



Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

4351st meeting

Monday, 30 July 2001, 10.45 a.m.

New York

Provisional

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Wang Yingfan	(China)
<i>Members:</i>	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Doutriaux
	Ireland	Mr. Cooney
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Touré
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Strømme
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Ayari
	Ukraine	Mr. Kulyk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation in East Timor

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2001/719).

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The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in East Timor

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2001/719)

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand, the Philippines, Portugal and the Republic of Korea in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Wensley (Australia), Mr. De Ruyt (Belgium), Mr. Moura (Brazil), Mr. Heinbecker (Canada), Mr. Widodo (Indonesia), Mr. Motomura (Japan), Mr. Hughes (New Zealand), Mr. Manalo (Philippines), Mr. Brito (Portugal) and Mr. Sun (Republic of Korea) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative and Transitional Administrator for East Timor.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Vieira de Mello to take a seat at the Council table.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council

agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. José Ramos-Horta, Member of the Transitional Cabinet of East Timor responsible for Foreign Affairs.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Ramos-Horta to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2001/719, which contains the progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor.

The Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Vieira de Mello at this meeting. I understand that he is also prepared to answer questions or to provide clarifications, if need be. At the end of the briefing, I will give the floor to Council members who wish to make comments or to ask questions. I would like to invite members to raise their hand if they wish to take the floor.

I now give the floor to Mr. Vieira de Mello.

Mr. Vieira de Mello: It is a great pleasure and an honour to appear before the Council today and to have the opportunity to brief it once again on the latest situation in East Timor and our plans for the future at this critical stage in the transition process. It is a particular pleasure to make this presentation under the presidency of China, which has been such a stalwart friend to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and to East Timor since the very beginning of this daunting enterprise. Indeed, the entire Council, having set us this mammoth undertaking, has never shirked from its full responsibility to ensure that this mission is a success. Though, in East Timor, we may be nearly as far away from this Chamber as it is possible to be, through the intense interest and support of the Council's members we are continually reassured that we are never far away from their minds.

Before I begin my presentation proper, allow me to introduce — though it always seems somewhat foolish to introduce one so well known to all Council members — our Cabinet Member for Foreign Affairs,

José Ramos-Horta. Also, and she is perhaps less well known to the Council now, may I take the opportunity of introducing Mrs. Emilia Pires, Director of the East Timor National Planning and Development Agency. Mrs. Pires is here in New York as a guest of the United Nations Development Programme and the timing of her visit is particularly fortuitous, as she headed our initial planning exercise for the possible design of a successor mission in East Timor, a subject I shall focus on at some length today.

It has been six months since I last visited New York and spoke to the Council. As members have read in the report of the Secretary-General, much has happened in East Timor since then. Many of the projects that I outlined six months ago have come to fruition thanks to resolution 1338 (2001), which this Council adopted after the last open debate in January, while many more are on the way. As I have told the Council before, however, the mandate with which we were entrusted in East Timor was much more than a list of tasks, much more than a catalogue of problems to be solved. It was nothing less than to work with the traumatized and brutalized people of East Timor and, together, to create an independent sovereign State.

I have often commented on the uniqueness of the operation in East Timor. I do so not because I wish to make excuses for any of our failings, but because we are all engaged in something truly historic, and we need to constantly remind ourselves of that fact and of where we started. Never before has the international community banded together and embarked on such a noble venture from such a bleak beginning. We started, quite literally, from nothing and — because we had never done this before — through feeling our way carefully, we have come a long way towards preparing East Timor for that ultimate goal: independence.

That end is now in sight. But my message to the Council today is that while we have indeed come a long way on an extraordinary adventure, we nonetheless have much further to go if East Timor is to be able truly and fully to benefit from its independence. Now is not the time for complacency, but a time to buckle down and complete the mandate the Council gave us to the very best of our ability.

Elections will take place in exactly a month's time. A Constituent Assembly will be convened on the basis of the outcome of that ballot. A second transitional Government will be put into place, and

East Timor will soon thereafter become the first new nation of the millennium.

This Council can afford to be proud of the consistent help and guidance it has given us during this critical and often difficult period, and I want to thank it for that.

But much still needs to be done, and in his report to the Council, the Secretary-General has indicated that some of the tasks will be completed only after the formal date of East Timor's independence. My overriding priority now is to ensure that the United Nations is positioned to complete the job it has been set by the Council, as quickly as is sensible and as economically as is prudent. To do this, we need to address four major objectives: first, consolidate the secure and stable environment that presently exists; secondly, steer East Timor through the creation of democratic institutions and successful, peaceful elections; thirdly, put in place the building blocks for the management of public finances and policy-making; and fourthly, establish the framework for a sustainable and effective Government administration. These four broad objectives support the goal of handing over a secure, stable and working Government to the people of East Timor.

I believe that we are on track with the process of political transition. We are producing a voters' roll, which is being developed from the successfully completed civil registration process. Elections will go ahead on 30 August. A multi-party political process is now under way, and campaigning has begun. I am very happy to tell the Council that our efforts to encourage women's participation in the political process have truly borne fruit. No fewer than 268 women candidates will be standing in the election, out of a total of 992 candidates, and I expect a substantial number to be elected; indeed, I very much hope that that will be the case.

We have also found a way, with the generous and timely support of Member States, to offer campaign help to the political parties, which will be of particular assistance to the smaller and less well funded among them. It will not be in cash, and it will not be enough — it never is — but it will assist the democratic process to take root in a country that has never before been afforded this basic right.

There is still some disquiet among much of the population because of concerns that the political

process may lead to civil unrest and violence. But both East Timor's leadership and we have made it absolutely clear that politically motivated violence in the territory will not be tolerated. At the beginning of this month, to reinforce that point, 14 of the 16 parties competing in the election signed a pact of national unity, witnessed by both José Ramos-Horta and myself, among others, which demonstrates unequivocally their commitment to peaceful, non-violent and mature — I repeat, mature — democratic competition.

As has been mentioned in the report of the Secretary-General, those members of the transitional Cabinet who wished to take part in the election campaign have resigned and have been replaced by their civil service deputies. This modified Cabinet will continue to exercise executive authority and develop draft legislation, most of which, apart from urgent business, will await referral to the new Assembly.

Following the elections, I intend to appoint an expanded Cabinet that will reflect the outcome of the ballot. The new all-Timorese transitional Government will head a reorganized Transitional Administration that will more closely reflect the anticipated portfolio responsibilities of the future independent Government. This will entail perhaps the most exciting qualitative leap forward in the process of handing over the reins of Government to the East Timorese from the international community: a process that the Council called on UNTAET to carry out to the utmost in its resolution 1338 (2001) last January.

While I shall continue to retain the authority the Council has vested in me as the Secretary-General's Special Representative and Transitional Administrator, following the elections it is clearly appropriate to move to a further stage of what we call Timorization. This, I agree, is an ugly word that, I regret, has entered into common usage. Behind it, however, lies the basic guideline that has underpinned this mission from the early months of last year: you cannot prepare a people for self-government without first exposing them to experience of government. Any other approach would simply not work.

I know that, following the successful donor conference in Canberra last month, many in the Council are keenly and, dare I say it, critically looking at our plans in the area of public finances. The budget provided at Canberra, of \$65 million, was, I believe, neither lavish nor imprudent. It was the product of a

very bruising and difficult, as well as very democratic, process. It was, like all budgets, a compromise — a compromise between the need for fiscal sustainability, economic good sense and aid dependency, on the one hand, and the clear and desperate needs of the people of East Timor, on the other. However, I share with many members concern about the medium-term viability of a budget that is already dependent on \$20 million a year in aid money just to keep running the basic operations of Government.

The last on my list of essential objectives was the transfer of the existing public service architecture to an East Timorese public administration. My plans for this will lead me to discuss also the question of the follow-on mission and the sensitive but increasingly urgent task of what we call "managing expectations".

In public administration it is my intention to follow much the same pattern as in the political transition. In other words, I want to spend the time that we have between now and independence bringing the international component of the public administration down to a size and a shape that will allow a seamless transfer of power to a national structure that is credible, effective and adequately staffed. This public administration will be one that East Timor can afford, using technology that is sustainable, and one that will serve the people while eschewing the risks of corruption, nepotism and cronyism. There is still a way to go, and over the next few months and years capacity-building must remain our main endeavour and highest priority.

Capacity-building has proved both frustrating and difficult in the past, and we at the United Nations have too often looked for managers rather than mentors, who have thus not seen the need to deliver in this vital area of skills transfer. UNDP has done excellent work in this field, and I would like to commend it on its recent very comprehensive report on this subject and on the long-term plan that it contained. All of East Timor's development partners will do well to support this plan over the next few years.

The Secretary-General has recommended in his report to the Council a continuation of the United Nations presence in East Timor, should he receive an appropriate request from the Government of East Timor. The nature of the successor mission has been spelled out to members, but I would like to take a few

moments of the Council's time to share my views on what is needed and why.

I might preface this by saying that we have been planning the new mission both through the mechanism of an integrated mission task force in the Secretariat here in New York and through the presence in East Timor of a senior officer dedicated to its planning several months ahead of its deployment. That is a rare and welcome exception which I know my colleagues in New York will ensure becomes the norm in future.

I am aware that critics of the United Nations often say that the hardest thing to persuade us to do is to leave. In the past, that has often been the case, but in East Timor I do not think we are seeking to outstay our welcome, although I look forward to hearing José Ramos-Horta on this subject in a moment. This is not in any sense special pleading; it is my view that this is an absolute necessity. The arguments for a continued military and police presence have been well presented in the report, and I will not return to them in detail. What I wish to emphasize, however, is that our planning in this critical area will be predicated solely on the security conditions prevailing in East Timor. No other factor should be allowed to influence our judgement or that of the Security Council.

The report entertains a scaled drawdown of the international military presence, starting some time in the near future and beginning in the eastern part of the country. Should the current stable conditions continue in East Timor through the election period and the formation of the Constituent Assembly and of the new transitional Government, I see no reason at this stage why that process could not commence, cautiously, prior to independence.

Security, however, requires more than an effective police and military, important though they are. It requires also the rule of law and effective access to justice. In East Timor, as members know well — and indeed, as the Council mission to us last November made explicit — we have struggled to put in place an effective mechanism to deal with the serious crimes of the recent past. Some success is now becoming visible. A major trial is currently under way in Dili, focusing on a series of brutal crimes against humanity that took place in 1999 in the eastern district of Lautem. Nonetheless, our courts continue to lack basic resources, both material and human.

Where we also continue to struggle is in bringing fully to life the memorandum of understanding that I signed last year with the Attorney-General of Indonesia concerning cooperation in legal, judicial and human rights related matters.

While bilateral relations continue to move forward in a generally positive direction, we urge the Government of Indonesia to reissue the decree creating the ad hoc human rights tribunal that would make it possible to bring to justice for serious crimes in East Timor those first 23 suspects that the then Indonesian Attorney-General Marzuki Daruzman publicly named in early September 2000 following thorough, joint investigations by the Indonesian and the East Timorese prosecutors-general. For that process to be credible, it is imperative that the tribunal have jurisdiction over crimes that occurred not just after the popular consultation in 1999 but also before that date. We can and will continue to bring to justice those responsible for these acts who are within East Timor's jurisdiction. But true justice will require that the architects of those crimes also face their day in court.

The bulk of my comments today will focus on the question of the civilian presence, and in particular that part of it that will be working within the post-independence government structure. We have been directed to do a job, and that job is not yet complete. The Security Council mandate in resolution 1272 (1999) was quite clear. UNTAET was to maintain security and law and order, to establish an effective administration, and to support capacity-building for self-government.

To equate the political transition, which is now so close to completion, with the establishment of an effective administration for East Timor is quite simply wrong. The event of political independence is on a path that is parallel, albeit closely related, to the progressive achievement of what we might call administrative independence. It would be wrong to disengage from that activity prematurely, to declare too early the full implementation of resolution 1272 (1999). On independence, we will have unfinished business from resolution 1272 (1999) still to do — and do it we must, in order to ensure that the work so far completed, for which the Council should take much of the credit, remains firmly in place. I am sure that José Ramos-Horta will reinforce that point in a moment.

The reality today is that we do not yet have a fully effective East Timorese administration, and that we will not have one early next year, when independence is likely to come. The machine we run now, the hybrid we have created, which contains large numbers of international staff, is being reduced in size and rationalized. But there will still be many gaps, and those gaps will need to be filled. We cannot simply walk away and thus put at risk the enormous investment that has been made thus far. While it is true that East Timor must rely on its bilateral and multilateral partners and that the mission should not do anything that those partners are prepared to do, I nevertheless believe that there are vital parts of government, particularly in the areas mentioned by the Secretary-General in his report — those of central management, fiscal management, justice and human rights, and security and national sovereignty — where it would be entirely justified to place advisory staff and a small number of line managers in the East Timor Government. With the consent and active support of the East Timorese, those experts would continue the process of skills transfer and would ensure the proper functioning of departments for a specified period of time.

I am convinced that those positions should be within the new mission and should be funded from assessed contributions. With great respect, I am fully aware of the difficulties that some members of the Council may have with that proposition, but I have worked for most of my United Nations career with the often debilitating and always uncertain constraints of voluntary funding, and I am certain that these vital posts should have the firm and predictable base of assessed contributions if they are to attract the calibre of personnel required and if those personnel are to be enabled to work successfully in areas which are, after all, of vital concern to East Timor's donors.

The Secretary-General has already indicated our determination to finish the task in East Timor as economically and as efficiently as possible. We have signalled this with the figures we have already presented for downsizing — or as I am now told is the correct phrase, “rightsizing” — the existing mission. We are still putting the details to our plans for the next mission, but what we will ask for in October, when we come back to the Council with more precise information, will, I can assure members, be a strategic,

sensible and above all modest assessment of what will be required.

Perhaps this is the right moment to address the question of burden-sharing before I move on to sustainability and the management of expectations. An address to the Security Council always provides an opportunity like no other to bring to the attention of the international community and member States any particular hobbyhorses that the speaker might be riding at the time. Perhaps the Council will indulge me therefore if I ask members to encourage, on my behalf and on behalf of East Timor, the entire United Nations system — the Secretariat of course, but also agencies, funds and programmes — to work as never before to deliver together as much coordinated assistance, with ourselves on the ground, as they can. We had hoped for that before, at the beginning of the current mission, and quite frankly the results were, as members will recall, disappointing. Let us, on this occasion, really pull together in the spirit of a truly integrated mission to show what the United Nations working as a team can do.

One of the most significant events of the past few weeks in terms of the long-term viability of East Timor was the signing on 5 July of the Timor Sea framework agreement. Australian and East Timorese cabinet ministers initialled an Arrangement that was the product of 16 months of often difficult negotiations. It will come into effect as a treaty only when it has been approved, signed and ratified by the elected Government in Dili. It would be very unwise at this stage to offer even a guess as to the revenues that this will provide for East Timor in the medium term. Suffice it to say that those revenues, if properly managed, will have a very significant impact indeed on the ability of the independent Government to deliver services to its people and to plan development investment for a secure future. There are surely enough examples of bad management of mineral resources for the East Timorese to take heed and profit from others' mistakes. I am confident that they will. However, this indication of wealth to come and the need to manage it should not deflect the Government from the need to plan within its means in the meanwhile.

This leads me to the vexed and sensitive subject of managing expectations. I have no doubt that we have done well in East Timor so far — together, in very close partnership with the Timorese leadership. Historians will be able to tell us with hindsight how

much better they would have done in our place. But even the harshest of critics — and, as Council members know, we have had many, especially those sitting on the fence — must be surprised at what we, the United Nations and the East Timorese, by working ever more closely with the people of East Timor, have achieved in turning the ashes and debris that we found when we arrived, in early November 1999, into a functioning State, heading fast towards democratic institutions, elections and a democratic future.

