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1869th MEETING: 22 DECEMBER 1975

NEW YORK

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1869th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 22 December 1975, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Ivor RICHARD (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Guyana, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1869)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Timor:
Letter dated 7 December 1975 from the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11899)

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Timor:

Letter dated 7 December 1975 from the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11899)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the previous decisions [1864th and 1867th meetings], I propose now, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Portugal, Indonesia, Malaysia, Australia, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Galvão Teles (Portugal) and Mr. Anwar Sani (Indonesia) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT: I invite the representatives of Malaysia, Australia, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when it is their wish to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Johari (Malaysia), Mr. Harry (Australia), Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé (Guinea) and Mr. Fernandes (Guinea-Bissau) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the item on its agenda. I have received an intimation from the representative of Guinea that she would wish to make a statement to the Council before it proceeds to vote on the draft resolution which is before it. In those circumstances, I now invite the representative of Guinea to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

4. Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé (GUINEA) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to extend our gratitude to you and your colleagues for having given me an opportunity to set forth the position of my Government on the question before you.

5. Fifteen years ago the General Assembly adopted, in resolution 1514 (XV), the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The United Nations marked by that solemn Declaration the will of the international community it represents to see the oppressed peoples of our world liberated. This historic resolution thus opened new possibilities to millions of human beings, men and women, humiliated, downtrodden, subjugated in the name of unjust principles which served as justification for domination by a wealthy minority. By means of a stubborn struggle within vanguard liberation movements, those oppressed men and women dealt a fatal blow to colonial empires. One by one, the colonial empires began to sink, making way for new, free and sovereign nations on the international scene and thus contributed to a modification of the balance of power.

6. Although one can draw up a balance-sheet of efforts made with regard to decolonization, and although one can take some satisfaction from the few positive results, simultaneously there are new manifestations which run counter to the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV). The case of

Timor is a typical example of this and one worthy of attention.

7. Following the heroic peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and Angola, and obeying the irresistible current of decolonization, East Timor, under the direction of FRETILIN [*Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente*], has just freed itself from colonial tyranny, and on 28 November 1975 proclaimed its national independence. The proclamation of independence by the Republic of Timor has been welcomed with enthusiasm by the valiant Party-State of Guinea, which considers it a new victory in the struggle of oppressed peoples. On that happy occasion, the Supreme Head of the Revolution, President of the Republic of Guinea, Comrade Ahmed Sékou Touré, addressed to the leaders of the new State a message of congratulations on behalf of our people and informed them of our decision to recognize the Republic of Timor as an independent and sovereign State, and to reiterate to them our people's firm and resolute support for the cause that they are defending.

8. After the positive events of April 1974, new Portugal, to the satisfaction of all peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples, agreed to yield to the stubborn strength of a people which had decided that it would triumph, and it agreed to transfer its powers to its former African colonies. My delegation deeply regrets that that same administering Power, Portugal, did not respect the same principle in the case of East Timor, and thus made it possible for new practices of annexation to manifest themselves. This deeply concerns us and it may seriously compromise international peace and security.

9. The delegation of the Party-State of Guinea remains faithful to its belief that Indonesia, a State Member of the United Nations, a State rich in an age-old tradition of struggle for liberation, as it demonstrated in the 1950s, would not support the annexation of any State and would not impair the exercise of the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence.

10. That is why the Party-State of Guinea condemns the invasion of Timor and requests the Security Council to take any action necessary so that all foreign military troops will withdraw from that Territory. It appeals to Indonesia not to smear the path of emancipation to which it has always adhered and which has earned it an honoured place in the movement of the non-aligned countries, countries which were once oppressed, and we urge it to respect the territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Timor.

11. With regard to the former administering Power, Portugal, which is responsible for the present situation, we would invite it to refrain from disrupting the movement towards reconciliation which has

emerged from the qualitative change in its policy, and we urge it to assume its responsibilities so that, together with the Security Council and with the countries of the region involved, it may help create in Timor a climate more favourable for respect for the independence and territorial integrity of that country and for the consolidation of international peace and security in that region of the world.

12. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them the text of a draft resolution [S/11915] that has been prepared in the course of prior consultations among the members of the Council. Unless I hear any objection, I shall now put that draft resolution to the vote. Since I hear no objection, I now put to the vote draft resolution S/11915.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.¹

13. The PRESIDENT: A number of representatives had indicated their wish to speak after the vote, and I shall now call on them.

14. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): In our statement in the Security Council on 16 December [1865th meeting], the Chinese delegation stated our position on the question of East Timor. In a nutshell, we are of the view that FRETILIN already proclaimed the independence of East Timor and the founding of the Democratic Republic of East Timor on 28 November this year and that this has reflected the aspirations of the people of East Timor for independence and won the sympathy and support of the people of the third world. The Indonesian Government's dispatch of troops for armed invasion of East Timor has laid bare Indonesia's attempt to annex East Timor, which constitutes a direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the struggle of the people of East Timor for national liberation and independence and oppose Indonesia's armed invasion of East Timor.

15. The Chinese delegation has voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted because it deplores the intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in East Timor and calls upon Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces from the Territory. We maintain that the Indonesian Government must comply with the above provisions of the Security Council resolution, truly respect the territorial integrity of East Timor, withdraw all its forces from East Timor immediately and unconditionally and cease any intervention in the affairs of East Timor. Meanwhile, the Chinese delegation cannot but point out that the wording of paragraphs 3 and 4 is ambiguous and is not directly related to the question which the Council is duty bound to settle under the provisions of the Charter. With regard to para-

graph 5, we doubt the necessity and usefulness of sending a representative of the Secretary-General. In our view, the responsibility of the Secretary-General is none other than to supervise the Indonesian Government's immediate withdrawal of its forces from East Timor. In view of the foregoing, the Chinese delegation wishes to state that we have reservations on paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 of the text.

16. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the United Republic of Cameroon voted in favour of draft resolution S/11915, which the Security Council has just unanimously adopted in connexion with the situation which has arisen and which still prevails in East Timor as a result of the tragic events which recently occurred there.

17. In so doing, the Council, as the outcome of the lengthy and difficult consultations which it has carried out in recent days, has, in the final analysis, taken a balanced decision of a more or less conciliatory nature which will be likely to reduce tension and to promote conditions which will make for a calm and normal evolution of events in East Timor, at the same time safeguarding international peace and security in the area.

18. It was, in fact, deliberately—that is, in a spirit of realism—that the Council finally did not feel it should energetically condemn the intervention of Indonesian armed forces in that Territory. At first sight this may appear paradoxical and may even seem to demonstrate undue laxity on the part of the Council when we are aware of the fact that Indonesia, a country of 138 million inhabitants, did not shrink from using all its means, since it mobilized its land, air and naval forces to establish what it calls order in East Timor, which has only 645,000 inhabitants. This has resulted in a tremendous loss of human life and considerable material damage.

19. It can be said that responsibility for this tragedy is largely shared. At the origin of these events is undoubtedly the characteristic incapacity of Portuguese colonial history, aggravated by the uncertainties of power at Lisbon. This has led in East Timor, which, furthermore, is situated at the antipodes of the administering Power, and whose population of mixed origin was hardly fitted to profess the creed of unity, to the unbridled venting of antagonisms from all quarters, unleashing centrifugal forces and even going so far as to imperil the territorial integrity of the island.

