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LETTER DATED 8 JULY 1976 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF MOZAMBIQUE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to transmit the text of a communication from the Democratic Republic of East Timor. I would be grateful if Your Excellency would arrange for it to be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) José Carlos LOBO
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Annex

Letter dated 8 July 1976 from Mr. José Ramos-Horta
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have noted the contents of the second report (S/12106 of 22 June 1976) of your Special Representative appointed under Security Council resolution 384 (1975).

1. The Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor regrets that it has not been possible for your Special Representative to entirely fulfil the mandate entrusted to him under resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976). In view of the incomplete nature of the report, the urgency of the situation in East Timor, and the strength of the resolve of the international community as expressed in the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, the work of the Special Envoy cannot be considered finished.

2. In paragraphs 2 and 7 of the report of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General there is reference to efforts to confer with FRETILIN representatives and to reach the territory of the Democratic Republic. My Government feels impelled to point out that in the context of the Security Council debate which gave rise to resolution 389 (1976), the mandate of the Special Representative included vigorous efforts to reach East Timor and to confer with all parties involved. This urgency derived from the extensive obstruction carried out by the Indonesian aggressors on the occasion of the Special Envoy's first visit to East Timor, when a series of landing sites were nominated by representatives of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, only to be bombed immediately. After this earlier experience, military and security reasons dictate that there could not be, and cannot be, public discussion of landing sites.

3. The attached map and appraisal of the military situation show that the Indonesian forces numbering 30,000-40,000 have occupied a number of "postos" and "concelhos", but have no control whatsoever of the surrounding areas where most of the people live. Once in East Timor, the Special Envoy should travel overland by jeep clearly marked with United Nations flag and symbols to the countryside to places to be nominated by the Central Committee of FRETILIN in such a way that secrecy is maintained. The Security Council, on the other hand, must insist that Indonesia acts as a responsible member nation of the United Nations and guarantees the safe passage of the Special Envoy and his party. The weather during the present dry season is suitable for a mission of this nature. The most appropriate place from where the Special Envoy should travel to the countryside is certainly Dili, and Indonesian military authorities should facilitate transport to this end. Any opposition by Indonesia to this proposal would be clear evidence to the world that Indonesia cannot substantiate its claim to control East Timor and to have popular support for the illegal act of annexation that it proposes to carry out.

4. It should be noted that on 1 June and on subsequent occasions the Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs has said that his Government will provide every assistance to the Special Envoy's mission provided that the Government of Indonesia will guarantee safe conduct.

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5. Despite the continued Security Council calls for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops, it should be noted that the total number of Indonesian invasion troops in East Timor remains at 30,000 to 40,000. Such troop "withdrawals" as have taken place have been the replacement of one set by another, for reasons of loss of morale, high casualty rates, or extreme brutality. These troops, whose presence can be verified by observation in East Timor, are evidence of the contempt the Indonesian Government displays towards the resolutions of the Security Council and the international community in general.

6. The people of East Timor have shown their unshakable will to be free in the face of the massive forces of the Indonesian fascist junta in violation of three successive demands by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council. The nationalist forces of East Timor under the leadership of the revolutionary Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor continue to control at least 80 per cent of the territory. Indonesian forces suffering heavy casualties occupy only the centres of towns and some coastal points. Even in these "occupied" areas Indonesian forces do not control the population led by the military forces of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. Evidence of this lies in the failure of the Indonesian invaders and their Timorese puppets to allow foreign observers into the countryside where the bulk of the population is to be found. The failure of the Special Envoy's mission is related to the continuing campaign of the aggressors to attempt to persuade the rest of the world that their bloody annexation has been successful. That their propaganda attempt is itself shattered was revealed by the farce of 31 May, when specially selected foreign observers were brought to Dili for only three hours, and were prevented from interviewing any participants or moving freely in Dili and its vicinity.

Further, it is revealing that when an Indonesian parliamentary delegation headed by the Indonesian Home Minister Machmud wanted to visit the second largest town, Baucau, on 24 June, the visit failed to take place because the International Airport and the town were under heavy attack by FRETILIN forces. Jakarta-based foreign correspondents, later confirmed by reports from Indonesian officials, that FRETILIN forces have been active just eight miles from Dili, and in all major townships occupied by Indonesian forces. Until now, International Red Cross and other world organizations have not been allowed to re-enter the territory. This added evidence of the fear of the Indonesian military junta of independent witnesses gives further demonstration of the need of the Special Envoy to complete the task entrusted to him by the Security Council. The continued defiance of the Security Council by the Indonesian invaders leads it to obstruct the attempts of the Special Envoy to carry out his task.

