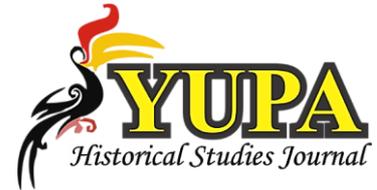


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Indonesia's Diplomacy at the UN: Supporting the Decolonization of Tunisia (1951-1956)

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Abstract This article analyses Indonesia's diplomacy at the United Nations (UN) in support of Tunisia's decolonization from French colonial rule between 1951 and 1956. As a newly independent state and a recent member of the UN in the early 1950s, Indonesia strategically utilized the organization as a multilateral platform to articulate anti-colonial norms and to advocate the right to self-determination for colonized peoples. This study adopts historical methodology comprising heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiographical reconstruction, drawing upon primary sources from UN archival documents and secondary sources from internationally indexed scholarly publications. The findings reveal that Indonesia acted as an active diplomatic advocate of Tunisian independence by consistently raising the issue within the UN and by forging strategic cooperation with Asian states. Indonesia's diplomatic support for Tunisia constitutes a significant illustration of how a postcolonial state mobilised international legitimacy and multilateral pressure to challenge colonial domination. Furthermore, this engagement reflects the normative foundations of Indonesia's 'independent and active' foreign policy and underscores the enduring significance of Asian solidarity rooted in shared experiences of colonial subjugation.

Keywords: Indonesian diplomacy, United Nations, decolonisation, Tunisia, anti-colonialism, Asian solidarity

Abstrak Penelitian ini membahas diplomasi Indonesia di Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa (PBB) dalam mendukung gerakan dekolonisasi Tunisia dari penjajahan Prancis pada periode 1951-1956. Sebagai negara yang baru merdeka dan resmi menjadi anggota PBB pada awal dekade 1950-an, Indonesia secara aktif memanfaatkan forum internasional tersebut untuk menyuarakan isu-isu anti-kolonialisme dan hak menentukan nasib sendiri bagi bangsa-bangsa terjajah. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode historis yang meliputi tahapan heuristik, kritik sumber, interpretasi, dan historiografi dengan memanfaatkan sumber-sumber primer berupa dokumen PBB serta sumber sekunder dari buku dan artikel jurnal internasional. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Indonesia berperan aktif dalam mengangkat isu kemerdekaan Tunisia di PBB melalui dukungan diplomatik dan kerja sama dengan negara-negara Asia lainnya. Dukungan Indonesia terhadap Tunisia merupakan contoh konkret peran Indonesia dalam menggalang solidaritas internasional untuk melawan kolonialisme dan imperialisme. Diplomasi tersebut tidak hanya mencerminkan komitmen politik luar negeri Indonesia yang berlandaskan prinsip bebas dan aktif, tetapi juga menunjukkan kuatnya solidaritas antarbangsa yang memiliki pengalaman sejarah sebagai bangsa terjajah.

Kata kunci : Diplomasi Indonesia, PBB, Dekolonisasi, Tunisia, Anti-Kolonialisme, Solidaritas Asia



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INTRODUCTION

Post-World War II, the dynamics of international politics were not only filled with tension and polarization between the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc, later known as the Cold War, but also the intensification of decolonization movements in various regions of Asia and Africa. The strengthening demands for independence certainly impacted the emergence of conflict and friction with Colonial Governments wanting to maintain their colonial territories (Berger, 2004).

Decolonization can be defined as a movement demanding moral justice and political solidarity in opposing the practices of colonialism and imperialism conducted by European nations in most countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. On the other hand, decolonization is not only a movement to achieve independence and sovereignty with the freedom of self-determination, but also a thought process to oppose all forms of European claims over their colonial territories. Decolonization is also interpreted as a form of radical transformation that is not merely a transfer of power from a foreign (colonial) government to a local government to determine its future, but also a dialectical process to achieve liberation and a more equal and just life (Duara, 2003).

In its process, decolonization in the world occurred in three waves with different time spans, occurring throughout the late 1940s to the 1960s. The first decolonization process occurred in South Asia and Southeast Asia, including Indonesia. The second wave of decolonization occurred in North Africa, such as Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Morocco. The third wave of decolonization occurred in Sub-Saharan Africa, West Africa in the 1960s (Betts, 1998).