There is a price, however, which concerns me more and more, and that is the baggage that a United Nations mission and the donors and others bring with them on a venture such as this. In order to function and to create the conditions necessary for us to operate effectively, we bring with us a complicated culture of technology and relative comfort. We bring cars and computers, air conditioners and satellite antennas, and all the paraphernalia of the technologically developed North — because we do not function otherwise and arguably could not do the job without them. But then we leave, having created expectations, especially in the capital and main centres, that cannot be realized when Independence Day dawns and our hosts find that they have to live within their modest means. Sustainability is the catch-all word that we put into our reports, but behind this antiseptic word may lie disappointment and disillusion, which need to be managed if they are not to be destructive. We have been working hard on this whole question of the transfer of UNTAET assets to independent East Timor.

Over the next few months, with the right-sizing of the Government machine, some hard and even harsh choices will have to be made, and we have to do everything that we can to make sure that they are not only made, but that their effects are planned for and understood by all. How many computers remain in Government, how many means of sophisticated telecommunications, how many vehicles? There are many important questions. But how many, how much, how few are not simply mathematical questions; the answers will affect people's lives and livelihoods.

I have made a habit on these occasions of drawing to the attention of the Council some of the lessons we have learned in East Timor that might be useful to others in the peacekeeping business. In addition to what I have just said, I would like to draw the Council's attention to three final concerns: police, justice and personnel.

I have little new to say on the question of United Nations civilian police, but I must repeat myself because we still seem to be facing the same old problems of quality versus quantity — a problem, I would suggest, that might not be so much one of the police personnel that are sent on peace missions, but rather one of our doctrinal approach to the whole concept of international executive policing functions. Admittedly this would be a new departure for the United Nations. We need an exhaustive analysis of how we approach this task. This involves the Secretariat, the contributing States — in how they prepare their officers pre-deployment — and those of us in the field, in how we decide to best use them.

For the record — with the support of Jean-Marie Guéhenno and the assistance of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in New York — we have tried a pilot project in one district, involving the deployment of the civilian police as a national unit. The results are not yet conclusive, but I believe that in some cases this might prove more effective than the old method of scattering and mixing national contingents in small numbers all over the mission area.

I would like to place on record here my strong personal support for those who have been asking for the development of a uniform code of justice to be employed by transitional administrations such as UNTAET and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). If the United Nations is to govern, then justice is the key, and we should come to the mission with the code already in our pockets. But even a pre-prepared code requires implementation, and implementation requires resources. These have been sorely lacking in East Timor from the very start. As Council members will recall, the mission began at a place that was some distance from even square one. There were no judges, no lawyers, no records, no equipment, no buildings. For the future, should we ever be called on to administer justice, we must be in a position to do just that, and we must be provided with the means to ensure that we have no excuse for not doing so. Anything less and we risk the collapse — or non-development — of a fundamental pillar of democratic society.

Lastly, after much weeping and gnashing of teeth, we have proved, somewhat belatedly and with strong Secretariat support, that in personnel matters we can make the United Nations system work. We have developed an autonomy and flexibility that has seen us

through very difficult days, but let us not leave it at that. Let us now institutionalize some of these innovations and continue to be creative in our thinking as concerns field deployment. We need the right people at the right time, and we need to have the machinery to keep the good ones and let those who do not perform go. Above all, we need the time and the resources to plan ahead. That is why we are planning now, and that is why we are asking, once again, for the Council's help.

When I briefed the Council in June of last year, I invited all the members to visit East Timor and see for themselves, first-hand, the work that was being done, the difficulties encountered on the ground, the successes and those areas where I recognized that there was much room for improvement. In November the Council paid us such a visit and, I believe, found the exercise to be helpful, enabling members to see perhaps more clearly the complexity of the operation in all its multifarious aspects.

The elections on 30 August will be a landmark in many different ways. They will lead to the creation of an Assembly that will formulate the constitution of East Timor, while assuming certain legislative powers and, in all likelihood, eventually transforming itself into the first legislature of an independent East Timor. These elections will also enable me to form the second — this time, all-Timorese — transitional Government of East Timor. Its composition will reflect the aspirations of the people as expressed at the polls; its structure will very much prefigure that of the first independent Government; and I intend to delegate to it most of the day-to-day management of Government business.

These new bodies, coupled with the judiciary, which we have striven to Timorize from the very early days, will, from the second half of September, be exercising the maximum degree of self-government possible under resolutions 1272 (1999) and 1338 (2001). At this stage it appears that once the constitution is adopted presidential elections would be the likely final step on East Timor's route to independence.

A great deal will be accomplished in that final phase of the United Nations-led transition. Both we and the East Timorese will continue to learn in what will be, without doubt, the most complex, yet the most rewarding, chapter of this unprecedented mission. The

challenge for the East Timorese is obvious. The one faced by the United Nations, which, on the Council's behalf, administers East Timor, will be equally daunting, for we shall have to exercise our responsibilities in full harmony with new organs that will enjoy, for the first time in East Timor's history, democratic legitimacy.

Should Council members accept my renewed invitation to visit us again, they would, I am sure, appreciate that this is not an interface that should be allowed to continue for longer than is absolutely necessary to meet the essential benchmarks for East Timor to achieve its independence. Conversely, I am equally certain they would agree that for our pride in this endeavour to be fully justified, we must remain fully engaged in those early, difficult days after the United Nations flag comes down. I pledge to fulfil the Secretary-General's commitment to recommend to the Council in greater detail, by this coming October, the reduced, compact and most effective configuration of that post-independence component.

I thank you once again, Mr. President, for allowing me to make this presentation today. Perhaps now, to complete my briefing and that of the East Timorese Transitional Administration, you will be kind enough to allow my friend and colleague José Ramos-Horta to take the floor.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his comprehensive briefing.

I give the floor to Mr. José Ramos-Horta, member of the Transitional Cabinet of East Timor responsible for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Ramos-Horta: I would like to take this occasion to tell you, Sir, how privileged and pleased we feel that this meeting is taking place today, still under your presidency. I would also like to express my most sincere appreciation to the previous Presidents of the Council, particularly during the month of January, when we had the first meeting of the year on this subject, and in May, when President Xanana Gusmão and I addressed the Council under the United States presidency.

Allow me to congratulate you, Mr. President, your Government and your people on your successful bid to host the Olympic Games in 2008. I hope that by then the East Timorese will be worthy competitors in

Beijing and will be able to take some medals away from the Chinese athletes.

We have come a long way since the International Force in East Timor (INTERFET) first landed in the country. I do not want to go through again what we have already said and what Sergio Vieira de Mello has already so eloquently stated in his speech about what the international community found in East Timor and the difficulties, the destruction, the despair, the loss of lives, the dislocation of people — more than one third of the people have been uprooted and taken to West Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia — and what we have achieved so far.

Two years after the historic referendum, on 30 August, the people of East Timor will again go to the polls and, for the first time ever in our 500-year history, will vote to elect deputies for a Constituent Assembly, who will draft a constitution setting the legal framework for the declaration of independence and the election of a President.

We have assured the Council throughout our engagement with it, in the discussions, that — beyond the efforts of the peacekeeping forces, which have done an outstanding job in protecting the borders of East Timor and providing safety and tranquillity to the people throughout the districts — we on the East Timorese side itself will do our utmost to cooperate with the international community in ensuring peace and tranquillity for ourselves.

This June we dissolved the National Council of Timorese Resistance. In the history of decolonization, this must be quite a unique experiment. Never before in the history of decolonization had a coalition movement dissolved itself to allow its members to create a multi-party society and system.

There was some concern and fear that with the dissolution of the National Council of Timorese Resistance — the umbrella body that led the people of East Timor towards independence and, in particular, mobilized and organized the people for the 30 August 1999 referendum — there would be violence. Yet the transition from the National Council of Timorese Resistance to a multi-party system has been going very smoothly.

In the first week of July, witnessed by Sergio Vieira de Mello, the two Bishops of East Timor, Xanana Gusmão and myself, and with His Holiness the

Pope having sent a message, the East Timorese political parties signed a pact of national unity committing themselves to accepting non-violence as a norm and the results of the 30 August elections, regardless of the outcome for each of them. So far, they have been true to the commitment that they have made. Political campaigning has started throughout the country, with thousands of people participating, yet there has not been a single case of violence among the political parties.

The border region itself has been relatively quiet despite occasional incidents. We regret an incident that happened only yesterday with the fatal shooting of an Indonesian soldier, who was armed but in civilian clothes. The exact circumstances and exact location of the incident have not yet been determined. I received this information only this morning from my office in Dili. Apart from these incidents, however, the situation throughout the border region has been relatively quiet and safe. This is a tribute not only to the professionalism of the peacekeeping forces but also to the successful efforts of the United Nations itself, through Sergio Vieira de Mello and the head of the peacekeeping forces, to engage the Indonesian side in dialogue. We commend the efforts of the Indonesian military commander in the Bali region, particularly in West Timor, General Willem da Costa, under whom, since he took over the operational leadership in West Timor, the situation has improved.

We have also pursued efforts at dialogue with the pro-autonomy and the pro-integration faction in East Timorese society. There were successful meetings at the end of May in East Timor, involving almost 100 people, of whom about 50 came from West Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia. President Xanana Gusmão has travelled to the border region and engaged some militia leaders and political elements from the other side in dialogue.

Bishop Basilio Nascimento, the head of the Diocese of Baucau, also had a very successful visit to West Timor, where he was received by thousands of people. Preparations are under way for Xanana Gusmão again to travel to the border region and maybe to West Timor itself to continue the dialogue with not only the authorities in West Timor, but also our own people who are still in the camps in West Timor.

We have just arrived from the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) ministerial

meeting in Hanoi, to which we had been invited by the host country, Viet Nam. Once again, we reiterated to our neighbours, particularly ASEAN countries, but also to others — the dialogue partners such as China, Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand and the United States — our continued commitment to develop relations with the region, including with Indonesia, because we believe that a strong, dynamic and creative relationship with the region will be our best defence. Only our ability to create a web of relations and interests with the countries of the region will ensure that East Timor will be able to continue to develop peacefully in the years to come. As Sergio Vieira de Mello has just mentioned, we have recently concluded an interim arrangement, a framework agreement with Australia, governing the sharing of revenue from oil and gas in the Timor Sea. The successful conclusion of the discussions on the Timor Sea is also a tribute to the maturity and the sense of responsibility of the two sides, East Timor and Australia.

As Sergio Vieira de Mello mentioned, and as has been our concern, we nevertheless hope that we will be able to develop alternative sources of wealth for East Timor in order to prevent East Timor from becoming dependent on only one or two commodities, such as oil and gas. In this regard, I would like to inform the Council that we are continuing discussions with the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, Sergio Vieira de Mello, Timorese compatriots and donor countries to set up a strategic development task force that would look at long-term development in East Timor. In this regard, we are receiving concrete assistance from the Government of Malaysia, which will provide a senior official from the Office of the Prime Minister, dealing with economic development, to assist us in developing a strategic framework for the development of East Timor in the medium and long term. In December, we hope to present to the donor conference in Oslo a preliminary vision of the economic outlook for East Timor in the years to come.

If everything goes well, we will be able to announce here when East Timor will be independent. The decision will be made by the Constituent Assembly in consultation with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. We hope we will be able to keep to the initial calendar previously drawn up, and the date will be sometime early next year. Presidential elections should take place

immediately after the adoption of the constitution, and independence would occur sometime early next year.

However, in spite of the positive note I am trying to convey, which is a reflection of the reality in the country, it is also important to remember that peace in East Timor is still very fragile, because of 25 years of trauma, of people living in a culture of violence and fear. It is not easy to erase this state of mind after 25 years of violence. Peace is fragile also because as long as armed elements continue to operate in West Timor, the people of East Timor will continue to live in fear of what will happen in the post-independence period. The incident involving an Indonesian soldier who apparently strayed into East Timor and was shot dead by vigilant New Zealand forces only underscored the need for the two sides to continue to cooperate even more closely to rid the entire region of weapons and violence along the border. On the East Timorese side, we very much look forward to working with the new President and the new Government of Indonesia; we send them our warmest greetings. In the last few days, the Indonesian people have shown extraordinary maturity in accepting the changes peacefully. We are continuing our efforts to engage the new Administration in Indonesia in dialogue. We look forward to the time when East Timor and the Indonesian province of Nusa Tenggara Timur, the territory of West Timor in particular, can develop a partnership to eradicate poverty, malaria, tuberculosis and other ills. To achieve this, it is necessary that the Government in East Timor and the Government in Jakarta reach a stage where we really trust each other and act with transparency.

I conclude by emphasizing that we are conscious of the need for the United Nations to downsize the military component of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor. We are also conscious of the need to downsize the civilian component in East Timor. After all, this is in our interest. We have no interest or desire to have the indefinite presence of a foreign force in East Timor, as professional as they are, as welcoming as they are, as well behaved as they have been so far. It is the nature of a society and a country to want to be masters of their own destiny. We do not wish to impose on the international community an indefinite presence of the peacekeeping forces on the ground nor of civilian personnel. However, peace is still fragile although the process has been extraordinarily successful due to the leadership of the

Secretary-General and due to the Special Representative. What the United Nations has achieved in East Timor in partnership with the donor countries has been unique. However, any consideration of hasty withdrawal soon after independence could undermine what has been achieved at such great cost, in terms of financial resources and in terms of lives, because the East Timorese made such a great sacrifice and sacrificed many lives to achieve what we have achieved so far.

For this reason, I end with an appeal to the members of the Security Council and the donor community to support the recommendations of the Secretary-General's report regarding the civilian component and the recommendations for a prudent, cautious downsizing of the military component after independence.

We hope that next year we will all be able to return here, and the elected President, Prime Minister or Foreign Minister will return to this Council and thank members once again for the tremendous support and generosity that has been shown by the Council, the Secretary-General, the agencies, the donor countries in general and civil society.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Mr. Ramos-Horta for his kind words addressed to my country. After the independence of East Timor, the international community will certainly warmly welcome this newborn country. We wish you excellent results in all areas, including the Olympics in 2008.

I shall now give the floor to the members of the Council who wish to make comments or ask questions. So many members of the Council raised their hands at the beginning of the meeting to indicate that they wanted to speak that it will probably not be possible to please everyone with the order of the list of speakers. I ask for members' forgiveness, and for their understanding of the difficulties faced by the Secretariat and the President.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): We are pleased to welcome once again Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and Mr. José Ramos-Horta to the Security Council, especially at this critical juncture in East Timor's political transition. We also endorse the wise words of advice they have both given to members of the Council.

Why are we at a critical juncture today? First, it is midway through the current mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), which the Security Council decided in resolution 1338 (2001) will last until 31 January 2002, although we must bear in mind the possible need for adjustments related to the timetable for independence. This is therefore an opportune time for a mid-term review on the progress of UNTAET and to hear more about the political timetable for East Timor.

Secondly, the Secretary-General has provided us with a very important progress report on UNTAET. We are pleased to note the number of projects which UNTAET has collaborated on with such bodies as the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and the Asia Development Bank. More importantly, the Secretary-General has provided us with a concept of operations for the successor mission following East Timor's independence. Using the framework provided by the Secretary-General, intensive discussions must now ensue within East Timor and with the United Nations community. Discussions should start here and now to build the best possible foundation for the successor mission and not because, as some have asserted, the Council is anticipating a precipitous withdrawal from East Timor. If I may borrow the words of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke at the open debate on "no exit without strategy" last year, the Council

"must be very careful, when we talk about exit strategies, not to confuse them with exit deadlines ... an exit strategy must be directed towards a defining overall objective, not an arbitrary, self-imposed, artificial deadline". (*S/PV.4223, p. 4*)

Thirdly, in exactly a month's time, East Timorese will go to the ballot booth to democratically choose their representatives to the 88-member Constituent Assembly. The election is one of the most important events in the calendar of East Timor's political transition, but we must not forget that, while the election is an important milestone in UNTAET's mandate, it is not UNTAET's final destination, nor should it be that of the United Nations. Given their recent experience with elections, many East Timorese believe that the potential for violence during and after the elections may be even higher than before. Many previous United Nations peacekeeping operations have

also shown elections to be a highly unstable time at which to withdraw from an operation.

