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#### QUESTION OF TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

#### Report of the Fourth Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Rui QUARTIN-SANTOS (Portugal)

- 1. Under the terms of General Assembly resolution 3299 (XXIX) of 13 December 1974, an item entitled "Question of Territories under Portuguese domination: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" was included by the Secretary-General in the provisional agenda of the thirtieth session (A/10150).
- 2. At its 224th meeting, on 17 September 1975, the General Committee, on the proposal of the representative of Sierra Leone and in the light of a letter dated 12 March 1975 from the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General in that connexion (A/10058), decided to recommend the inclusion of this item in the agenda, with the following revised wording: "Question of Territories under Portuguese administration: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples". At its 225th meeting, on 18 September, the General Committee also decided to recommend to the General Assembly the allocation of this item to the Fourth Committee.
- 3. At its 2353rd plenary meeting, on 19 September, the General Assembly, by adopting the recommendations of the General Committee, included the item in its agenda (A/10251) and allocated it to the Fourth Committee for consideration and report (A/10252).
- 4. The Fourth Committee considered the item at its 2178th, 2180th, 2184th to 2189th meetings, between 2 and 11 December.
- 5. At the 2178th meeting, on 2 December, the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples introduced chapter VIII of the report of that Committee (A/10023/Add.1) relating to the item.

- 6. In connexion with its consideration of the item, the Fourth Committee also had before it the following communications addressed to the Secretary-General:
- (a) Letters from Portugal dated 22, 23, 25 and 27 August, 30 September and 9, 10, 28 and 30 November 1975 (A/10208, A/10209-S/11813, A/10212, A/10214, A/10277, A/C.4/802, A/C.4/803, A/10402-S/11887, A/10403-S/11890);
  - (b) Letter from Mozambique dated 2 December 1975 (A/C.4/807);
  - (c) Letter from Indonesia dated 4 December 1975 (A/C.4/808 and Corr.1).
- 7. At its 2185th meeting, on 8 December, the Fourth Committee, on the proposal of the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania and following a statement by the Chairman concerning the related administrative and financial implications, decided that the statement made by the representative of Portugal at that meeting should be reproduced in extenso in the record.
- 8. At the 2180th meeting, on 3 December, the representative of Malaysia introduced a draft resolution concerning Timor (A/C.4/L.1125), which was finally sponsored by the following Member States: Australia, Fiji, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines and Thailand. The draft resolution read as follows:

### "The General Assembly,

"Having examined the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question of Timor,

"Having considered the letter dated 30 November 1975 from the Chargé d'affaires of the Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations,

"Having heard the statement of the representative of Portugal, as the administering Power, concerning developments in Portuguese Timor and the implementation with regard to that Territory of the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, as well as those of its resolution 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960,

"Bearing in mind the responsibility of the administering Power to undertake all efforts to create conditions enabling the people of Portuguese Timor to exercise freely their right to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration, in an atmosphere of peace and order,

"Taking note of the positive attitude of the administering Power in making every effort to find a solution by peaceful means through talks between the Government of Portugal and the political parties representing the people of Portuguese Timor.

- "1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Portuguese Timor to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status 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;
- "2. Appeals to the political parties in Portuguese Timor to respond positively to the efforts of the administering Power to find a peaceful solution through talks between them and the Government of Portugal;
- "3. Expresses the hope that the talks will bring an end to the political strife in that Territory and lead towards the orderly exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Portuguese Timor;
- "4. Requests the Government of Portugal to continue its co-operation with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to invite the Committee to send a visiting mission to the Territory as soon as possible."
- 9. At the 2184th meeting, on 5 December, the representative of India introduced an amendment (A/C.4/L.1129) to the draft resolution, by which:
  - (a) The fifth preambular paragraph which read:

"Taking note of the positive attitude of the administering Power in making every effort to find a solution by peaceful means through talks between the Government of Portugal and the political parties representing the people of Portuguese Timor,"

#### would be deleted:

- (b) The following new paragraph would be inserted as operative paragraph 2:
- "2. Calls on the administering Power to continue to make every effort to find a solution by peaceful means through talks between the Government of Portugal and the political parties representing the people of Portuguese Timor:"

and the remaining operative paragraphs 2 to 4 would be renumbered as paragraphs 3 to 5.

