor addressed to the Government and people of the Republic of Indonesia

Your Excellency, President of the Republic of Indonesia,
Honourable members of the Parliament,
Distinguished Ministers,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure for us, the representatives of the people of East Timor, to be here, since today for us marks a day of happiness and joyfulness. This is a happy occasion for us because not only are we able to meet each other but also we have the chance to know all of the officials of the Indonesian Government. Moreover, the greatest pleasure for the representatives of East Timor is to meet Your Excellency, President Suharto, in your capacity as the Chief Executive of the Republic of Indonesia, and also the opportunity for us to visit Jakarta, the capital of the Republic of Indonesia, a chance for which we have been waiting for many years.

The main purpose of our visit is to express the will and the wish of the people of East Timor. It is our intention, as the representatives of the people of East Timor, to present our petition for integration of East Timor with Indonesia. We are firmly determined to maintain our subsequent future development together with the rest of the Indonesian people. On this very occasion, I hereby submit the petition to Your Excellency, the President and the Chief Executive of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia.

Excellency,

The wish to integrate with Indonesia has long been alive in the hearts of the people of East Timor. The long struggle of the people of East Timor against colonial rule is the reality of the inner desire and the wish and the will of the people in the Territory. Our struggle was inspired by the similarity of ethnic and cultural backgrounds existing between the East Timorese and Indonesian people, particularly those who are geographically located on the eastern part of Indonesia. The challenge of the various obstacles faced by the East Timorese people did not weaken this desire, but on the contrary, it strengthened their wishes until the day came when all the political parties, for example, UDT, APODETI, KOTA and TRABALHISTA, consolidated themselves and were able to control the majority of the territory and to proclaim the integration with Indonesia on 30 November 1975. This signified that the people of East Timor were in consensus to integrate with the country and the people of Indonesia.

Excellency,

The people of East Timor elected their representatives democratically, based on the various socio-cultural customs among the people. On 31 May 1976 those elected representatives convened a meeting in Dili and decided to reiterate the desire of the East Timorese people to reunite with the country and the people of Indonesia. We, the representatives of the people of East Timor who are present on this occasion, have been authorized by all the Timorese people to submit the petition to integrate with Indonesia.

Excellency,

On this special occasion we earnestly hope that Your Excellency will have not the slightest doubt that our petition to integrate with Indonesia is the realization of our deepest desire to become Indonesians. For this reason, we, as the representatives of the people of East Timor, request that the Indonesian Government under the guidance of Your Excellency, and also all the Indonesian people, take the necessary steps in order to accomplish the petition, which is as follows:

Petition

With the blessing of God Almighty, we, on behalf of the entire people of East Timor, in witness of the resolution passed by the open and plenary session of the Popular Representative Assembly of the Territory of East Timor on 31 May 1976 in Dili, which in fact constitutes a realization of the aspiration of the people of East Timor as inscribed in the Proclamation of integration of East Timor on 30 November 1975 in the town of Balibó, do hereby resolve to urge the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to accept, in the shortest possible time, and to undertake constitutional measures for the full integration of the people and the territory of East Timor into the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia without any referendum.

Done at the city of Dili
on the 31st day of May 1976

Chief Executive of the
Provisional Government
of East Timor

Chairman of the Popular
Representative Assembly
of East Timor

(Signed) Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo

(Signed) Guilherme Maria Gonçalves

Excellency,

We, the representatives of East Timor, humbly request that Your Excellency and the people of Indonesia take this petition into the necessary consideration with the hope that it can be implemented within as short a time as possible. On this occasion we also appeal to the international community to acknowledge the important events which have occurred in East Timor. The people of East Timor have determined their own future through their representatives in Dili on 31 May 1976.

Excellency,

We are officially submitting the petition of the Timorese people to Your Excellency, so that we, and the entire people of East Timor, are able to extend the invitation immediately to all the officials and the members of the Indonesian Parliament to visit East Timor in order to make on-the-spot assessment of the real wishes of the people on the territory.

In conclusion, Your Excellency Mr. President, honourable members of Parliament, other distinguished Ministers, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the entire people of East Timor, we express our sincere thanks and great appreciation to all of you for this opportunity to submit this petition.

Thank you.

ANNEX V

Statement made by H.E. President Suharto on 7 June 1976 in
response to the address presented by the delegation of the
Provisional Government of East Timor

Distinguished Mr. Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, Chief Executive of the Government of East Timor,

My dear Brothers, members of the delegation of the people of East Timor,

First of all, I would like to convey my warmest welcome to the capital of the Republic of Indonesia to all my dear brothers, delegates of the people of East Timor.

Your arrival in Jakarta now not only constitutes an important event, but also a historic occasion in our nationhood.

You have come here to carry out the task of the whole people of East Timor, namely to submit the firm determination of the people of East Timor to reintegrate themselves with their half-brothers in the State of the Republic of Indonesia who already became independent three decades ago.

