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1911th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 20 April 1976, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. HUANG Hua (China).

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1911)

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

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Timor:

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

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

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

2. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): In addition, I should like to inform the members of the Council that a letter has been addressed to the President by the representative of Malaysia which contains a request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure. Accordingly, pursuant to the usual practice, I propose, if I hear no objection, to invite

the representative of Malaysia to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

3. In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I invite the representative of Malaysia to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table when it is his turn to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Singh (Malaysia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The first speaker is the representative of Guinea-Bissau. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. FERNANDES (Guinea-Bissau): I should like first to express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you, Mr. President, sitting in the chair and presiding over these meetings, which we think are very important. We are sure that under your guidance and with the benefit of your counsel we shall be able to find a solution to this very sad drama taking place in Asia, on a small island called Timor.

6. In implementation of resolution 384 (1975), adopted by the Council last December, the Secretary-General dispatched his Special Representative, Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi, to East Timor for the purpose of inquiring into the situation prevailing in that part of the world. Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi submitted a report on his mission [S/12011, annex]. That report does not entirely satisfy my delegation. I do take this occasion to commend Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi for the efforts he has made and the work he has done. Nevertheless, we can say categorically that his report is a partial failure. Why is that so?

7. The Special Representative said he was unable to contact elements of FRETILIN [*Frente Revolucionária Timor Leste Independente*] on the spot, nor was he allowed by the Government of Indonesia to circulate freely so that he could talk to all the parties concerned. Apparently, if he had wanted to move around and contact elements of FRETILIN, he would have had to give advance notice to the Government of Indonesia and to pinpoint the place where the meeting would have taken place. Thus, it can be seen that in

those circumstances the mission was bound to be a partial failure.

8. Further, the only news one gets about the situation in Timor comes either from broadcasts by a FRETILIN radio station somewhere on the island or from the Government in Djakarta. In the circumstances, I think the Council does not and cannot have enough elements to make a decision on what to do.

9. To compensate for the failure of Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi's mission, we had a chance to listen to a witness, Mr. Syddell [1909th meeting], whose statement certainly carries credibility by virtue of his status. Mr. Syddell is an Australian who has in the last 30 years made many trips to East Timor and apparently has some kind of business in that area. He told us that he had taken the trouble to ask his family, in particular his wife, for money to pay for his trip to New York to defend before the Council the interests of a people which, according to Mr. Syddell, has only a handful of persons able to read and write, a people which has not produced one professional and does not even know where the United Nations is, a people which, according to him, should not aspire to independence. This conception is, we believe, a very racist one. The ugliness of his statement can only be compared with the drama prevailing in Timor.

10. Of the events in Timor, we are sure only that all the parties agree—FRETILIN, KOTA [*Klibur Oan Timor Aswain*], UDT [*União Democrática de Timor*], Indonesia and the others—that thousands have already fallen victim in this conflict, a conflict which has replaced one of the most beautiful pages in the history of FRETILIN itself and that of Timor. We are now witnessing a drama in which thousands of people have died only because they aspired to become independent.

11. Now let me ask who is responsible for the violence—a minority of lunatics who blindly defy the will of an entire people, assisted by a powerful foreign army which is supported by air and naval forces? How then can we understand the capacity for survival of this minority which apparently is fanning a conflict that has lasted for four months and that has resulted in the loss of thousand of lives?

12. My Government regrets very much indeed the sad events in Timor. The conflict itself and the conditions under which it has been perpetrated have been of concern to my Government because the same history, the same half-truths and the same innuendoes that Indonesia is now throwing at the Council have been thrown at us—Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique—by Portugal. Certainly things have changed in Portugal, and the relationship we have with Portugal today is not the same as we had before. I am very proud to say that. My concern at this point is that there was no need for such violence or for that kind of affair, and since it came from a country like Indonesia which we admire and appreciate

very much, one can see our concern. Indonesia has an interest in the area and, we believe, would have a role to play. But the method it is using is a very sorry one indeed.