10. At the 2185th meeting, on 8 December, the Chairman drew attention to a revised text (A/C.4/L.1125/Rev.1) of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1125. The revised draft resolution, which also incorporated the amendment submitted by India (A/C.4/L.1129), referred to in paragraph 9 above, read as follows:

### "The General Assembly,

"Having examined the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question of Timor,

"Having heard the statement of the representative of Portugal, as the administering Power, concerning developments in Portuguese Timor and the implementation with regard to that Territory of the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, as well as those of resolution 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960.

"Taking note of the recent developments in Portuguese Timor,

"Bearing in mind the responsibility of the administering Power to undertake all efforts to create conditions enabling the people of Portuguese Timor to exercise freely their right to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration, in an atmosphere of peace and order,

"Reaffirming that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

- "1. Calls upon all States to respect the inalienable right of the people of Portuguese Timor to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status 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;
- "2. <u>Calls on</u> the administering Power to continue to make every effort to find a solution by peaceful means through talks between the Government of Portugal and the political parties representing the people of Portuguese Timor;
- "3. Appeals to all the parties in Portuguese Timor to respond positively to efforts to find a peaceful solution through talks between them and the Government of Portugal, in the hope that such talks will bring an end to the strife in that Territory and lead towards the orderly exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Portuguese Timor;

- "4. Requests the Government of Portugal to continue its co-operation with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and requests the Committee to send a fact-finding mission to the Territory as soon as possible in consultation with the political parties and the Government of Portugal."
- 11. On the same day, <u>Guinea-Bissau</u> submitted amendments (A/C.4/L.1130) to revised draft resolution A/C.4/L.1125/Rev.1, by which:
- (a) The following new paragraph would be added as the first preambular paragraph:

"Recognizing the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,";

- (b) The former third preambular paragraph would be deleted;
- (c) The former fifth preambular paragraph would be replaced by the following:

"Mindful that all States should, in conformity with Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or national independence of any State, or from taking any action inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter,";

(d) The following new paragraph would be added as the sixth preambular paragraph:

"Deeply concerned at the explosive situation resulting from the reported acts of aggression committed by the Government of Indonesia against the people of Portuguese Timor,";

- (e) The following new paragraphs would be added as operative paragraphs 4 ... to 7:
  - "4. Strongly condemns the policies of the Government of Indonesia for its illegal interference in the internal affairs of Portuguese Timor and for the repeated acts of aggression committed by its armed forces against the people of Portuguese Timor;
  - "5. Demands that the Government of Indonesia desist forthwith from further violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor and from all acts of aggression against the people of the Territory by ending those acts and immediately withdrawing its armed forces from the Territory of Portuguese Timor;

- "6. Draws the attention of the Security Council, in conformity with Article 11, paragraph 3 of the Charter of the United Nations, to the critical stiuation resulting from the interference and acts of armed aggression of the Government of Indonesia against the people and the Territory of Portuguese Timor, and to the urgent need to take, as a matter of priority, all effective steps to protect the territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor:
- "7. Calls upon all States to respect the unity and territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor;"
- (f) Former operative paragraph 4 would be renumbered as paragraph 8.
- 12. At the 2186th meeting, on 9 De:ember, the Chairman drew attention to a draft resolution concerning Timor (A/C.4/L.1131), which was finally sponsored by the following Member States: Algeria, Cuba, Guyana, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Trinidad and Tobago. The text of the draft resolution read as follows:

## "The General Assembly,

"Recognizing the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

"Having examined the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Indpendence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question of Timor,

"Having heard the statements of the representatives of Portugal, as the administering Power, concerning developments in Portuguese Timor and the implementation with regard to that Territory of the relevant provisions of the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as those of its resolution 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960,

"Bearing in mind the responsibility of the administering Power to undertake all efforts to create conditions enabling the people of Portuguese Timor to exercise freely their right to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration, in an atmosphere of peace and order,

"Mindful that all States should, in conformity with Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter, refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or national independence of any State, or from taking any action inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter,

"Deeply concerned at the critical situation resulting from the military intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in Portuguese Timor,