20. Did that situation warrant the intervention of Indonesia, whose concerns about that region we are aware of? The United Republic of Cameroon does not think so, in the same way as it finds questionable the metaphor of putting out the fire which was used by Indonesia to justify its intervention.

21. Even if we admit that the intentions of Indonesia were at the outset of the best, it is to be regretted that, like the bear in the fable, Indonesia, by succouring its neighbour, really caused it tragic harm. Therefore, my delegation considers that the initiation of a process which will make it possible for a normal situation to be restored to the island implies as a prior and immediate step the withdrawal of Indonesian military forces, and means that there has to be a certain amount of moderation and responsible behaviour on the part of the three main political parties on the island—FRETILIN, APODETI [*Associação Popular Democrática Timorense*] and UDT [*União Democrática de Timor*—and that they have to play down their hostilities and learn how to decide on the future of the people of Timor after having learned to heed their most authentic and profound aspirations.

22. It is only in such a climate of pacification that the decision which the Council has taken can be operative. This is in fact a decision which is essentially geared to one of the paramount principles of the Organization, which has been reaffirmed in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), namely, the principle of self-determination.

23. It is by dint of this principle and of its application that the peoples of former colonized territories have been able to choose and to ensure full control over their destiny on the basis of the options presented to them, since it is true that the principle of the self-determination of peoples, to which the United Republic of Cameroon is profoundly attached, constitutes for those peoples who are still anachronistically placed under colonial domination the only decisive and peaceful way in which they can proceed from one status to another.

24. If the people of East Timor have also long nourished this hope, the deterioration of the political climate in the Territory, aggravated by foreign interference, does not make it possible in the present state of affairs for there to be a proper application of this principle. Therefore, we must dedramatize the situation so as to enable the United Nations to take appropriate steps to make possible the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) as well as General Assembly resolution 3485 (XXX). In this connexion, the Council, in its decision, has singled out the responsibilities which belong to it from those falling within the competence of the General Assembly in this matter.

25. The mandate which the Council has in this case entrusted to the Secretary-General is in the context of its role as a body to safeguard international peace and security in general and particularly in this region which marks the confluence of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, it being perfectly understood that the General Assembly is the only competent body to deal with the decolonization of Timor, a question which is already before it.

26. Regarding the concern about a possible vacuum which might be created in Timor by the absence of the administering Power in the island and because of the withdrawal of Indonesian troops, the United Republic of Cameroon considers that, despite the reservations that it has about the return of Portugal, we should nevertheless accept the offer of assistance made by that country, particularly since it will be carried out through the United Nations, which will be the real architects of this progress.

27. In conclusion, my delegation would like to make an appeal to Indonesia, a fraternal country belonging to the great family of non-aligned countries, and ask it to refrain from any acts which might aggravate tension in the region and to display a spirit of tolerance and to support the United Nations in the difficult task which it will have to fulfil in order to apply the principle of self-determination to East Timor. It is up to Indonesia, which is by far the most powerful party in this affair, to remove from this region a climate of distrust and to refrain from undertaking acts which go beyond what might be demanded by its security requirements.

28. Mr. SANDERS (Guyana): When my Foreign Minister, Comrade Frederick R. Wills, addressed the General Assembly a few weeks ago, he said then:

“Guyana follows with keen interest the struggle for independence of the people of East Timor. We have always upheld the policy that all peoples should be given the opportunity to chart their own course for development without external interference of any sort. In this respect, we support the liberation movement in East Timor. We call upon those forces which may wish to intervene in an attempt to redirect the course chosen by the East Timorese to desist from any activity which would violate the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination.”²

29. It is clear that in the weeks following that statement by my Foreign Minister the unfortunate sequence of events has tended to confirm our apprehension regarding action by forces exterior to East Timor to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the people of that territory.

30. I shall not recount those events because the members of the Security Council are all familiar with them, having listened carefully to the statements by the representatives of Portugal and Indonesia and of other States in the region and also to the statements by representatives of the people of East Timor.

31. In this matter of East Timor, as far as the Government of Guyana is concerned, the way forward is clear: there should be no outside interference in the domestic affairs of East Timor and the people of the territory should be allowed to exercise freely their right to self-determination. This position is based

on established principles which the United Nations has long recognized and enshrined in such resolutions as General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX) on the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty. More recently the General Assembly, which alone has the responsibility for decolonization of Territories, pointed the way forward for the decolonization of East Timor when it adopted by 72 votes to 10 resolution 3485 (XXX).

32. These resolutions proclaim that all peoples have the right to self-determination and, by virtue of that right, they should freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development, that all armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples should cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, that the integrity of their national territory should be respected and that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Also in keeping with these principles of international law, no State has the right to intervene directly or indirectly for any reason whatever in the internal or external affairs of any other State and consequently armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements are condemned.

33. The United Nations has also long recognized that the strict observance of these principles is an essential condition to ensure that nations live together in peace with one another since the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security.

34. Such indeed is the situation we are faced with in East Timor and that is why my Government was dismayed, to say the least, by the action taken by the Government of Indonesia in East Timor—the more so since Indonesia is an active member of the non-aligned movement and a State which itself emerged from colonialism after a long and arduous struggle. Indeed, my Government is all the more disturbed at the action of Indonesia, because it is a country which has contributed so much to the progressive development of international law in various forums and committees of the Organization.

35. In supporting this resolution on the situation in East Timor, which the Security Council has just unanimously adopted, my Government, among other things,

calls upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its armed forces from the territory, and upon all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor and the right of its people to self-determination.

36. Mr. Jackson, who could not be here with us today, has asked me to convey to the members of the Council his best wishes for this season. In particular, he has asked that I convey publicly to those representatives who will be leaving the Council on the expiration of their States' term of office a special word of tribute for the service they have rendered during their period on the Council. The individual experience of Guyana over the past year has been greatly enriched and enhanced by its co-operation with the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Costa Rica, Iraq, Mauritania, and the United Republic of Cameroon, in our off-times long and strenuous efforts in 1975 to deal with the problems the Council has faced.

37. The commitment of those countries and their representatives, to whom we now did farewell, to the maintenance of peace and security in the world, and their concern with the lot of those deprived peoples still under colonial domination, have served to strengthen the faith of the international community in the Organization. My delegation looks forward to continued co-operation with all of these States in the General Assembly and in other international forums.

38. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): Recent developments in East Timor have once again demonstrated the difficulties and risks inherent in the process of decolonization. The transition from colonial status to independence is not only a period of high expectations for the people concerned but also a period of vulnerability and insecurity. This transition also creates new political patterns in the region concerned, with both opportunities and problems for other peoples in the area. The risks of conflicts as a consequence of national ambitions and conflicting interests are unfortunately always at hand. Deeply aware of the complications and potential risks connected with the decolonization process, the General Assembly has outlined the basic principles for the decolonization process in its resolution 1514 (XV). Of those principles, that of self-determination is the fundamental one when we are searching for a solution to all the many problems connected with decolonization.