7. On 31 May 1976 the fascist/expansionist Government of Jakarta carried out what the whole world has recognized as the most ridiculous farce, baptized as the "Peoples' Assembly". It was reported by American and Australian press that of the 28 puppets acquired to "decide" the future of East Timor after 500 years of colonialism, only 5 were "elected". This farce was conducted under armed guards, with the few foreign observers prevented from interviewing any of the fleeting participants in this cynical act.

8. Behind this transparent charade a most horrifying drama continues in the war of resistance against the fascist aggressors. Even amongst those Timorese originally supporting the aggressors, desperate appeals have been made to FRETILIN representatives by ex-UDT and ex-APODETI supporters in Jakarta to call the attention of the world to the tragic fate of the former UDT and APODETI members whose lives are threatened by the Indonesian "allies". We wish to make a special appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations so that the Human Rights division can commence an inquiry into the situation of the East Timorese people in West Timor.

9. It is apparent to all that, six months after the first United Nations resolutions, the Indonesian military junta have made a mockery of the international community and have violated the most basic rules of international law and the protection of human rights. The report of the Special Envoy is not only incomplete because its progress has been obstructed by the Indonesian aggressors. By merely reporting the propaganda claims of the Indonesian Government and its puppets, the report falls into the plans of the Indonesian junta, which hopes that time will lead the world to ignore East Timor and the heroic resistance of its people.

10. For further clarification of the situation in East Timor, I am enclosing the following documents:

- (i) Communiqué from the Central Committee of FRETILIN, dated 15 June 1976, signed by the Vice-President, Nicolau Lobato. This communiqué was monitored in Darwin, Australia;
- (ii) Press reports of 2 July 1976 monitored in Darwin, Australia, from the national radio station of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, Radio "Maubere".

Cordially yours,

(Signed) José RAMOS-HORTA
Minister for External Relations
and Information

Enclosure I to the annex

From 15 May to 2 June 1976, in the liberated areas under FRETILIN the second extraordinary plenary session of the Central Committee of FRETILIN took place. It was the second such session since the invasion of East Timor on 7 December 1975.

After detailed reports were presented by various members of the Central Committee and regional leaders from all over the national territory, the assembly took note that after nearly a year of a people's war of resistance against Indonesian expansionist aggression throughout the territory, women, men, peasants and workers, students and soldiers are continuing the popular resistance in spite of the continuous massive Indonesian military operation.

Once again the Central Committee of FRETILIN repudiated the savage Indonesian aggression against East Timor, a free and independent State, and demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Indonesian forces in accordance with the United Nations resolutions and in the light of the right of the people to determine freely the political and economic system in which they live. The Central Committee of FRETILIN once again reaffirmed the unequivocal determination to continue to lead the people of East Timor in their struggle for national liberation.

In the second part of its meeting, the Central Committee of FRETILIN debated at length about questions of political theory which is considered of capital importance in order to clarify the interpretations of its revolutionary political line as the vanguard that leads the great masses of East Timor in their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and all forms of domination and exploitation.

The third part of the meeting saw the Central Committee of FRETILIN debating issues of a practical nature, making decisions concerning the correction of contradictions that have developed or that might develop in the fields of politics, military affairs, economics, education and culture. To this end, practical lines for orientation were drawn up in areas of political and military affairs, education, culture, economics, health, hygiene, justice and production, the great school of the people, as well as the behaviour and the attitudes of cadres at all levels.

Several departments of FRETILIN were restructured together with ministries of the revolutionary government. The basic structures underwent profound alterations in order to cope with the armed resistance. On 20 May, a rally took place in order to signal the second anniversary of FRETILIN. At 8 a.m. the flags of FRETILIN and the Democratic Republic of East Timor were raised with full military honours. The President of FRETILIN and of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, the beloved and respected Comrade Xavier do Amaral, reviewed the military parade. Later, an exhibition centre was inaugurated with displays of traditional medicine that have been adapted to meet the tragic circumstances of war. A small sugar factory was also inaugurated, that processes sugar from palm. This was followed by a rally and afterwards a luncheon was shared by the people and the freedom-fighters. In the afternoon there were sports, particularly traditional East Timorese wrestling and an exhibition of simulated knife fighting by FRETILIN soldiers. During the night there was a cultural show with theatrical performances, dances and revolutionary songs.

On the second anniversary of unity of the people of East Timor the Central Committee decided unanimously to release all political prisoners who had been held in gaol prior to the 7 December invasion. It was noted that many of them had already shown their will to serve the masses by participating in the armed struggle against Indonesian aggression. In the tenth month of the armed struggle - the higher form of political struggle, when the contradictions cannot be solved at the negotiating table, when the language of guns is necessary to impose the force of reason - the struggle is becoming more intense in the national territory.

The people of East Timor, tempered in this struggle for liberation, have taken up as a consequence the task of their own liberation. By taking up arms, the people of East Timor forged the consciousness of their national unity. To each escalation of Indonesian aggression there is a new consciousness of the justice of the struggle, of the justice of the political line traced and taken by their only legitimate vanguard, the Central Committee of FRETILIN. To each military offensive of the enemy there is a new certainty that victory may be difficult but it is certain.