The United Nations should therefore learn its lessons from past experience and not repeat these mistakes in East Timor. Planning for a phase-down before the elections take place assumes a best-case scenario, which the Brahimi report opposed. The Brahimi report also warned against forcing a situation on the ground to fit political and other extraneous criteria in New York. The Constituent Assembly elections and the period immediately after that could be a moment of vulnerability. As such, the Security Council should view this period with vigilance rather than as an opportunity for an early exit or drawdown from East Timor. At the same time, to make plans for the United Nations exit or substantial withdrawal from East Timor at this juncture would send precisely the wrong signal to the East Timorese.

UNTAET has certainly come a long way. The dedication and devotion of the staff of UNTAET, not least of the Transitional Administrator, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, are qualities which Council members have repeatedly paid tribute to. We would be remiss if we did not reaffirm that tribute again today, as it is truly well deserved. We also remain impressed by the determination and resolve demonstrated by the East Timorese to maintain their road to independence. It is in no way an indictment of the good work done by UNTAET and that of the East Timorese people for us to say that the tasks ahead remain large. The United Nations still has a long way to go. Indeed, as Special Representative Sergio Vieira de Mello said this morning, we have come a long way but we have much further to go.

Before it signed the 5 May 1999 agreement, East Timor wanted five years of political transition to prepare itself for independence. Given that it has been barely two years since the popular consultations in East Timor and the events that followed, it is only understandable that more remains to be done. What East Timor has achieved thus far remains fragile and reversible. As the Secretary-General's report has highlighted, some hard-line militia elements have plans to resume operations designed to destabilize the situation in East Timor in the lead-up to the elections and independence. There is also concern that some militia elements have adopted a strategy of lying low until independence in the belief that the military presence will then be removed from East Timor.

Therefore, although great strides have been taken to Timorize the East Timor Transitional Administration, it is clear that certain critical areas of government will continue to need the support of the United Nations. Should post-independence East Timor unravel, the costs to the United Nations to again enter and rebuild East Timor would be much higher than if the international presence were sustained until East Timor is able to stand on its own two feet. We believe that the United Nations should not be penny-wise and pound-foolish. We believe that it is not sufficient for us to rely only on voluntary contributions to fund the United Nations presence. Voluntary contribution on its own is not enough. It would be better if the United Nations presence were supported by a regular and reliable source of funding that would give East Timor the maximum chance of viability over the long term. Indeed, again, as Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello said this morning, speaking boldly and clearly, we will need to retain funding from assessed contributions, not from voluntary funding. We should heed his careful words of advice and I believe that Mr. Ramos-Horta also made a similar appeal to us.

During the Arria-formula meeting organized by the Singapore mission on 26 July 2001, Council members were briefed by four very distinguished speakers: Mr. Shepard Forman from the Centre on International Cooperation at New York University, Ambassador Nancy Soderberg from the International Crisis Group, Ms. Sidney Jones from Human Rights Watch and Ambassador David Malone from the International Peace Academy. The unanimous message at that meeting was that East Timor is a half-finished project. They reminded us that ensuring sustainable peace and development in East Timor cannot be done on the cheap or in accelerated time. A precipitous withdrawal of either the civilian or military components of UNTAET would entail serious risks by heightening levels of uncertainty, both locally and internationally, and by undermining stability in the transitional period that really counts. No one wants two years of investment to produce a failed State.

The success or failure of East Timor will either bolster or undermine the United Nations credibility. At the same time, the regional context must be borne in mind, not least because of all the political transitions which East Timor's neighbour Indonesia is currently going through. The exit strategy from East Timor must therefore be carefully worked out with the elected

representatives of East Timor, based not on past costs or anticipated needs in other crises, but on the continuing needs in East Timor. A continued United Nations presence, albeit a scaled-down one — and we agree with both Mr. Vieira de Mello and Mr. Ramos-Horta when they say that it will have to be a scaled-down one — is going to be crucial. Areas such as defence, public safety, justice and governance are critical areas which need international support even after independence.

More specifically, the speakers at the Arria-formula meeting felt that, first, the United Nations has no other responsible choice but to stage its drawdown with the gradual establishment of the East Timor Defence Force and the East Timor police. There is a real risk that militias would escalate violence significantly if the United Nations security presence were to be withdrawn. The international force should therefore be scaled back only when the East Timor Defence Force reaches critical strength and is fully trained, equipped and deployed alongside the international troops. The process should only begin after independence is declared. The United Nations civilian police should be replaced only when there are adequate numbers of well-trained, well-equipped and well-disciplined police acting within the established rule of law.

The second point they made was that one of the most urgent needs is for the international community to assist the United Nations with basic law-and-order functions, providing, for example, judges, prosecutors and investigators. If the United Nations stops its support for prosecutions, “that might be the end of justice, period”, to quote the words of one participant.

Thirdly, there are also ongoing needs for capacity-building and technical assistance both in the general area of civil administration and in specific functional areas such as banking, finance, immigration and customs, and air and seaports. International staff will also be needed to perform functions with a high technical content, since local expertise will be unavailable in the beginning.

One point worth stressing is that these tasks were indeed spelled out in resolution 1264 (1999), which first established UNTAET.

Having just looked at the progress of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) last week, it might also be useful to draw

some comparisons between the two operations, given their similarities in size and population. While UNMIK is only one pillar of the international community’s commitment to Kosovo, United Nations members spend roughly the same amount of the United Nations peacekeeping budget on UNMIK as on UNTAET, and will probably do so for a much longer period of time.

It is also important to bear in mind that no other region in the world has replicated the security architecture in Europe. The Security Council must therefore factor in the broader political, social and economic context and the regional dimension when considering East Timor. Indeed, this is what our European partners have often asked us to do when looking at the complex interlinked problems in the Balkans. At the recent meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) held in Hanoi, the ARF Chairman issued a statement on 25 July which also

“reiterated the need for the support of the international community, including ASEAN, to play an active role in the nation-building efforts of East Timor up to and beyond the territory’s independence”.

ASEAN is clearly aware that it has to play its part in helping East Timor, but it has its own limitations.

In addition, a new Government has recently been installed in Indonesia, East Timor’s closest neighbour. We are pleased that this has been achieved smoothly. Nevertheless, Indonesia has recently undergone a difficult period of social, economic and political change. President Megawati Soekarnoputri has to address many pressing and diverse challenges throughout the Indonesian archipelago. We are therefore confident that Indonesia also sees it to be in its own interest to have a successful and smooth transition in East Timor. The international community should therefore encourage goodwill and understanding between East Timor and Indonesia.

We note with interest the results of the registration process of the refugees remaining in West Timor. We hope that the United Nations will continue to work closely with Indonesia to repatriate and resettle the refugees who have indicated their preferences, while keeping in view that some might change their mind after the political situation in East Timor stabilizes. We also look forward to hearing the results of the security assessment mission to West Timor. We hope that the problem of East Timorese refugees in

East Nusa Tenggara province can be resolved in a comprehensive manner.

There can be no doubt that at the end of the day, as Mr. José Ramos-Horta emphasized a few minutes ago, the East Timorese themselves will ultimately be responsible for the success of their own nascent State. They have demonstrated their clear commitment and eagerness to take over once they are ready to do so. The question for us in this Council is whether the United Nations has the wherewithal to stay the course and leave only when it has fulfilled its mandate of providing the framework for self-government and establishing conditions for sustainable developments. This is the key question we have to answer. One way of finding out what the answer is for the Security Council to visit East Timor, as indeed was just proposed by Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello. This is just a suggestion that we support.

Finally, this morning at the informal consultations a draft presidential statement on East Timor was introduced. In principle, we believe that such a presidential statement could be helpful. But, as we also emphasized at the informal consultations, we have grave reservations about rushing this statement. We hope that all of us will deliberate carefully on this presidential statement before we reach a final agreement. It is vital that we send the correct signals at this delicate phase of East Timor's transition.

Mr. Harrison (United Kingdom): Through you, Mr. President, I would like to thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report and Mr. Vieira de Mello and Mr. Ramos-Horta for their briefings at the beginning of our deliberations. Their personal observations on the current situation on the ground in East Timor and their views on the way forward have added a valuable additional dimension to today's discussion.

The United Kingdom welcomes the good progress that is being made to prepare for the democratic elections in East Timor on 30 August. These elections will be a huge milestone in East Timor's development and in its journey towards independence. In this respect, we are very encouraged that 14 out of the 16 parties contesting the election have signed up to the pact of national unity and thereby have committed themselves to respecting the outcome of the election and to defending multi-party democracy. We hope that this augurs well for a peaceful election campaign and

the acceptance and full implementation of the election results. It is very good that there has been some in-kind donor assistance for the political parties as they prepare for the election.

The United Kingdom endorses the Secretary-General's analysis of the registration exercise for refugees remaining in West Timor. The decision of the majority of refugees to remain in Indonesia at this time should not be seen as a final one. We firmly believe that refugees should retain the right to change their minds and to return to East Timor in the future if they so wish.

We also welcome the increased effort made by the East Timorese leadership in recent weeks towards reconciliation. In particular, we believe that the establishment of the Truth, Reception and Reconciliation Commission is a very positive step, which will serve to promote community reconciliation and, perhaps more importantly, to relieve the pressure on the formal justice system. The United Kingdom is providing funding to support this Commission.

We are, on the other hand, very concerned that political instability in Jakarta has weakened efforts to initiate the establishment of the ad hoc tribunal for the prosecution of serious crimes committed in East Timor or the appeal against the Atambua murder verdicts. We very much hope that the recent change in Indonesia's political leadership will result in great progress on that front, and we call on the new Indonesian Government to fulfil its obligation to make early progress in this area. It is vital for the long-term stability of East Timor that those responsible for serious crimes be seen to receive fitting punishment.

I should like to end by looking ahead. We have achieved great progress in East Timor, more than I think any of us would have dared to hope during the dark days of 1999. As Mr. Vieira de Mello said, we started from absolutely nothing. The United Kingdom pays tribute to all those involved who have contributed to those achievements: to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor, and in particular to the people of East Timor themselves.

But we cannot afford to be complacent. It is clear from the Secretary-General's report and from the presentations of Mr. Vieira de Mello and Mr. Ramos-Horta that much remains to be done before we have the stable and fully independent East Timor which we all hope for. We must remain vigilant, and we must protect

the investment that we have all made. As Mr. Ramos-Horta said, peace remains fragile. So there should be no hasty withdrawal, even though there should be no permanent presence. I am sure we all heard Mr. Ramos-Horta's appeal to support the careful recommendations of the Secretary-General. My delegation also listened very carefully in that regard to the careful and detailed arguments put forward by Ambassador Mahbubani, which we endorse.

The United Kingdom recognizes the importance, therefore, of a continued United Nations presence in East Timor after independence, and we welcome the planning which is already under way for that successor mission. We look forward to receiving fuller information in the Secretary-General's next report, including details on the shape of the follow-on mission and a clear timetable for its implementation. In particular, we look forward to a comprehensive analysis of the military and civilian police requirements, based on a full review of East Timor's security needs, and to a thorough exposition of the proposed working relationship among the successor mission, the new East Timorese Administration and the United Nations agencies.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): Bangladesh thanks you, Mr. President, for holding this open debate on East Timor. This morning, we heard a very useful briefing by the Special Representative of Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello. His presentation was characteristically cogent and eloquent. We note the substantive progress made in various fields since the last report that Sergio Vieira de Mello presented to the Council on the East Timor situation, on 26 January 2001. For that, we commend the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and, in particular, the leadership of Sergio Vieira de Mello.

We would also like to welcome the valuable address that Mr. José Ramos-Horta made to the Council this morning. He has once again provided the Council with helpful perspectives on East Timor's situation and on its future after the elections.

East Timor has travelled a long distance since September 1999. With the first democratic elections only a month away, the East Timorese are now approaching a critical point in their history. Mr. Vieira de Mello has informed us of a number of developments in addition to those described in the Secretary-

General's report (S/2001/719). He has also outlined a number of preparatory steps that UNTAET is taking for the smooth conduct of the elections and the subsequent transfer of authority to the first full-fledged East Timorese Government. We believe that the four broad objectives he outlined are very relevant, and those objectives have our full support. In that context, we very much welcome the format and content of the key benchmarks set out at the end of the Secretary-General's report.

A lot has been achieved in a very short period of time through cooperative engagement of the Timorese people and the international community. The Secretary-General's report portrays the participatory and on many occasions innovative approach followed in establishing a pluralistic society and a multi-party democracy in East Timor. Particularly, some noteworthy achievements over the past months signal East Timor's advance towards a sustainable social and economic base. Let me cite a few of these: women are increasingly taking part in decision-making; the election process is attracting qualified individuals, and we were particularly pleased to hear this morning from Sergio Vieira de Mello that a large number of women candidates will be participating in the elections; the East Timorese civil service is being integrated into all major decision-making areas; substantial Trust Fund resources, as high as 40 per cent, are being invested in the social sector, particularly in health and education; and women are coming up prominently in entrepreneurial efforts, and we note with satisfaction that women occupy one third of the jobs generated by the World Bank's Small Enterprises Programme.

Still, we believe, there are a number of areas where unfinished tasks should be approached carefully and with a well planned timetable for implementation.

The first area is capacity-building and technical assistance. For some more time, East Timor will need support from the international community in the areas of civil administration, policing, the judiciary and basic social services. We welcome Sergio Vieira de Mello's comment this morning that capacity building is the main endeavour of the United Nations in East Timor. Multiple sources closely familiar with the territory and following the developments there confirm the need for the ongoing commitment of the international community in post-independence East Timor. It is absolutely necessary for Timorization to take root. Otherwise, all the efforts of the international

community will be in vain. Both the current report of the Secretary-General and his last one (S/2001/42) underline clearly the need for an international presence in the early years of an independent East Timor.

The second is a continuing United Nations presence. While East Timor will continue to receive assistance from bilateral donors and international financial institutions, United Nations assistance will constitute the core of all international assistance. The United Nations is engaged in meeting urgent needs in areas such as security, public safety and governance. The Secretary-General's report sufficiently explains the reasons behind the need for a continuing United Nations presence in the civil administration — and within that, particularly in public finance and public sector management — and in civilian police, defence and the justice system. In all those spheres, the United Nations is engaged effectively. If the United Nations makes a rapid withdrawal, the precious investment we have made in East Timor during the past two years would be at stake.

Therefore, a phased withdrawal should be finalized only following consultation with the new East Timorese national Government. In that regard, for some months, back-stopping by international advisers could be a useful way to assist East Timorese effectively to build up capacity and to gather experience. East Timorese should not get the impression that the international community has abandoned them at a critical stage of their nation-building.

Thirdly, the cooperation and support of Indonesia is another important aspect for an independent East Timor. We hope that the new Government just installed in Indonesia will realize that expectation effectively. At the same time, worthwhile people-to-people contact between Indonesia and East Timor is necessary to generate understanding and promote a culture of peace between them. We believe that while the Governments make efforts to promote closer relations, civil society in Indonesia and East Timor could complement governmental efforts.

The fourth area relates to the role of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). East Timor would obviously look towards eventual membership of ASEAN. In a regional setting, ASEAN can play a key role in maintaining the sovereignty and territorial integrity of East Timor as its future member.