Nevertheless, the struggle to achieve decolonization in a colonized country always faced friction, opposition, and conflict with the Colonial Government, thus requiring strong support not only domestically but also internationally through diplomacy. In this context, the United Nations (UN) became an important arena for colonized nations to voice their aspirations for independence and gain international support. One region that experienced intense decolonization dynamics was Tunisia, which since the late 19th century was under French colonial rule.

Tunisia experienced a significant escalation of political struggle in the early 1950s. The repressive policies of the French colonial government against the Tunisian nationalist movement actually strengthened people's resistance, both through diplomatic channels and mass resistance. However, Tunisia's limited access as a non-independent territory made their struggle on the international stage highly dependent on support from other countries, especially those that had already achieved independence earlier.

In this context, Indonesia emerged as an important actor in supporting Tunisia's decolonization struggle at the UN forum. As a country that just gained independence in 1945 and

only obtained full sovereignty recognition in 1949, Indonesia brought its historical experience as a colonized nation into its international relations practice. Since its inception, Indonesia's foreign policy has firmly placed anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism as one of its main principles, as reflected in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution which rejects all forms of colonialism in the world.

Indonesia's diplomatic role in the Tunisian issue did not stand alone. Indonesia actively collaborated with other Asian countries that also had colonial experiences, such as India, Pakistan, and Burma (Myanmar), to build collective solidarity in pressuring the French colonial power through multilateral diplomacy channels. This solidarity reflected the embryo of Asia-Africa cooperation that would later find its momentum at the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung in 1955. Thus, Indonesia's support for Tunisia was not only bilateral but also based on the spirit of regional and international solidarity among colonized nations.

Indonesia's diplomacy at the UN in supporting Tunisia's independence in the 1951–1956 period shows that Indonesia, although still facing various domestic post-independence issues, was able to play an active role in international politics. Indonesia did not only act as an object in the post-colonial world order but also as a subject that helped shape the global discourse on the rejection of colonialism and imperialism. This also affirmed the orientation of Indonesia's independent and active foreign policy.

In recent decades, research on the role of post-colonial actors in the UN in the decolonization process continues to develop along with increasing researcher attention to these issues. This is evident from the study by Muschik (2018), which discusses how UN initiatives in 1956 and its policies helped shape the transition process from colonialism to independent states, so the UN was not merely a rhetorical multilateral forum but also successfully became a global stage in decolonization affairs. Meanwhile, research by El-Ayouty emphasizes how the Afro-Asian group played an important role in advancing issues related to decolonization. The group sought to utilize the legitimacy of the UN General Assembly to pressure colonial powers to grant the right to self-determination to colonized peoples. Another study concerning Tunisia and its efforts to internationalize the decolonization issue is explained by Thénault. Through his research, he explains how Tunisian nationalist figures successfully combined domestic conditions influenced by the beginning of the weakening of French colonial power in the Maghreb region with the effectiveness of international support in advancing the decolonization issue. On the other hand, Jacobson (1962) asserts the role of non-European actors who were figures from Asian-African nations in changing negotiation processes at the UN. Regarding Indonesia's role, Kroef (1952) in his research explains that after achieving sovereignty recognition and becoming a UN member, Indonesia was very active in voicing international issues such as the Korean War and

decolonization issues for nations still colonized. However, Kroef did not specifically discuss how Indonesia's role in voicing decolonization for Tunisia.

Based on the above studies, several research gaps are visible: First, the scarcity of studies that empirically trace Indonesia's concrete diplomatic actions at the UN regarding Tunisia between 1951–1956. Second, the lack of analysis of Indonesia's cooperation network with other Asian countries in mainstreaming the Tunisian issue at the UN. Moreover, most research focuses more on the role of the UN as an international organization to Indonesia's role in the Asia-Africa Conference. In fact, Indonesia's involvement in the Tunisian issue at the UN is a concrete example of how Indonesia since its early independence had conducted international diplomacy based on anti-colonial solidarity. Therefore, this research becomes important to fill that gap while enriching the understanding of Indonesia's global role post-independence.

Based on this explanation, this research focuses on Indonesia's diplomatic efforts at the UN in supporting the Tunisian people's struggle against French colonization in the 1951–1956 period. This research examines the forms of Indonesian diplomatic support, the role of cooperation with Asian countries, the role of Indonesian diplomats in voicing decolonization issues, and the strategic meaning of that diplomacy for the establishment of Asia-Africa solidarity and the formation of Indonesia's image as a leader of Third World countries on the international stage.

