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NOTE

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Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

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1915th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 22 April 1976, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. HUANG Hua (China).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1915)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Timor:
Report of the Secretary-General in pursuance of Security Council resolution 384 (1975) (S/12011)

The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Timor:

Report of the Secretary-General in pursuance of Security Council resolution 384 (1975) (S/12011)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): In accordance with the decisions taken earlier [1908th and 1910th to 1912th meetings], I shall now invite the representatives of Australia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mozambique, the Philippines, Portugal and Saudi Arabia to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Anwar Sani (Indonesia) and Mr. da Costa Lobo (Portugal) took places at the Council table and Mr. Harry (Australia), Mr. Camara (Guinea), Mr. Fernandes (Guinea-Bissau), Mr. Singh (Malaysia), Mr. Lobo (Mozambique), Mr. Yango (Philippines) and Mr. Baroody (Saudi Arabia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): This morning the Security Council took a vote on the draft resolution [S/12056] and amendment [S/12057] before it and adopted the draft as resolution 389 (1976). At the close of the meeting, a number of representatives expressed the wish to speak. I shall now call on them.

3. Mr. CHALE (United Republic of Tanzania): The Security Council is meeting again to consider the question of East Timor. When the Council met last December on this same question, my delegation stated my Government's position in no uncertain terms [1867th meeting]. At that time we emphasized that the principle of self-determination, which is very dear to the Organization, must not be jeopardized. That is why my delegation went along with the idea of consultations by the Secretary-General, in the hope that after an assessment had been made a solution would be found.

4. With that background in mind, my delegation has studied very carefully the report of the Secretary-General [S/12011], which reflects the commendable efforts the Secretary-General has undertaken in accordance with Council resolution 384 (1975). At this point my delegation wishes to pay a special tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi, for his valuable report [*ibid.*, annex].

5. But, as the report of the Secretary-General clearly points out, a state of tension continues in East Timor. The report also indicates that no one particular group exercises full control over the whole Territory. As matters stand now, the Special Representative points out, the situation in East Timor remains elusive and continues to evolve.

6. It is the firm belief of my delegation that had it not been for foreign intervention, we would be dealing with a completely different situation. We would be considering ways and means of bringing peace and reconciling the different groups in East Timor in order to create favourable conditions for the implementation of the principle of self-determination. Instead, the Council is faced with a fait accompli created by the presence of the armed forces of Indonesia, the result of which, among other things, has been the creation of a so-called Provisional Government. This situation not only hinders a free and genuine exercise of the right to self-determination but also hardens the positions of the various groups, as has already been indicated in the statements made by representatives of both sides.

7. In its resolution 384 (1975) the Security Council has, among other things, categorically called upon the Government of Indonesia to "withdraw without delay

all its forces from the Territory". It is regrettable that that resolution has not been fully implemented. Although we have now been informed that the Indonesian troops are in the process of withdrawing, the situation in East Timor remains one of grave concern, threatening peace and security in that region and hence calling for urgent action by the Council.

8. My delegation is convinced that the Council has the responsibility of maintaining peace and order in East Timor so as to create favourable conditions for the implementation of the principle of self-determination. We maintain that the people as a whole must be allowed the opportunity to express their views on this matter and to decide on their own destiny freely. The Council should not hesitate to deplore any acts, including military intervention, which may have the effect of frustrating the free expression of the people of East Timor. In this context, my delegation attaches great importance to the implementation of resolution 384 (1975), which, among other things, calls upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces.

9. My delegation continues to believe that the question of East Timor should be considered in the light of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) concerning the exercise of the inalienable right to self-determination and independence. This, as the Council is aware, is the responsibility of the General Assembly.

10. We believe that the administering Power, Portugal, continues to be responsible for the administration of East Timor and that it is incumbent upon all States, including Indonesia, to respect the "sacred trust" of the administering Power. To that effect, all acts of *fait accompli*, as well as the results thereof, must be deplored. We reject any justifications of intervention alleging that Indonesia was asked to intervene by one of the parties purporting to represent the population of East Timor, because to act differently is to legitimize an otherwise illegitimate action and to clothe intervention with legality.

11. Those are the considerations which have guided my delegation in the decision just taken by the Council. We realize that the situation obtaining in Timor still leaves many questions unanswered. The Secretary-General's report points this out. It is for that reason that we believe that the Secretary-General's recommendation for further consultations should be given the Council's full support. My delegation is pleased to note that this view has received the support of the majority of the members of the Council.

12. We wish the people of East Timor to be one. If a representative of the Secretary-General goes there, it will be to help those people to be one and to determine their own destiny. As a great wise man once said, we want the people of East Timor to be one, *Ut unum sint*—"that they may be one".

13. As one of the sponsors of the draft resolution just adopted by this Council, I feel I should express my delegation's gratitude to all those Council members who supported that text. My delegation is fully aware of the difficulties involved in drafting a text which could satisfy all members of the Council. We are, however, pleased to note that a spirit of co-operation has prevailed, thus enabling the Council to adopt the text by such an important majority.

14. At this juncture, I wish to express my delegation's gratitude for the statement made by the representative of Panama, who expressed the wish to join the list of sponsors [1914th meeting]. Members of the Council have taken note of this and it has been recorded. We believe that the wish expressed by our friend from Panama strengthens the spirit of co-operation which has prevailed throughout our deliberations on this matter, and I believe this will be reflected in the records.

15. Mr. TRAVERT (France) (*interpretation from French*): As was the case last December, the delegation of France is very happy that the Security Council has adopted a text on the subject of the situation in Timor which, after intense negotiations, has made possible a substantial meeting of minds which had originally held very divergent positions. In this respect we wish to pay tribute both to the praiseworthy efforts of the delegation of Japan and to the understanding shown by the authors of the initial text. However, my delegation keenly regrets the rejection of an amendment which, by implicitly taking note of the initiatives already taken by Indonesia and of its goodwill, could only have encouraged it to pursue this course, in accordance with commitments reaffirmed in this chamber by its representative. Despite this serious reservation, the delegation of France pronounced itself in favour of the draft resolution because even though a word to which we had attached much importance was cut out of it, it still has definite merit.