I do not feel as though I am greeting strangers today. I feel that I am meeting my own brothers again, who were separated for a long time. We were separated for hundreds of years by the artificial barriers of the colonial Governments. We were separated by force within our own backyards, separated against our will from our own brothers.

We were forced to be separated by ill fate.

But we will now be together again thanks to our struggle; we are now strongly determined to stay together bound by moral ties that will not be affected by hundreds of years of separation.

A similar fate in the past, similar ideals and a common resolve to build jointly a better tomorrow are the fundamental elements of a nation. These essential elements of the will to live together form the bonds of unity as a nation, undisturbed by other factors such as differences in language, colour or religious beliefs. Many of the modern nations which are strong and advanced nowadays, too, as a matter of fact, originated from nations located far away from their present homeland. On the contrary, there are nations which were once united but have now become divided into two or more parts. This clearly shows that the will and the ability to stay united are the only factor in building a nation.

We, too, the Indonesian nation with a population of 130 million, have our differences: we live on small islands with different local dialects, we adhere to different customs, we have colourful and beautiful local cultures, and yet we still retain other differences as well. But we are, nevertheless, determined to become one Indonesian nation and will remain so for the rest of our long future history.

We have no intention of removing those differences, because such an effort would be against fate: useless and futile.

We once were splintered into communal groups which not only felt disunited, but in many instances even perpetuated disunity. We had also been divided into different kingdoms. All of this was merely the result of foreign colonial politics and interests. Without dividing us, they would not be able to dominate this vast and densely populated archipelago.

This archipelago was once united, with an area approximately the size of the present territory of the unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. History noted the famous Sriwijaya Kingdom, as well as the well-known Majapahit Kingdom.

But history should also take note of an inglorious chapter and a misfortune that befell us. For three and a half centuries we were a colonialized nation, our soul was oppressed and our body exploited. As I have mentioned earlier, we were separated from our own brothers, we were splintered into small groups. But the heritage of sharing one common destiny had never disappeared. The spirit to become independent had never been quenched.

During the entire period of colonial domination, the Indonesian nation had always fought against foreign colonialists and wanted to become a free, independent and honourable nation again. Our history is full of big and small heroes as well as thousands of minor and unknown heroes. The history of Indonesia registered the struggles to be free from foreign domination throughout this entire vast archipelago. We have our heroine: Cut Nyak Dhien, and other heroes: Teuku Umar, Imam Bonjol, Diponegoro, Hasanudin, Pattimura and many others. They fought against foreign colonialists to liberate and to advance their societies. We also have heroines in other fields who shared the same objective of their struggle: Ibu Kartini, Dewi Sartika and so forth.

If the previous struggles were for the most part manifested through armed conflicts and carried out separately, later on at the beginning of this century the struggle of the Indonesian people began to search for more nationalistic and for new methods, namely modern organizational means. Thus the Budi Utomo was established in 1908, which is now known as the national reawakening day. Since then many Indonesian organizations began to emerge and were followed by political parties, which have actually one identical aim: independence.

In 1928 the nationalistic platform became even stronger with the enunciation of the youths' solemn oath. The Indonesian people was firmly determined to have one nation, one fatherland and one language, Indonesian. The struggle towards the independence of Indonesia was expanding and became more clear.

The whole series of struggles during those hundreds of years finally reached its climax during the independence war in 1945. We gained our independence through armed struggle and we defended it heroically through heavy sacrifices and hardships, and some of its bitterness resulting from those struggles can still be found up to now.

We proclaimed the independence of Indonesia as our own responsibility and as a result of our own struggle at that time not one single country recognized our independence. But independence is not solely a question of recognition by others, and also not by the international community. Independence is primarily a question of determination and decision; if we can show that we want independence, then the world - even though late - will eventually recognize it.

But the struggle of Indonesia was far from finished. In the following years after the recognition of independence, we were still splintered. Thus emerged several Federal States created by the colonial government which, at that very moment, still tried to maintain its domination in this land. Furthermore, the question of West Irian was also delayed and only in 1969 did it come back into the fold of the Republic of Indonesia.

Such history clearly demonstrates that the Indonesian nation had struggled hard towards its national independence which is unified and intact, and in this history, Indonesia can claim to be the pioneer of national independence struggles in the region of South-East Asia. We had already started our struggle long before the dominated African nations were awake and gained their independence such as today.

There is not the slightest doubt that Indonesia is anti-colonialist. Indonesia strongly supports the struggle of every colonialized people to determine its own future. The first sentence of our Constitution clearly stipulates: "That in reality, independence is the right of every nation and, therefore, colonialism in this world must be abolished because it is not in conformity with humanity and justice."

Three hundred and fifty years under foreign domination made us one of the nations which fully understands the significance of misery. Hundreds of years of hard struggles and another five years during the independence war have made us a nation which deeply comprehends and highly respects the meaning of independence.