We welcome the establishment by the Secretary-General of the working group on post-UNTAET planning in East Timor, and we would emphasize the importance of there being a civilian component to the United Nations presence for some time more. Bangladesh would be happy to contribute civil administration and civilian police professionals to such a presence.

We note UNTAET's preparations for holding elections to the Constituent Assembly, as mentioned in paragraph 62 of the Secretary-General's report. We fully support its efforts and hope that a free and fair election can set East Timor robustly on its path to independence.

Let me conclude by saying that in the run-up to the election to be held in exactly a month's time and in the subsequent independence, we would encourage UNTAET to continue to employ determined and well-planned efforts to prepare East Timor effectively for its sovereign existence. Bangladesh has been making its humble contributions to the empowerment of the Timorese people through the Grameen Bank's microcredit initiatives. We believe that — as the territory emerges as the first independent State of the new millennium, in an expression of the will of its people — continued support to East Timor is a major responsibility of the international community.

Mr. Ayari (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): I too would like to thank the Secretary-General for his progress report on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), and I would also like to thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his useful and complete briefing on the developments in East Timor. I also thank Mr. José Ramos-Horta for his briefing.

The phase that East Timor is now going through is an important stage in the history of the East Timorese people, who are moving inexorably towards independence. In this regard I would like to pay a sincere tribute to UNTAET for the effectiveness with which it has shouldered its responsibilities and is continuing to do so in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. The upcoming elections, which are planned for 30 August and are expected to be pluralist and democratic, are a real reason for satisfaction and augur well for the future of the East Timor. We hail the signing by the registered

parties of a national unity pact, by which they have committed themselves to respect the rules of democracy and fair competition and the verdict of the polls. This is a positive step.

The elections will in particular allow the movement from the Transitional Administration to an independent East Timorese Government. This Government will be confronted with numerous problems and challenges, which it will have to meet. International community assistance for this effort will be indispensable.

We welcome the progress that has been made towards establishing the basis for an effective administration, which will have the onerous responsibility of governing the country in a viable manner and of promoting a climate conducive to the integral development of East Timor.

The best way to ensure the future of East Timor is for it to establish good-neighbourly relations with the countries of the region. In this regard we welcome the conclusion by East Timor and Australia of the Timor Sea Arrangement, which was the culmination of 16 months of negotiations. We also would like to emphasize the importance of confidence-building between Indonesia and East Timor. The Indonesian authorities for their part have time and again demonstrated their readiness to cooperate with UNTAET and to establish mechanisms for dialogue and concerted action in order to resolve the outstanding issues, such as the problems of refugees and displaced persons.

The importance of the regional context was emphasized earlier by Mr. Ramos-Horta when he said:

“a strong, dynamic and creative relationship with the region will be our best defence”.

Finally, I would like to say that we support the major efforts being undertaken by UNTAET, the troop-contributing countries, the United Nations Development Programme and the donor countries. They are playing an important role in providing the East Timorese a solid basis for governing, in an atmosphere of peace and stability, once independence has been achieved.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to reiterate Mr. Ramos-Horta's view stressing that the peace remains precarious and that any hasty withdrawal would threaten what has been achieved.

Indeed we believe that a great deal remains to be done, and the commitment of the international community to East Timor should be preserved. What is at stake here is the future of this nascent State.

Mr. Hume (United States): I would like to thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his briefing of the Council and in particular for the professionalism, dedication and simply good service of him and his colleagues in East Timor. I would also like to thank Mr. Ramos-Horta for his comments this morning, including the affirmations he has made regarding his hopes for the future of his country.

The most important thing for us to do today is to send a clear, unambiguous signal that the Constituent Assembly elections scheduled for 30 August are a major step forward towards a free and independent East Timor. Everyone here hopes and expects that these elections will be conducted peacefully and that there will be a smooth and fair implementation of the results. We have consistently supported the efforts of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) to strengthen the involvement and direct participation of the East Timorese people with the Administration of East Timor. The establishment of an elected Constituent Assembly is a logical, welcome next step in this process, as is the selection in mid-September of a new transitional cabinet, reflecting the election results and the principle of national unity, and composed entirely of East Timorese.

We have heard from a number of sources that there is anxiety among the East Timorese people as they approach this election with the memory of the popular consultations still fresh in their minds. It is important for them to look at the differences that those two years have made. Now nearly all the parties have signed a pact of national unity, committing themselves to a peaceful political campaign and to accept the outcome of elections. Now there are United Nations peacekeepers and civilian police throughout the territory. In addition, their fellow citizens are in the nascent East Timorese Police Service and East Timorese Defence Force. This election will be different. It will be safe, and it will set the tone for the future.

As part of that future, at a later date and when there are elected East Timorese representatives among our interlocutors, we will need to talk seriously about the international presence after independence. In its

resolution 1338 (2001) the Security Council stressed the need for a substantial international presence in East Timor after independence. I think I can say that the Council still firmly holds that view.

The United States Government hopes that this substantial presence will include a wider range of United Nations agencies and programmes engaged in East Timor. We welcome the Secretary-General's recommendation, contained in paragraph 54 of his report, that his Deputy Special Representative after independence should be the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Resident Representative in East Timor.

The Secretary-General's recent report also provides us with the beginning of a useful road map for getting from where we are now, on the eve of elections, to where we want to be, next year, on the eve of independence. In particular my delegation supports the Secretary-General's intention to adjust downwards some parts of the UNTAET structure in the upcoming months. This is both well reasoned and realistic, and also completely within the Secretary-General's jurisdiction, independent of Council action.

Today is not the time to get into a protracted discussion of the Secretary-General's recommendations on a post-UNTAET presence. The upcoming elections are our first priority. We will have time later for other discussions. I would like to say, however, that we have looked carefully at paragraphs 52 to 60 of the Secretary-General's current report, and we look forward to October's more detailed elaboration of the proposal for fielding a smaller successor mission to UNTAET. We presume that this follow-on report will use as a starting point the commitment in paragraph 53 that this will be a substantially smaller presence and the discussion in paragraphs 58 and 59 of how the peacekeeping force can be reconfigured and eventually, in due time, withdrawn.

That brings me to two questions that I would like to pose to Mr. Vieira de Mello to end my remarks. The first relates to paragraph 56 of the report, where it estimates that a certain percentage of the East Timor Transitional Administration staff and the UNTAET administrative staff will be reduced at the end of the current mandate. I wonder if you could give us an idea of how many international staff work in those two entities, respectively, at the current time.

The second question relates to UNTAET's relationship with the Indonesian Government. There has been progress in some areas, but the report notes that there are many outstanding issues, including the refugee and militia situation in West Timor, cooperation in the judicial sphere, a range of economic issues, such as pensions, and access from Oecussi to the rest of East Timor. I would be interested in your comments and those of José Ramos-Horta about engaging with the new Government on those issues.

Mr. Granovsky (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): I, too, would like to express gratitude to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his important and interesting briefing. We have also listened attentively to the very substantive statement by the member of the Transitional Cabinet and major political figure of East Timor, José Ramos-Horta.

Today's meeting of the Security Council is dedicated to reviewing the important processes taking place in East Timor, in particular within the framework of preparations for the Constituent Assembly. Necessary assistance for this review is provided by the progress report of the Secretary-General on the activities of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor. The report is an extremely substantive document that provides a detailed description of the efforts of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor and of successes in the Timorization of the structures of power as the movement towards independence advances. We share the conclusions of the Secretary-General and the thrust of his ideas concerning the future role of the United Nations in East Timor. We expect that they will take on the form of recommendations in his next report, to be submitted at the end of October.

We consider that preparations for the transition of East Timor to a new status is being carried out in a logically planned manner. It is extremely important that this process remain smooth.

In any case, the Security Council must take into account the need for a thorough adjustment of its actions so that the future — in our view, absolutely indispensable — evolution of the United Nations presence in East Timor does not impinge on this process. It is necessary to recall here that the operation in East Timor opened up a fundamentally new page in United Nations peacekeeping and that its success or

failure is directly linked to the prestige of the United Nations.

Miss Durrant (Jamaica): My delegation wishes to welcome the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and Mr. José Ramos-Horta, member of the Transitional Cabinet of East Timor responsible for Foreign Affairs. We thank them for their important contribution to the Council's consideration of the situation in East Timor.

The Security Council must now focus on developments in the territory, the preparation for elections on 30 August, progress made in capacity-building and the exit strategy of the United Nations. In this regard, we are grateful for the update provided on each of these areas in the Secretary-General's report, and I wish to comment in turn on these issues.

First, on the preparations for elections and independence, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) has made excellent progress in the registration of political parties and the residents of East Timor. We are pleased that the election campaign has been peacefully launched and that deadlines for registration on other activities have been met. The fact that no party is basing its campaign appeal on regional or ethnic affiliations is encouraging, as is a commitment of the parties to conducting themselves in a peacefully and mutually respectful fashion and to defending multi-party democracy. We are optimistic that, with the special preparations to ensure public safety, the community policing activities and the apparent commitment of the people of East Timor to this process, the elections will be conducted with fairness, with wide participation and in an environment of calm and stability.

We look forward to the establishment of the Constituent Assembly after elections and to its important work on the constitution. We hope that the wide participation encouraged during the election campaign and the involvement of the population in the decision-making process will also be an essential part of the second stage of the political process. We wish to stress the importance of finding common ground with regard to the drafting of the constitution and the need for those intimately involved to work in a spirit of cooperation and compromise. We also anticipate a renewed focus on economic and social development and reconstruction during this period.

Secondly, with regard to capacity-building, the Secretary-General's report details the substantial progress that has been made in the areas of finance, the economy, education and the social services. We are particularly interested in the progress made in the area of justice and reconciliation. The National Council's finalization and endorsement of a regulation establishing a Truth, Reception and Reconciliation Commission is a welcome development.

Developing a strong and effective police force and improvement of the judicial system are also objectives important to addressing the security situation and the overall maintenance of law and order.

We note the progress that has been made so far in the transfer of authority to the East Timorese. In particular, we are pleased that efforts have been made to ensure gender balance at the different levels of the East Timorese Administration and that women constitute some 27 percent of candidates on the national list of parties. We hope that these initiatives will also result in a substantial number of women being elected to the Constituent Assembly.

On the East Timor economy, we view the signing of the Timor Sea Arrangement as an important development in the Timorization process. The long-term benefits expected to accrue from this agreement, along with the strong economic growth referred to in the Secretary-General's report, augur well for East Timor's economic viability and sustainability. The assistance of United Nations agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme and of international financial institutions and their future collaboration on development plans will also be crucial in contributing to the economic growth of East Timor and in creating an enabling environment for investment.

The refugee situation remains of concern to us, as do incidents of militia activity in West Timor. We commend the Indonesian Government for its cooperation in the registration of refugees in West Timor, and we look forward to the findings of the inter-agency security assessment mission, which visited West Timor from the 6 to 14 July. We again encourage the Government of Indonesia to implement all the measures called for in resolution 1319 (2000) in order to create a more secure environment for the return of United Nations staff to West Timor.

My delegation cannot forget the murder of the staff of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees last September. We attach importance to the implementation of the memorandum of understanding on cooperation in legal, judicial and human rights matters. We urge the Government of Indonesia to take steps to implement the section of the memorandum pertaining to the transfer of persons for the purpose of prosecution.

In regard to the exit strategy, it is clear that a lot more needs to be done in East Timor and that the impact of many of the initiatives taken by UNTAET can be evaluated only in the long term. In this regard, the Secretary-General's report due in October will be an important contribution to the evaluation by the Council. We must therefore carefully consider the timing and impact of the reduction of the international presence in East Timor. East Timor, after all, constitutes a unique experiment for the United Nations. We are all agreed that after independence, East Timor will still require the assistance of the international community. Our exit strategy depends a great deal on the progress in capacity-building, especially in the areas of the police, the justice system, institutional capacity and the long-term security of East Timor.

We look forward to discussing the recommendations of the working group on post-UNTAET planning and the recommendations of the integrated mission task force. We note the recommendations in the Secretary-General's report and welcome the proposed inclusion of a human rights component in the successor mission. We would also like to emphasize the importance we attach to the development and training of the East Timor Police Service, and we encourage UNTAET to work urgently towards achieving the targets set for December 2001 and April 2003.

We agree with the Secretary-General that the substantial strength of the United Nations civilian police should be maintained until East Timor police are fully trained and deployed. We also agree with the Secretary-General's assessment of the security situation in East Timor. We share his view that the militia groups will continue to pose a threat both to the internal stability of East Timor and to the well-being and security of refugees remaining in West Timor. We therefore support the need for a continued United Nations force, the size of which has to be determined in close coordination with the elected representatives

of the East Timorese people so that we can maintain a secure environment. We feel it is important that the military presence be proportionate to the security risks and threats to the territory. In this regard, we must heed the appeals made to the Council by Mr. Ramos-Horta.

The continued support of the international community for the people of East Timor is crucial to the cementing of the substantial gains already made and to future sustainable growth in East Timor. We also agree with Mr. Ramos-Horta that excellent relations with other countries in the region will be East Timor's best defence.

In conclusion, Jamaica salutes the people of East Timor in their long, long struggle for self-determination, and we look forward to welcoming East Timor into the family of nations after independence early next year. We also pay tribute to the men and women of UNTAET, under the dynamic leadership of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello.

Mr. Doutriaux (France) (*spoke in French*): France associates itself with the statement that Belgium will make later on behalf of the European Union. I will merely make a few comments in my national capacity.

First, I wish to thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and Mr. José Ramos-Horta for the clarity and the precision of their statements. With them we can take stock of the absolutely outstanding work accomplished by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and of the progress in the transition towards independence and in particular of the Administration's continuing "Timorization" — I use that term even though Mr. Vieira de Mello does not consider it appropriate; it is the word one must use. I wish to pay tribute once again to the personnel of UNTAET. The progress achieved brings us closer to our ultimate common goal, which is the building of an independent and viable Timorese State.

We welcome the upcoming election of the members of the Constituent Assembly on 30 August. We need to work together with Timorese officials to make that consultation a success. We should especially mention the quality of the preparation of this timetable, in particular the conclusion of the national pact signed by the majority of political parties. These elections will clearly be a critical stage in the political transition. The international community, for its part, will see its role thoroughly changed. There will be less need than in the

past of replacing Timorese authorities. Rather, it will be a question of accompanying them on their road towards independence.

We welcome, moreover, the creation on 20 June 2001 of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The process of discussion with the militias must also be supported, and we thank Mr. Ramos-Horta for the clarifications he gave us in this respect. We believe that only the attainment of political power by the Timorese will make it possible to progress in the reconciliation process. To ensure the stability of the country, we believe it is essential to promote the rapid recognition of Timorese political power and the earliest possible accession of East Timor to independence, once the presidential elections have been held.

Indonesia, for its part, also has a role to play in the issue of disarmament and the dismantling of the militias. We welcome what was indicated by Mr. Ramos-Horta concerning relations with Indonesia, particularly since the designation of the new president of Indonesia. We call upon the Government of Jakarta to implement appeal procedures concerning the murder in September 2000 of the three staff members of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Atambua, and to bring to trial the perpetrators of violations of human rights in East Timor. The problem of violence linked to traffic in the border zone is a legitimate reason for concern. In order to deal with the roots of this phenomenon and control this violence, a strategy for harmonious development with West Timor must be developed.

We have taken due note of the report of the Secretary-General, which clearly recounts the work and missions of UNTAET and presents more clearly what is to come. We note that the Secretary-General envisions a substantial reduction in the international presence, and we await with interest the specific figures in his next report, in October, on the pre- and post-independence periods.

We would like to thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for the clarifications he gave us in his introductory statement, particularly regarding security. In this respect, I associate myself with the question Mr. Vieira de Mello was asked by Ambassador Hume on one of the paragraphs of the report.