16. Like resolution 384 (1975), adopted on 22 December, the one adopted by the Council today seems to us a substantial improvement over resolution 3485 (XXX), which the General Assembly had adopted 10 days earlier. Indeed, rather than unilaterally placing responsibility for the situation on one of the parties to the conflict, it takes into account the various points of view and the facts of life. After duly recalling the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence—principles to which France attaches particular importance—the resolution takes note of the statements of the representative of Indonesia and thus contributes to strengthening the will of that great country to co-operate with the United Nations.

17. My delegation fully approves of continuing the assignment entrusted to the Secretary-General's Special Representative. Rather than dwelling on the

past and apportioning blame here or there, it is to the future that we must now look. The future of East Timor must be characterized by national reconciliation, subject to a total cessation of hostilities and to a coming together of the various parties, whose divergencies seem to us less fundamental than their common aspiration, namely, the accession of the people of Timor to well-being and independence. Even though some encouraging signs in this respect have already been reported, it is not to be expected that this reconciliation will be without its vicissitudes or without long and laborious negotiations. Therefore it would be desirable for such negotiations to be held, or at least to be started, under United Nations auspices and, initially, through the good offices of the Secretary-General's Special Representative. We sincerely hope, therefore, that Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi, in pursuing his excellent efforts, will be able to pay a second visit to East Timor and this time be in a position to meet all the parties and to gather all points of view.

18. It is with this hope that I shall conclude these brief remarks, but not without paying tribute to the skill and impartiality with which you, Mr. President, have guided this thorny debate.

19. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The discussion in the Security Council of the question of East Timor for the second time in a rather brief period has made it clear that the situation in that Territory remains complex, tense and unsettled. This cannot fail to preoccupy progressive mankind and the United Nations. The political situation in Timor continues to be complicated by the presence of foreign troops, which are there in violation of General Assembly and Council resolutions.

20. The Council has tackled this discussion, armed with many more facts and much more material than before. We have the report of Special Representative, Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi, and representatives of the various parties concerned have spoken before the Council. We have additional material on which to base an assessment of the actual situation, a situation which is difficult and complex but not unpromising.

21. As far as the mission of Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi is concerned, we consider that the Secretary-General performed an extremely useful task in sending such a mission to East Timor, but it is our considered opinion that the work of that mission has not been completed. It must be completed. In other words, we must receive a full report which clearly and accurately describes the situation and which shows the opinions of the various parties concerned. What is necessary is not to enflame the situation but rather to give an opportunity to the population of East Timor to live in peace and freedom in the sort of conditions in which they wish to live.

22. During the statements of certain witnesses, expressions were used which are hardly worthy of the Security Council. They spoke about some sort of "vacuum" which is apparently forming; they spoke about the "chaos" prevailing there; they spoke about God knows what else. But that is the terminology of the past, the colonialist terminology of the nineteenth century or early twentieth century. After all, the people of Timor have survived without the Portuguese, and they live without any vacuum at all. If anybody left East Timor, it was not a vacuum they left behind but a living population, with all its vital needs and requirements, with all its desires and aspirations to live better and to live freely. One of the witnesses used the expression, "Let them live as they want." That is precisely the point: as they want. But do those participating in Council discussions really not care that there are no schools or hospitals in East Timor? The people there need a great deal more than they have. What is the meaning of "living as they want"? Indeed, let them live as they wish, but what they want is a better life; so let them make their lives better. But let them do it alone, without outside interference.

23. It was also suggested that certain ideologists had tried to infiltrate East Timor, but I must say that I do not believe this. I do not believe that any alien ideology could appear in Timor and that it could have any influence on the population of East Timor.

24. I am not quite sure that we were right in inviting all the witnesses here. One of them, a rather curious one, was a participant in the Spanish Civil War—not on the Republican side, either—and also participated in repressing the liberation movement in Kenya. And what is his present status in East Timor? He began there as nothing but a small plantation owner. But in a short time his plantation grew from 10 hectares to 200 hectares, and we took him as a witness whose words should be considered as truth. I think we wasted our time listening to such a "witness" and in faithfully recording everything he said here in the records.

25. The position of the delegation of the Soviet Union on this point is clear; it was clearly and unambiguously expounded in detail in its statements in the Council's discussion last December of the situation in East Timor. The fundamental premise of our Government and country in this matter is that it is necessary to support the right of every people to decide its own fate without any foreign intervention. The delegation of the Soviet Union is against any outside interference in the affairs of East Timor; we are in favour of creating conditions which would permit the people of that Territory to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. In the final analysis, how that right is exercised is up to the people themselves.

26. Of course the Soviet delegation would have preferred a stronger and more definite resolution. However, in view of the fact that the resolution contains provisions that are in accordance with

previous decisions adopted by the United Nations, as well as with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which we regard as remaining in force, we supported the resolution. We did not support the amendment because we felt that it somewhat obscured the issue instead of shedding light on it.

27. This is our position. All we want is that the population of East Timor should itself, without any interference, freely determine its fate, its future. If the United Nations gives assistance to the people of East Timor in solving this problem, it will have fulfilled its noble mission.

28. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom voted for the draft resolution just adopted because of the great importance we attach to the principle of self-determination. We regret, however, that the amendment submitted by Japan was not adopted. Our vote in favour of the draft resolution should in no way be taken as casting doubt on the statement of the representative of Indonesia when he informed the Council that the process of withdrawing Indonesian forces from East Timor had begun. We have noted this statement and we fully support the call addressed to Indonesia in paragraph 2 to withdraw its forces now from East Timor without delay.