It is true that the principal trait of the present twentieth century is that this is the century of independence for all nations and during these coming years we will witness the drawing to a close of colonialism, which is now fast decaying.

But certainly Indonesia, which is anti-colonialist, will not commit the same bad mistakes as the colonialists. We do not have any territorial ambition and we do not have the inclination to dominate other people. But our stand on the question of self-determination is clear: we will help those peoples who want to determine their own destiny and future.

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Thus when the Portuguese Government announced its decolonization policy towards East Timor we quickly supported it without any hesitation. It depends entirely on the aspirations of the people of East Timor for their own future.

But the act of self-determination also has a clear objective: namely, to promote and to distribute equally people's welfare. Progress and prosperity will not materialize if from the early stages there exist armed conflicts between groups in the society. Armed struggles always bring about spiritual and material suffering, and create fear and suppression. In such an atmosphere it would be impossible for the people to express their will quietly, in conformity with their inner feelings.

Indonesia will always support and help every process of decolonization and self-determination which is fair and orderly, not only in East Timor but also in other parts of the world.

We were therefore deeply concerned when the process of decolonization and self-determination for the people of East Timor was compelled to go through armed conflicts amongst the people of East Timor themselves. We were equally worried when the FRETILIN used force to suppress and terrorize other groups which differ in their views regarding the future of East Timor.

Now we begin to feel relieved because the armed conflicts have ceased. Thus the people of East Timor can properly contemplate and decide on their own future, without fear and coercion. This is what actually constitutes a proper process of decolonization and self-determination, orderly and peacefully, enabling the accommodation of all views and desires of the whole people of East Timor.

We will highly honour and sincerely accept any decision whatever made through such a process by our brothers, the people of East Timor.

We know now the decision you have made.

In an atmosphere of peace and order, you have reconfirmed the proclamation of integration of East Timor into Indonesia which was officially announced in Balibó on last November 30th.

I herewith accept the petition for such integration.

We accept it with our most sincere gratitude for the confidence which the people of East Timor conferred upon Indonesia. We also accept it with a sense of humanitarian responsibility, responsibility towards history, towards our independence, principles and ideals, and towards our inner self.

This is indeed a historic moment: historic for the people of East Timor, historic for the people of Indonesia.

The decision we make, therefore, must be the right one.

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Pancasila and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia affirm that Indonesia is a State based on the sovereignty of the people. Whatever our action is should be with the knowledge and the concurrence of the entire people. The problem of integration is a very important matter and of great historical significance. The people of Indonesia, therefore, must now be certain and approve it.

It is for this particular reason that before the integration of East Timor into the unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia becomes official, allow us, distinguished Chief Executive of the Provisional Government of East Timor, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, to permit the Indonesian people once again to ascertain the wishes of the people of East Timor. With the consent of our brothers in East Timor, we would like to send a team consisting of several personalities of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the House of People's Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, and also representatives of various public organizations.

This does not signify that we do not have faith in the proclamation of Balibó; neither does it mean that we are not convinced by the petition that I have just received today, nor that we are doubtful about you, all the heroic leaders of the people whom we admire, but only to allow the sovereign Indonesian people to see for themselves and to have frank and open talks with their own brothers there. Thus a quick and firm decision can then be taken on the integration.

Distinguished Chairman and delegates of the people of East Timor,

The people of East Timor is opening a new chapter in history, after suffering for hundreds of years under the yoke of foreign colonialism. The people of East Timor will join their own brothers in the unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia who have also fought for hundreds of years for its independence and who have been independent for 30 years.

We will accept you as what we are now, with all our joy and sorrow; with all our development efforts in which we are now busily engaged we are convinced that you will join us in our present condition. Indonesia has made Pancasila its State principle and philosophy of life, a philosophy of life which actually existed already for centuries in the soil and minds of Indonesia. Indonesia also has the 1945 Constitution, which is based on Pancasila, and on the fact that it is a unitary State.

Therefore, after the official integration, we will ask all of you to strive shoulder-to-shoulder in jointly building our common destiny, a destiny that will bring progress, prosperity and social justice for the whole Indonesian people, within a unitary State based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution mentioned earlier.

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Endowed with such ardent hope, I hereby request you to join us in completing this process of integration as soon as possible.

We greatly admire your perseverance in the difficult struggle. We highly esteem your unswerving resolve in determining your own destiny and future. On the eve of this historic event, we are all reminded of those who have died in that noble and sacred struggle, the struggle of the people to fight for their legitimate rights, which cannot be taken away by anybody or by any force whatsoever. Let us bow our heads and pray to God Almighty, may their souls rest in peace, since they have sacrificed themselves in upholding the fundamental human rights which also have their origin in Him.

And may God Almighty bless us all.

Thank you.
