

"to desist from further violations 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"; d) drew the attention of the Security Council to the "critical" situation in Timor and recommended that it take urgent action to protect the integrity of the Territory and the inalienable right of its people to self-determination, and e) requested the Special 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".

Under the second draft resolution which, in the words of one of the sponsors, "did not in any way seek to blame any party or any particular country for the unfortunate situation prevailing in the Territory", 221/ the General Assembly would have made no mention of the Indonesian intervention but would have taken note that the people of Timor were divided in their opinions with regard to their future political status; would have requested the Special Committee to send as soon as possible a fact-finding mission to the Territory, and would have called upon all States to respect the inalienable right of the people of Timor to self-determination, freedom and independence and to refrain from any action "which might prejudice the free exercise by the people of Portuguese Timor of their right to self-determination".

221/ India. Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Fourth Committee, 2187th meeting.

The Indian draft resolution was withdrawn by its sponsors on 11 December and the Fourth Committee proceeded to the adoption of the Algerian draft by a vote of 69 to 11 with 38 abstentions. 222/

222/ The voting in the Fourth Committee 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.

Prior to the adoption of the resolution the Fourth Committee had rejected a proposal by Barbados to adjourn the debate on the question of Timor sine die.^{223/} The Committee also rejected a series of amendments to the draft resolution introduced by Mauritania, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Thailand. The two amendments by Thailand ^{224/} would have called on Portugal to make every effort to find a solution by peaceful means "in close consultation with the neighbouring countries, in particular, Indonesia" and would have noted 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". The first amendment was rejected by a roll-call of 38 votes to 28 with 52 abstentions ^{225/} and the second by a vote of 38 to 24 with 39 abstentions.^{226/}

Under two amendments introduced by Mauritania ^{227/} to the preamble, the Assembly would have 1) noted the statements made by Indonesia, in particular, concerning "the right of the people of Timor to self-determination in a peaceful and an orderly manner" and 2) omitted any reference to article 2(4) of the Charter and instead would have noted with concern the circumstances which had provoked the latest events in Portuguese Timor. The two amendments were rejected by a roll-call vote of 41 to 29 with 47 abstentions and of 46 to 20 with 52 abstentions respectively. ^{228/}

^{223/} By a vote of 57 to 12 with 53 abstentions. For the roll-call see doc. A/10426, para. 18.

^{224/} A/C.4/L. 1133.

^{225/} For a roll-call see A/10426, para. 28.

^{226/} Ibid., para. 29.

^{227/} A/C.4/L. 1134.

^{228/} For the roll-call of the votes see A/10426, paras. 25 and 27.

The Committee also rejected a series of Saudi Arabian amendments ^{229/} to the preamble of the Algerian draft including one which would have replaced the expression of concern at Indonesia's military intervention with a mention 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". This amendment was rejected by a vote of 48 to 19 with 51 abstentions. ^{230/} Two other Saudi Arabian amendments, which, inter alia would have added a reference to resolution 1541 (XV), ^{231/} and would have noted that Portugal was no longer in a position to exercise responsibility to create conditions enabling the people of Timor to exercise their right to self-determination in an atmosphere of peace and order, were rejected by a vote of 47 to 22 with 48 abstentions. ^{232/}

Finally the Committee also rejected by 50 votes to 21 with 48 abstentions ^{233/} an amendment by the Philippines ^{234/} which would have replaced the third and fourth operative paragraphs deploring Indonesia's intervention and calling for the withdrawal of its forces with a new one calling 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)".

During the discussion that followed the Indonesian intervention in Timor ^{235/} speakers were unanimous that the people of East Timor should be guaranteed their right to decide their own future, some of them calling for the dispatch of United Nations observers to the Territory. ^{236/}

^{229/} A/C.4/L. 1135 and Add.1.

^{230/} For the roll-call vote see A/10426, para.26.

^{231/} For the text of resolution 1541 (XV) see Decolonization No.6, Annex II.