29. We do not accept the view put forward by some speakers in the debate that self-determination has already taken place in East Timor. For a valid act of self-determination to take place—and here I should like to borrow a phrase from the representative of Japan—“according to due procedures widely accepted by the international community” [1910th meeting, para. 26], there are, as we understand the confused situation in the Territory itself, three requirements which will have to be satisfied. First, conditions of peace and order must prevail; secondly, there should be no pressure on the Timorese from external forces; and thirdly, procedures should be used which are suited to the local circumstances.

30. We were pleased to hear from the representative of Indonesia and from some representatives of the people of the Territory that the situation in East Timor is returning to normal. We have noted assurances by Indonesia that it has no claims over East Timor, that it will abide by the decision of the people of the Territory upon their future and that withdrawal of its forces has begun and will continue until it has been completed. In order that the process of self-determination in Timor may take place fairly, substantial withdrawals should be made as a matter of urgency. We hope that Indonesia will heed the successive appeals made to it by the Council.

31. The United Kingdom endorses the idea of a further fact-finding mission by the Secretary-General's Special Representative. We hope that the report which the Secretary-General is asked to submit, in para-

graph 4 of the resolution, will bring us good news on the restoration of peace and order and on withdrawals by external forces—two of the three prerequisites which I mentioned earlier for self-determination in East Timor.

32. We also support the holding, under the auspices of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, of further consultations between the parties concerned. Ways should be explored to build on the common assumption of those parties that the Timorese should be consulted about their own future. A major difficulty will be the absence of any prior preparation in the Territory for the use of democratic processes. In our view, procedures suited to the local circumstances should be used. We were interested in the proposals made in that regard by certain speakers in the debate. We would hope that as many possible of the members of a representative assembly will be chosen by popular vote and that the different options for the political future of the Territory will be canvassed widely during the selection of representatives.

33. Mr. SUNDBERG (Sweden): In its resolution 384 (1975), adopted with the affirmative vote of all its members, the Security Council called upon all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor as well as the inalienable right of Timor's people to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The Council also called upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces from the Territory. Among the other provisions of resolution 384 (1975), the Council requested the Secretary-General to send urgently a special representative to East Timor to make an on-the-spot assessment of the existing situation and to establish contact with all the parties in the Territory and all States concerned in order to ensure the implementation of the resolution.

34. The Council is now called upon to review how this resolution has been implemented. In regard to two of its most central elements we are obliged to note, first of all, that foreign troops are still in East Timor and that the people of East Timor has not yet been able to exercise its right to self-determination. The Indonesian military presence there is not based on the agreement of the administering Power of the Territory, Portugal. It must therefore be considered a violation of the territorial integrity of East Timor. The Council's demand in December for a withdrawal without delay of all foreign troops remains unfulfilled. The illegal presence of foreign forces also has a negative impact on the possibilities of conducting an act of self-determination. No such act can truly be carried out under such conditions. Sweden has consistently supported the principle of self-determination as it has been spelt out in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and that important rule has its full applicability also for the people of East Timor. Whether the people of the Territory then choose merger with Indonesia or the status of an independent State is a choice for

the people of East Timor itself, to be made freely, without any foreign interference. This is the second important element in resolution 384 (1975) that remains to be fulfilled.

35. A third central element in resolution 384 (1975) was the decision to dispatch a special representative of the Secretary-General to the area. The Secretary-General's report on this mission is now before the Council in document S/12011. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi on the task which he has skilfully performed under the terms of this resolution and to thank him and the Secretary-General for their report.

36. We also note from the report that the Special Representative was not able to establish contact in East Timor with all the parties concerned. The lack of such contacts has been a severe handicap. Such contacts remain a necessary prerequisite to the fulfilment of this mission.

37. The Secretary-General states in his report that the parties concerned have expressed their readiness to continue consultations with the Special Representative and that he therefore suggests that such consultations should be continued. The Swedish delegation shares this opinion and supports the idea of a renewed effort by the Special Representative. In this context we appeal to Indonesia to give its complete co-operation in any further effort by the Special Representative to meet the parties concerned.

38. Sweden voted in favour of the draft resolution adopted earlier today. We for our part have sought to contribute to a broad solution, as far as possible without compromising with the basic positions of principle that we have always defended. The resolution does on some points represent compromise between the various positions. The fact that some formulations are compromise solutions should, however, in no way be interpreted as a weakening of the stand the Council has previously taken on important points of principle in this matter.

39. The Swedish delegation still maintains what we said in December [1869th meeting], that we want to put special emphasis on the necessity of a rapid withdrawal of all Indonesian troops from East Timor. In this regard we have duly noted the statement here by the representative of Indonesia, which encourages hope for the withdrawal of the bulk of the Indonesian military presence from East Timor.

40. We also hope that the further consultations now to be undertaken by Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi will help the Council form a clearer view of how the principal objectives could be achieved through an effective self-determination for the people of East Timor, and we wish him every success in this important mission. It stands out clearly from all reports that the people of East Timor have gone through

tremendous suffering in recent years. The restoration of peace and the possibility of resuming international humanitarian aid are matters of prime importance. Sweden appeals to all States and to all parties now to heed the Council's call and to co-operate fully in the implementation of today's resolution, in order to enable the people of East Timor to build its future in peace and progress.

41. Mr. SHERER (United States of America): The United States voted in favour of the amendment submitted by Japan because it would have made explicit that the Council recognizes the important statement of the representative of Indonesia that some forces have been withdrawn and that withdrawal is continuing.