METHOD

This research uses the historical method, starting with source collection, then verification of found data and facts, interpretation, and writing (Kuntowijoyo, 2013). The research sources were obtained through literature study, including archives, newspapers, books, and journal articles. The literature study was conducted by visiting the National Library, Ahmad Soebardjo Library, and the DIY Library. Additionally, literature study utilized sources available digitally through UN Digital Archives, Delpher, Trove, and JSTOR. After finding relevant sources, the next step is source verification. Verification is a very important stage in historical research so that sources containing historical data and facts can be tested for their truth. The next stage is interpreting the previously found sources. At this stage, existing historical facts are interpreted and then written into a complete and chronological narrative.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Tunisia Before French Colonization

Tunisia is one of the independent and sovereign countries located on the African continent. Precisely situated at the northernmost part of that continent. Tunisia directly borders the Mediterranean Sea on its northern and eastern sides, while on its southeastern side it directly

borders Libya. As for the western and southern sides, it borders Algeria. In terms of government, Tunisia currently adopts a semi-presidential system where the president is the head of state and executive power is held by the prime minister resulting from general elections (Nevill Barbour et al., 2025).

Viewed from an ethnic perspective, Tunisia is not much different from its neighboring country, which is predominantly Arab. The remainder are of European and Jewish ethnicity. The large Arab population in Tunisia makes the country predominantly Muslim. This population configuration cannot be separated from Tunisia's long past journey since the Carthaginian, Roman, Islamic Caliphate eras to French colonization in the 19th century.

The historical journey in the early classical period of Tunisia is not much different from its neighbor Morocco. Tunisia also experienced the Neolithic age marked by the presence of stone tool relics. The Bronze Age occurred in North Africa, but the process was relatively slow, so stone tools were still used until the classical period (Clark, 1982).

Like other North African regions, Tunisia also became part of Carthaginian rule in the early classical period until conquered by Rome in the 2nd century BC. After being conquered by Rome, Tunisia at that time was also included as part of the Western Province of the Roman Empire. The Roman Empire controlled this region for the next 5 centuries until its fall in the 4th century AD. After the fall of Rome, control over this region was held by the Vandals and then passed to the Byzantines (Nevill Barbour et al., 2025).

Entering the 7th century when Arabs under the Islamic Caliphate carried out conquests in North Africa, Tunisia was also included in that conquest. At that time, Tunisia was called Ifriqiyyah, adopted from the Roman period. Post-conquest, Tunisia became one of the many regions in North Africa under the control of the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates. This conquest succeeded in making the local Berber tribes convert to Islam (Munir, 2010).

Although the Abbasid rulers could establish power in North Africa, changes and disputes among local leaders were unavoidable, giving rise to various local dynasties ruling under the Abbasids until the 12th century. When the Abbasids weakened further, in the 13th century a dynasty separate from the caliphate's power was established in Tunisia by the Hafsids (Nevill Barbour, et al., 2025).

Entering the 14th and 15th centuries when the Reconquista movement spread in the Iberian Peninsula, Tunisia became one of the places of refuge for Andalusian Muslims forced to flee. Mass migration occurred when Granada, the last Muslim kingdom, finally fell to Spain. In 1574, when the Ottoman Empire successfully established its power in North Africa, Tunisia was incorporated as part of that empire (Rogan, 2018). This certainly differentiated it from its neighbor, Morocco, which remained sovereign as an independent country. While part of the Ottomans, Tunisia still enjoyed broad autonomy due to the distant control of the central

government in Istanbul. Tunisia remained part of Ottoman territory until the 19th century, finally coming under French control as that European country expanded its colonial territory to the African continent.

Tunisia Under French Colonization

Before becoming a French protectorate, Tunisia, which historically had autonomous power within the Ottoman Empire, did not feel threatened by the French presence in Algeria. However, when the Ottomans overthrew the local ruler in Libya and established direct control, the local ruler Husain Bey of Tunisia began to feel his position threatened. Therefore, he then began reforms to strengthen the military and economy. This reform process caused European influence to begin entering the joints of Tunisian life. However, these reforms were not entirely successful due to Tunisia's stagnant and deteriorating economy, plus increasing debt (Nevill Barbour, et al., 2025).