The next report should allow us to obtain broader indications on the expected duration of maintaining the international presence and on the distribution of roles

between, on the one hand, the United Nations mission to follow after UNTAET, and on the other, the United Nations funds and programmes such as the United Nations Development Programme, the international financial institutions and the regional organizations, whose role is called on to grow rapidly as the country progresses towards independence. I have indeed noted what Ambassador Mahbubani indicated regarding the role that could be played by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and he also referred to the very recent meeting of the ASEAN ministers at Hanoi.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I, too, wish most particularly to thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and Mr. José Ramos-Horta for their very comprehensive and enlightening statements. We also wish to thank the Secretary-General for the report that is before us.

The excellent and highly appreciated work of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) can largely be attributed to the experience, dedication and personal and professional qualities that Mr. Vieira de Mello has brought to his difficult task.

The Security Council is entering a decisive period for the future of East Timor. The elections scheduled for 30 August to elect a Constituent Assembly are an essential step in the construction of an independent State in East Timor. The United Nations has no choice but to accompany the Timorese to the very end, that is, until they have developed local capacities that will allow the emerging State to create the conditions for adequate and sustainable development. The Security Council, the United Nations system and the Timorese, in particular, all face the challenge of contributing to the establishment of a system of government in which law, institutions, respect for human rights, tolerance and respect for diverse ideologies and viewpoints prevail and in which, we must say yet again, full, complete and due justice is essential.

Colombia, as a member of the Security Council, wishes actively to contribute to the construction by the Timorese of a promising future in peace. We want favourable results in the political, economic and social spheres and therefore believe that our exchange today marks the onset of a strategic debate that should lead to defining an appropriate role for the United Nations in

East Timor. Colombia feels that, in determining the future of UNTAET, the sole valid criterion is one that will surely be simple to define: the specific conditions and needs of East Timor and its people. Any other criterion that may be brought to the debate — such as budget, the needs of other peacekeeping operations, current or potential, and so on — could lead us to draw inappropriate conclusions. This is not a simplistic assertion, but a realistic one, given the situation in East Timor.

We must first decide what East Timor needs from the United Nations and then define how to provide what the Timorese need. In this context, it is quite obvious that paragraphs 52 through 60 of the Secretary-General's report require very careful study. The Security Council will keep abreast of the elections to be held on 30 August; once the Timorese have expressed their political will, the Council must ensure that its opinion is given due weight in the definition of UNTAET's mandate and of any other mandates that might be agreed.

I should like to ask the Secretariat a few general questions in order to obtain an up-to-date understanding of certain aspects of the report. First, I should like to be a little clearer on how the presence of other United Nations agencies in East Timor is to be coordinated with any future decision of the Security Council concerning UNTAET. For example, paragraph 54 refers to certain ideas relating to the Resident Coordinator of the United Nations Development Programme, which would surely be of interest to the Executive Board of that Programme. How is coordination to be established between the efforts of such boards and the Security Council's proposals on the future of UNTAET?

Secondly, I should like greater specificity on the status of the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF), which, according to paragraph 22 of the report, is scheduled to be completed by the end of the year. How will those who have been elected participate in UNDAF? Will they be in a position to define development priorities by the end of the year or will they maintain UNDAF as a process focused exclusively on the United Nations vision?

Finally, I must emphasize the great importance of the inter-agency security assessment mission that visited West Timor from 6 to 14 July under the guidance of the United Nations Security Coordinator,

as mentioned in paragraph 46 of the report. When will we receive the results of that mission and, above all, when can action be taken on them? It is clearly indispensable to proceed as quickly as possible on this security issue, hopefully before the elections.

Mr. Touré (Mali) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I wish to thank you, Sir, for having organized this public meeting on the situation in East Timor, barely one month before the elections that will open the way to that country's independence. I also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his progress report on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and to welcome Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and Mr. José Ramos-Horta, Cabinet Member of the East Timor Transitional Administration responsible for Foreign Affairs. I thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his clear and precise presentation of the Secretary-General's report and Mr. Ramos-Horta for his very enlightening statement.

In the report before us, we take due note of the considerable progress made by UNTAET since our last meeting on 18 May towards building an independent, democratic and stable East Timorese State. This public meeting is an ideal opportunity for my delegation to pay a warm tribute to the Special Representative, all the staff of UNTAET and all the Members of the East Timor Transitional Administration for the steps they have taken in the political process leading to the national and international sovereignty of East Timor and the emergence of an independent East Timorese Government.

The delegation of Mali endorses and supports all the ideas, recommendations and analyses provided by the Secretary-General in his report, and shares some concerns expressed by those who have spoken before us. Allow me to make a few additional comments.

First, there can be no doubt whatsoever that UNTAET has been seriously and resolutely involved in the process of preparing for the elections for the Constituent Assembly, to be held on the symbolic date of 30 August. The dissolution of the National Council and the opening of the electoral campaign on 15 July were concrete demonstrations of that involvement.

The massive participation of East Timorese in this first multi-party balloting is the biggest challenge facing UNTAET and, through it, the international community as a whole. In this connection, my

delegation welcomes the participation of 16 political parties and the registration of 1,138 party and independent candidates for the 88 seats in Parliament. We welcome and encourage the women candidates in particular.

The pact of national unity, signed on 8 July 2001, by 14 out of 16 parties competing for the vote, constitutes a strong political act that my delegation welcomes and supports. The fact that these parties have committed themselves to respecting the ballot results, to conducting themselves peacefully with mutual respect and to defending pluralistic democracy clearly attests to the maturity of the East Timorese political leaders and their determination to establish the bases of a solid democratic and an economically viable State.

The political parties, we believe, must become increasingly involved in the education, sensitizing and training of their activists. In order to do this, the parties need the means. In this context, we support UNTAET's decision to solicit donors' support to organize a programme of assistance for all the registered political parties and independent candidates.

Regarding the various phases of transition from a Transitional Administration to an independent East Timorese Government, my delegation welcomes the laudable progress made by UNTAET. It is encouraging to note that steady progress has been made in the last six months in the areas of staff recruitment and training and the adoption of legislation on employment and labour administration. All this certainly contributes to the Administration's transition in good conditions to the future East Timorese Government. The Timorization of the Administration must be accelerated before independence, in order to allow the country's people to take control themselves of their country's destiny.

East Timor's accession to independence must not be synonymous with the international community's disengagement. In view of the enormous sums that the international community has invested there, everything must be done to accompany the young East Timorese democracy's first steps.

In this context, my delegation takes due note of the comments made by the Secretary-General in paragraphs 52 to 60 of his report and awaits with interest his October 2001 report, in which he will outline the new mission that will replace UNTAET. My delegation attaches great importance to the questions linked to defence, public safety and governance, which must be ensured for the East Timorese throughout the critical period that will follow the elections. I am certain that the Secretary-General will make relevant recommendations in his October 2001 report regarding each of the aforementioned points.

Finally, I cannot conclude without reiterating Mali's firm support for the remarkable work achieved by UNTAET, under the effective guidance of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, on the path to East Timor's independence, of the Timorization of the Administration and of the advent of an independent East Timorese Government. East Timor will still need the international community's support following its accession to independence. The international community does not have the right to shirk its responsibilities vis-à-vis this emerging democracy.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): With the concurrence of the members of the Council, I intend to suspend the meeting now. The meeting will resume at 3.30 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.15 p.m.



Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

4351st meeting

Monday, 30 July 2001, 3.30 p.m.

New York

Provisional

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Wang Yingfan	(China)
<i>Members:</i>	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Doutriaux
	Ireland	Mr. Cooney
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Touré
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Strømme
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Ayari
	Ukraine	Mr. Kulyk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation in East Timor

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2001/719).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.



The meeting was resumed at 3.40 p.m.

Mr. Strømme (Norway): Let me start by expressing my delegation's appreciation of the presence here of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and of my friend Mr. José Ramos-Horta. I would also like to thank them both for their excellent statements on the latest developments in and the future of East Timor. Those statements bring to mind the achievements that have been made, but they also remind us that the task at hand has still not been completed.

Norway welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) (S/2001/719). Let me underline our satisfaction with the report's very clear recommendations with regard to a future United Nations presence in East Timor.

To ensure peace and the establishment of vital institutions, it is of crucial importance that the United Nations remain in East Timor until such institutions have been put on a solid footing. Norway therefore fully supports the recommendations put forward by the Secretary-General with regard to a successor mission to UNTAET, mandated by the Security Council and containing both a military and a civilian component.

UNTAET has provided a platform for a successful transition in East Timor. In order to ensure that this process is seen through to a logical conclusion, we believe assessed funding is the only viable approach. Needless to say, the mission should be carefully designed to reflect the exact needs and challenges of a newly independent East Timor.

As to the issue of a future exit strategy, we believe that instead of trying to fix a date for the withdrawal of United Nations personnel, the Council should seek guidance from resolution 1272 (1999) regarding establishing certain benchmarks for withdrawal.

The period leading up to the elections on 30 August — as well as the immediate post-election period, including the drafting of the constitution — will be of great importance for the future State of East Timor. A lot has been invested, and a lot is at stake.

Norway reiterates the importance of free and fair elections. In this regard we are encouraged by the innovative approach adopted by UNTAET in the pre-election phase. Let me also underline my Government's

appreciation of the fact that the pact of national unity has now been signed. We consider this to be of great importance for optimizing the framework for a peaceful and democratic East Timor.

Norway was among the international observers at the recent registration of refugees in West Timor. My delegation approves of the technical manner in which the exercise was carried out. The preliminary results suggest that the majority of the refugees currently prefer to remain in Indonesia. However, in our view it is likely that many will reconsider and opt for repatriation at a later stage.

Norway attaches great importance to the instigation of criminal proceedings against individuals responsible for serious international crimes. We reiterate our stand that prosecution by national courts is a far better approach than the setting up of an international tribunal, which should always be the very last resort.

We note with satisfaction the increased East Timorese participation in the Administration. However, we are still not at a satisfactory level, and we therefore urge UNTAET to use the remaining months of the transition to intensify these efforts.

My Government is impressed by the work already done to create conditions for a sustainable independent East Timor. We would therefore like to stress the importance of continued economic support for UNTAET, the World Bank and the humanitarian and development agencies working in East Timor. For its part, my Government remains committed to providing its share of the overall costs.

Finally, my Government takes note of the peaceful and democratic transition of power in Indonesia. It is of vital importance for both security and stability in the region that strong and peaceful relations between East Timor and Indonesia are established. Reconciliation and enhanced cooperation between the two countries are fundamental prerequisites.

Let me conclude by once again paying tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello, and his staff, both international and East Timorese, for undertaking such a difficult task in a manner that gives hope for a smooth transition to an independent East Timor.

Mr. Cooney (Ireland): I would like to welcome Special Representative Sergio Vieira de Mello and Mr. Ramos-Horta. Later in today's debate Belgium, as President of the European Union, will be making a statement to which Ireland fully subscribes. I make the following points in my national capacity.

It is not an exaggeration to state that today's meeting takes place at an historic time for East Timor, as the country approaches elections to the Constituent Assembly, the drafting of the constitution and the achievement of independence. An enormous amount has been accomplished in the last two years, but as Mr. Vieira de Mello has confirmed today, much remains to be done.

The Secretary-General in his report of last January stated that, once independent, East Timor would still require substantial international support through an integrated mission mandated by the Security Council and funded from assessed contributions. We are pleased to note in the current report that planning for such a presence is being undertaken by the Working Group on the Post-UNTAET Planning in East Timor, together with an Integrated Mission Task Force in New York. We also note from the Secretary-General's report that the plan will be refined to reflect the structure of an independent Government of East Timor, which of course will only become clear once the Constituent Assembly's deliberations have progressed.

We strongly believe that the international presence in East Timor should be commensurate with actual requirements and calibrated to a careful timetable of scrutiny and review. In this context we have taken careful note of Mr. Ramos-Horta's appeal that the desirable downsizing of the United Nations presence should take full account of the ongoing needs of East Timor. The recommendation in the Secretary-General's report that international staff should act increasingly in an advisory capacity and in technical areas where local expertise has not yet developed is most sensible and worthy of further consideration. We believe that this assistance is vital for the process of Timorization, whereby East Timor will acquire the administrative strength and institutional capacity to successfully manage its own affairs.

We agree with the recommendation of the Secretary-General that an effective human rights component should be an important part of the successor

mission, and we are encouraged by the important human rights work currently being carried out by the Human Rights Unit of UNTAET.

Yet despite the encouraging political developments, we remain concerned about the security situation in East Timor. In particular, as we were reminded on the weekend, the situation on the border with West Timor is of concern. In this respect we note the reference in the Secretary-General's report to illegal cross-border trade and movement, which have been associated with serious security incidents. This is deeply worrying.

Equally disturbing is the concern expressed in the report that some militia elements have adopted a strategy of biding their time until independence in the belief that the international military presence will be removed from East Timor. The militias must not be given such hope, no matter how false or groundless. Moreover, they must be disarmed and disbanded.

As regards the presence of international troops, we believe that the significant efforts of the international community should not be compromised or endangered by a premature reduction in military strength. Concrete decisions should not be taken at this time, particularly about the peacekeeping and policing components. We should reflect on the recommendation of the Secretary-General and monitor developments on the ground, especially during the election period. Before we make decisions in this regard we should await the report that the Secretary-General has said he will issue in October. We believe that, pending that report, the military component of UNTAET should be maintained in its present form until the new Government in East Timor has established itself.

The long-term stability and prosperity of East Timor will be greatly enhanced through a close and harmonious relationship with its neighbour, Indonesia. These are challenging times for Indonesia, but there is no doubt that the international standing of the new Government in Jakarta would be significantly strengthened if it were to take early action in relation to a number of issues regarding its relations with East Timor. These include active implementation of the memorandum of understanding, concluded in 2000, on cooperation in legal, judicial and human rights matters. They also include cooperation with UNTAET and subsequently with the independent East Timorese authorities in prosecuting crimes against humanity and

humanitarian law in East Timor, and the pursuit of an early appeal against the extremely light sentences given to the six individuals guilty of the murder of the three staff of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Atambua on 6 September 2000.

Another such action would be an indication that those refugees who for the moment have apparently elected to remain in West Timor would, were they to change their minds, be allowed to return to East Timor in full security. Finally, we would urge full cooperation in investigating the allegations raised by Ireland in May that some women, abducted from East Timor during the conflict, are being held in West Timor in conditions of sexual slavery.

Ireland is fully committed to a sustained involvement in East Timor, both bilaterally and on the part of the United Nations. Considerable and encouraging progress has been made in East Timor. This is a tribute both to the courage and vision of the East Timorese people and their leadership and to the professionalism and dedication of the staff of UNTAET. We are in a critical stage of the national self-realization of East Timor. We very much hope that when we look at the Secretary-General's next report, in October, further challenges will have been met, that the elections will have been successfully held and that the drafting of East Timor's constitution will be well under way. This is a crucial phase, and it is important that this Council continue to show its strong and steadfast support for East Timor.

Mr. Kulyk (Ukraine): Like previous speakers, I wish to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and the member of the Transitional Cabinet, Mr. Ramos-Horta, for their comprehensive statements containing deep analysis of the recent problems and the long-term tasks that lie before the Transitional Administration and the East Timorese on their way towards independence.

The Ukrainian views are very much in consonance with what has been said around this table. I shall therefore confine myself to making a few remarks.

The latest review of the situation in East Timor, including the report of the Secretary-General, enables us to draw conclusions about the progress made in the move towards independence. We are particularly pleased with the successful process of Timorization. In

this regard, we view positively the activities of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

We consider the elections for the Constituent Assembly a key issue on the political calendar for East Timor at this stage. The elections on 30 August will pave the way to independence for the people of East Timor. It is necessary to ensure the holding of democratic, transparent and orderly general legislative elections.