42. In the view of the United States, there were only two useful purposes that a resolution on this subject could accomplish at this time. One would be to encourage and enhance the co-operation of all concerned, and the other would be to extend the mandate of the Secretary-General. In the light of the Council's decision not to accept the constructive Japanese proposal, which decision is a refusal explicitly to note steps to comply with existing resolutions, we do not believe that a spirit of co-operation has been encouraged. As far as the mandate of the Secretary-General is concerned, we do not believe a new resolution was needed in order to keep that mandate in being. His laudatory efforts and those of his Special Representative could and should be continued in any event. Their work demonstrates once again the indispensable role of the United Nations in the peaceful settlement of disputes.

43. In abstaining in the vote on this draft resolution because we do not see that it serves any essential purpose in its present form, we are not wavering in our support of the right of the people of East Timor or of any people anywhere in the world for equal rights and self-determination.

44. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): Now I will make a statement in my capacity as the representative of CHINA.

45. General Assembly resolution 3485 (XXX) and Security Council resolution 384 (1975) explicitly point out that all States must respect the territorial integrity of East Timor as well as the inalienable right of its people to self-determination, deeply deploring the armed invasion of East Timor by the Indonesian authorities and calling upon the Indonesian Government to withdraw without delay all its forces from the Territory. Since the adoption of these resolutions, people have expected the Indonesian Government to mend its ways immediately by honouring the just demands of the great majority of Member States and the world's people and by strictly implementing the relevant resolutions. Nevertheless, contrary to people's expectations, it has hastily rigged up a

so-called Provisional Government in disregard of the above resolutions, trying to use this puppet organization as a pretext for legalizing its invasion of East Timor, for suppression of the struggle of the indigenous people to safeguard independence and territorial integrity and then for annexation of East Timor. Furthermore, in defiance of the resolutions of the Assembly and the Council which called upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw all its forces from the Territory without delay, that Government has continued to send large numbers of reinforcing troops with air and naval support for expanded aggression and occupation of East Timor, carrying out bombing raids of the territories under the control of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, and has continued all-round naval and air blockade of East Timor. The intensified military operations of the Indonesian armed forces have inflicted heavy casualties on the East Timorese people and caused serious damage to their life and property. These continued and aggravated operations of military aggression and annexation in open contravention of Assembly and Council resolutions have aroused widespread discontent, shock and condemnation within and outside the United Nations.

46. When the Security Council adopted resolution 384 (1975), the Chinese representative pointed out [1869th meeting] that the responsibility of the Secretary-General was none other than to supervise the Indonesian Government's immediate withdrawal of its forces from East Timor. At the time the Chinese delegation expressed doubt about the necessity and usefulness of sending a representative of the Secretary-General and stated its reservations concerning the relevant paragraphs of the resolution. The development of events has fully testified to the correctness of the judgement of the Chinese delegation at that time. Even the vaguely-worded report of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General shows that the objections on the part of the Indonesian authorities prevented Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi from carrying out his mission.

47. It can be seen from the report that the Special Representative even failed to see the Indonesian troops in East Timor. In his report it was admitted that he could go only to certain places designated by the Indonesian authorities and the so-called "provisional government", and even in those places he was unable to travel widely. The report shows that it was impossible to make arrangements for him to meet in East Timor leaders of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. In these circumstances, it was obviously impossible for the report to reflect the situation in East Timor in a comprehensive and truthful way. Anyone with elementary common sense can see that the report is at best a mere depiction of the meticulous arrangements made by the Indonesian authorities. However, nothing of this sort can change the stark reality that East Timor is being subjected to aggression and annexation.

48. Under the leadership of FRETILIN [*Frente Revolucionária Timor Leste Independente*], the people of East Timor have heroically and tenaciously fought in defence of their sacred rights and territorial integrity. Inspired by the firm will for "independence or death", they have taken up all usable arms and fought a bloody battle, dealing heavy blows at the invaders. Although they are fighting at great odds and under extremely difficult conditions, the heroic East Timorese people have persevered in their just struggle of resisting the invaders. These facts demonstrate that the people of East Timor are heroic and indomitable people who have made tremendous sacrifices in defence of the independence and territorial integrity of their motherland, whose ardent will for independence and freedom cannot be destroyed by any brute force and whose struggle has won broad sympathy and firm support from many third-world countries and peoples.

49. In the view of the Chinese delegation, the Indonesian Government's refusal to withdraw its troops, in defiance and violation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and its intensified efforts to annex East Timor cannot be tacitly accepted or tolerated by any justice-upholding countries and people. The Chinese delegation holds that the Council must adopt a resolution condemning the Indonesian Government's refusal to implement the relevant Assembly and Council resolutions and requiring the Indonesian Government to fully respect the independence and territorial integrity of the East Timorese people, to cease its air and naval blockade and other military operations against East Timor and to withdraw all its invading forces from East Timor immediately and completely, so that the people of East Timor may solve their internal problems by themselves.

50. The Chinese delegation voted this morning in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Guyana and the United Republic of Tanzania. But at the same time we cannot but point out that the text is not satisfactory in that it has failed to condemn the Indonesian Government's armed invasion of East Timor and its refusal to implement resolution 384 (1975) over four months. The Chinese delegation still has reservations on paragraphs 3 and 4 of the text. We wish to reiterate that the responsibility of the Secretary-General must be, and can only be, to supervise the Indonesian Government's immediate withdrawal of all its military forces from East Timor in speedy implementation of the present resolution. As for the internal problems of East Timor, they should be solved by the people of East Timor themselves. No party should use them as a pretext to delay the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all the Indonesian forces from East Timor.

51. Speaking now as PRESIDENT, I wish to remind the Council that at its 1908th meeting it extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Guilherme Maria Gonçalves to

participate in our discussion. Mr. Gonçalves has asked to speak at this time, and if no member raises any objection, I shall invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make an additional statement.