39. The main task of the Security Council is the safeguarding of peace and security. In performing this task the Council cannot, however, disregard the political realities behind threats to international peace, even though, as in the present case, they may be related to the process of decolonization, which is within the prerogative of the General Assembly.

40. The Swedish delegation has listened with great attention to the statements by the parties and by mem-

bers of the Council. It is quite obvious that conflicting interests and expectations are connected with the question of East Timor. In this situation, it is natural to try, in the interests of peace, to find as much common ground as possible, and thus the Security Council has, through the resolution just adopted, formulated a compromise between varying positions which should and could form the basis for finding a solution to the problem before us. In the view of my delegation, this compromise is a reasonable solution, although there are parts of the resolution we have just adopted that we would have preferred to have formulated in a more unambiguous way. Thus Sweden wishes to put special emphasis on the necessity of the rapid withdrawal of all Indonesian troops from East Timor. The United Nations should not in any way condone foreign occupation, under whatever pretext. Sweden wishes also to stress the responsibility of Portugal as the administering Power.

41. The Swedish Government appeals to all States and other parties concerned to heed the call of the Security Council to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and his special representative. We hope it will be possible for the Secretary-General and his collaborators to find a reasonable course of United Nations action for the purpose of creating the conditions of peace that will safeguard the realization of self-determination for the people of East Timor. Only a solution which takes fully into account the principle of self-determination can lead to a just, lasting and peaceful solution of this problem.

42. Mr. SAITO (Japan): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution S/11915, which has just been adopted unanimously. Although the resolution does not seem to fully satisfy all delegations, we feel relieved to see the Council unanimously take practical action to dispose of the situation in East Timor. In adopting the present resolution the Council has requested the Secretary-General to send a special representative to the Territory urgently for the purpose of making an on-the-spot assessment of the existing situation and establishing contact with all the parties in the Territory and all States concerned with a view to recommending to the Council ways and means for the restoration of peace and order in the Territory. My delegation wishes herewith to pay a particular tribute to the members of the Council from the non-aligned group who took the initiative in drafting a resolution and generously held extensive consultations to accommodate the views of other members, thus finally enabling the Council to produce the resolution we have just adopted.

43. My delegation takes the view that it is the primary task of the Security Council to establish peace and order in the area and to enable Indonesia to withdraw its forces from the Territory without delay, creating the conditions that will permit the people of East Timor to exercise fully their right to self-

determination. It therefore gives us satisfaction that the Council has to that end decided to request the Secretary-General to send his representative to the Territory.

44. It is my delegation's hope that the Secretary-General's representative will leave for the Territory immediately and that he will be able promptly to submit a report to the Secretary-General, upon which the Secretary-General will recommend to the Council procedures and arrangements to ensure the establishment of conditions which will enable the people of East Timor freely to exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

45. I shall conclude by expressing the hope that all the parties concerned and all States will co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in regard to the implementation of the resolution adopted by the Council in order to achieve the objectives stated in that resolution.

46. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The resolution that has just been adopted has, in the view of my delegation, the merit of imparting a legal character to the connexion between the Security Council and the problems that have recently occurred in East Timor; however, my delegation shares with the parties most directly concerned in the problem a feeling of dissatisfaction because of the opinions contained therein. This dissatisfaction may perhaps be mitigated by the fact that in truth the Council would have been unable to go any further, in view of the scanty information it had available to it, in making a judgement on a complex situation.

47. It is true that all of the parties involved and concerned have expressed their views to the Council, but it is also true that when testimony received comes only from the parties themselves, which are frequently indulgent in describing their own conduct, the Council finds itself in a situation of uncertainty and even of confusion when it tries fully to assess the facts.

48. We attest to the fact that in other complex situations the Security Council has had available to it information coming from visiting missions of the United Nations, or from the Secretary-General or from his special representative, providing fully trustworthy criteria. Unfortunately, in the situation we have been studying, such factors did not come from sources of the kind that usually provide the Council with information. While not disclaiming the positive aspects of the testimony we have received, we feel the absence of those which rightfully aid us in our decision-making.

49. What is important about this resolution is that it reveals the concern of the international community, on

behalf of which the Security Council speaks, with regard to a controversial situation concerning which a rapid solution must be found. The resolution itself lays down a mandate that the Secretary-General, through his special representative, assess the situation existing in East Timor, which will be of great value in aiding the Council to take any subsequent action. Even given the limitations within which we have had to work, my delegation has been able to appreciate the seriousness of the events, and regrets that, in a Territory under colonial domination which was already approaching the moment at which its people would decide upon its future, a confused situation has arisen and, for the time being, has disrupted what was to have been a peaceful and orderly process of decolonization, on the verge of culmination in self-determination.

50. It is very difficult to fix blame, and my delegation does not wish to do so. But that should not be regarded as a position that implies that we in any way justify actions which, on the contrary, we deeply deplore because they have interfered with the right that each people has to self-determination.

51. It is regrettable that the political forces that emerged in East Timor acted so equivocally in offering the people the alternatives available to it once Portugal had terminated its functions as administering Power. For if there is anything that has become clear in the Council it is the deep disagreements that divide the political parties that have emerged in East Timor as a result of the changes which occurred in Portugal on 25 April 1974.

52. If any cause for the deterioration of the situation in East Timor is to be established, we cannot overlook the unbridled struggle between the political parties. One need only look at the sad example of another African nation that recently achieved its independence, a nation in which a domestic struggle between antagonistic factions has served as a pretext for foreign intervention, to realize the risks of choosing political cannibalism instead of peaceful discussion.

53. Nor can my delegation find any justification for Portugal's weakness as the administering Power. Portugal, at the final stage of its mandate, lost control over the domestic situation in East Timor. We find no justification either for Indonesia's armed intervention—which, indeed, is deplored in the resolution just adopted—for that intervention only complicated even further an already deteriorating situation.

54. Perhaps my delegation, as a member of the Security Council, should not refer to future developments in the serious situation in East Timor. But I must say that the task of achieving a peaceful solution that will respect the fundamental right of the people to self-determination will be constantly supported by Costa Rica in all the international bodies and forums to which we belong.

55. My delegation sincerely hopes that this first resolution, in addition to demonstrating the international community's interest, will represent an initial step towards an early solution to the controversy in East Timor, a solution in which Portugal and Indonesia will be involved and in respect of which they will discharge the responsibilities incumbent upon them. Above all, it is those who within the political parties assume the responsibility of representing the interests of the people who must give the greatest indication of their love for their country.

56. This will probably be the last meeting of the Security Council in which my delegation will participate, since our term of office ends on 31 December. Hence I should like to refer to some matters that are not on the agenda. I cannot conclude these two years of service without saying how encouraging and stimulating it has been for a delegation like mine, assuming this important task for the first time, to have worked in the Council. It has been a memorable experience, despite the heavy responsibilities involved. As we come to the end of our term of office, we should like to indicate how pleased we have been to participate, to the best of our ability, in the work of the body entrusted with the task of maintaining international peace and security.

57. We have positively benefited from our participation in a body so important to world order, and without boasting we can venture to say that my delegation has attempted to give its very best to the work here. That has been in line with the values of our country, a peace-loving country, and a projection of our internal conduct. My delegation has already demonstrated its deep respect for the Charter of the United Nations and its strong convictions concerning the rules of international coexistence.