13. The intervention by Indonesian armed forces in Timor was condemned by the General Assembly in resolution 3485 (XXX) and by this very Council in its resolution 384 (1975). Unfortunately, Indonesia has thus far failed to comply with the demand contained in those resolutions to withdraw its armed forces from East Timor. How can we fail to voice our apprehension regarding that refusal? Why does Indonesia persist in a position that is contrary to the Council's resolution? At this point I can only make an appeal, which I hope will not fall on deaf ears, to Indonesia, which should and must unconditionally withdraw its troops from that part of the island which they are occupying.

14. I think that Portugal, Australia, FRETILIN, KOTA, UDT and others should together be able to find a solution to this conflict. We think that if there is a will there must be a way of solving it. Indonesia is a country made up of thousands of islands, of which Timor is only one, so there must be a way. Violence should not be the rule in relations between countries.

15. My delegation, country and Government would be very happy to see Indonesia offer its hand to East Timor, help it to take the first steps and guide it in this troubled world. But instead we see cannon, guns, naked force, half-truths and innuendoes, and that is not the way to build a nation. Indonesia certainly cannot prevail as a nation if it continues to disregard completely the sovereignty and interests of other nations.

16. We believe that the people of East Timor will be able to find a just solution to their problems, and we believe that Indonesia should be playing a part in it. But, again, I must say that the way it is going about it is a cause of much concern to my Government.

17. At this stage we express the hope that the mandate assigned to the Secretary-General in resolution 384 (1975) will be extended so that the conflict can be presented in an unambiguous way, in its true light. The efforts of the international community should be oriented towards a legitimate solution of this problem.

18. The Council cannot impose a solution, but it can define the nature of the drama in which thousands of victims have fallen for a concrete cause. Let all efforts be deployed so that the international community can know why people have been killed in Timor. Is it for the ideal of independence that they have been made victims of intervention, or is it for the ideal of integration that they are the victims of a national minority? I have asked that question so that Indonesia can think about it.

19. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Malaysia, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

20. Mr. SINGH (Malaysia): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation I should like to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Council for enabling us to participate in your proceedings on the question of Timor. Before I begin, I should like to say how happy we are to see such a distinguished and respectable figure as yourself in the chair and to express the hope that under your wise and able guidance the Council will conclude its work successfully.

21. Our delegation participated in the Council's deliberations when it met last year to consider the question of Timor for the first time. At that time we were faced with a situation which was markedly different from the one existing in Timor today. The scene then was one of disorder and chaos, with widespread killings, in the face of the complete breakdown of law and order. That sad and tragic situation was brought about by the hasty retreat of the Portuguese colonial authority from the Territory in contravention of its responsibilities and obligations as the administering Power in East Timor. In the vacuum thus created, the rival political parties continued warring among themselves, unable to agree on the future of the Territory. FRETILIN had declared independence unilaterally while the other four political parties—UDT, APODETI [*Associação Popular Democrática Timorense*], KOTA and Trabalhista—followed with their own declaration of complete integration with Indonesia. This latter group of parties then called upon Indonesia to help to bring about peace and restore law and order. It was at this juncture that the Council became seized of the matter.

22. Today the situation is such that most of the FRETILIN leadership has left the Territory, and the party itself is no longer a political force there. While FRETILIN continues to make statements and assertions on behalf of the people of Timor, it is the view of the Malaysian Government that FRETILIN does not have the support of the people of the Territory. The other political parties dissolved themselves on 31 January 1976 and formed the National Front, with a Provisional Government. The representative of the Provisional Government, Mr. Guilherme Gonçalves, informed the Council [*1908th meeting*] that life was rapidly returning to normal. He also informed us that local government in all 13 districts had been reactivated. A deliberative council consisting of political, civic and religious leaders has been established to assist the Provisional Government. In addition, an advisory council has also been created to provide technical and administrative advice to the Provisional Government. We have also been told that preparations for the establishment of a people's assembly will be completed in two or three months. Such an achievement by the Provisional Government

cannot be underestimated, considering that during the long occupation by Portuguese colonial power no effort was made to develop any indigenous political system in the Territory. These efforts also indicate that the Provisional Government is serious about its own responsibilities and that it enjoys the support and confidence of the people of the Territory.