- "1. Calls upon all States to respect the inalienable right of the people of Portuguese Timor to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status 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;
- "2. <u>Calls on the administering Power to continue to make every effort to find a solution by peaceful means through talks between the Government of Portugal and the political parties representing the people of Portuguese Timor;</u>
- "3. Appeals to all the parties in Portuguese Timor to respond positively to efforts to find a peaceful solution through talks between them and the Government of Portugal in the hope that such talks will bring an end to the strife in that Territory and lead towards the orderly exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Portuguese Timor;
- "4. Strongly deplores the military intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in Portuguese Timor;
- "5. <u>Calls upon</u> the Government of Indonesia to desist from further violation of the territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor and to withdraw without delay its armed forces from the Territory, in order to enable the people of the Territory freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence;
- "6. <u>Draws the attention</u> of the Security Council, in conformity with Article 11, paragraph 3 of the Charter, to the critical situation in the Territory of Portuguese Timor and recommends that it take urgent action to protect the territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor and the inalienable right of its people to self-determination;
- "7. Calls upon all States to respect the unity and territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor;
- "8. Requests the Government of Portugal to continue its co-operation with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and requests the Committee to send a fact-finding mission to the Territory as soon as possible, in consultation with the political parties in Portuguese Timor and the Government of Portugal."

- 13. At the same meeting, the sponsors withdrew revised draft resolution A/C.4/L.1125/Rev.1 (see para. 10 above).
- 14. At the 2187th meeting, on 10 December, the representative of India introduced a draft resolution concerning Timor (A/C.4/L.1132), which was finally sponsored by the following Member States: <u>India</u>, <u>Iran</u>, <u>Japan</u>, <u>Malaysia</u>, <u>Philippines</u>, <u>Saudi</u> Arabia and Thailand. The draft resolution read as follows:

## "The General Assembly,

"Recognizing the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

"Having examined the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question of Timor.

"Having heard the statements of the representatives of Portugal, as the administering Power, concerning developments in Portuguese Timor and the implementation with regard to that Territory of the relevant provisions of the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as those of its resolution 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960.

"Taking note with concern of the circumstances which led to the latest developments in Portuguese Timor,

"Taking further note of the statements of the representative of Indonesia in the Fourth Committee, in particular on the right of the people of Portuguese Timor to self-determination in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration, in an atmosphere of peace and order,

- "1. Calls upon all States to respect the inalienable right of the people of Portuguese Timor to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status 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;
- "2. <u>Takes note</u> that, according to the views expressed by the political parties in Portuguese Timor, the people are divided in their opinions in regard to their future political status;

- "3. Requests 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 the Territory as soon as possible and to submit its recommendations concerning the procedures and arrangements for the free exercise of the right to self-determination of the people of Portuguese Timor;
- "4. Calls upon all States to refrain from any action which might prejudice the free exercise by the people of Portuguese Timor of their right to self-determination."
- 15. At the same meeting, the representative of Thailand introduced amendments (A/C.4/L.1133) to draft resolution A/C.4/L.1131 (see para. 12 above), by which:
  - (a) Operative paragraph 2 would be replaced by the following:
  - "2. Calls on the administering Power, in close consultation with the neighbouring countries, in particular Indonesia, to continue to make every effort to find a solution by peaceful means through talks between the Government of Portugal and the political parties representing the people of Portuguese Timor;"
  - (b) The following new paragraph would be added as operative paragraph 3:
  - "3. Takes note that, according to the views expressed by the political parties in Portuguese Timor, the people are divided in their opinion in regard to their future political status;"

and the remaining operative paragraphs 3 to 8 would be renumbered as paragraphs 4 to 9.

- 16. At the same meeting, the representative of Mauritania also introduced amendments (A/C.4/L.1134) to draft resolution A/C.4/L.1131, by which:
- (a) The following new paragraph would be added as the fourth preambular paragraph:

"Noting the statements of the representative of Indonesia in the Fourth Committee concerning, in particular, the right of the people of Portuguese Timor to self-determination in accordance with the Charter and the Declaration, in a peaceful atmosphere and an orderly manner,";

(b) The last preambular paragraph would be replaced by the following:

"Noting with concern the circumstances which have provoked the latest events in Portuguese Timor,".

- 17. At the same meeting, the representative of <u>Portugal</u> proposed, under rule 117 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, that the debate on the item under discussion be closed.
- 18. At the same meeting, the Fourth Committee rejected by a roll-call vote of 57 to 12, with 53 abstentions, a proposal by the representative of <u>Barbados</u>, under rule 116 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, to adjourn the debate on the item. The voting was as follows:

<u>In favour:</u> Barbados, Chile, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Mauritania, Morocco, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Thailand and Tunisia.

Against: Albania, Algeria, Benin, Botswana, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Ivory Coast, Laos, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Fl Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Qatar, Singapore, Spain, Syrian Arab Repbulic, Togo, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Zaire.