58. During these two years Costa Rica has been able to set forth its position on a variety of very delicate questions that were capable of endangering world peace. We have contributed to mitigating the risks by supporting all those decisions that we felt provided for realistic solutions to the difficult questions that the Council examined during those two years.

59. My delegation has been aware of its role as a non-permanent member of the Security Council. While all the members of the Council participate on an equal footing in decision-making in the Council, the fact that I have been able to see from the inside, as it were, the operation of the main organ of the United Nations entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security gives me a certain licence to make some judgements. My delegation believes that the Charter, in establishing the principle of the unanimity of the permanent members with regard to the most important decisions, the so-called right of veto, actually gave the heaviest responsibility to those members. The Council's tasks are carried out through the decisions it takes, and the fact that any of

the five permanent members has the power to paralyse a decision is a heavy responsibility, rather than the privilege that some feel it is.

60. Within the concept of actively seeking peace, the Security Council must truly fulfil its duty to find solutions to the problems confronting it. Generally speaking, these problems cannot be easily avoided since they bear directly on world peace. There is always an urgent need to reach a decision on them. We have maintained that this urgency should oblige the Council to take decisions as quickly as possible. The Council fails to discharge its duty both if it abstains from taking a decision and if it takes a decision with too much delay.

61. With regard to the many questions that arise when there is a lack of desire to take a decision, or when a decision is delayed indefinitely, the greater responsibility rests, in my view, with the permanent members. That is so because, usually, if all the permanent members do not agree, the work of the Security Council is impeded. I say "usually" because there are rare cases in which decisions are impeded because of the action of non-permanent members. The 10 non-permanent members do have a kind of shared veto, because there must be a minimum of nine votes for the Council to act. Hence, one can envisage a situation in which it would not be possible to obtain the four votes, in addition to the five votes of the so-called great Powers, necessary to make up the majority of nine.

62. But my delegation would not wish to encourage the non-permanent members of the Council to use a right of veto which is more theoretical than real. Our intention is to demonstrate how powerful this right of veto is. It is a responsibility much more than a privilege, in accordance with the Charter. Having said that, I wish to express here in the Council my delegation's admiration and respect for the way in which the five permanent members of the Council have conducted themselves. Despite the differences that sometimes divide them, they are aware of the heavy responsibility they bear both with regard to the fate of the world at present and with regard to the world that will be left for succeeding generations.

63. We have seen the non-permanent members act with equal dedication in difficult moments of internal confrontations, playing the role of catalysers, as it were, which can lead to final arrangements and solutions of difficult problems during our usually lengthy and onerous informal meetings. We would like to express our particular recognition to those who are leaving and to those who remain.

64. Generally, let me express to all those gathered around this table and to their delegations my deep thanks for the co-operation which has been personally offered to me and which has been offered to my delegation as a whole during our term on

the Council. I believe that it has been a privilege to have been connected, both personally and officially, with such outstanding representatives of friendly countries. Their friendship has greatly honoured me, and I feel that it will serve as a basis for lasting relations.

65. I should like to express my admiration and thanks to the Secretary-General for his work with the Council and for the cordial relations he has maintained with my delegation during these two years particularly on two occasions when Costa Rica presided over the Security Council. My gratitude is extended also to those who have worked closely with him and the Council, and to other members of the Secretariat who have worked with my delegation while we served on the Council.

66. In a few days, when bells ring in the New Year, I shall feel relieved to a certain extent because a responsibility which at times overwhelmed my strength and capacity will be removed from my shoulders. But I do harbour a feeling of nostalgia as I will now be abandoning one of the richest experiences of my life and friends that I will never forget. With relief and nostalgia, I should also like to express my hope that the vital role played by the Security Council will grow. The world places its trust in it to maintain its peace and security.

67. Mr. KANE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): We have now reached the end of our work, at least for the time being, after a number of days of pooling our thoughts on a question whose importance can escape no one. For more than two weeks now, with the assistance of the parties concerned, the Security Council has sought ways and means of reconciling the application of certain principles contained in the Charter which, in relation to the present situation, require a great deal of discernment which goes beyond the narrow context in which it has often been sought to enshrine them. Thus, giving up restrictive interpretations of the resolutions which deal with decolonization, the Security Council in its wisdom saw fit rather to adopt a decision which takes due account both of the fundamental principles of the Charter and of the direct threat which the present situation in East Timor represents for the entire region, and particularly for the neighbouring countries, including Indonesia.

68. Such an objective approach, which transcends differences of opinion, will undoubtedly contribute to bringing about a climate which will favour both dialogue and negotiation among all parties. It is because the resolution which the Security Council has just adopted offers dynamic prospects for the settlement of the situation in East Timor that my delegation saw fit to support it. The support which my delegation has given this resolution is all the more justified since all parties to the dispute have refused to indulge in facile condemnations and have rather

sought to elevate the debate in the Security Council to a higher level by stating their unreserved support for the dynamic context and framework of decolonization, which has been accepted and which should be supported by all political parties in East Timor. Such a process, which makes it possible for not one party but for all the political parties in East Timor to have a say in the future of their country, will undoubtedly make it possible for the political climate to improve, which will contribute in turn to the reconciliation not only of the Timorese but also between the people of Timor and the people of its immediate neighbour, Indonesia.

69. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to all the parties directly or indirectly concerned in the situation in Timor for the moderation and the wisdom which they have demonstrated throughout the discussion in the Security Council and for the extremely constructive contribution they have made, which made it possible for the present resolution to be adopted.

70. I am convinced that with the help of reason the difficulties at present being experienced by East Timor will be resolved and that the region in the very near future will experience both the peace and stability which has been so earnestly hoped for by all its inhabitants.

71. Before concluding, I should like to thank the delegation of Guyana whole-heartedly for the very friendly words which it addressed to my delegation at a time when our term of office on the Security Council is coming to an end. It is my hope that before the end of the year we will have an opportunity to express all the satisfaction we have felt at being able to work for the past two years with all members of the Security Council.

72. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): My delegation has already made its position clear on the substance of the matter when I addressed the Council on 18 December [1867th meeting]. There will, therefore, be no need for me to make a lengthy explanation of vote since it is our view that the resolution which the Council has adopted falls in line with the spirit of the position we have articulated.

73. In my statement I had then concluded by asserting that "we would view with favour any decisions by the Security Council which would have the effect of accomplishing the objectives enunciated in General Assembly resolution 3485 (XXX)" [*ibid.*, para. 26]. We view the present resolution as being one such decision. Like the Assembly, the Council has deplored the intervention on the armed forces of Indonesia in Timor. Like the Assembly, the Council has called upon Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces from East Timor. Furthermore, the Council, like the Assembly, has underscored the call for respect for the territorial integrity

of Timor as well as respect for the inalienable rights of its people to self-determination in accordance with the principles of the Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

74. Of no less importance, the resolution which the Council has adopted, like resolution 3485 (XXX) adopted by the General Assembly 10 days ago, clearly and unambiguously expects the Government of Portugal, as the administering Power, to discharge fully its responsibilities under the Charter and thus take measures which would enable the people of East Timor to exercise fully and in an atmosphere of peace and without duress their right to self-determination. My delegation notes with satisfaction that the role that is envisaged to be taken by Portugal is consistent with its responsibilities as the administering Power, and that in the process of fulfilling its responsibilities it is required to co-operate fully with the United Nations.