52. Mr. GONÇALVES: Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation and the Government of East Timor, I should like to take this opportunity to thank you and the other members of the Council for your indulgence in according my delegation a final opportunity to address the Council on the question of East Timor, as well as for previous opportunities to participate in the consideration of this question.

53. We have listened with close attention to the many speakers before the Council, both members and non-members, as they presented their views, and we have studied the resolution just adopted by the Council.

54. Having done so, we have, not without regret, been forced to conclude that the resolution as adopted cannot be said to reflect accurately the prevailing conditions in East Timor and its people's needs. My delegation acknowledges that this decision has been taken by the Council after long hours of consultations. We appreciate that it is indeed a difficult task to judge accurately conditions in so distant a Territory as East Timor and that this is particularly so when little is known of conditions and the way of life of the people whose destiny your decisions will affect.

55. Though we recognize the difficulties which have faced the Council in this respect, we feel constrained to say, however, that we are not happy with the resolution, for, while concentrating its attention on one aspect of the problem, it fails to consider many others. My delegation has already acquainted Council members with the progress which has been made in the Territory in recent months—the withdrawal of the Indonesian volunteer force from East Timor, which began in February and is expected to be completed shortly, and the advanced stage of the preparations for an act of self-determination by the Timorese people. We regret that the Council, in addition to failing to recognize these points in the resolution, did not consider it necessary to look into the FRETILIN assassinations, particularly since many facts and figures concerning those crimes have been gathered by the Indonesian Red Cross and placed at the disposal of the members of the Council. The Council also seems to have forgotten the plight of the suffering refugees who fled to safety when FRETILIN was in power.

56. The Council's failure to pay due attention to the salient aspects of the situation prevailing in Timor is bound to affect the views of the Provisional Government regarding the resolution just adopted by the Council, as well as the course of action it is going to follow, but my Government will not hesitate to go forward, whatever the consequences. I wish to make clear that this is not a course of action we would

prefer to follow, but it is the one which has been imposed upon us.

57. I am confident that our revolutionary forces, together with the people of East Timor, will be able to overcome all the difficulties and problems ahead. I can assure Council members that my Government will do its utmost to ensure the maintenance of security, law and order in this tribal society and to guarantee the life and property of all foreign residents in the Territory.

58. Whatever happens, the people of East Timor and its Provisional Government will survive. We shall never capitulate to those who want to turn our part of the world into a hell of killings and repression. With the spontaneous and unreserved support of the people of East Timor we shall overcome all the difficulties ahead and, God willing, with the understanding and help of our neighbours in the Asia region, one day—and this will be very soon, I hope—the sun will truly shine again in East Timor.

59. My delegation is grateful to the representatives of Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia and Saudi Arabia and those members of the Council who have shown goodwill towards the people of East Timor and an understanding of their problems. We highly respect their wisdom and their concern to avert more suffering in the Territory.

60. My Government, with its limited capability, resources and experience, will co-operate as far as possible in the implementation of the resolution just adopted. It has sincerely co-operated to the best of its ability and resources in all the efforts undertaken by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. I should like to take this opportunity to state once again that my Government would welcome another visit by the Special Representative, a visit which we hope can take place in the near future, and that we shall again co-operate as far as possible with him in the discharge of his duties.

61. Of course, the political future of the people of East Timor will be determined by the people of East Timor itself. The Provisional Government will therefore continue its efforts to prepare the people of East Timor to exercise its inalienable right of self-determination and to ensure that it will be able to exercise that sacred right in an orderly and peaceful manner.

62. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): In conformity of the provisions of rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, the Council decided at its 1908th meeting to invite Mr. José Ramos Horta to participate in our debate. He has also asked to speak again. Therefore, if I hear no objections, I shall invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a further statement.

63. Mr. HORTA: Mr. President, in the course of the various meetings of the Council, we have had the opportunity to observe your efforts and those of the other Council members in the search for a solution to the war in East Timor and to put an end to the Indonesian armed intervention in the Territory. As we said in our statement on 12 April [1908th meeting], whatever the outcome of the current Council meetings, we shall remember that the members of the Council could not have done better. The duty to bring peace where there is war and aggression is not an easy one. We should like to make a special reference to the non-aligned group, particularly our brothers from the United Republic of Tanzania and Guyana, which tried in a very skilful manner to achieve a just solution to the conflict in East Timor so that the East Timorese people could exercise their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

64. In the course of these meetings we have heard with great interest statements by various representatives of several countries. Although different views were expressed, there were certain basic common points. Generally all the speakers referred to the existence, to a certain degree, of a situation of war in East Timor and to the presence of Indonesian troops in the Territory, although some, in a spirit of goodwill and encouraged by the vague statements of the Indonesian Government, accepted at face value the statement that units of Indonesian forces have withdrawn from the Territory. Nevertheless, all have expressed their desire to see those forces withdraw completely without delay. There might be conflicting definitions of the expression "without delay". For instance, my delegation would take it as something to be done in a matter of hours or a few days. We cannot speak for other representatives, but obviously the Indonesians would interpret the expression "without delay" as something in the order of three months, one year, three years or indefinitely. Therefore, the Council must make things very clear, without ambiguities. Indonesia, by invading the Territory of East Timor, committed an act of aggression as defined in article 3, paragraph (a) of the Definition of Aggression adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 3314 (XXIX).

65. There should be no doubt in a Security Council resolution when it deals with matters concerning armed aggression. If there is an act of armed aggression against a territory, it is the duty of the Council, regardless of the arguments used by the aggressor, to put an end to such action by all possible means. Therefore, as we said in our statement of 15 April [1910th meeting], the Council must as a matter of urgency discuss continued Indonesian armed intervention in East Timor. We repeat and underline that not a single Indonesian soldier has been withdrawn

from East Timor except, obviously, those that have been wounded. More than 30,000 Indonesian paratroopers and marines are continuing military operations in the Territory.