^{232/} For the roll-call vote see A/10426, para.24.

^{233/} Ibid., para. 30.

^{234/} A/C.4/L.1136.

^{235/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Fourth Committee, 2185th to 2189th meetings.

^{236/} Australia, Fiji, New Zealand.

Some representatives expressed the view that the people of East Timor had already decided their destiny when FRETILIN had proclaimed the Territory's independence. 237/ This view was disputed by others who felt that a unilateral declaration could not be regarded as an appropriate exercise of the right of self-determination. 238 /

The majority of the speakers criticized the Indonesian initiative in Timor which was energetically condemned by some as an act of aggression. 239/ A substantial number of delegations called for the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops from the Territory 240/ though some, while deploring Indonesia's action, expressed reservations regarding a call by the Assembly for the withdrawal of Indonesian forces. 241/

One delegation was of the view that the dispatch of a fact-finding mission to Timor would be of no avail but might well be used "to rubber-stamp the fait accompli created by Indonesian aggression". 242/ The same delegation and others felt that the problem of Timor was not one of decolonization but of aggression by a big neighbour against a small one. 243/ On the other hand one representative thought that any reference to article 2(4) of the Charter had no place in a resolution on a non-self-governing territory. 244/

Some speakers representing countries which abstained on, or voted against, the Algerian draft stated that a condemnation of Indonesia was inappropriate since the Committee lacked sufficient information on the subject, 245/ or

237/ Benin, China, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

238/ Australia, Sri Lanka.

239/ Benin, China, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Portugal.

240/ The countries mentioned in the preceding footnote as well as Algeria, Fiji, Norway, Sri Lanka, Sweden and Tanzania.

241/ Afghanistan, Australia, Bhutan, Pakistan.

242/ China.

243/ See views by Benin, China and Mozambique.

244/ New Zealand.

245/ Argentina, Chile, Philippines.

because they were persuaded that Indonesia had no territorial designs on East Timor. 246/ On the other hand one delegation opposed the resolution on the grounds that it merely "deplored" rather than "categorically condemned" Indonesia's intervention. 247/

The draft resolution on Timor adopted by the Fourth Committee was approved by the General Assembly plenary on 12 December 1975 by a vote of 57 to 12 with 53 abstentions. 248/ [The full text of resolution 3485 (XXX) is reproduced in annex I below].

The Question of Timor at the Security Council

The Security Council, meeting between 15 and 22 December, 249/ adopted unanimously a resolution 250/ which in its preambular paragraphs recognized "the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence" in accordance with the principles of the Charter and of the Declaration on Decolonization, "deplored" the intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in East Timor and "regretted" that the Government of Portugal had not fully discharged its responsibilities as administering Power in the Territory under Chapter XI of the Charter. In its operative part the resolution inter alia called upon all States "to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor as well as the inalienable right of its people to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)"; called upon the Government of Indonesia "to withdraw without delay all its forces from the Territory";

246/ Japan, Saudi Arabia.

247/ Benin.

248/ For details of the vote see annex I.

249/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, 1864th, 1865th and 1867th to 1869th meetings.

250/ Resolution 384 (1975).

asked Portugal "as the Administering Power" to co-operate fully with the United Nations "so as to enable the people of East Timor to exercise freely their right to self-determination" and requested the Secretary-General "to send urgently a special representative to East Timor for the purpose of making an on-the-spot assessment of the existing situation and of establishing contact with all the parties in the Territory and all States concerned in order to ensure the implementation of the present resolution" and to submit recommendations to the Security Council "as soon as possible". [The full text of the resolution 1514(XV) is reproduced in annex II below].