During the leadership of Muhammad al-Şādiq, the planned reform agenda could not be implemented due to corruption practices and peasant rebellions. Due to worsening financial conditions, Tunisia had to accept the presence of an international financial commission consisting of France, England, and Italy. In 1878, Tunisia finally lost its sovereignty after the Berlin Conference approved France to control the region. France officially controlled Tunisia in 1881 after invading and placing a resident in the country. Since then, Tunisia became a French protectorate and broke away from Ottoman control (Mckay, 1945).

After becoming a protectorate, Tunisia immediately continued the administrative reform agenda useful for France. The reforms then brought results in stable state finances. What is interesting about the French colonial system in Tunisia is the maintained throne of the previous local ruler. However, the difference was that the highest state power lay with the resident appointed by France (Perkins, 2014).

Throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Tunisia continued to undergo changes toward European-style modernization. The agricultural system began to be developed for vegetable cultivation, the results of which were then exported to Europe. Additionally, phosphate mines in the Gafsa area began to be developed by the French Government. On the other hand, this modernity drive was also pushed by young Tunisians who had received education in France. This youth group urged Tunisia to move forward following the European development model (Perkins, 2014).

Nationalist Movement and Independence Struggle

During World War I, nationalist movements demanding independence began to emerge. However, they only took shape in 1920 with the formation of a Constitutional Party. This party conveyed demands to the king and resident to immediately form a constitutional government

guaranteeing equal rights for Tunisian citizens and European citizens. This demand was then coldly responded to by the Colonial Government by arresting the party leader named 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Tha'alibī (Perkins, 2014).

Although the Constitutional Party leader was arrested, two years later the king titled bey threatened the resident to fulfill that demand. Seeing the demand from Bey Nashir, the Colonial Government instead threatened the king by besieging the palace, causing the demand to be finally withdrawn. This incident impacted the weakening of the nationalist movement for several years afterward (Nevill Barbour, et al., 2025).

Entering the 1930s, the nationalist movement began to grow again with a new figure named Habib Bourguiba. He was a Tunisian lawyer. To advance his agenda, Bourguiba decided not to cooperate with the Constitutional Party and instead formed the Neo-Constitution as an effort to attract broader mass support. After conducting nationalist movement propaganda, Bourguiba actually gained broad public support in Tunisia. As a result, this movement annoyed the Colonial Government, which reacted by dissolving the Neo-Constitution in 1938 and arresting its leaders (Roberts,, 1986).

The leaders of the Neo-Constitution movement advocating independence were then deported to France. However, they immediately gained freedom when France was occupied by Nazi German troops. Bourguiba was once asked to cooperate with the Axis Bloc, but he refused to sign a commitment letter. Bourguiba and the movement leaders finally returned to Tunisia. While in Tunisia, Bourguiba continued to voice independence for his country, leading to his exile accused of cooperating with the Nazis (Nevill Barbour, et al., 2025).

While Bourguiba was in exile, the movement for independence within the country continued until finally France gave approval in 1951 to form a government involving nationalist groups. France's willingness brought Bourguiba back to Tunisia. However, repressive actions continued when a parliament was to be formed. Bourguiba, who had not long arrived in his country, was exiled again (Youssef, 1954).

Repressive French actions against Tunisian independence fighters then gave birth to a guerrilla movement operating in the mountains. This resistance movement was motivated by nationalists opposing Colonial Government actions. Besides resistance within the country, Tunisian fighters also sought to bring the independence issue to the international forum. One of them was through the UN forum. This struggle through the UN was hoped to attract international support for the decolonization process in Tunisia.

Tunisia's Struggle and Indonesia's Diplomacy

As mentioned earlier, post-World War II, independence and decolonization movements began to sweep Asia and Africa, which were essentially Western colonial territories. Rising nationalism among movements plus repressive actions from Colonial Governments increasingly

heightened the spirit of Asian-African peoples to be free from foreign power. This also occurred in Tunisia. A territory without its own government because it was under French control.

Like its neighbor Morocco, Tunisia was also facing a wave of decolonization movements carried out by the Tunisian people. However, the movement to achieve independence was always met with repression by French authorities. Even Tunisian movement leaders like Habib Bourguiba had to go into exile.