19. At the same meeting, the Fourth Committee adopted by 49 votes to 21, with 34 abstentions, a proposal by the representative of <u>Canada</u>, under rule 118 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, to adjourn the meeting until the following day.

- 20. On the same day, Saudi Arabia submitted amendments (A/C.4/L.1135 and Add.1) to draft resolution A/C.4/L.1131, by which:
- (a) The third and fourth preambular paragraphs would be replaced by the following:

"Having heard the statements of the representatives of Portugal and Indonesia concerning developments in Portuguese Timor and the implementation with regard to that Territory of the relevant provisions of the Charter and the Declaration, as well as those of its resolution 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960,

"<u>Moting</u> that Portugal, the erstwhile administering Power, is no longer in a position to exercise responsibility to create conditions enabling the people of Portuguese Timor to exercise freely their right to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration, in an atmosphere of peace and order,";

(b) The last preambular paragraph would be replaced by the following:

"Taking note of the critical situation created by the shrinking, if not the total withdrawal, of Portuguese authorities from Timor, which might pave the way to anarchy among the people of Timor,";

- (c) Operative paragraphs 2 to 6 would be replaced by the following:
- "2. <u>Calls upon</u> the erstwhile administering Power to co-operate with the United Nations fact-finding mission referred to in paragraph 8 below for ascertaining the wishes of the people that were under Portuguese rule;
- "3. Appeals to all the parties in Portuguese Timor to respond positively to efforts to find a peaceful solution by co-operating with the United Nations fact-finding mission in the hope that such co-operation will bring an end to the strife in that Territory and lead towards the fulfilment of the wishes of the people of Portuguese Timor;
- "4. Appeals to all major Powers in the region to desist from resorting to subversion and all forms of clandestine intervention in Portuguese Timor and thereby facilitate the work of the United Nations fact-finding mission;
- "5. <u>Calls upon</u> the Government of Indonesia to co-operate with the United Nations fact-finding mission in order to enable the people of the Territory to exercise freely their right to self-determination;
- "6. <u>Draws the attention</u> of the Security Council to the question in the event the situation in Portuguese Timor becomes so critical as to threaten the peace and security of the region;".

- 21. On the same day, the <u>Philippines</u> submitted amendments (A/C.4/L.1136) to draft resolution A/C.4/L.1131, by which operative paragraphs 4 and 5 would be replaced by the following new operative paragraph 4:
  - "4. Calls upon all States to respect the inalienable right of the people of Portuguese Timor to self-determination in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV);"

and the remaining paragraphs 6 to 8 would be renumbered as paragraphs 5 to 7.

- 22. At its 2188th meeting, on 11 December, the Fourth Committee, acting on the proposal made by the representative of Portugal at its 2187th meeting, decided, without objection, to close the debate on the item under discussion.
- 23. At the same meeting, on 11 December, following a statement by the Secretary of the Committee under the terms of rule 153 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly concerning the administrative and financial implications of draft resolutions A/C.4/L.1131 and A/C.4/L.1132, the Fourth Committee took decisions on the proposals before it as indicated in paragraphs 24 to 31 below. During the course of the voting, the representative of Saudi Arabia withdrew his amendments (A/C.4/L.1135/Add.1) to draft resolution A/C.4/L.1131 (see para. 20 (c) above). The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1132 (see para. 14 above), also withdrew their text.
- 24. The amendment by Saudi Arabia (A/C.4/L.1135/Add.1) to the third and fourth preambular paragraphs of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1131 (see para. 20 (a) above), was rejected by a roll-call vote of 47 to 22, with 48 abstentions. The voting was as follows:
  - In favour: Bahrain, Chile, Colombia, Egypt, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Libyan Arab Republic, Malaysia, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Turkey.
  - Against:
    Albania, Algeria, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Iceland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mexico, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Portugal, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela.

Abstaining:

Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Hungary, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kuwait, Laos, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

25. The amendment by Mauritania (A/C.4/L.1134) proposing a new preambular paragraph to be included in draft resolution A/C.4/L.1131 (see para. 16 (a) above), was rejected by a roll-call vote of 41 to 29, with 47 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour:

Australia, Austria, Canada, Chile, Egypt, Fiji, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Libyan Arab Republic, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Turkey.

Against:

Albania, Algeria, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Portugal, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela.