Reaction by Indonesia to the resolutions of the
General Assembly and of the Security Council

Following the vote in the Security Council the Permanent Representative of Indonesia declared that, though his delegation was not happy with the resolution, Indonesia would 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". 251/

For his part the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Malik, in answer to a question whether Indonesia would obey any Security Council call for the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian forces, declared that there were no troops to withdraw since the fighting had been done by "volunteers". 252/

On 23 December the Indonesian Government published a statement in which it regretted the United Nations resolutions on East Timor, blamed Portugal for having fomented the "chaos" in East Timor through its "agent", FRETILIN, declared that Portugal had no longer the right to carry out a decolonization programme in East Timor, stated that the establishment of the "Provisional Government" was a manifestation of the wishes of the people of East Timor, but welcomed the United Nations proposal to participate in settling the decolonization problem in East Timor. With reference to the

251/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year,
1869th meeting.

252/ Interview with Radio Australia (Melbourne) in English for abroad 1200 gmt and 1700 gmt, 19 December 1975 (SWB, Part 3, No.FE/5091, 22 December 1975).

call for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops, such request was "irrelevant", because any decision pertaining to the withdrawal of the "volunteers" rested in the hands of the East Timor people and the "Provisional Government" which had originally requested the volunteers. 253/

On 8 January 1976 the "Chief Executive" of the "Provisional Government", Mr. Arnaldo dos Reis Araújo, was quoted as saying in Baucau that since the "Provisional Government" and the people of East Timor clearly wanted integration with Indonesia, it was not necessary to hold a plebiscite. 254/ This was endorsed by Mr. Malik who on his return from a visit to Dili said that the "Provisional Government" had dropped the idea of an election to decide the future of East Timor and wanted instead a law declaring the area part of Indonesia. 255/

In an interview with a correspondent of the Melbourne daily newspaper The Age, General Ali Murtopo, President Suharto's security adviser, declared that he understood the position of the pro-Indonesian leaders who, if asked about self-determination, would "surely reply that such evidence of the wishes of the people of East Timor is no longer needed" since the act of self-determination had already taken place in the form of the 30 November statement of integration with Indonesia. 256/

253/ Jakarta home service 1215 gmt, 23 December 1975 (SWB, Part 3, No. FE/5094, 29 December 1975).

254/ Ibid., 1500 gmt, 8 January 1976 (SWB, Part 3, No. FE/5104, 10 January 1976).

255/ Sydney home service 0230 gmt, 14 January 1976 (SWB, Part 3, No. FE/5108, 15 January 1976). Mr. Malik's visit to Timor was the object of a public exchange of letters between the representatives of Portugal and Indonesia to the United Nations. (S/11934 and S/11937 respectively).

256/ Melbourne in English for abroad 1230 gmt, 30 January 1976 (SWB, Part 3, No. FE/5123, 2 February 1976).

Mission of the Secretary-General's representative

In pursuance of Security Council resolution 384 (1975) the Secretary-General appointed on 29 December 1975 Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, Director-General of the United Nations Office in Geneva, as his special representative "for the purpose of making an on-the-spot assessment of the existing situation in East Timor and of establishing contact with all the parties in the Territory and all States concerned" in order to ensure the implementation of the Security Council resolution. ^{257/} Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi, after receiving the agreement for his visit from the "Provisional Government of East Timor" "upon the insistence of Indonesia's Foreign Minister", spent two days in Portuguese Timor stopping in the enclave of Oecusse, the island of Atauro and in Dili, Manatuto and Baucau on the island's North coast, the "Provisional Government" not deeming it possible "on technical and/or security grounds" for him to visit other centres. Transport difficulties at first prevented Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi from visiting the areas in East Timor under the control of the "Democratic Republic of East Timor". Subsequently he was informed by the "Minister for Foreign Affairs", Mr. Ramos Horta, that the "Government" of the "Democratic Republic" could not guarantee the safety of the United Nations delegation for as long as the Indonesian forces had not been withdrawn from the Territory since the airstrips originally suggested for landing had come under attack.