23. Resolution 384 (1975) had three main elements, namely, Indonesian presence in East Timor, the question of self-determination for the people, and the mission of the Special Representative of Secretary-General to the Territory.

24. As far as Indonesian presence is concerned, it is the view of the Malaysian Government that the presence of Indonesian volunteers was at the specific request of the Provisional Government, which was acting in its own best interests. We have already heard from Mr. Gonçalves that, with the return to normality in East Timor, the withdrawal of armed volunteers will be completed shortly. This was endorsed by the representative of Indonesia, who informed the Council that the armed volunteers began leaving the Territory in February 1976.

25. On the question of self-determination, we are pleased to note that the Provisional Government is committed to that principle and has agreed to invite the United Nations to witness the implementation of its decision. The Indonesian Government, for its part, continues to insist that the solution to the question of Timor must be sought on the basis of the wishes of the people of the Territory. It has categorically stated that it does not plan to take any action until the decision by the Provisional Government is ratified by the people's assembly of East Timor. This should therefore calm the fears of those who feel that the future of the Territory will be decided without any reference to the wishes of the people. As to the form and manner of the act of self-determination, this, as we all know, varies from place to place, depending upon the particular circumstances existing in various territories. In the case of East Timor, given the fact that over 90 per cent of the people are illiterate and given the difficulties of communications, the Malaysian Government accepts and supports the manner in which the people of East Timor have exercised their right to self-determination. When the people's assembly meets to ratify the decision of the Provisional Government, we hope that the United Nations will be able to witness the occasion and verify whether the act reflects the true wishes of the majority of the people and is in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolutions of the Organization. We also hope that the suggestion put forward by Mr. Gonçalves for a meeting between the representatives of the Secretary-General and of the Provisional Government to discuss the type of role the United Nations would play in the electoral process will be taken up.

26. Coming to the report of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, I should like to join the other delegations in expressing our satisfaction with it. Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi has carried out his mission with the impartiality that was expected of him. It is indeed unfortunate that at the time he visited East Timor the situation was, in his own words, still evolving. Certain comments have been made about the fact that the Special Representative was unable to meet all parties and to visit all areas he wanted. However, it must be understood that no one side can be blamed for this. Indeed, in this respect, Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi mentioned that neither side was able to facilitate his visits to all areas of interest. The bad weather prevailing at that time and the security situation have also to be taken into account. In the view of my Government, another visit by the Special Representative is called for, so that he can accurately apprise the Council of the situation as it exists. The Provisional Government, we note, has already agreed to extend an invitation to the Secretary-General and has assured him of its full co-operation.

27. In conclusion, I should like to commend the following views of my Government to the consideration of the Council.

28. First, the Malaysian Government is pleased to note that the Provisional Government is committed to the principle of self-determination and has agreed to invite the United Nations to witness the implementation of its decision. We are also pleased to note that Indonesia not only continues to support this principle but also welcomes United Nations participation in the exercise of it. It is our hope that the United Nations will be able to witness the occasion and to verify the

true wishes of the majority of the people of East Timor.

29. Secondly, on the question of Indonesian presence in East Timor, my delegation wishes to recall and, at the same time, invite the Council's attention to, the fact that the volunteers were there at the specific request of the four principal parties, which subsequently constituted the Provisional Government, in order to help them end the bloodshed and restore law and order in East Timor. The Council has been informed by the representative of the Provisional Government that as a result of the return to normal in East Timor, those volunteers have been withdrawn, a fact which has been confirmed by the representative of Indonesia. My Government welcomes this as a further development towards facilitating the process of self-determination for the people of East Timor.

30. Thirdly, we hope that the Council will renew the Secretary-General's mandate to send another mission to the Territory to build upon the information already gathered by the first mission and to verify the assertions and claims made by the various parties during the Council's proceedings. Perhaps the Secretary-General may wish to consider sending Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi again, since he is already familiar with the area and the problems.

31. We in Malaysia feel that the people of East Timor have experienced enough hardship, pain and suffering and sincerely hope that all efforts will be made to heal the wounds of war and to assist the people and Government of East Timor in their task of reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.

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كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة
يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها
أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

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