Entering the 1950s, the resistance of the Tunisian people to achieve independence intensified. Besides through domestic resistance movements, the Tunisian people's struggle was also conducted abroad. This was done to gain international sympathy for the struggle.

Indonesia, as a country newly independent from Dutch and Japanese colonization, also felt the suffering experienced by the Tunisian people. Therefore, from the beginning, Indonesia always supported decolonization efforts in that country, especially through diplomatic processes at the UN. Although in the early 1950s, the issue of Tunisia had not been discussed in General Assembly sessions.

When Bourguiba came to Jakarta in early 1951 seeking international support, the Indonesian government led by Prime Minister Natsir warmly welcomed the Tunisian representative with a sense of brotherhood. Natsir then reciprocated the visit of the Tunisian political figure in 1952 by visiting Egypt, where there was an office representing independence fighters from Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria (Isnaeni, 2015).

Upon returning home, Natsir, inspired by the idea of supporting the decolonization movement, formed the North African Independence Struggle Assistance Committee. The committee formed was directly chaired by Natsir, assisted by Hamid Algadri as secretary-general. This committee sought to provide an office that could be used by envoys from Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria to conduct their struggle abroad (Isnaeni, 2015). This was the initial form of Indonesian support for Tunisia's independence before finally that support was continued through diplomacy at the UN.

The Tunisian issue was first discussed at the UN on August 3, 1951. However, the discussion about Tunisia was not an official discussion in the form of an agenda item proposed by member state representatives. Rather, the discussion about Tunisia was the presentation of information by France regarding a non-self-governing territory (UN Archives, 1951, A/1827).

In its report, France described Tunisia's conditions, such as area size, population, public health conditions, and crime rates. Additionally, France also stated that education in Tunisia was provided free of charge from the basic level (UN Archives, 1951, A/1827). Something contrary to actual conditions due to discrimination and social segregation in Tunisia conducted by France.

The Tunisian issue was officially discussed in the General Assembly in 1952. After the issue was proposed by eleven Asian-African countries including Indonesia on June 20, 1952, to

the General Assembly for inclusion in the session agenda. In their letter to the Secretary-General, the eleven Asian-African country representatives requested the Assembly to pay attention to the critical situation in Tunisia caused by repressive French actions. The repressive French actions included the detention of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers along with his cabinet (UN Archives, 1952, A/2137).

After being proposed by the eleven countries, on October 16, 1952, the General Assembly included "The Question of Tunisia" into an agenda item to be discussed in the next session (UN Archives, 1952, A/2227). The Tunisian issue was then discussed in the agenda of Committee I sessions held from December 4 to December 17, 1952. In the quite lengthy session, discussions regarding decolonization in Tunisia always sparked debates among member state representatives. This was due to differences of opinion in responding to the situation in Tunisia. The majority of Asian-African countries supported Tunisia becoming an independent and sovereign state. Meanwhile, different opinions were expressed by Western countries, essentially French allies (UN Archives, 1952, A/C.1/SR.537).

During the session, the Indonesian representative was also involved in debates in discussing solutions for the situation in Tunisia. In his statement, L.N. Palar representing Indonesia emphasized the importance of peaceful resolution for the situation in Tunisia. The peaceful resolution meant was through providing freedom and justice with a sense of brotherhood. Additionally, France must eliminate various regulations that had been discriminatory and far from justice for the Tunisian people. However, France had ignored this in Tunisia. As a result, the chaotic situation was a consequence of the injustice applied by France during its rule over Tunisia. Yet the chaos could become a threat to world peace (UN Archives, 1952, A/C.1/SR.538).

In his statement, Palar continued that France had acted beyond the bounds of the 1881 agreement aimed at maintaining power. Economic, social, and cultural reforms boasted by France actually aroused hatred in the eyes of the Tunisian people. This happened due to emerging discrimination and injustice felt by the Tunisian people. Although the Bardo Treaty and La Marsa Convention were agreed upon by both parties, Tunisia's current condition was very different. The Bey, as the legitimate state leader, had been reduced to a French puppet (UN Archives, 1952, A/C.1/SR.538).

When presenting facts about the situation in Tunisia, Palar emphasized that France had conducted colonialism in that country. This was proven by the seizure of fertile agricultural land from the Tunisian people, which was then utilized by French settlers. Additionally, Palar also refuted the statement of the Dutch representative Mr. Schuman, who supported French actions for advancing education in Tunisia. In fact, those enjoying educational facilities in Tunisia were mostly French settlers (UN Archives, 1952, A/C.1/SR.538).