In his report ^{258/}, the Special Representative stated that any accurate assessment of the situation in East Timor remained elusive but that he had been able to establish useful contact with the parties and States concerned regarding the implementation of the Security Council resolution. He found that among the divergent views there was a "slender common assumption" that the people of East Timor should be consulted on their future, but that the element of "consultation" was very differently interpreted both as to its scope and procedure: 1) The "Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor" suggested a referendum on the basis of one man one vote, to be held after the withdrawal of all Indonesian forces and their replacement by an international force, with a choice between integration with Indonesia and independence under FRETILIN. 2) The Portuguese Government also favoured

257/ S/12011.

258/ Ibid.

a referendum after the Indonesian withdrawal and the arrival of an international force but felt that the people of East Timor should decide on the procedure for themselves, possibly on the lines of the proposal contained in Portuguese Government Law 7/75. 259/ It suggested that the alternatives put in the referendum be: a) integration with Indonesia and b) independence in consultation with the political forces in East Timor. 3) The "Provisional Government" stated that, as far as the people were concerned, they had already exercised their right of self-determination and considered East Timor an integral part of Indonesia. However "in deference to the wishes of the United Nations" the first task of a "Provisional People's Representative Council" when it met would be to ratify the decision of the people for complete integration with Indonesia or to formulate any other form of the future political structure in East Timor. United Nations representatives would be invited as observers during the entire process. 4) The Indonesian Government was of the opinion that it was for the people of East Timor to decide their future political status. Indonesia welcomed the proclamation of integration by the "Provisional Government" which represented the majority of the people of Timor, but believed that a formal decision should be ratified by the people of East Timor.

Second Security Council meeting on Timor

The Secretary-General's report was discussed by the Security Council in April 1976. Thereafter the Council adopted a resolution 260/ in which after reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence, called upon all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor as well as the inalienable right of its people to self-determination, called upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without further delay all its forces from the Territory and requested the Secretary-General to have his special representative continue the assignment entrusted to him by Council resolution 384 (1975) and to submit a report to the Security Council "as soon as possible". The resolution which was sponsored by Guyana and Tanzania was approved by 12 votes to none with 2 abstentions (Japan and the United States). 261/

259/ See above page 17.

260/ Resolution 389 (1976).

261/ Benin did not participate in the vote. For the full text of the resolution and of the voting see annex III below.

An amendment by Japan which would have called on Indonesia to withdraw all its "remaining" forces from East Timor was not carried having failed to receive the nine minimum votes required for adoption. 262 /

Reaction of Indonesia and of the "Provisional Government"

After the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 389 (1976) the representative of Indonesia reiterated that the Indonesian "volunteers" would be withdrawn only at the request of the "Provisional Government", but that the latter had decided to "allow the armed volunteers to return to their places of origin". Therefore Indonesia could not accept the request for the withdrawal of all its forces from East Timor. 263/

The representative of the "Provisional Government" said that in spite of the Council's resolution his "Government" would "not hesitate to go forward whatever the consequences". However his "Government" would cooperate "as far as possible" to implement the resolution adopted by the Council and would welcome another visit by the Special Representative. 264/

In Jakarta, Foreign Minister Malik was reported to have said that Indonesia accepted the United Nations Security Council resolution but did not agree with that part in it which referred to Indonesian troops in East Timor since they were "volunteers". 265/ He was also reported to have said that the integration of East Timor into Indonesia would take place in August 1976. 266/

262/ The amendment received 8 votes in favour (France, Italy, Japan, Libya, Pakistan, Panama, United Kingdom and United States), 1 vote against (Benin) and 5 abstentions (Guyana, Romania, Sweden, USSR and United Republic of Tanzania). China did not participate in the vote. (S/PV.1914).

263/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, 1915th meeting, p. 46.

264/ Ibid., p. 31.

265/ Jakarta home service 1200 gmt, 23 April 1976 (SWB, Part 3, No. FE/5192, 26 April 1976).

266/ Le Monde, 25-26 April 1976.