75. It is the firm hope and expectation of my delegation that the Government of Indonesia will respond positively and without delay to the decision of the Security Council. In this connexion, we wish once again to stress the urgent requirement for the withdrawal of Indonesian forces from East Timor. For, as I stressed in my intervention of 18 December, withdrawal of those forces is a first and—here I must add—indeed, an indispensable step in the direction of restoring conditions of calm in the Territory. The Tanzanian delegation also expects a more positive and active role on the part of the Portuguese Government, as called for by the present resolution as well as by the resolution of the General Assembly.

76. Before concluding, I should like to make a few observations in respect to the role of the Secretary-General and his representative as provided for in paragraphs 5 and 6 of the resolution. We believe that the presence of the Secretary-General's special representative in the Territory and the contacts he will establish with the parties and States concerned should help to facilitate the smooth and speedy implementation of the Council's resolution. In this respect, we must clearly underscore the point that the terms of reference of the representative, as well as those of the Secretary-General, are confined to the present resolution.

77. Needless to say, the Security Council is not considering the decolonization of East Timor. That aspect of the problem is clearly within the domain of the General Assembly. In fact, here I can only reiterate what I stated on 18 December, that "as for modalities for the decolonization of Timor in accordance with known United Nations principles and practices, we believe that that remains the purview of the General Assembly" [*ibid.*, para. 26]. What the Security Council has been considering is

the invasion of Timor and the consequences of that invasion. Clearly, therefore, the Council could not and does not in any way desire to take over the role of the General Assembly in the field of decolonization. And it is with a clear understanding of the differentiation of roles between the Assembly and the Council that the resolution, while mandating the Secretary-General to send a special representative and later on to submit his own recommendations to the Council, had earlier on taken note that the General Assembly, through its resolution 3485 (XXX) of 12 December 1975, had, *inter alia*, requested the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to send a fact-finding mission to East Timor.

78. The Tanzanian delegation, like other non-aligned member delegations in the Council, has been very much involved in the preparation and negotiations leading to the present resolution. Naturally, this is not a perfect resolution; indeed, my delegation would have preferred a clearer and unequivocal resolution. But, taking all factors into account, it is the belief of my delegation that the resolution lives up to the requirements of the situation. We supported it in the conviction that, if fully implemented, this Council's decision would make an important contribution to the restoration of the conditions conducive to enabling the people of Timor to exercise their legitimate rights to self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

79. I should like to express our conviction that the Secretary-General will proceed with deliberate speed to the discharge of the mandate entrusted to him by the resolution, for the situation in East Timor is an urgent one and demands prompt action.

80. I shall refrain from paying a tribute to our retiring colleagues because although I share their optimism, I do believe that if the Council does not meet for the rest of the year I shall have an opportunity to pay my tribute at the beginning of the new year.

81. Mr. VINCI (Italy): Mr. President, I wish to explain very briefly the reasons that have prompted my delegation fully to support and vote in favour of the draft resolution you put to the vote in the Council and which was unanimously adopted.¹ The debate which we had last week in this chamber on the situation in East Timor has given us some striking and, at times, moving evidence of the rapid sequence of events which have taken place in that Territory from the end of November on. In the light of what we heard we could by and large realize the complexity of the problem with which the United Nations is confronted and the difficulties which the Council would have to overcome in order effectively to fulfil the task of restoring peace and order in that troubled

Territory and ensure to its people the right to decide freely their own destiny.

82. I must add in all candour that the picture of the events, as we could draw it in our minds, was far from clear, except in its tragic human connotations. It was indeed a picture rather blurred by the often vague and contradictory news we received, which, in turn, must be the effect of the shock produced on the local population by the unexpected, quick and radical changes which occurred there. It was thus not surprising to my delegation that representatives of the various political groups operating in the Territory gave us rather differing views about both the causes of the present troubles and the feelings of the population.

83. What we could, however, sum up from their statements is the confirmation that a factional strife had been going on for some months in the Territory causing heavy losses of life and undue sufferings to the people, and that that situation had led first to the withdrawal of the administering Power and secondly to armed intervention by a neighbouring country.

84. In the face of such a situation, it is the opinion of my delegation that the resolution just adopted by the Council takes due account of what has apparently been going on in East Timor and has chosen the most realistic and proper course of action at this stage. The Council rightly calls for a prompt cessation of armed intervention in Portuguese Timor and for the withdrawal of foreign troops. But, at the same time, looking beyond the present local situation, it tries to make the presence of the United Nations felt at once in the Territory in order to avoid any danger of complete anarchy or vacuum, since the main purpose of the General Assembly, to assist the people of Portuguese Timor in the exercise of their right to self-determination, would be immediately defeated and nullified.

85. That is why, in the opinion of my delegation, it is of the utmost importance that the special representative to be appointed by the Secretary-General should establish contacts with all the Governments and parties concerned in order to promote the cessation of factional strife as a first step to reconciliation among the fighters. At the same time, he should collect all relevant information for the Secretary-General, whose following recommendations to the Council will guide our future most appropriate action.

86. We fully rely on the well-known and highly appreciated capacity, skill and dedication of the closest assistants to the Secretary-General. Whoever he will choose, we are sure that under his guidance that special representative will carry out this delicate, painstaking mission in a most satisfactory manner.

87. We sincerely hope that the mission will produce, as a first result, an early cessation of all hostilities;

otherwise, we fail to see how an administration capable of maintaining public order in the Territory can be set up and work properly. In this connexion, we welcome the announcement made by the Portuguese Government that it has not relinquished its sovereign rights over the Territory and is ready to resume its responsibilities as administering Power. We believe that that is important in so far as it avoids, with due regard given to international law, any legal gap at least between the past and the future of the Territory. Furthermore, it helps to build up such normal legal and political conditions as are necessary to ensure an orderly development of the process of decolonization in accordance with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

88. My Government has constantly supported the right to self-determination of all the peoples still under colonial rule. We earnestly hope that the people of East Timor will not be denied that right, and that, in view of the undeniable difficulties which the United Nations will face in dealing with the decolonization process in that Territory, full co-operation and assistance will be given to the Organization by all its Members, and in particular by those more directly concerned with the future of Portuguese Timor.

89. Before I conclude, I wish to pay a sincere and well-deserved tribute to the representatives of the United Republic of Cameroon, Guyana and the United Republic of Tanzania, who are the main authors of the resolution adopted today. Once again they have shown, along with their other colleagues of the non-aligned countries, a remarkable spirit of understanding and co-operation vis-à-vis other delegations, including my own, and a great sense of responsibility as representatives of members of the Security Council. The final result at the end of protracted, intense consultations, under your firm, objective guidance, Mr. President, is the text of the present resolution, which is the most balanced and forward-looking we could hope for at this stage.

90. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation is extremely pleased that the Security Council has unanimously adopted the draft resolution. It would like to pay a tribute to the efforts made by all, and in particular by the representatives of the non-aligned States members of the Council, to conciliate existing views so as to permit the submission of a well-balanced text. This balance in fact is what we believe to be the main merit of this resolution. It is more even-handed, in our view, towards the various parties concerned than was General Assembly resolution 3485 (XXX), on which the French delegation abstained.

91. The mission of the Council in this case is not to lay blame, and even less to attribute it to a single one of the parties involved. We know that historic situations are rarely simple enough for good and evil

to be discerned from a single vantage point. Timor is no exception to that rule.

92. A series of circumstances has plunged the Territory of East Timor into a war, both civil and foreign, to which we must put an end. The administering Power, despite its obvious goodwill and the sincerity of its commitments, has certainly been unable to devote all due attention and diligence to the decolonization of that far-off island. We invite it to co-operate with the United Nations so that the serious difficulties created by the temporary power vacuum may be redressed. We urge it amicably to do this in the light of our affinity with the new Portugal. However, we also urge the neighbouring Power to refrain from finding in the ethnic and cultural similarities which clearly exist between the two parts of the island any pretext to intervene in the domestic affairs of a population which has the right to self-determination. For this to occur, the military operation of the Indonesian troops there must be terminated as soon as possible, for, were it to continue, it would obviously compromise the freedom of decision of the inhabitants of Timor.

93. While not underestimating the huge problems inherent, even in our era, in the perfect exercise of the principle of self-determination, France remains sufficiently devoted to this principle to hope that an agreement will be reached, with the help of the Secretary-General and his special representative, between the various political factions in Portuguese Timor. Once the political movements whose representatives we have heard here declare their readiness to hear the opinions of their fellow citizens, would it not be possible to organize an open and democratic referendum during which each could counterpose its own arguments rather than waging war? My country hopes that the special representative of the Secretary-General will tell us that this solution—the only just solution—is still possible, despite the dangerous initiatives which have been taken by those who have resorted to force.

94. So that the sensitive period of transition between the requested withdrawal of the Indonesian forces and the implementation of an authority freely chosen by the people of East Timor may elapse without further confrontations, the United Nations and the Secretary-General, we believe, will be called upon to play a decisive role. We remain attentive to whatever the Secretary-General might recommend to us, and my delegation would like to reassure him of our trust and of our admiration for his tireless devotion in so many difficult matters.

95. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic voted in favour of the resolution on the question of East Timor which was adopted by the Security Council today. This item which has been

discussed by the Council arose as a result of difficulties encountered in implementing the decolonization process with regard to the territory of East Timor. A very tense internal situation arose in that Territory, which was further complicated by outside military intervention.

96. In East Timor a situation arose which the Security Council, as the organ which bears special responsibility in questions of the peace and security of peoples, had to take up. The Council took this matter up and has outlined steps designed to normalize the situation there and create the conditions that are essential if the people of East Timor are to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

97. The Byelorussian SSR has invariably favoured the speedy implementation of the provisions contained in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted 15 years ago on the initiative of the Soviet Union. Our delegation has always come out in favour of the right of every colonial people to decide its own future independently without outside interference. We still hold this view, and we hold it when considering the question of East Timor.

98. As is known, the non-aligned States members of the Security Council have made considerable efforts in order to come up with a draft resolution which in the specific situation that has arisen could help to solve the complex problems in connexion with the decolonization of East Timor. At the same time, we cannot fail to note that the nature of the resolution which has been adopted will help to hold in check any further development of events that might endanger peace in that region.

99. Furthermore, the Security Council's resolution will help to solve the problem which has arisen, in the interests of the people of East Timor and in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and resolutions of the General Assembly—in particular, those adopted at its thirtieth session—and the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

100. Since this is apparently the last meeting of the Security Council to be held this year, and since the participation of the Byelorussian SSR in the work of the Security Council as a non-permanent member is now drawing to a close, we should like, first and foremost, to express our gratitude for the effective co-operation and understanding which has been offered us throughout this period by the other members of the Council. Similarly, we should also like to make particular mention of the constant spirit of co-operation which has been displayed by the Secretary-General. We should like also to thank the many United Nations Secretariat members who are connected with the work of the Security Council

for their efforts to ensure normal working conditions for this most important body of the United Nations.

101. In recent years there have occurred in the international arena considerable and positive changes, marked by the further extension of the process of international détente in various concrete forms. These changes show that there is now a material possibility for us to implement the main task of the United Nations, which is to preclude war from the life of future generations. The countries of the socialist community have done a great deal to strengthen peace and security and to solve a number of international problems, including problems tackled within the United Nations framework. In this connexion, we cannot fail to refer to the important and positive role which has constantly been played by the non-aligned movement.

102. All this has naturally left its mark on the work of the Security Council and on the United Nations as a whole. The spirit of co-operation and international détente has come into evidence in the work of the Security Council, particularly in the preparation of important decisions during consultations among Council members, when, as a result of mutual efforts mutually acceptable decisions have been arrived at and important steps have been taken to help to solve international problems.

103. In practice this was really a demonstration of the principle of peaceful coexistence, when opinions and positions were combined in an organic way, both among permanent members of the Security Council that bear a particular responsibility for what is done by the Council in maintaining international peace and security, and also among its non-permanent members, which play an important part in this work.

104. In this connexion, we cannot fail to refer to the considerable contribution which has been and continues to be made to the work of the Council by the non-aligned States members of the Council. During the past two years the attention of the Security Council has been focused on important issues connected with questions of peace and security, the settlement of conflicts, the struggle against colonialism and the policies of *apartheid* and racism pursued by South Africa, and other matters. Following in the footsteps of the General Assembly, the Council took a decision of great political moment when it invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the discussion of the Middle East question on an equal footing with other interested parties.

105. Nor can we fail to advert to the fact that during these two years the Security Council frequently considered the question of the admission of new members to the United Nations and recommended the admission of nine new fledgling States. The membership of the United Nations now

comprises 144 States, which in itself bears abundant witness to the fact that the process of decolonization has reached a culminating stage and shows that there is a culmination also in the complete liberation of all countries and peoples from the oppression of colonialism.

106. However, in the Security Council we have not always had a situation which would favour the adoption of such decisions, the sort of decisions which would be a faithful reflection of the interests of peoples and which would be in accordance with the spirit of international détente, the strengthening of co-operation among peoples and the settlement and solution of cardinal international problems. There has still been evidence that certain Powers wish to ignore the real facts. Precisely for that reason and because of reasons which are well known to all, the Security Council was unable to take a decision on the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to United Nations membership. The Council was also unable to take a firm stand regarding the racist régime in the Republic of South Africa.

107. At the same time, we cannot fail to point out that the Security Council in most cases was equal to the responsible tasks which it must undertake pursuant to the Charter of the United Nations. It is not the fault of the Security Council that the positive decisions which it took and which were rightly regarded as a basis for the political settlement of international problems, in particular in the Middle East and in Cyprus, have to date failed to be implemented.

108. In participating in the work of the Security Council, the Byelorussian SSR has constantly and consistently favoured and defended the adoption of the sort of decisions which would take the greatest account of the fundamental changes which have occurred in international relations and of the need to extend further the process of international détente and to favour the solution of still outstanding international disputes and conflicts and, finally, the strengthening of international peace and security among peoples.