Based on existing facts, Palar then requested the UN to adopt a resolution enabling sovereign states to reach a democratic agreement. Furthermore, the French Government must reopen negotiations with the true representatives of Tunisia to produce more liberal policies, giving freedom to the Tunisian people to determine their own government (UN Archives, 1952, A. 538). As a sovereign state, Tunisia had the right to regulate its own country without foreign interference.

Besides being involved in debates to produce a peaceful solution for Tunisia, Palar as the Indonesian representative also submitted a draft resolution jointly with other Asian-African countries. The joint draft resolution proposed by Indonesia was as follows:

the General Assembly should (i) recall that the Charter affirmed the equal rights of nations large and small, and that among the purposes of the United Nations was the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; (ii) consider that the continuance of the present situation in Tunisia was detrimental to those rights and purposes and also endangered international peace and security; (iii) urge the Government of France to establish normal conditions and normal civil liberties in Tunisia; (iv) recommend that negotiations should be resumed between the Government of France and the true representatives of the Tunisian people for the purpose of implementing the right of self-determination and the fulfilment of the national aspirations of the Tunisian people; (v) decide to appoint a commission of good offices composed of three members, to arrange and assist in the proposed negotiations; (vi) request the commission to take all necessary steps for the aforesaid purposes and to report to the General Assembly on the progress made; (vii) invite all concerned to give to the commission their full co-operation; and (viii) decide to include the item on the provisional agenda of the eighth session of the General Assembly (UN Archives, 1952, A/2312).

Besides the draft resolution submitted by Indonesia and Asian-African countries, there were several draft resolutions submitted by Latin American countries and Pakistan. India also gave amendment suggestions to the existing draft resolution. After debate, Committee I then voted on the existing draft resolutions that had been amended. In the vote, the draft resolution submitted by Indonesia and 12 Asian-African countries received a majority vote, thus could be proposed in the General Assembly plenary session (UN Archives, 1952, A/2312). In the General Assembly plenary session held on December 17, 1952, the draft resolution was finally adopted after receiving 44 votes in favor and 8 abstentions. (UN Archives, 1952, A/PV.404). The adoption of this resolution was hoped to realize a peaceful resolution for the Tunisian issue.

However, although the UN had issued a resolution urging peaceful negotiations between Tunisia and France, the situation in Tunisia had not improved because France was still repressive toward the people and political prisoners. Therefore, the Tunisia issue was again proposed in the General Assembly in 1953 by Asian-African countries including Indonesia on July 9, 1953 (UN Archives, 1953, A/2405). Indonesia, as a country supporting the independence of Asian-African nations, continued to provide support for Tunisia through diplomacy.

After being proposed again by 13 Asian-African countries, the Tunisia issue was included in the session agenda item on September 17, 1953, by the General Assembly. After officially listed on the session agenda, the Tunisia issue began to be discussed in Committee I sessions from October 21 to October 26, 1953. During the 5-day session, various opinions and debates always colored the proceedings. Additionally, condemnations and concerns about the situation in Tunisia were also conveyed by diplomats (UN Archives, 1953, A/C.1/SR.643). Indonesian representative Abu Hanifah also condemned French actions during the session on October 23, 1953. In his presentation, Hanifah conveyed various facts about the concerning conditions in Tunisia. Negotiations that never materialized, Tunisians restricted from participating in elections, persecution of Neo Destour, the murder of Farhat, and various forms of threats (UN Archives, 1953, A/C.1/SR.646).

In his subsequent statement, Hanifah conveyed the Indonesian delegation's attitude of regretting if the UN could not immediately take action to resolve the problem in Tunisia, which essentially had the same character as Morocco. Self-determination was a right that must be given to the Tunisian people. Additionally, as a form of support, Indonesia together with other Asian countries again submitted a draft resolution essentially recommending that the Tunisian people gain sovereignty and peaceful negotiations be implemented without delay. A resolution that was not ambitious but important for peaceful problem resolution (UN Archives, 1953, A/C.1/SR.646).