In mid-May the "Provisional Government" reportedly reiterated that it was not necessary to hold a referendum on East Timor's future before the Territory merged with Indonesia. In a statement carried by the Indonesian news agency Antara, the "Provisional Government" said it was important that the integration of Timor be carried out quickly without waiting for approval from the United Nations or holding a referendum. 267/

Further developments at the United Nations regarding
East Timor

On 24 May 1976 the Special Committee on Decolonization received a communication from the "Provisional Government of East Timor" inviting it to dispatch a mission to attend the first meeting of the "Regional Popular Assembly" in Dili on 31 May. 268/ In reply the Chairman of the Special Committee, after consultations with Members, issued a statement on 28 May that in view of the fact that the Security Council remained seized of the situation in East Timor and that the Special Committee had in no way been involved in the proceedings leading up to the announced meeting of the "Assembly", the Special Committee would not be in a position to dispatch a mission to Dili. 269/

In a second statement issued on 14 June 1976, the Chairman of the Special Committee declared that for the same reasons the Special Committee was not in a position to respond to an invitation extended by the Government of Indonesia on 10 June to send a mission to Timor concurrently with the mission to be dispatched by the Indonesian Government. 270/

The Security Council and the Secretary-General also declined similar invitations extended to them by the Government of Indonesia. 271/

In both statements issued by the Chairman of the Special Committee, he indicated that the Special Committee would, "at a later date, as appropriate", consider the question of Timor, including the possibility of sending a mission to the Territory as called for under General Assembly resolution 3485 (XXX).

267/ Melbourne in English for abroad 1100 gmt, 18 May 1976 (SWB, Part 3, No. FE/5213, 20 May 1976).

268/ See above page 37.

269/ A/AC.109/526.

270/ A/AC.109/527; see also page 38 above.

271/ S/12104 and S/12106.

ANNEX I

Text of General Assembly resolution 3485 (XXX) Question
of Timor, adopted at its 2439th meeting of 12 December
1975

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 a/,

Having heard the statements of the representatives of Portugal, as the administering Power, b/ 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 General Assembly 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. Calls upon 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;

a/ A/10023/Add.1, chap.VIII.

b/ 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. Calls upon 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. 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.

(The resolution was adopted by 72 votes to 10, with 43 abstentions)*

In favour: Albania, Algeria, Australia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, China, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, 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, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Thailand.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Bhutan, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Guatemala, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Luxembourg, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Oman, Panama, Paraguay, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

* Subsequently the delegation of Qatar advised the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain.

ANNEX II

Text of Security Council resolution 384 (1975) of 22 December
1975

The Security Council,

Having noted the contents of the letter of the Permanent Representative of Portugal (S/11899),

Having heard the statements of the representatives of Portugal and Indonesia,

Having heard representatives of the people of East Timor,

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

Noting that General Assembly resolution 3485 (XXX) of 12 December 1975, 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,

Gravely concerned at the deterioration of the situation in East Timor,

Gravely concerned also at the loss of life and conscious of the urgent need to avoid further bloodshed in East Timor,

Deploring the intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in East Timor,

Regretting that the Government of Portugal did not discharge fully its responsibilities as administering Power in the Territory under Chapter XI of the Charter,

1. Calls upon all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor as well as the inalienable right of its people to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
2. Calls upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces from the Territory;
3. Calls upon the Government of Portugal as administering Power to co-operate fully with the United Nations so as to enable the people of East Timor to exercise freely their right to self-determination;
4. Urges all States and other parties concerned to co-operate fully with the efforts of the United Nations to achieve a peaceful solution to the existing situation and to facilitate the decolonization of the Territory;
5. Requests the Secretary-General to send urgently a special representative to East Timor for the purpose of making an on-the-spot assessment of the existing situation and of establishing contact with all the parties in the Territory and all States concerned in order to ensure the implementation of the present resolution;
6. Further requests the Secretary-General to follow the implementation of the present resolution and, taking into account the report of his special representative, to submit recommendations to the Security Council as soon as possible;
7. Decides to remain seized of the situation.