Abstaining:

Afghanistan, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Honduras, Hungary, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kuwait, Laos, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

26. The amendment by Saudi Arabia (A/C.4/L.1135) to the last preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1131 (see para. 20 (b) above), was rejected by a roll-call vote of 48 to 19, with 51 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Chile, Egypt, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Libyan Arab Republic, Malaysia, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey.

Against:
Albania, Algeria, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Iceland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mexico, Mozambique, Nepal, Portugal, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Zambia.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Hungary, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kuwait, Laos, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Singapore, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

27. The amendment by Mauritania (A/C.4/L.1134) to the last preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1131 (see para. 16 (b) above), was rejected by a roll-call vote of 46 to 20, with 52 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Chile, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Libyan
Arab Republic, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Oman,
Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, Tunisia,
Turkey.

Against:

Albania, Algeria, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Iceland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Nepal, Nigeria, Portugal, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Zambia.

Abstaining:

Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Hungary, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kuwait, Laos, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Singapore, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

28. The amendment by Thailand (A/C.4/L.1133) to operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1131 (see para. 15 (a) above), was rejected by a roll-call vote of 38 to 28, with 52 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour:

Afghanistan, Austria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Egypt, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Libyan Arab Republic, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, New Zealand, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Turkey.

Against:

Albania, Algeria, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Jamaica, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Nepal, Nigeria, Portugal, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Zambia.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Hungary, Iceland, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Kuwait, Laos, Madagascar, Mongolia, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

- 29. The amendment by Thailand (A/C.4/L.1133) to the operative part of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1131 (see para. 15 (b) above), was rejected by 38 votes to 24, with 39 abstentions.
- 30. The amendments by the Philippines (A/C.4/L.1136) to the operative part of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1131 (see para. 21 above), were rejected by 50 votes to 21, with 48 abstentions.
- 31. The Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution A/C.4/L.1131 by a roll-call vote of 69 to 11, with 38 abstentions (see para. 32 below). The voting was as follows:

In favour:

Albania, Algeria, Australia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kuwait, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Zambia.

Against:

Benin, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Malaysia, Mauritania, Morocco, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Thailand.

Abstaining:

Afghanistan, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Burma, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Libyan Arab Republic, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Qatar, Singapore, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

#### RECOMMENDATION OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE

32. The Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution:

#### Question of Timor

#### The General Assembly,

Recognizing the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

Having examined the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question of Timor, 1/

Having heard the statements of the representatives of Portugal, as the administering Power, 2/ concerning developments in Portuguese Timor and the implementation with regard to that Territory of the relevant provisions of the Charter and the Declaration, as well as those of its resolution 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960,

Bearing in mind the responsibility of the administering Power to undertake all efforts to create conditions enabling the people of Portuguese Timor to exercise freely their right to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration, in an atmosphere of peace and order,

Mindful that all States should, in conformity with Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or national independence of any State, or from taking any action inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter,

Deeply concerned at the critical situation resulting from the military intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in Portuguese Timor:

- 1. <u>Calls upon</u> all States to respect the inalienable right of the people of Portuguese Timor to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status 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;
- 2. <u>Calls upon</u> the administering Power to continue to make every effort to find a solution by peaceful means through talks between the Government of Portugal and the political parties representing the people of Portuguese Timor;

<sup>1/</sup> A/10023/Add.1, chap. VIII.

<sup>2/</sup> A/C.4/SR.2178, 2184 and 2185.

- 3. Appeals to all the parties in Portuguese Timor to respond positively to efforts to find a peaceful solution through talks between them and the Government of Portugal in the hope that such talks will bring an end to the strife in that Territory and lead towards the orderly exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Portuguese Timor;
- 4. Strongly deplores the military intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in Portuguese Timor;
- 5. <u>Calls upon</u> the Government of Indonesia to desist from further violation of the territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor and to withdraw without delay its armed forces from the Territory, in order to enable the people of the Territory freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence;
- 6. Draws the attention of the Security Council, in conformity with Article 11, paragraph 3, of the Charter, to the critical situation in the Territory of Timor and recommends that it take urgent action to protect the territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor and the inalienable right of its people to self-determination;
- 7. <u>Calls upon</u> all States to respect the unity and territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor;
- 8. Requests the Government of Portugal to continue its co-operation with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and requests the Committee to send a fact-finding mission to the Territory as soon as possible, in consultation with the political parties in Portuguese Timor and the Government of Portugal.