109. For us Soviet people the end of this year is particularly noteworthy since it marks the eve of the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Now it is with a feeling of immense pride that we can refer to the implementation of the decisions taken by the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The peace programme which was approved by that Congress and its provisions have indeed proved to be a powerful and effective factor which have had a historic impact on the entire international situation. The holding of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the end of the war in Indo-China, progress in the fields of disarmament, and

decolonization and in many other areas where positive results have been achieved—all that shows that the peace programme has indeed triumphed.

110. In an article recently published in the Soviet press, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Byelorussian SSR, P. M. Masherov, emphasized that "impressive success has been achieved in improving the international situation and in implementing the peace programme which was drawn up by the Twenty-fourth Party Congress".

111. In conclusion, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would like once again to express its satisfaction at having been able to participate for these past two years in the work of the Security Council. Our delegation would like to congratulate the five new non-permanent members of the Council that will participate in the work of the Council starting on 1 January 1976, and also to express our conviction that their efforts will promote the effective implementation by this most important body of the United Nations of the tasks facing it.

112. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR is convinced that the Security Council will in the future, with a growing awareness of its duty and the responsibility which is incumbent upon it under the Charter, accomplish the work of maintaining peace and security for peoples.

113. The PRESIDENT: I should now like to make a statement in my capacity as representative of the UNITED KINGDOM. My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution S/11915, now Security Council resolution 384 (1975), which is the outcome, as members of the Council know, of prolonged consultations last Friday between various groups.

114. I should like to pay a particular tribute to the non-aligned members of the Council for all their efforts in putting forward a text for our consideration, and in so facilitating the work of the Council. I should equally like to thank Mr. Vinci and Mr. Saito and the other members of the Council for their invaluable assistance last Friday. If I may say so, I think that our joint efforts on the subject of Timor, coming as they did at the end of a long and an exhausting General Assembly, reflect some credit on the Council and bear witness to its determination to carry out fully its obligations and responsibilities under the Charter.

115. Turning, if I may, to the future, my Government considers it of the greatest importance that the people of Timor should be enabled freely to express their views on their future form of Government in conditions of peace and of order. In this context, we attach great significance to the role of the Secretary-General and his representative as outlined in paragraphs 5 and 6 of the resolution before us. We hope

the Secretary-General will be able to send a special representative to Timor at the earliest possible moment so that this Council, in turn, may have an early report on the situation there and on the progress made in implementing the present resolution.

116. We believe also that the recommendations that the Secretary-General is requested to make to the Council, taking into account the report of his special representative, will assist us greatly next year. We shall then have to consider how best the people of Timor should express their views, what should be the contribution of the United Nations and perhaps of other countries in the area, as well as of the administering Power, and how we can best encourage talks between the various political parties in Timor. All these are very important questions which will need our deep and careful thought.

117. I should like to close by paying a tribute, with which I am sure all members of the Council would associate themselves, to our distinguished and hard-working Secretary-General. We are now putting new responsibilities on him. I can assure him that we do not do so unadvisedly or capriciously. We have the greatest confidence in his objectivity and in his qualities of patience and conciliation. I thank him again for all he has done for the Organization in the past and for all that I am sure he will continue to do for it in the future.

118. I would not wish to anticipate events, and it would be a foolish President who, with a week of December still to run, proclaimed that we were today holding our last meeting in 1975. But, to use a neutral phrase, this is a possibility, and a possibility perhaps not totally unwelcome to the Council.

119. I do not know whether we 15 will be meeting again in this chamber. I am sure I will be understood if I say I hope not. Indeed, I go further, and say that, as President of the Council, I will do all I can to ensure that we do not. But in a purely contingent manner, therefore, would members allow me to express my own good wishes and those of the Council as a whole to the five representatives of the member States who will be leaving us at the end of this year. We shall be sad to see them go. They have brought wisdom, skill and dedication to this table. They have also brought good humour and patience. I personally am grateful to them for many kindnesses and for much support. The sense of partnership, indeed of friendship, within the Council is, I believe, essential if we are to do our work well, and if we are to reach, as we have done today, agreements which reflect a determination to do justice and to reconcile a variety of different views.

120. On behalf of the Council and on behalf of my own Government, and, indeed, on my own behalf, may I therefore thank the distinguished represen-

tatives of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the United Republic of Cameroon, Costa Rica, Iraq and Mauritania for the contribution they have made to the Council and wish them all good fortune in the future.

121. I have received, in my capacity as PRESIDENT, an indication that Mr. José Ramos Horta would like to address the Council again. Under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, the Council may invite members of the Secretariat or other persons to supply it with information or to give other assistance in examining matters within its competence. Although Mr. Horta has spoken once [*1864th meeting*], and although we have already adopted a resolution unanimously, so that in one sense our examination of these matters has possibly been concluded, since I hear no objection to the contrary, I propose to invite Mr. Horta to address the Council again, as he has requested. I therefore invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

122. Mr. HORTA: The invasion of Dili, capital of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, by aggressor forces of Indonesia began on 7 December. Today is 22 December, and the invading forces have not succeeded in occupying the capital. Two thirds of Dili are controlled by the nationalist forces of the Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor under the leadership of FRETILIN, vanguard of the brave people of East Timor.

123. The seat of Government remains in Dili, from where our Prime Minister, Nicolau Lobato, has informed my delegation about the progress of the struggle in our country. Fighting continues in Dili and Baukau. In both places, the invading forces have already lost more than 5,000 men, killed or wounded. Reports from Dili state that 2,000 Indonesian reinforcements are now being landed to extend what has become a bloody war of repression.

124. Indonesian air and naval forces have kept Dili under constant bombardment. The city has been partially destroyed. The hospital has been hit twice, and approximately 100 sick and wounded patients have been killed. More than 2,000 women and children have been killed in Dili by the invading forces.

125. Two Indonesian Mitchell bombers were shot down in Baukau, and large quantities of arms have been captured from Indonesian forces. The list of captured arms includes 300 United States-made sub-machine-guns; 18 United States-made machine-guns; 11 81-mm mortars; 7 bazookas and large quantities of grenades and ammunition.

126. Please allow me to take this opportunity to say to the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Australia—the countries that have provided military aid to Indonesia—that we realize that military aid has been

provided to Indonesia for internal security purposes. But in fact these military resources—weapons, ammunition, aircraft and ships—are being used against the people of East Timor. May I also point out to the Government of Japan that, in helping to stop this conflict, it has an opportunity to make some reparation for the damage and loss of life, estimated at 40,000 killed, suffered by the East Timorese people during the Second World War.

127. Our brave people have since the UDT coup in August shown our determination to fight for national liberation and independence. Thus any manoeuvre to undermine the resistance of the Democratic Republic of East Timor will bring more war, blood and death. We hope that the Council will take the necessary action to prevent this conflict from becoming another Viet-Nam.

128. The history of East Timor will be written by the people of East Timor, and everyone should realize that it is not possible to stop the march of the people in their struggle for national independence and liberation. The presence of Indonesian forces in East Timor is a factor in the war and instability. The longer Indonesian armed forces remain in our territory, the greater and more prolonged will be the suffering and bloodshed.