From Hanifah's explanation above, it can be proof that Indonesia through its diplomats was actively involved in discussions and debates to find peaceful solutions to every international issue, including support for decolonization in Tunisia. Indeed, in conducting multilateral diplomacy, there are various challenges and obstacles, such as rejection and opposition from other delegations. Or voting mechanisms that sometimes cause a peaceful resolution to fail to gain support, thus hindering problem resolution efforts.

Meanwhile, after a long debate, the resolution submitted by thirteen Asian countries including Indonesia finally again gained majority support after amendments were made to its parts. After gaining full support, the resolution was then brought to the plenary session for further discussion (UN Archives, 1953, A/C.1/SR.646).

In the General Assembly plenary session held on November 3, Abu Hanifah as the Indonesian representative again emphasized the need for the UN to immediately take action for problem resolution in Tunisia. However, on one hand, he mentioned how major world powers had influenced UN decisions and how various existing procedures were used to hinder a nation's desire for freedom and independence. In his statement regarding Tunisia, Hanifah said:

What are the demands of the people of Tunisia? Tunisia is today seeking to reaffirm its faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. It is desirous of establishing democratic conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from

treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained. It wants to promote, in the interest of its people, social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. These are all aims enshrined in our Charter which we, the peoples of the United Nations, have resolved, through our combined efforts, to accomplish. It is now our collective responsibility to choose whether we will redeem our pledge or whether we will allow the Charter to lapse into nothing more than a collection of beautiful and noble phrases. (UN Archives, 1953, A/PV.455).

Hanifah's statement above was a reaffirmation of the Tunisian people's desires and hopes for the UN's role and responsibility in providing assistance for the peaceful resolution of the issue. Meanwhile, after going through the trial and voting process, the General Assembly rejected adopting the draft resolution because it did not achieve a majority vote (UN Archives, 1953, A/PV.457). The failure to adopt the resolution certainly impacted the delayed resolution of the Tunisian issue.

Entering 1954, the situation in Tunisia had not improved. However, peaceful negotiations between France and Tunisia began to find a bright spot for independence. Nonetheless, diplomatic struggle continued through the UN. On July 29, representatives of thirteen Asian countries including Indonesia again proposed the Tunisia issue to be discussed in the General Assembly session. This proposal was accepted, so the Tunisia issue again colored debates in Committee I specifically discussing world political issues (UN Archives, 1954, A/2887).

During the session, Indonesia together with other Asian countries again submitted a draft resolution. An action continuously taken by Indonesia as a form of support for peaceful decolonization in Tunisia. After various revisions and amendments from other country delegations, Committee I decided to propose the draft resolution to the General Assembly plenary session. This happened because the resolution gained majority support with 54 votes in favor and 3 abstentions (UN Archives, 1954, A/2887). When the resolution was brought to the plenary session, debates regarding the Tunisia issue were not as heated as before. Finally, after voting, the General Assembly adopted a new resolution with 55 in favor and 4 abstentions (UN Archives, 1954, A/PV.514). The adoption of this resolution provided a path for resolving the Tunisian issue peacefully, although requiring a fairly long time.

In the end, Indonesia's support through multilateral diplomacy for Tunisia's independence had very important meaning. On various occasions through UN forums, Indonesian diplomats always voiced support for Tunisia's independence. This support also became Indonesia's commitment to actively participate in resolving international issues for world peace creation. After lengthy negotiations, Tunisia officially became an independent and sovereign state on March 20.

CONCLUSION

This research concludes that Indonesia, as a newly independent state and newly joined the United Nations (UN) in 1950, demonstrated an active and consistent role in supporting decolonization movements, particularly the independence struggle of Tunisia from French colonization in the period 1951–1956. Through diplomacy at the UN, Indonesia continuously raised the *Tunisia Question*, rallied international support, and affirmed the right to self-determination for the Tunisian people. The role of Indonesian diplomats, especially L. N. Palar and Abu Hanifah, is reflected in initiatives to propose the Tunisian issue to the General Assembly, involvement in debates, and submission of draft resolutions pressuring France to end its colonialism. Indonesia's support was also concretely realized through facilitating an office for the Tunisian struggle representative in Jakarta. Indonesia's diplomatic support for Tunisia aligns with the principles of an independent and active foreign policy and affirms Indonesia's position as a pioneer of Asian-African solidarity and one of the moral leaders of Third World countries in the global struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

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