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1868th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 18 December 1975, at 4 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/1868)

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 5.05 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 of the Council [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) 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 examination of the item on its agenda relating to the situation in Timor. The first speaker is the representative of Indonesia, on whom I now call.

4. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): Mr. President, when, with your permission, I reserved my delegation's right to speak before the Council adjourned its meeting last Tuesday [1865th meeting], I said that in fact I could stand by my first statement before the Council. In the meanwhile I have listened with great attention to the statements which have been made by my colleagues before the Council. I could refer to the remarks I made during my first statement, where one may find the replies to the criticisms expressed by colleagues who have addressed the Council during the debates. It is not easy to reply to the criticisms of friends, especially when you have to accept that they are made with the best of intentions, though perhaps not always taking into consideration all the complex aspects of the problem. But I thought it would be better for me to reply briefly to some of them.

5. The representative of Portugal expressed his astonishment that Indonesia's position vis-à-vis the role of Portugal could change in a matter of a few days. He mentioned the fifth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution in document A/C.4/L.1125,¹ where reference was made to the Portuguese efforts in a positive manner. I would like to point out to him that in the draft resolution in document A/C.4/L.1125/Rev.1,² which superseded the draft in document A/C.4/L.1125, that paragraph was omitted. If the representative of Portugal had followed closely the statements which have been made by the various delegations, he would have come to the conclusion that Indonesia's view as to Portuguese negligence of its responsibilities is shared by many. Indonesia, trying to be as objective as possible, did see Portugal making efforts to solve the problem through talks with the parties of East Timor, ineffective though those efforts proved to be. But that does not mean that there has not been negligence on its part which has caused the tragedy in Timor to develop into a bloody conflict. The declarations

of the representatives of those parties representing the people of East Timor confirmed it. This morning we heard the representative of Portugal make another statement. Portugal should have acted when the tragedy could have been prevented.

6. With regard to the remarks accusing Indonesia of aggression, such as those of some of the representatives who have spoken before the Council, I should like once again to refer to the remarks I made in my first statement before the Council. Those remarks have been thrown into sharper relief by the declarations of the representatives of UDT [*União Democrática de Timor*], APODETI [*Associação Popular Democrática Timorense*] and KOTA [*Klibur Oan Timor Aswain*]. In our view, the Council cannot give less credence to the declarations and wishes of those parties than to the statements of others.

7. My delegation appreciates the fact that China reminded us of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. If I remember correctly, those principles were elaborated by the Prime Ministers of China and India in 1954. The principles were afterwards incorporated in the 10 principles of Bandung³ during the Asian-African Conference, which China attended. Therefore Indonesia, like China, considers them important principles by which its foreign policy is guided.

8. I have explained the difficulties my Government had to face, and why my delegation rejects the accusation that it has committed a military aggression. I should like to remind the Council that Indonesia's presence in East Timor was at the specific request of the parties in East Timor, as was reaffirmed by their representatives when they addressed the Security Council.

9. Those parties had declared East Timor part of Indonesia, and their people Indonesian nationals. That gave the problem of Timor its own special aspect which cannot be compared with the situation in the former Portuguese Territories in Africa that have now become independent.

10. Indonesia, as I have stressed, continues to insist that any decision with regard to the future of East Timor should be the outcome of the exercise of the right to self-determination by the entire people of Timor. Indonesia has no claim to East Timor. I stand by that statement.

11. The representatives of UDT, APODETI and KOTA have given an account of what has happened in Timor. The representative of Portugal has stated that, in his opinion, only one of those exposés could be considered to be in defence of Indonesia. I am glad that is so, because those representatives have come here not to defend the position of Indonesia, but to express their own views on the develop-

ments in Timor and to explain their own position on the solution of the problem.

12. I agree with the observation that a Territory like Portuguese Timor, with a little more than 600,000 inhabitants, should not be a threat to Indonesia's security, if the situation in that Territory is peaceful. But many will agree with me that a Territory, however small, torn by bloody conflicts will constitute a threat because it can easily become an arena of confrontation between the interests of big military Powers outside the region.

13. The representative of Portugal mentioned Ocussi in his statement to prove Indonesia's still designs. Let me tell him and the Council what actually happened. What really happened in Ocussi was explained by the Ocussi administrator, Jaime dos Romeidos de Oliveira; the troop commander, José Valente, and the leaders of APODETI, UDT and FRETILIN [*Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente*] in Ocussi in a press conference last week, when they stated that: "The integration of Ocussi into Indonesia does not imply a surrender. Ocussi's union with Indonesia has been inspired by the popular sense of belonging to the same nation and motherland, long separated by colonization". They further stated: "There are no winners or losers. Ocussi's integration into Indonesia was firmly based on the decision of the people themselves, including the three political parties". In fact, Mr. Oliveira, Secretary of FRETILIN at Ocussi, said: "The integration of the enclave into Indonesia was decided upon and unanimously approved by the three political parties".

14. There has not been any fighting in the enclave of Ocussi since 11 August. There has not been any Indonesian presence in that enclave. And, if I am not wrong, the Portuguese flag continued to fly in Ocussi until the decision for integration was taken by the administrator, the troop commander and the leaders of APODETI, UDT and FRETILIN in that enclave.

15. On 11 December the administrator and the representatives of the people of Ocussi went to Kupang, the capital of the province to which Indonesian Timor belongs, to communicate to the Governor their decision to integrate with Indonesia. The Governor welcomed their decision.

16. The Indonesian Government, however, remains of the view that the ultimate political future of East Timor, including Ocussi, should be based upon the outcome of the free exercise of the right to self-determination by the entire people of East Timor, in conditions of peace and order. Any allegation, such as that made by some representatives in the Council, that Indonesia is annexing the Territory does not conform with the facts.

17. Let me respond very briefly to the remarks made by my friend and colleague Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania concerning what he called Indonesia's opposition to the ideological foundations of FRETILIN. I should like to inform M. Salim that the Indonesian Government welcomed with the same hospitality representatives of the parties, including FRETILIN, in East Timor who came to Jakarta to talk about the future of the Territory. The Indonesian Government always expressed its view, on those occasions, that the future of the Territory should be decided by the people themselves and that there should not be any effort to impose the will of a group upon other groups.

18. I do not want to comment at length on the proposals made this morning by the representative of Portugal. I would only say that whatever role is envisaged by the United Nations for Portugal in the solution of the question of East Timor, it must be the outcome of consultations between the United Nations and the people of that Territory. It should be added, however, that to judge by the statements made by their representatives before the Council, the people of East Timor could well reject a return

of the Portuguese presence to the Territory. I think that that is the first thing to be ascertained if the United Nations indeed contemplates any role for Portugal in the Organization's efforts to promote a solution of the East Timor question.

19. My delegation would like once again to express the hope that the Council will be able to produce a constructive resolution which can, in a practicable manner, contribute to the solution that will indeed enable the people of the Territory freely to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. Though the people in East Timor who are concerned are the main partners of the United Nations in trying to solve the problem, Indonesia is prepared to co-operate as far as it can with the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.

Notes

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 88, document A/10426, para. 8.

² *Ibid.*, para. 10.

³ *Ibid.*, *Tenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 533rd meeting, para. 146.

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