129. Our actions and statements have shown that we have always been willing to talk and negotiate with other groups. In our statement of 14 September, when FRETILIN was in full control of East Timor, we called for talks and a joint border peace force with Indonesia. We also said that we would expect to co-operate closely with our neighbouring countries, and particularly ASEAN [*Association of South-East Asian Nations*], when we achieved independence. Despite aggression and the suffering of the past weeks, our attitude remains the same. We want peace. We want independence. We are willing to talk and to discuss.

130. We welcome the fact that the Security Council resolution deplores the intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in East Timor, that it calls upon all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor, that it calls upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces from the Territory. We shall also welcome the visit to our country, the Democratic Republic of East Timor, of a special representative of the Secretary-General. We hope that the representative of the Secretary-General will consider as a matter of urgency paragraphs 1 and 2 of the resolution. Thank you, Mr. President and members of the Security Council, for the opportunity we have been given to seek your understanding and support.

131. The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Horta for the statement he has made to the Council. In accordance with the Council's usual procedure, I now

ask him to withdraw from the Council table and resume the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

132. Mr. SAITO (Japan): I wish to make a brief statement in connexion with some remarks made by the previous speaker, Mr. Horta, of FRETILIN. In the first place, he said that 40.000 East Timorese people were killed during the Second World War, but, since I have no evidence of that, I must reserve my position as to its factuality.

133. Secondly, Japan is now a peaceful nation. We have no armed forces for an attack of that sort. Therefore, even though Mr. Horta insists that the Japanese army did what he has said, present-day Japan had nothing to do with it.

134. Thirdly, even though his remarks are based upon some statistics, that has nothing to do with the question we are considering at the present time, and we cannot agree that they should be taken into account in this case.

135. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Portugal.

136. Mr. GALVÃO TELES (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): A resolution has just been adopted unanimously by the Security Council. In view of the difficulties inherent in the question and the gap between the various views expressed in the Council, we believe that this result has been possible only because of the devotion and efforts of the delegations of all the States members of the Council. But it must be emphasized—and I do so with the greatest pleasure—that your experience, Mr. President, your skill and your dynamic approach have been decisive both with regard to the effective conduct of the Council's work and with regard to the possibility of reaching a constructive and realistic resolution.

137. I believe that the Portuguese Government's position is well known because my delegation not only has spoken on three occasions during this debate, but also has had an opportunity to discuss the matter informally with several delegations and to explain its position in detail. Thus, I do not think I shall be telling anybody anything new if I state that we would have preferred some paragraphs of the resolution to be drafted differently, and particularly we would have preferred a stronger and more direct condemnation of Indonesia's armed intervention. Nevertheless, we believe that this resolution is an extremely important step towards the peaceful and negotiated solution of a conflict created in East Timor by foreign ambitions and intervention.

138. In its letter of 7 December 1975, the Government of Portugal requested that the Council be convened urgently, emphasizing that that should be

done so that "the military aggression by Indonesia may be terminated and conditions may be established to enable the decolonization process to continue, under the auspices of the United Nations" [S/11899]. We must therefore express our gratification at the fact that the Security Council resolution meets the fundamental requests made by my Government. Indeed, after having deplored Indonesia's military intervention, the Council clearly and unambiguously calls upon Indonesia to withdraw all its troops from the Territory of East Timor. That should no doubt be regarded as a first step towards ending Indonesia's military aggression, as called for by Portugal. The request addressed to the Secretary-General to send a special representative to Timor is also in line with a suggestion made by my delegation before the Council. Furthermore, the recognition of the fundamental part to be played by the United Nations in the process of the decolonization of Timor also meets the position of my Government on this matter. That idea is spelled out particularly clearly in paragraphs 3, 5 and 6 of the resolution adopted today.

139. I should now like to refer to the last preambular paragraph of the resolution, which states that the Council regrets that "the Government of Portugal did not discharge fully its responsibilities as administering Power in the Territory under Chapter XI of the Charter". I must say in all candour that that formulation does not appear to us to be fair because the paragraph, although it notes a fact, does not expressly state the reasons and circumstances which go to explain that fact. Thus, we believe that the Security Council's judgement in this connexion should have referred to two specific aspects: first, that the difficulties encountered by the administering Power were the result of Indonesia's interference and, secondly, that despite everything, Portugal did all it could to perform successfully its mission of enabling the people of Timor to exercise its right to self-determination and independence. It must be recalled also that Portugal has never sought to conceal the difficulties it has encountered in carrying out its obligations as administering Power. On the contrary, it has always informed the United Nations of those difficulties and problems and even has tried, particularly since August, to involve the Organization more actively in the process of the decolonization of Timor.

140. What I have just said allows for the conclusion that as a whole the resolution just adopted seems to us to be positive. Indeed, what is essentially at stake here is the need to put an end to aggression and military intervention in East Timor, in order to make it possible for the people of that Territory freely to exercise its right to self-determination and independence. There can be no doubt that that is the crux of the matter, and it must be recognized that the resolution adopted today is a first step in that direction.

141. For its part, Portugal is prepared to discharge its obligations at it is called upon to do in the Security Council resolution and as is dictated by its duty towards the people of Timor and the international community. It expresses the very sincere hope that the implementation of this resolution will make it possible for the people of East Timor finally to become free and responsible for its own fate.

142. The PRESIDENT: The last speaker at this afternoon's meeting is the representative of Indonesia, on whom I now call.

143. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): When I first spoke before the Council, I expressed my conviction that under your competent guidance, Mr. President, this august body would be able to make a constructive contribution to the solution of the question of East Timor. Now that this series of meetings has come to a close, I should like to express the sincere thanks and appreciation of my delegation to you and to the other members of the Council for the efforts that have been made.

144. My delegation has studied with great care the resolution that the Council has just adopted. We are not happy with it because, in my delegation's view, it does not take sufficiently into account what has really been happening in East Timor since August of this year. Again and again I have stated on behalf of my delegation that Indonesia respects the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and that the Indonesian presence in East Timor has been upon the specific request of the people of East Timor, represented by four of their parties.

145. But, whatever our own evaluation may be of the practicability and effectiveness of the resolution, it has become a decision of the Security Council. May I be allowed to stress the following two points: first, that the measures to be taken by the United Nations to implement this resolution will indeed re-establish peaceful conditions to enable the people of East Timor freely to exercise their right to self-determination, and that those measures will not lead to a return to the situation of bloody conflict and chaos, and secondly, that therefore, whatever action the United Nations may decide to take to enable the people of East Timor to exercise freely their right to self-determination, such action should be the result of thorough consultations with the people of the Territory.

146. Indonesia remains of the view that the future political status of East Timor must be decided by its own people as the outcome of the free exercise of their right of self-determination in conditions of peace and order on the basis of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). Indonesia, for its part, will do its best to co-operate as far as possible with the United Nations, taking into account the wishes of the people of the Territory and existing realities in East Timor. In the present circumstances, the people of the Territory themselves who are the party directly concerned must play the decisive role in charting the road of decolonization in East Timor.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

Notes

¹ See resolution 384 (1975).

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2370th meeting.

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