66. I wish to read a message sent by the President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, Francisco Xavier do Amaral, to the Secretary-General:

[The speaker read the annex to document S/12055.]

67. The latest message received from our Prime Minister, Nicolau Lobato, at 10 p.m. New York time yesterday, says that fighting has intensified in several areas in the last few days in places such as Dili, Suai, Same, Manatuto, Los Palos, Baucau and Viqueque. Warships are bombarding the south coast and, on the north coast, the villages of Liquica and Maubara.

68. In accordance with instructions from our Government, my delegation wishes to emphasize that we remain ready for bilateral or multilateral dialogue with the Government of Indonesia and other States and parties concerned in order to find a just solution to the war in East Timor. In our previous statements we have clearly stated our position. There will be a real possibility for peace in East Timor only when Indonesian armed forces have been withdrawn completely. We regard with scepticism suggestions concerning talks between the Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor and the so-called Provisional Government, which does not exist. As we mentioned earlier, we should like to make some very brief comments based on facts about the real nature of this so-called Provisional Government.

69. It is an irony that it was Mario Carrascalão who for the first time, in September 1974—at that time he was President of the UDT [*União Democrática de Timor*—in an official statement accused Arnaldo Araujo of being a war criminal, a collaborator with the Japanese during the Second World War against the Allies. Here, Mario Carrascalão tried to deny this. But we know, and Mario Carrascalão knows even better, that he and his wife and children are prisoners of the Indonesian junta. As he himself said, he does not write his speeches; he is just the reader.

70. On 16 December 1975 [1865th meeting], in this very place where I am sitting at this moment, a man called José Martins spoke in support of the Indonesian cause as leader of the so-called KOTA [*Klibur Oan Timor Aswain*]. I should like to ask the representative of Indonesia if he can inform the Council of the whereabouts of José Martins. It is rather strange that he has not been brought here this time, while, according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* of 17 October 1975, "he is regarded favourably by the Indonesians, has access to their intelligence-types in Kupang and Atambua". The fact is that José Martins, President of the so-called KOTA, has deserted the

Indonesians because of his disgust at their atrocities in East Timor. But we are not bringing Mr. Martins to sit here again to play the clown, as other deserters have been doing in support of Indonesia. He arrived in New York yesterday and seems to be anxious to present to Council members a very lengthy report about the nature of Indonesian military operations in East Timor. He will be able to supply the Council with very reliable information, as he is the President of KOTA and one of the main collaborators in the Indonesian intervention in East Timor. Unfortunately he has arrived at the end of the current meetings, and it seems he will not be able to address the Council formally, but he will meet various individual delegates.

71. It seems the truth is coming out in spite of Indonesia's attempts to distort events in East Timor and to escape world condemnation. Therefore we should like to see the Council receive Indonesian statements with severe reservations so as not to endorse Indonesian criminal aggression against the people of East Timor. Mr. Martins, who fought with the Indonesians against the nationalist forces of East Timor, can supply the Council with authoritative evidence concerning Indonesian atrocities in the Territory.

72. The Indonesians have also brought to the Council two men—João Pedro Soares and José Gonçalves. Soares claimed to be a FRETILIN military commander. We were just surprised that the Indonesians did not claim the presidency of FRETILIN for him. In fact, João Pedro Soares was not a military commander of FRETILIN; he held a very junior position in the Finance Department. José Gonçalves was in fact a Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Statistics in the first Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. He was not a member of FRETILIN, a fact which shows the flexibility of the Central Committee of FRETILIN in forming the first Government. José Gonçalves was captured in Dili on 7 December along with his wife Olimpia, her sister Isabel Barreto and his nephew José. His house was completely destroyed by mortar barrage and all his belongings were sacked. His sister-in-law was executed by a firing squad, and his wife was forced to witness the macabre ceremony. I should like to ask the representative of Indonesia about the present status of José Gonçalves. Is he a free man, or is he in fact a captive whose wife and other relatives are in Djakarta as hostages?

73. Today Mr. Robert Hawke, President of the Australian Labour Party and President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, left for Djakarta leasing a trade-union delegation to protest to President Suharto Indonesia's continued intervention in East Timor. My delegation telephoned Mr. Hawke, asking him to inquire about the fate of the families of Mr. Gonçalves and Mr. Carrascalão.

74. I do not wish to make further comments on this subject. It was not our intention to make any reference

at all to this question. In private, we have told several Council members the whole story in detail. We have prepared evidence which we shall provide to members for their own use.

75. I should like to read excerpts from a letter dated 8 April 1976, addressed to the Secretary-General by a prominent leader of the UDT, Mr. Moisés da Costa Amaral. He writes:

“Bearing in mind that our leaders in Timor are now in the situation of technical prisoners, we are for the time being the only free voice of our Party abroad able to interpret without any kind of pressure the spirit of the programme of our Party which, in essence, defends the right of our people to self-determination without any foreign intervention.”

76. I wish to take this opportunity to make a clarification for the representative of Malaysia in regard to one point of his statement on Tuesday, when he said that “most of the FRETILIN leadership has left the Territory” [1911th meeting, para. 22]. As a matter of fact, only three members out of a whole Cabinet in the Central Committee of 50 members are outside the country to carry on the diplomatic struggle, but we shall return. I should like just to add that if FRETILIN had eliminated the prominent APODETI [Associação Popular Democrática Timorense] leaders listed in the pamphlet that the Indonesian Mission has been handing out, the so-called APODETI would now consist of only two men: the Chairman, Arnaldo Araujo, and the Vice-Chairman, Guilherme Gonçalves.