It is also extremely important to avoid violence and confrontation within East Timorese society after the elections. It will be essential to ensure the smooth formation of the Constituent Assembly and the new Cabinet and to maintain a peaceful environment for the debate over the first constitution of East Timor and the transition to independence. In this connection, we welcome the signing of the pact of national unity by 14 of the 16 political parties contesting in the elections. But we are concerned that the potential for communal or inter-party violence remains within East Timor over the transitional period. Therefore, we are interested in hearing what additional steps can be taken by UNTAET and the Transitional Cabinet to prevent the possible destabilization of the situation.

Establishing the economic foundation for independence on the basis of a viable private sector remains another priority for us. It is gratifying to see the revitalization of the economic life of East Timor. Revenues from the Timor Sea will give an additional significant chance for strengthening East Timor's economic independence. The future Government will need to build on efforts by the Bretton Woods institutions and the United Nations by creating an environment favourable to attracting long-term investments. It is important that the financial programmes and projects that are being implemented or are getting under way in East Timor be focused on the future and adapted to the conditions that will prevail after independence.

We believe that an indispensable step towards independence is the establishment of an East Timorese defence force, local police and an effective system of justice. If these tasks are not accomplished, all the other efforts to move towards independence may be threatened.

The United Nations civilian police should maintain a substantial strength until the East Timorese

police are fully trained and deployed. It is important to enable the East Timorese to play an increasingly greater role in enforcing public safety and in the defence of East Timor's borders.

It is clear that the international presence in East Timor needs to be extended after the transition to East Timorese independence. In this regard, we fully share the relevant provisions of the progress report of the Secretary-General. We need a comprehensive, realistic and lasting approach to a successor mission. A considered exit strategy that is based on the continuing needs and aspirations of the East Timorese people is also important.

Mr. Koonjul (Mauritius): The progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) brings much good and encouraging news about the ongoing political process in East Timor. It also brings to the attention of the international community the need for consistent and concerted action to ensure a successful transfer of authority from UNTAET to the new executive authority which will be set up after the election. We commend the Secretary-General for his report. We thank the Special Representative of the Secretary General, Mr. Vieira de Mello, for his lucid and comprehensive briefing. We join other delegations in expressing our appreciation for his formidable and most constructive work in East Timor. We are also grateful for the briefing given to us this morning by Mr. Ramos-Horta, member of the Transitional Cabinet of East Timor responsible for Foreign Affairs.

The political development in East Timor seems to be moving in the right direction, and the dream of independence culminating in statehood for East Timor is now only a matter of time. In the light of the progressive infrastructural development that has taken place during the past six months, and in view of the strong commitment of both UNTAET and the East Timorese to nation-building, we feel confident that the forthcoming elections scheduled for 30 days from now will proceed peacefully. We note with satisfaction that the majority of parties have signed the pact of national unity to carry out a peaceful political campaign and to accept the outcome of the elections.

We are also pleased to note that the district constitutional commissions are conducting hearings on systems of government, basic rights and other issues related to the constitution. It is important that the

population at large, especially civil society, be made to feel that it is part of this important political process. We hope that these consultations will lead to the preparation of a constitution tailored to the needs and legitimate aspirations of the East Timorese people.

We also welcome the news that various sectors of the economy have generally seen improvements. However, appropriate funding and proper planning are still needed to ensure continued progress and sustainability. The pressing issues of security, resettlement of returnees and law and order need to be addressed urgently. We urge the international community to continue and to increase its assistance in these areas.

My delegation appreciates the setting up of the Working Group on the Post-UNTAET Planning in East Timor, together with an Integrated Mission Task Force in New York on the modality of international support that would be required in East Timor after independence. We believe that the Working Group should take into consideration the findings of the inter-agency security assessment team and, in the light of its recommendations, suggest an appropriate plan of action.

The positive developments in East Timor could not have been possible without the active cooperation of the Government of Indonesia. We urge the new leadership in Indonesia to pursue its efforts to implement all the measures called for by the Council in its resolution 1319 (2000). We also appeal to the Government of Indonesia to fully respect the memorandum of understanding on cooperation in legal, judicial and human rights matters, concluded on 6 April 2000 with UNTAET, especially section 9, which provides for the transfer of persons for purposes of prosecution.

The task lying ahead is not easy, but it is not unattainable either. Bearing in mind the inexperience of the various new departments, we cannot, at this stage, afford an exit without strategy. The strategy is clear. We need to prepare the East Timorese people to take the responsibility for and the destiny of their newly born State in their own hands. This can be possible only if the Timorization process is accelerated in all sectors, through capacity-building in specific sectors of public finance, public administration, policing and maintenance of law and order.

A sound and representative legislative system, an effective and efficient administrative body and an independent judiciary are fundamentals for a sustained democratic society and political stability.

It is therefore extremely important to lay the foundation for and to consolidate the democratic institutions, which will ensure good governance and rule of law, respect for human rights and an independent judiciary in East Timor. It is equally important that a massive campaign be undertaken to educate the population at large as to their civic duties and obligations and also their rights in a free and democratic society.

Mauritius supports the recommendation of the Secretary-General to adjust the international presence in East Timor, bearing in mind the situation on the ground in the period following elections, and we reaffirm the need for a substantial international presence in the country after independence as recommended in resolution 1338 (2001).

The people of East Timor are on the eve of a new era in the life of their country. It is extremely important that they put aside all their differences and work together in a spirit of national reconciliation in the process of rebuilding their nation and shaping their economy. Likewise, it is vital for the international community to extend all the necessary assistance to the country and its new administration.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): Now I will speak in my capacity as the representative of China.

The Chinese delegation welcomes Mr. Vieira de Mello and Mr. Ramos-Horta in our midst, and we welcome their statements.

We endorse the report by the Secretary-General. We are sincerely pleased by the significant progress achieved in the independence process in East Timor. We appreciate the active efforts made by the transitional authorities, especially in the transfer of power, to speed up the process of Timorization, as well as the fruitful work under the leadership of Mr. Vieira de Mello.

As indicated in the report, East Timor is in a critical, final stage in the transitional period. We hope that the transitional authorities will continue to play their constructive role in helping the people of East Timor achieve self-government and self-sufficiency. In our view, United Nations peacekeeping operations

should have a good beginning and a good ending. In considering the exit strategy, they should plan thoroughly and take a cautious approach. China endorses the analysis and consideration in the report of the Secretary-General.

In our view, after East Timor achieves its official independence, the United Nations should maintain its considerable presence and retain necessary professionals in important departments in administration and management, provide assistance to the authorities of East Timor and maintain a considerable military and police presence. The input of the United Nations should also include corresponding financial support. All these are vital in ensuring the steady transition of East Timor and the smooth functioning of the new Government.

As for the size, composition, mandate and method of work of the presence, it should base itself on the principle of high effectiveness and high efficiency, proceed from the actual needs of East Timor, and cooperate closely with the people of East Timor and respect their views. In order to achieve this smooth transition in East Timor, its economic and financial independence and its sound development are important conditions not to be neglected. We hope that the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and the relevant agencies of the United Nations will continue their efforts in this regard.

We also call upon the entire international community to provide generous assistance to East Timor. Recently, China offered gratis in-kind assistance to East Timor, mainly in agriculture and fisheries. We will provide capital for the building of a foreign ministry. We have also extended assistance in the training of management personnel and will continue to do so. We are actively considering sending medical teams to East Timor. We would like to join the international community in making contributions within our capacities to the peace and development of East Timor.

I now resume my capacity as the President.

The next speaker is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council and to make his statement.

Mr. Brito (Portugal): Portugal fully supports the statement to be delivered by Ambassador Jean de Ruyt of Belgium on behalf of the European Union.

I would like at the outset to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and the Cabinet member for foreign affairs of the Transitional Administration in East Timor, Mr. José Ramos-Horta, for their comprehensive briefings. It is particularly useful for us here in New York to hear the latest developments in the transition of East Timor to independence from those whose everyday work is to ensure the thorough and smooth implementation of this process. It is a process that, I might add, should be led by the Security Council on the basis of an objective assessment of the evolving situation on the ground.

I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his report and to welcome the progress achieved in all areas by the activities of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) since the last briefing to the Council. We note, in particular, the progress in the recruitment of civil servants and the transfer of authority to Timorese people at all levels of administration. We strongly believe that Timorization is not just a method for the transfer of responsibility but also a matter of a transfer of skills. It is not just a matter of recruiting people into positions but mainly ensuring they have the minimum capacity to perform their functions. We encourage UNTAET to continue its efforts in this respect.

Portugal shares fully the Secretary-General's view that after independence, East Timor will still require

“substantial international support to be provided through an integrated mission mandated by the Security Council and funded from assessed contributions.” (*S/2001/719, paragraph 52*)

In that regard, we welcome the Secretary-General's recommendations for a follow-up United Nations presence in East Timor after independence, comprising both security and civilian components. We believe this is the only way to ensure continuity in UNTAET's work as it becomes clear that the broad and complex mandate handed down by the Security Council will not be fully achieved by the time of independence. Political and initiative stability are not just something desirable for East Timor; they are vital elements for guaranteeing the long-term security of the country. It will therefore continue to be a responsibility of the United Nations to ensure the establishment of a democratic and viable State in East Timor. This would

be the best legacy that the United Nations, and this Council in particular, could give to the people of East Timor.

Portugal notes with particular interest the involvement of the United Nations agencies and international financial institutions in the work of UNTAET, as well as in the planning process for the post-independence presence of the United Nations. However, useful and desirable further involvement of United Nations agencies and other institutions in East Timor has to be seen in a gradual and pragmatic way, and not as an instant recipe to solve the complex problems that East Timor has faced and will continue to face for years after its independence. In this context, we believe a number of core functions that emanate directly from the Security Council mandate, contained in resolutions 1272 (1999) and 1338 (2001), will still be the responsibility of this Council.

We would also like to underline the Secretary-General's remarks on both the progress achieved and the plans for future training and the full deployment of the Timorese police service. Success in this endeavour is essential to ensuring an independent police force that respects human rights and guarantees the implementation of law and order in the framework of a democratic system.

Portugal very much appreciates the Secretary-General's objective analysis of and recommendations on the military component of UNTAET. Despite some improvements in the security situation, we note with concern the remarks of the Secretary-General that

“The ability of militias to operate and train unhindered in some areas continues to be of concern.” (*S/2001/719, para. 50*)

The Secretary-General also points out that the light sentences handed out to suspects in the murder of three workers of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Atambua

“have encouraged some hard-line militia elements to plan the resumption of offensive operations designed to destabilize the situation in East Timor in the lead-up to the elections and independence”. (*ibid., para. 49*)

In this regard, Portugal welcomes the efforts of the Government of Indonesia to address the problem of the East Timorese refugees remaining in West Timor. We encourage the Government of Indonesia to continue

such efforts and to find a comprehensive solution to this problem. We welcome the commitment already publicly expressed by the Indonesian Government to allowing the return of the refugees at any given moment, independently of the wish expressed by the refugee population on the day of the registration exercise that took place in June.

A careful approach to the planning for the future readjustment of the military component of UNTAET is particularly important at this point in time. As we are meeting, the East Timorese political parties are in the middle of their electoral campaign. It is their first free and democratic campaign for the election of an Assembly that will be charged with the most important task in any newborn country: the writing of its constitution. It is fundamental at this point that no positions be taken by or signals sent from this Council that could have a destabilizing effect on the electoral environment. We should keep in mind the trauma and fears that the Timorese generally associate with elections and which are still very vivid in their collective memory. The coming years, as well as the writing of the constitution, are absolutely fundamental not only to the consolidation of democracy and self-government, but also to any decisions to be taken on the future presence of the United Nations in the country.

These are really the processes that we should be focusing on at this point, as so much in future debates depends on their outcome. It is never too much to highlight the need for the constitutional process to go smoothly. Sufficient time will need to be allowed for discussions and consultations in order to ensure full ownership of the process by the Timorese. We have seen enough cases of virtually perfect constitutions, drafted with the help of international experts, being adopted but not actually working for the lack of local ownership. It is too fundamental a debate to be rushed.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that we all know that the United Nations is not going to stay in East Timor indefinitely. We do not want that. The Council does not want that and the Timorese, I believe, do not want that either. UNTAET's mandate, however, must be fully implemented and if that does not occur before independence, then the United Nations and this Council will need to carry on their engagement beyond that time. This is not only a matter of moral debt to the Timorese; what is at stake is the very responsibility and credibility of the United Nations. Let us not forget for a

moment the starting point of this process. As someone once noted, those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.

Let me finally underline that, from our perspective, UNTAET has done an outstanding job to date. It has been a successful mission. Let us keep it that way. I am sure that we all share the same purpose and I can assure the Council that Portugal will continue to do its utmost to support all the efforts to bring East Timor to independence and to a lasting peace.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Australia. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Ms. Wensley (Australia): I thank you, Sir, for this opportunity to contribute to the Council's ongoing consideration of East Timor. We very much welcome your efforts to ensure that this meeting has taken place in a timely fashion and under your own presidency.

The overriding interest of the international community is to see the emergence of a stable, secure, prosperous and democratic East Timor governed by an effective administration. The United Nations, as mandated by this Security Council, will continue to have a clear and necessary role in the transition process which will bring that about. Good progress continues to be made, but as we once again assess this progress, informed by the Secretary-General's latest report on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), it is clear that the task is still far from complete.

I do want to thank the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his comprehensive presentation this morning. I also want to extend Australia's continuing thanks to him and to all of the members of UNTAET for their dedication to establishing a solid foundation for East Timor. It is a mark of the progress made so far that an increasing number of East Timorese are involved in this process, including through the East Timor Transitional Administration. The commitment and determination of the East Timorese to develop the skills and capacity they need to govern and administer their own nation are vital ingredients in the continuing transition process. In this respect, we were delighted to see José Ramos-Horta here today and I would like to pay the tribute of my Government to him and to the commitment and the effort which the East Timorese

people are investing in the establishment of their future nation.

In his report, the Secretary-General has reiterated the need for a continuing substantial international presence if there is to be a successful long-term outcome in East Timor. My Government fully endorses this judgement. The solid start which has been made to the transition process must be seen through to its conclusion. The considerable investment in the process must be protected and made to work for a peaceful and sustainable outcome.

It is Australia's firm view that a continuing United Nations presence after independence should be provided through an integrated mission comprising civilian, civilian police and peacekeeping components under a single Security Council mandate and funded from United Nations assessed contributions. This is the most coherent and practical approach which can be taken to handle the tasks and challenges which still lie ahead.

As so many speakers have emphasized today, the size of this successor mission will, naturally, be substantially smaller than UNTAET. As East Timor's capacity in government and administration increases, and as security and stability on the ground improve, the requirement for international support will diminish. The overall costs of the international presence will be considerably less than those which have been necessary to establish the transition process to date. Nevertheless, continuing consistent sources of funding for the three components of civilian administration, civilian police and peacekeeping will be needed if we are to achieve a durable and fully functioning democratic State in East Timor. This will require a flexible and creative approach to the use of assessed contributions.

The costs of the continued use of assessed contributions in the immediate post-independence period will be far less than the potential long-term costs if funding is withdrawn prematurely or if funding gaps appear. While we await the details promised in a further report in October, the Secretary-General's report has indicated that the United Nations successor mission will not be overly ambitious or costly. The international community has a responsibility to deal carefully with a situation that remains fragile and an emerging nation that is clearly yet vulnerable. The credibility of the United Nations, as my colleague Kishore Mahbubani emphasized so eloquently this

morning, as the caretaker of East Timor's transition is at stake.