Our struggle as it is serves the liberation of the people of East Timor, and as such it contributes to the liberation of people all around the world. Our struggle is just and therefore victory is certain. The struggle continues. Country or death, we shall win.

East Timor, 15 June 1976

Nicolau Dos Reis Lobato,
Vice-President of FRETILIN,
Prime Minister of the
Democratic Republic of East Timor

Enclosure II to the annex

PRESS RELEASE

2 July 1976

Information Office, New York.

212-864-7986.

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- * INDONESIAN TROOPS DEFECT IN EAST TIMOR
 - * FRETILIN RETAKES 9 NORTH COAST VILLAGES
 - * EAST TIMOR RED CROSS ESTABLISHED
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Over 100 soldiers of the KKO Special Unit have defected from the Indonesian Army and joined the nationalist forces of the Democratic Republic of East Timor according to highly reliable sources in Jakarta. The KKO has a reputation as a hotbed of Sukarnoism and, according to the same sources, has inflicted heavy casualties on the corps' chief rival, the RPKAD usually known as Red Berets who played a vital role in the massacres of 1965-1966 following the Suharto/CIA coup.

According to radio messages monitored in Darwin, Australia, FRETILIN has recaptured nine villages previously taken over by Indonesian forces - Railaco, Turiscai, Vato-Vou, Callaco, Darlete, Lekidoe, Atabai, Hatolia and Leoreme - along the north coast. The Minister of Home Affairs and National Security, Alarico Fernandes of the Democratic Republic of East Timor announced in the same radio message that over 400 rifles and sub-machine guns have been captured during the operations. He also said that the Indonesian forces at Atabai garrison in the north coast and near the border regions surrendered to FRETILIN forces after a two hour raid by the East Timorese guerrillas. The number of Indonesian soldiers killed in that garrison was over 60 before it surrendered.

The International Airport in Baucau was also under heavy attack by FRETILIN forces which would account for the failure of the Indonesian Parliamentary delegation to go there.

Anti-Jakarta demonstrations took place in the Indonesian villages of Atambua and Kefamananu during the past week. Undoubtedly the Indonesian military adventure in East Timor is giving opportunity to the separatist movements throughout Indonesia to intensify their own struggle, Mr. Alarico Fernandes said.

In another radio message monitored in Darwin, the Vice President of FRETILIN and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of East Timor gave an account of FRETILIN achievements in the fields of health and social affairs. Mr. Lobato said that the East Timor Red Cross had been established in order to deal with the suffering of the peoples in the liberated areas. Traditional medicines have been adapted in close co-operation with FRETILIN trained nurses, bare-foot doctors and the old traditional "doctors" of the tribes.

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Enclosure III to the annex

PRESS RELEASE

2 July 1976

Information Office, New York

212-864-7986

*FRETILIN ATTACKS ON BAUCAU FORCE CANCELLATION OF INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT MISSION THERE

*FRETILIN FORCES ACTIVE TEN KILOMETRES FROM DILI

Latest news from FRETILIN radio station inside East Timor, monitored in Darwin, Australia, confirmed earlier reports of nationalist guerrilla attacks on the second main town of Baucau that forced the Indonesian Government mission to cancel the planned visit to Baucau on 24 June. The mission was headed by the Indonesian Interior Minister Machmud and was supposedly the final act of "consultation" before integration was formalized. These claims by FRETILIN Radio were confirmed as totally accurate by a report from Jakarta by Sydney Morning Herald correspondent, Hamish McDonald, quoting Indonesian Government sources. The same officials also admitted that FRETILIN guerrillas are active 10 km from Dili and other towns captured by the Indonesians.

The radio message gave a further account of military operations against Indonesian forces as follows:

- In Maliana in the border area 10 Indonesian soldiers were killed on 24 June.
- At the eastern tip of the island at Tutuala 20 Indonesian "Red Berets" were killed and over 50 were wounded and captured during 24-26 June.
- At Ermera, a rich coffee region, 30 miles south-west of Dili, FRETILIN forces destroyed 12 vehicles while in a nearby village, Bazartete, 15 Indonesian soldiers were killed. During the operation East Timorese prisoners were released by FRETILIN forces, in the same village five more Indonesians were killed while trying to take crops from a co-operative farm.
- At Kelicai, on 27 June, 18 Indonesians were killed while working on the repair of a bridge.
- In Same, a village in the south coast, heavy fighting has been taking place since 24 June until 27 June, and Indonesian forces suffered over 100 casualties killed, wounded or surrendered.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF EAST TIMOR

POSITION OF INVASION FORCES JUNE 1976