77. We have heard in the Council fantastic stories about fantastic developments carried out in East Timor in the last few weeks by the Indonesian military junta. Only a fertile imagination could tell here lies of this sort. It is laughable to hear that in a few weeks the Indonesian junta has built roads, bridges and schools and sent to East Timor a great number of doctors. Surely the Indonesian people in West Timor and in the numerous islands must now feel very frustrated and bitter, as they never had such attention from their own Government. The Indonesian Government has not been able to take adequate care of the health and welfare of its own people in its own regions. Malnutrition and diseases related to poor nutrition are endemic throughout the Indonesian territories. Economists have established that the discrepancy between the real food intake of the richest and poorest fifths of the Indonesian population has increased, not decreased, in the 10 years of the Suharto régime. The advantages of the Green Revolution have been lost in Indonesia because of the corruption of the middlemen, who are dealing in fertilizer and rice and who are hastening the process of the pauperization of the Indonesian people even further by engaging in usurious lending practices. In 1963 it was estimated that the poorest fifth of the Indonesian population ate an average of 780 grams of rice per person per week; in 1970 that figure had

fallen to 750 grams per person per week. In 1965 Indonesia imported 140,000 tons of rice a year. Now this has risen to 1,500,000, an increase of 800 per cent. According to Tuesday's *New York Times*, the United States Secretary of Agriculture has stated that Indonesia has received over the past few years approximately one billion dollars' worth of food aid.

78. It is very easy to understand that the people of Indonesia, especially the people of the poorer regions, are amazed when they hear the representative of Indonesia claiming that the Indonesian Government has been able to build roads, bridges and schools in the neighbouring Territory of East Timor—a Territory that does not even belong to Indonesia—when it cannot provide these things to its own people in its own territories.

79. It has been reliably reported by financial commentators that the Government of President Suharto—the Government of the military technocrats who came to power over the dead bodies of hundreds of thousands of political dissidents in 1965 and 1966, claiming that they would set Indonesia on the path of economic and social development—has now incurred a national debt several times greater than that of the late President Sukarno. Pertamina alone has been responsible for a debt of over \$10 billion, which is much higher than the whole debt left by Sukarno. There is no doubt that the economic collapse of an oil company in the era of petrodollars could happen only in today's Indonesia. It will be interesting to see what the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, the international cartel that includes the United Nations Development Programme, will make of this collapse of the major source of foreign exchange for the Indonesian military junta.

80. Where does the money for this co-called development in East Timor come from? Where is the money to provide for the administration of the Territory of East Timor to come from in the future, or the money for the reconstruction of the infrastructure of East Timor after the devastation of the war of aggression launched by the Indonesian military junta?

81. Why, in the midst of this financial catastrophe, is Indonesia interested in taking on the burden of yet more territory, which even its representative declares to be very poor? Why does Indonesia claim to be willing to spend more of its precious and failing resources to "develop" this "poor" country? Perhaps it is because East Timor is in fact not so poor as the Indonesian propagandists make out.

82. East Timor is potentially a very wealthy country. Although it was neglected by the Portuguese colonial Government, the country is very fertile for all sorts of agricultural products, such as rice, corn, potatoes and sugar cane. The sea is very rich for fishing, especially lobsters, crabs and prawns, which have attracted the interest of Japanese corporations. The

world tourist industry had plans to build a major tourist complex in East Timor, rivalling Bali, Fiji, Miami and so on. The Australian *Financial Review* has reported that the Indonesian Government has exerted great pressures on oil companies with holdings in East Timor to suppress information about the commercial viability of the East Timorese oil and natural gas deposits. In fact, several companies have found big deposits of oil and natural gas in East Timor, inland and offshore. The first commercial production for local consumption was due to start in 1976. It is beyond any doubt that with so great an economic potential and such a low population density, in stark contrast to desperately overcrowded Java, East Timor could well be a very wealthy country in a period of 10 or 15 years under a popular government, under a non-corrupt management.

83. It is true that the Indonesian Government has spent tens of thousands of dollars in East Timor, but that expenditure has been for military operations. It has been calculated by independent sources that since September 1975 over \$10 million has been spent on the war in East Timor. That sum includes the cost of naval and aerial operations and the transport of troops. It does not include the loss of over 1,000 rifles, machine-guns and other types of weapons, ammunition and vehicles that have been captured by the nationalist forces. Neither does it include the loss of a modern warship that sank in the Bay of Dili on 7 December because of bad manoeuvring.

84. Although the representative of Indonesia has been very skilfully trying to hide the truth about what is considered by Pentagon sources to be the "fiasco of the Indonesian invasion of Dili", it is undeniable that the Indonesian military junta has incurred far greater expenses than had ever been imagined. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* of 17 October 1975, quoting top military leaders, stated that "a battalion or two of regular troops could solve the problem [of East Timor] in a matter of days if not hours". As members of the Council will realize, the war has been going on for several months and the Indonesian forces have failed to achieve their purpose and instead are bogged down in a costly guerrilla war.

85. Seldom in modern history has the survival of a nation been so very dependent not only on its will to be free and independent but also on actions by the world at large. The members of the Council must be reminded that whatever the outcome of the war in East Timor, they will share the responsibility for bringing peace and justice to the people or for digging the graves of my countrymen. This Council, the representatives who at this moment have the mandate of the international community to prevent aggression across territorial borders, might one day be remembered by the people of East Timor with great respect and gratitude. Therefore you, the members of the Security Council, have the principal responsibility to respond actively to the appeal of the people of East Timor

contained in the message to the Secretary-General from the President of FRETILIN and President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, Francisco Xavier do Amaral.

86. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The last speaker is the representative of Indonesia, on whom I now call.

87. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): Having adopted the draft resolution in document S/12056, the Council has arrived at the end of its deliberations on the report of the Secretary-General on the question of East Timor. Though they were not entirely successful, my delegation would like to express its appreciation for the role that the non-aligned and other members played in arriving at an acceptable text. I wish to thank all delegations which have shown understanding of the Indonesian views and have taken them into account in their statements and in formulating the draft resolution, especially the delegation of Japan for proposing the amendment in document S/12057.