Australia welcomes the outline in the Secretary-General's report of the likely shape and size of the overall international post-independence presence in East Timor. This outline takes us a step forward in the development of a clear exit strategy. The development of an acceptable exit strategy must underpin, and indeed will condition, the continuing post-independence United Nations presence. Australia strongly supports the Secretary-General's message that a flexible approach to planning is needed for all components of the post-independence presence. Decisions on how and when to adjust the United Nations presence must be guided by developments on the ground in East Timor. Again, in our view, this applies to all three components of the successor mission: civilian, civilian police and peacekeeping.

On the civilian side, we note the Secretary-General's advice that the United Nations presence after independence should be significantly smaller than it is now. We endorse the Secretary-General's assessment that despite considerable progress in the recruitment of East Timorese civil servants, the administrative systems are new and fragile. In Australia's view, it will be essential to provide further assistance at a senior management level to complete effectively the work of that word that Sergio Vieira de Mello does not like — Timorization — and skills transfer in specific areas. This will be critical to the long-term success of the United Nations mission and will ensure the completion of the original United Nations mandate in East Timor to establish an effective administration. We note also the view of the Secretary-General that this necessary assistance will be limited in time. All these considerations reinforce our view that a flexible and creative approach to assessed contributions is required.

Careful management of the reduction of the current level of United Nations involvement in the successor mission is as important as is careful management of the longer-term transition to a fully functioning Government. This is an issue that requires attention now and in the period after the 30 August election. We encourage UNTAET to continue to focus on its plans for the gradual transfer of responsibility and functions to the East Timorese Administration and the parallel reduction in its own role. It will be important for UNTAET to decide, within the scope of its agreed budget, which functions can be transferred to

the East Timorese and sustained in the long term without incurring further costs. The transfer of assets from UNTAET to the new Administration will also require sensible decisions and careful planning well in advance of independence. We look forward to receiving more details on the planned reduction in the civilian presence in the Secretary-General's October report.

We note and welcome the steady progress in UNTAET's phased plan for the development and training of the East Timor Police Service, and we support the gradual reduction of international assistance, in line with the law and order situation on the ground. We note the Secretary-General's advice on plans for the phased transfer of the international police force to a mentoring and monitoring role as local capacity improves. I noted in particular Sergio Vieira de Mello's emphasis on the mentoring side of things in his presentation this morning. This must be based on a clear strategy and a rationale for the development of the East Timor Police Force as a stand-alone force which will be sustainable financially in the long term.

The peacekeeping component of the current and future United Nations presence remains critical to East Timor's successful transition to independence. We welcome very much the Secretary-General's clear and candid assessment of current security conditions in East Timor. It is also our firm view that the maintenance of security on the border between East and West Timor, by a United Nations peacekeeping force, is vital and is linked to all other aspects of the transition process going ahead smoothly.

We support the Secretary-General's approach to management of the future size of the peacekeeping force as part of the development of a clear exit strategy. I want to reiterate what I have said before in this Council and to many colleagues — that development of this strategy and decisions on the peacekeeping force must take full account of the security conditions on the ground. We therefore endorse the Secretary-General's decision to keep the security situation under constant review to enable further recommendations on the future size of the peacekeeping force to be presented in a later report.

The 30 August election is a major step towards East Timor's independence. Like others, we encourage all parties to contribute to the peaceful conduct of the elections and to a smooth and fair implementation of

the result, and to uphold the commitments they have made in the pact of national unity.

The election and the implementation of its results will also mark a very important new phase in this Council's consideration of East Timor. While all subsequent steps, and their timing, must be determined by the political situation on the ground, it is Australia's view that the establishment of the Constituent Assembly, and further decisions on the future shape of the East Timor Administration, should lead us to a point at which concrete decisions on the mandate for a future United Nations presence can start to be framed by the Council. Timely decisions by the Council will maximize the prospects of achieving a smooth transition from the pre- to the post-independence United Nations presence, including allowing troop-contributing countries to make their plans on future contributions and to facilitate the recruitment of suitable civilian personnel. We would want the Secretary-General's report in October to provide the Council with the basis to begin to formulate, in a substantial way, the mandate for the future United Nations presence.

We continue to monitor closely the problems in the West Timor refugee camps. These obviously affect the security situation along the border and have critical implications for the overall situation in East Timor as a whole. We acknowledge the steps that have been taken by the Government of Indonesia so far to resolve these problems. We look forward to further intensified efforts by the new Government of Indonesia to bring about a comprehensive solution to the problems, including an end to militia intimidation.

Justice, reconciliation and effective accountability are essential elements of long-term stability in East Timor. We continue to attach high priority to progress in all of these areas, both in East Timor and through the Indonesian justice system. We urge the Indonesian authorities to use the recently established ad hoc human rights court to prosecute violations of human rights that occurred in East Timor, both in the lead-up to and after the August 1999 ballot. UNTAET's own investigation of human rights violations is an important component in the achievement of justice for the East Timorese affected by the events of 1999. The international community will need to work to support much-needed capacity-building in the justice sector. We also encourage a coordinated approach by UNTAET and the East

Timorese to the interrelated issues of justice and reconciliation in order to maximize the prospects of satisfactory results in both of these vital areas.

Australia continues to expend considerable energy and resources, both through the United Nations and bilateral channels, to support the transition and the establishment of a viable independent State in East Timor. The recent conclusion of the new Timor Sea Arrangement between Australia, East Timor and the United Nations, to govern petroleum development in the Timor Sea, about which the Council heard this morning, is a strong example of that. The Arrangement should provide the future independent East Timor with a very substantial and long-term revenue flow to support its development. But, as emphasized by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General this morning, that does not obviate the need for prudent financial and economic planning. An early priority for the incoming East Timorese administration should be to engage donors and the international financial institutions, which contribute to its overall budget, in the development of a medium-term economic framework.

In addition to its significant contribution to East Timor's future through the Timor Sea Arrangement, my Government is committed to a substantial bilateral assistance programme to reduce poverty and to build East Timorese capacity to govern a peaceful, democratic, independent nation. A substantial proportion of our bilateral assistance now and in the future will be devoted to capacity-building in areas which we see as critical to the future independent East Timor administration. The sort of things I am talking about are technical assistance to develop the central fiscal authority, including the preparation of sound budgetary and taxation frameworks; building capacity to plan and manage future elections; and assistance in developing legislative processes and support services and in training senior civil service managers.

So far, the process of managing the East Timor transition has been a conspicuous success for the United Nations. It is our belief that, with continuing commitment and careful and prudent management, the United Nations can fulfil its substantial responsibility to establish, beyond independence, a fully functioning, democratic and viable State. If we maintain a steady course and if we continue to make the right decisions now and over the coming months, that will be the result. And I would point out that if we succeed, that

outcome will have been achieved in a short space of time, from the minimum imaginable starting point — what Sergio Vieira de Mello described this morning as such a bleak beginning — less than two years ago, and in the face of very obvious and very considerable challenges.

It is within our grasp and the grasp of members of the Council to deliver that outcome to the people of East Timor. The Council has delivered on its commitments and responsibilities so far. It must not fail the East Timorese in the coming critical phase.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Belgium. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. De Ruyt (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — the associated countries of Cyprus, Malta and Turkey, and the European Free Trade Association countries belonging to the European Economic Area Iceland and Liechtenstein align themselves with this statement.

I would like at the outset to welcome Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and Mr. José Ramos-Horta. Through them, I would like to commend the institutions they represent for the considerable progress they have achieved over the past few months towards the implementation of resolutions 1272 (1999) and 1338 (2001). We have come a long way since the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) received its broad mandate in the autumn of 1999 to assume overall responsibility for the transitional administration of a greatly devastated territory.

Now, less than two years later, the people of East Timor are firmly on their way to full independence. The elections to take place on 30 August will constitute the next step in building a sustainable nation. The European Union attaches great importance to the holding of free, fair and orderly elections and in that connection is sending a team of election observers to East Timor. In our view the elections are a milestone in the process of Timorization: of giving the people of East Timor ownership of their future. It goes without saying that we are counting on broad participation by

the population. To that end it is essential that the civic and voter education process continue.

We are encouraged by the signing by most political parties of a pact of national unity, which commits them to respect the principles of democracy, tolerance and respect for minorities, as well as the outcome of the elections. The European Union would like to see those same principles enshrined in the constitution. Indeed, elections will also promote the process towards the adoption of a constitution for East Timor, which will be the blueprint of the future East Timorese nation. Its importance must not be underestimated.

The economic situation in East Timor remains difficult. Growth still seems largely dependent on the foreign presence and on agricultural subsidies. More must be done to create conditions for sustainable economic development. We agree with the Secretary-General's observation that property laws and a framework for commercial activity are needed to stimulate the private sector.

The initialing by Australian and East Timorese cabinet ministers of the Timor Sea Arrangement was a big step in the right direction. We hope that, once signed and ratified, this and future agreements will contribute to long-term economic growth in an independent East Timor. For that to happen, it is also necessary that further efforts be made to develop the agricultural sector.

Last week we noted with satisfaction the democratic and peaceful transfer of power in Indonesia. It is our profound hope that the new Government there will continue to implement the provisions of resolution 1319 (2000). In the past we have strongly insisted that Indonesia meet its obligations. The record so far has been uneven.

Registration of refugees in West Timor recently took place. The initial results of the registration and balloting will surely reflect the refugees' choice at that point. Still, questions remain over the long-term intentions of refugees who have opted for now to stay on Indonesian territory. We hope that the doubts will be resolved, and we believe that those who eventually wish to return to East Timor will be able to do so in safety and security.

We call upon the Indonesian authorities to cooperate with UNTAET and with the future East

Timorese authorities in prosecuting crimes against humanity and humanitarian law perpetrated in East Timor prior to and after the 1999 popular consultation, including through the establishment of an ad hoc court in Indonesia. We further expect the Jakarta Government to carry forward the appeals procedure in the case of the murder last year in Atambua of three workers from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

In resolution 1338 (2001), the Council unanimously stressed the need for a substantial international presence in East Timor after independence. In his report, the Secretary-General offers some specific recommendations, and further recommendations will be made in October. We agree that there is room for an overall reduction in the international presence. But such a reduction should take account of real needs on the ground and should take place in close consultation with the Timorese population. In that regard, we encourage efforts to identify areas where ongoing support is needed. We acknowledge the important role played so far by United Nations agencies, the international financial institutions and regional organizations, and we hope that their involvement will increase in the future.

The militias in West Timor remain a potential threat to East Timor, particularly in the border areas. We need to be particularly vigilant during the election period. In other areas the East Timor society is confronted with problems of public order. In that respect, we encourage the development and training of the East Timor Police Service, which should play an increasing role in ensuring public security. Also, we should give full attention to the setting up of a strong judicial system.

Great progress has been achieved towards the realization of an independent East Timor. The East Timorese people and the international community have invested a great deal in this process. These efforts must not have been made in vain. The international community has committed itself to maintain a presence in East Timor. We stress the need to carefully design that presence and reiterate that re-evaluations of such plans should take into account the security situation, the needs on the ground and the wishes of the population. We await with interest the new recommendations that the Secretary-General will make in this regard.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank the representative of Belgium for his statement.

The next speaker is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Motomura (Japan): I would like to thank you, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to participate in today's discussion.

My thanks go as well to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his detailed briefing on the current situation in East Timor. I also wish to extend a warm welcome to Mr. Ramos-Horta. In fact our discussion has benefited greatly from the participation of both Mr. Vieira de Mello and Mr. Ramos-Horta, who have firsthand knowledge of the situation in East Timor.

In the months since our last Security Council open debate on the situation in East Timor, in May, progress has been made towards the achievement of East Timor's independence, thanks in no small measure to the competent leadership of Mr. Vieira de Mello, the dedication of the United Nations staff and the constant support of the international community.

We are delighted that the registration of voters has been completed and that the election of the Constituent Assembly will take place on 30 August as scheduled. As part of an open, fair and democratic political process, that election will be a significant milestone on the path to a viable East Timor.

Although preparations for the election seem to be going smoothly, I would like to stress the importance of ensuring that the electoral process is conducted in an orderly manner. With their memories of the events of August 1999 still vivid, there is a widely shared concern among the Timorese population that the political process may not remain peaceful. Thus I welcome the pact of national unity by which 14 of the 16 political parties concerned committed themselves to respect the results of the election on 30 August and to defend the principle of non-violence. Their commitment to peace and stability is of essential importance.

The international community, for its part, must remain committed to maintaining order in East Timor and extend the necessary assistance towards that end. Japan has made a contribution of approximately \$1.2 million to the United Nations Development Programme

for the election of the Constituent Assembly, and we plan to dispatch electoral observers to East Timor.

My delegation commends the Secretary-General for his work in producing the well-considered report at this juncture. As for the United Nations presence once East Timor achieves independence, I strongly believe that the United Nations should continue for a certain period its military and civilian police presence for the maintenance of public order, as well as a minimum and indispensable civilian personnel presence to provide essential assistance for economic reconstruction and nation-building.

The current situation in East Timor is extremely tenuous. It is therefore of utmost importance not to give a wrong signal which might exacerbate of the situation. In the longer term, a staged reduction of the United Nations presence may be required when the situation on the ground improves. This process of reduction, however, should be carried out in a careful and gradual manner. Therefore we support the Secretary-General's recommendation to maintain a flexible approach that takes into account the evolving situation on the ground.

In this context, I look forward to the Secretary-General's recommendations on the composition and mandate of a peacekeeping operation to succeed the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) — recommendations to be contained in his report to be submitted to the Security Council in late October.

I must take this opportunity to comment on the complex and difficult refugee problem. My delegation would like to urge the new Indonesian Government to make further efforts to comprehensively resolve the refugee problem in West Timor, based on an appropriate follow-up of the refugee registration process during the past month. In this connection we welcome the dispatch to West Timor of the inter-agency security assessment mission and look forward to its report. It is important for the international community to continue to provide the refugees with much-needed assistance in an effective manner.

In order for East Timor to become a truly independent State, UNTAET's authority will have to be transferred to the East Timorese people, with the international community playing an advisory role. This, of course, cannot happen all at once on the day of independence. But it is imperative, during this

transition phase, to foster a sense of ownership among the East Timorese and to help them develop the necessary skills and capabilities for governing a nation.

The realization of an independent and stable East Timor is a challenge that reaches beyond the Asia-Pacific context; it is in fact a matter of global significance. Therefore, the international community must remain committed to East Timor and continue to assist its people in their efforts to develop the capacities necessary for building an independent nation. Japan, for its part, will give high priority to human resources development in East Timor and will continue its joint efforts with the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries in this regard.

In conclusion, I would like to stress again that the strong commitment of the international community is the key to maintaining public order and achieving a viable East Timor. I sincerely hope that the election of the Constituent Assembly will take place peacefully and will pave the way towards building a peaceful, democratic and prosperous East Timor.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank the representative of Japan for his statement.

The next speaker is the representative of the Philippines. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Manalo (Philippines): First of all we wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your fine work during your presidency of the Security Council for this month, and we thank the Council for the opportunity to participate in today's meeting on East Timor. I also wish to thank, through you, the Secretary-General for his latest report on East Timor, and Mr. Vieira de Mello, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and Mr. Ramos-Horta for their comprehensive briefings this morning.

Two years ago we began a journey, the first ever by the United Nations, of creating from the ground a veritable political and economic functioning structure for East Timor. Today, the United Nations finds itself in the crucible of that journey, as we draw nearer to the much anticipated independence of East Timor.

While substantial progress towards independence has been made during the past six months, the election next month remains an important litmus test of how the United Nations, under the leadership of the Security

Council, has fared in its first true effort at nation-building. As an active participant in the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), our interest and hopes are second to none in seeing the United Nations and the growing local leadership in East Timor truly succeed in realizing the dreams of the Timorese people for viable independence and self-government. This aim should underlie our exit strategy.