(The resolution was adopted unanimously)

ANNEX III

Text of Security Council resolution 389 (1976) of 22 April
1976

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 384 (1975) of 22 December 1975,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 12 March 1976 (S/12011),

Having heard the statements of the representatives of Portugal and Indonesia,

Having heard the statements of representatives of the people of East Timor,

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

Believing that all efforts should be made to create conditions that will enable the people of East Timor to exercise freely their right to self-determination,

Noting that the question of East Timor is before the General Assembly,

Conscious of the urgent need to bring to an end the continued situation of tension in East Timor,

Taking note of the statement by the representative of Indonesia,

1. Calls upon all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor, as well as the inalienable right of its people to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

2. Calls upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without further delay all its forces from the Territory;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to have his special representative continue the assignment entrusted to him under paragraph 5 of Security-Council resolution 384 (1975) and pursue consultations with the parties concerned;

4. Further requests the Secretary-General to follow the implementation of the present resolution and submit a report to the Security Council as soon as possible;

5. Calls upon all States and other parties concerned to cooperate fully with the United Nations to achieve a peaceful solution to the existing situation and to facilitate the decolonization of the Territory;

6. Decides to remain seized of the situation.

(The resolution was adopted by 12 votes to none, with two abstentions). *

In favour: China, France, Guyana, Italy, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Japan, United States of America.

* Benin did not participate in the voting.

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II ISSUE ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE
PEOPLES OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA

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INTRODUCTION

At its twenty-first session the General Assembly, acting on a recommendation from the Special Committee on Decolonization, decided 1/ to hold an International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in the course of 1977 for the purpose of mobilizing world-wide support for and assistance to the people of those Territories in their struggle for self-determination and independence. The organization of the Conference was entrusted to the Secretary-General acting in co-operation with the Special Committee on Decolonization 2/ and the Council for Namibia 3/ and in consultation with the Organization of African Unity.

Both the Special Committee and the Council agreed that the Conference should seek to accomplish the following tasks:

a) Review the existing situation in Namibia and Zimbabwe with a view to promoting world-wide support for the peoples of those Territories in their struggle for self-determination and independence.

b) Propose action to be taken in various fields by Member States, the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, other governmental bodies and by non-governmental organizations, to assist in the liberation struggle in those Territories.

The Conference, which was held at Maputo, Mozambique, from 16 to 21 May 1977, was attended by approximately 500 persons including delegations from 92 Member States, 5 Observer States, 5 national liberation movements and 27 intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations 4/. The interest shown by the international newsmedia is attested by the fact that 107 newsmen were accredited to cover the Conference.

1/ Resolution 31/145.

2/ The Special Committee on Decolonization is the body entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by the General Assembly in December 1960. For a study of the work of the Special Committee, see "Decolonization" No.6.

3/ The United Nations Council for Namibia was established by the General Assembly in 1967 to administer Namibia until independence following the termination by the General Assembly of South Africa's Mandate over the Territory.

4/ For a complete list of the States and Organizations represented in the Conference, see Annex I.

The Conference was declared open by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. In addition to the Secretary-General, the opening session was addressed by President Samora Machel of the People's Republic of Mozambique and by the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua. The full text of these statements is reproduced in section I below.

Amongst the special guests invited to address the Conference in their individual capacity were Mr. Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica and Mr. Olof Palme, Secretary-General of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party and Prime Minister of Sweden, 1969-1976. The full text of their statements is reproduced in section II below.

The Conference also heard statements by representatives of the National Liberation Movements of Namibia and Zimbabwe, the texts of which are reproduced in section III.

Summaries of the views expressed during the general debate can be found in the Report of the Conference 5/.

At its closing session, the Conference adopted by consensus a Declaration and a Programme of Action which are reproduced in section IV below.