88. My delegation has explained its views with regard to the call for "withdrawal" and the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination. With regard to "withdrawal", we have stated that the Indonesian volunteers were in East Timor in answer to the specific request of the people and the Provisional Government of East Timor and that they would leave the Territory upon the decision of the Provisional Government. In the meanwhile, the Provisional Government has decided to allow the armed volunteers to return to their places of origin. As stated by the delegation of the Provisional Government, they are now in the process of leaving East Timor. Therefore, my delegation cannot support paragraph 2 of the resolution which the Council has just adopted, especially because the word "remaining" before "foreign" in the original working paper which was shown to me has been deleted. My delegation deeply

regrets that the Japanese amendment did not obtain the required majority.

89. Like all other Member States, Indonesia is a sovereign State and, like all other Member States, it has its own perception of its responsibilities and obligations towards its own people, towards the people of East Timor, towards the region in which Indonesia is situated, towards the world of which it is a part, and towards the United Nations of which it is a Member.

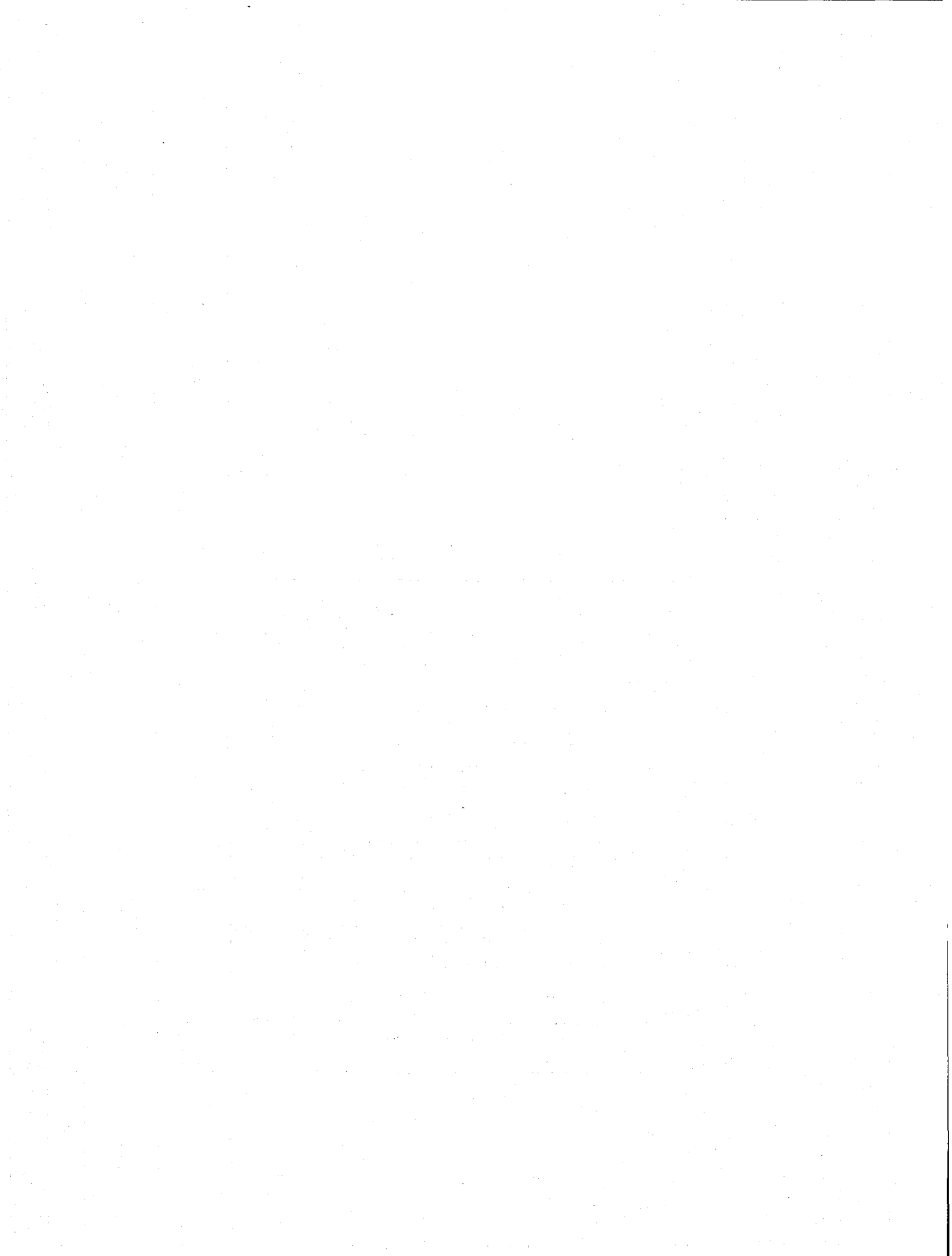
90. My delegation cannot support the resolution which the Council has just adopted. We have strong reservations, because in our view it does not reflect the situation and the developments in East Timor. Indonesia's continued co-operation with the United Nations in this matter will be based on that perception of our responsibilities and obligations, especially towards the United Nations. We will make a thorough study of the Council's proceedings. The co-operation Indonesia will extend to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General will continue to be guided by the wishes of the people of East Timor while taking into account the realities prevailing in the Territory.

91. I should like to stress once again my delegation's conviction that, with regard to the remaining stage of the process of decolonization in East Timor, only the wishes of the people of East Timor are decisive.

92. In conclusion, my delegation would like to express its sincere thanks to you, Mr. President, and to the other members of the Council for allowing us to participate in the Council's deliberations.

93. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): Since there are no other speakers, I take it that we have concluded today's business with regard to the consideration of the situation in Timor.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.



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