There are certain issues which the Philippines continues to believe are important.

As we mentioned earlier, the forthcoming election should become a solid springboard for East Timor's move towards independence early next year. While fully convinced of the strong commitment of our United Nations officials and personnel who will oversee this activity, we believe that the election must not only be, but must also be perceived as, fair, clean and credible and have the widest possible participation of the Timorese people. On the issue of participation, we are gratified at the report that the registration process has been very good. Indeed, this is a strong basis to proceed with a truly participatory election.

There is a body of research that suggests that countries in transition are in the greatest need of assistance and support. Disengaging assistance at the onset of a post-conflict situation or immediately after independence may therefore not be a wise course of action insofar as East Timor is concerned. An appropriate international presence and level of assistance should thus continue after independence. The details for a post-independence international presence in East Timor should be formulated on the basis of the needs of the East Timorese people and the conditions on the ground, and in coordination with the concerned actors. This pertains especially to issues such as the size of the civilian component and the police and military component of a successor mission.

On this last point, it has also been gratifying to learn of the international support and commitment being shown for the establishment of the East Timor Defence Force, particularly with respect to voluntary contributions for training, infrastructure and equipment, all of which are necessary for developing a professional and modern defence force. The Philippines will be ready to assist, as appropriate, in the formation of the East Timor Defence Force.

Meanwhile, a thoughtful management of the security situation through the United Nations

peacekeeping force should be continued by UNTAET. However, to ensure continued peace and stability in the area, democratic institutions must also be established. We therefore support the Secretary-General's view that a successor mission should include a small team of professionals in various fields to continue Timorization and skills transfer, especially, in our view, in public administration and civil service for the purpose of developing capacity-building, which is necessary for self-government.

Moreover, a sound economic infrastructure is needed for sustainable development and growth in East Timor. The country must be able to attract foreign investment and sustain investor confidence. There have been positive reports of growth in gross domestic product, although most of this appears to have been concentrated in Dili. This has attracted migration from the rural areas, causing unemployment in the capital. We therefore urge the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank to encourage investments in rural areas to ease the unemployment problem and simultaneously increase rural productivity and growth. At the same time, private-sector participation must be enhanced.

We are also awaiting with anticipation the promised benefits of the recently signed agreement between Australia and the Transitional Administration on the Timor Sea Arrangement. Based on the reported 90:10 sharing ratio in favour of the new country, the projected income from oil and gas, if properly managed, should be a significant addition of financial resources to East Timor and lead to new jobs and investment opportunities.

Finally, while we may consider our efforts in East Timor as a success, the ultimate verdict will be drawn by history. We must avoid measuring progress in terms of how closely United Nations guidance is adhered to, for in the final analysis, the future of East Timor lies in the hands of the Timorese people.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Moura (Brazil): Thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this meeting. The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and the United Nations as a whole can be proud of what has already been attained in such a short period of

time, especially if one recalls the extent of the destruction following the 1999 popular consultation. The political skills and competence shown by Sergio Vieira de Mello in conducting UNTAET as well as the vision of the Timorese leadership have been instrumental to the success achieved. Let me pay tribute to José Ramos-Horta, who is here with us, for his central role in building a democratic East Timor. I thank also the Secretary-General for his report.

As we enter the crucial stages of the transition to independence, the support of the international community becomes even more important, as eloquently expressed this morning by Mr. Vieira de Mello and Mr. Ramos-Horta in their comprehensive statements.

Brazil agrees with the Secretary-General that, once independent, East Timor will require international support to be provided through a mission mandated by the Security Council and funded from assessed contributions.

The Brazilian Government is committed to the efforts towards building a democratic and stable East Timor. This was the main thrust of the visit of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso to East Timor last January. President Cardoso personally presided over the launching of Brazilian cooperation projects in the fields of capacity-building, professional training and education. As a concrete follow-up to President Cardoso's visit, a Brazilian technical mission visited East Timor in May in order to identify opportunities for cooperation in the area of agriculture. We hope to build on our experience in South-South cooperation to strengthen the cooperation with East Timor and expand the areas covered by Brazilian projects.

The problem of militia activities in and around the refugee camps of West Timor and in the border area remains a serious threat to the stability of East Timor. From time to time unidentified gunmen fire shots at United Nations peacekeepers and provoke violence. Fortunately, these incidents are today less frequent. This type of incident is a reminder of how unstable the situation might become if we do not keep vigilant. They also show the importance of maintaining a credible dissuasive capacity with a robust peacekeeping force.

We are also worried about the fate of refugees in the camps of West Timor and look forward to the assessment of the security situation to be submitted by

the Secretary-General. A secure environment is a precondition for the resumption of international assistance to the refugees and to allow them to decide freely about their own future and choose whether they want to remain in Indonesia or return to East Timor.

The East Timorese are tired of violence and destruction. There must be a clear effort to bring to justice those who incite hatred as a political weapon to foster anarchy and chaos. The criminal justice system must be reinforced, and additional resources may be necessary to this effect.

The first verdict delivered by East Timor's judicial system concerning a serious crime — the case of violence against women in Lolotoe — is an important development. We remain concerned, however, with the difficulties facing the United Nations Serious Crimes Unit, in charge of gathering evidence to prosecute perpetrators of grave abuses. For this unit to make a difference, it is important to overcome the current dearth of forensic experts, experienced investigators and interpreters.

The solutions for security and law and order problems are multidimensional. Besides the most obvious reactions through military force and policing and the functioning of an efficient criminal justice system, we should not overlook the far-reaching tasks of nation-building. Sustainable solutions lie in the construction of inclusive and effective democratic institutions coupled with the creation of economic opportunities for all.

Widespread inequality and high unemployment rates contribute decisively to fuelling violence, particularly in situations characterized by fragile democratic institutions.

The organization of the forthcoming election for the Constituent Assembly will certainly be the first test case for the embryonic democratic institutions of East Timor. The support of the international community is essential to quell any possible attempts to jeopardize this election. It is also important to ensure a free, fair and transparent election in all its phases, from the political campaign to registration, balloting, accounting of votes and the certification of winners. It is necessary to create a solid basis for sustainable elections in the future, bearing in mind that further elections may be necessary this year in the light of decisions to be taken by the Constituent Assembly.

Civic education and training is crucial now and will continue to be in the future. We note with satisfaction that registration for the election was completed, political parties are campaigning, and UNTAET is making an effort to draw more women into the political process.

I will make a few additional remarks concerning the political process and the economy.

As regards the political process, it is essential that political parties remain committed to settling their differences through institutional channels. The signing of a pact of national unity is a positive step, but its practice must follow suit. The logical questions are: is there any chance that those groups that did not sign the pact may embroil others in disorderly conduct in the run-up to the elections? What measures are being taken to prevent that from happening?

In the area of the economy, growth has been fostered by the international presence. As independence approaches and the downsizing of the mission in East Timor is carried out, an important source of hard currency will certainly start to dry up. Since it is not possible to wait for the revenue from the Timor Gap, one important question is how to put in place export-oriented income-generating projects. This will probably not happen without arrangements to facilitate market access for East Timorese agricultural products.

The international community has made the commitment to help East Timor build a solid democracy. For such commitment to become deeply ingrained in East Timorese society and shape its polity, it needs to be shored up by the improvement of the day-to-day reality on the ground, at the very grass roots level. To that end our efforts must be untiring.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Republic of Korea. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Sun Joun-yung (Republic of Korea): Let me begin by congratulating you, Mr. President, on your presidency of the Council and thanking you for convening this open meeting on the important issue of East Timor. I would also like to thank Mr. José Ramos-Horta, the East Timorese Transitional Administration Cabinet member for foreign affairs, for his presence once again in the Security Council chamber. I would

like to express special appreciation to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his very useful briefing today and for his remarkable success in tackling the daunting task of a multifaceted peacekeeping operation in East Timor, which was explained in detail in the Secretary-General's report.

With the upcoming election of the East Timorese Constituent Assembly in a month, my delegation is pleased that the preparation process has by and large been smooth. I would like to commend Mr. Vieira de Mello and all other international staff for their hard work on the election, including the preparation of a master plan for the election, the registration of voters and political parties with their candidates, and a number of other complicated tasks.

Looking forward to the birth of an independent and democratic East Timorese Government early next year, as scheduled, the Korean Government has been extending its support for election management through contributing to the United Nations Development Programme Trust Fund and the dispatch of international observers and an international commissioner.

In my delegation's view, the maintenance of political stability, especially during the transitional period after the election, will be crucial. In this regard, we welcome the agreement of most East Timorese political parties, in a pact of national unity, to conduct the election in a peaceful fashion and to respect its outcome. We strongly urge all political parties, including those not participating in the election, to make an effort to promote national unity.

We are of the view that a wide range of issues related to human rights and justice must be resolved not only for the fresh start of a nation but also for its long-term stability and the reconciliation of its people. We are deeply concerned about the more than 100,000 refugees who have gone without the help of international humanitarian personnel for almost a year. All human rights violators and other criminals in and outside East Timor should be brought to credible justice as soon as possible. We hope that constructive collaboration between the new Indonesian Government and the international community be indeed realized on these issues.

The planning of a future United Nations presence in East Timor after its independence will remain an

important issue in the Security Council in the latter part of this year.

My delegation appreciates the continuing efforts of the Post-UNTAET Working Group and the Integrated Mission Task Force at Headquarters to prepare plans for the future of East Timor. We fully agree with the Secretary-General's temporary report on the successor mission. While recognizing in principle the need for a reduction of UNTAET, we believe that a significant United Nations presence in East Timor should continue in view of the general situation in every field.

Regarding the reduction of the troop and police components, we are particularly concerned about the uncertainty of both the external and internal security situations, which are difficult to predict at this time. While we agree with the temporary overall assessment contained in the Secretary-General's report, my delegation would like to emphasize again that the reduction should be implemented in a gradual manner and with a carefully thought-out exit strategy.

After the election, we hope to be provided with more detailed and comprehensive security and threat assessments by the Secretariat. We also expect in October more specific recommendations from the Secretary-General regarding the successor mission to UNTAET in the post-independence period, including the reduced presence of United Nations peacekeepers. We hope to continue to participate in these important debates on East Timor and to be consulted, as appropriate, throughout the decision-making process.

Let me conclude by expressing my delegation's appreciation to everyone in the United Nations system involved in the issues of East Timor for their hard work and devotion during this critical juncture for East Timor.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of New Zealand. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Hughes (New Zealand): May I express my delegation's pleasure at seeing Mr. Ramos-Horta here in the Council today, and also convey our appreciation to Mr. Vieira de Mello for his excellent briefing earlier today.

I am sure we are all greatly encouraged by the progress made in the territory over the past six months.

We congratulate the East Timorese people and the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) on their achievements in the face of enormous odds.

Today, we stand on the verge of the next critical phase in East Timor's evolution: the elections to the Constituent Assembly in a month's time. We understand the apprehensions and even disquiet which may surround this event, but we are heartened by the signing earlier this month of the pact of national unity, whereby the political parties committed themselves to respecting each other and the election outcome and to defending multi-party democracy. We look forward to the East Timorese people expressing their will freely and peacefully in order to cement the next step towards regaining their independence for the first time in some 500 years.

New Zealand remains very concerned, however, by the activities of militia groups and the threat they continue to pose to the goal of a stable and secure East Timor. It is depressing to read in the Secretary-General's report that some hard-line militia elements have been encouraged to plan the resumption of offensive operations by the derisory sentences handed out to the killers of three staff members of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees at Atambua and by the insignificant jail term handed out to a well known militia leader.

It is also of great concern to note from the report that some groups may be deliberately lying low until independence in the belief that the international military presence will then be removed. Clearly, it is essential that we should not, however inadvertently, send any signals that might encourage them in this belief. In these circumstances, it goes without saying that any decisions on adjustments to the United Nations presence — post-elections or post-independence — must be based on conditions on the ground, including a thorough security and threat assessment. They must also take into account the views of troop-contributing countries, as was recognized in the Council's resolution 1338 (2001) of January this year.

The Government of Indonesia is to be congratulated on having carried out a refugee registration exercise last month. It was an important first step. New Zealand, along with others, stands ready to assist Indonesia in the next steps of repatriation and resettlement, but only in circumstances in which the

security of international workers can be guaranteed. We urge the new Indonesian Government to move quickly to fulfil Indonesia's obligations to this Council to disband and disarm the militia groups in West Timor so that this can take place.

While dealing with these issues, we would also like to take the opportunity to express our appreciation for recent efforts by the Indonesian Government to bring the killers of Private Manning to justice. We welcomed the visit to the crime scene in East Timor, and subsequently to New Zealand, of an Indonesian police investigation team. We look forward to cooperation between UNTAET and Indonesia, as the parties with jurisdiction, producing an effective trial and sentences commensurate with the seriousness of the crime.

We remain aware, however, that there are other cases, such as that of Private Devi Ram Jaishi of Nepal, that have yet to see progress. The Secretary-General also notes in his report that the Atambua verdicts are yet to be appealed and that the decree establishing an ad hoc tribunal for human rights violations in East Timor is still to be amended. We very much hope that the new Indonesian Government will give prompt attention to meeting international expectations in these matters.

Both the Secretary-General in his report and the Special Representative in his briefing earlier today have addressed the question of a United Nations successor mission to UNTAET after independence. We fully share the view that it is wrong to equate East Timor's attainment of political independence with the establishment of effective administration. We welcome the fact that significant progress has been made in planning for an integrated mission mandated by the Security Council and funded from assessed contributions to succeed UNTAET, and we look forward to the Secretary-General's further report towards the end of October. As a troop contributor, we have already indicated to the Secretary-General our willingness to maintain a significant military presence with the United Nations in East Timor as far ahead as November next year.

New Zealand strongly believes that the United Nations must equip East Timor to take full responsibility for its own affairs. We must also provide the people of East Timor with a clear understanding of the implications of right-sizing the United Nations

presence over time. Above all, however, my Government is convinced that the Security Council must stay focused on and fully committed to East Timor. This operation is unique and in turn offers the United Nations the opportunity of an all-too-rare success. Comparisons are occasionally drawn with the operation in Kosovo and, certainly in terms of their complexity, the two share some aspects in common. But East Timor is very much the child of the United Nations, from the 1999 popular consultation onwards, in a way that other operations are unlikely ever to be. East Timor can and indeed will succeed as an independent State, but for some time to come a continuing United Nations presence will be critical to ensuring a return on the investment we have collectively made so far in terms of lives and financial and other resources.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Widodo (Indonesia): Let me begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. We are confident that your diplomatic and leadership qualities will enable the Council to carry out the tasks before it expeditiously and efficiently. Our gratitude also goes to Ambassador Anwarul Karim Chowdhury of Bangladesh for his able stewardship of the Council last month.

This meeting of the Security Council is important, as the Council is considering the future United Nations presence in East Timor after independence of the territory. We thank the Secretary-General for his report and also express our gratitude to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for East Timor, for his presentation this morning. My delegation is also pleased to have in our midst Mr. Ramos-Horta.

Allow me to avail myself of this opportunity to contribute to this debate and share my delegation's views on the prevailing situation. In the final analysis, the whole issue revolves around the questions of maintaining and promoting the security of the territory. To that end, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and the East Timor Transitional Administration (ETTA) have been

working hard to build a civil society through a nation-building programme.

In this connection, the new Government of Indonesia remains fully committed to fulfilling its obligations and responsibilities regarding relevant international and bilateral agreements on East Timor. In the same vein, my Government will make efforts to resolve the residual issues, while at the same time forging a mutually fruitful bilateral relationship with the leaders of East Timor for the benefit of the Indonesian and East Timorese people.

As I have the floor, permit me, on behalf my Government, to express our sincere gratitude to the Secretary-General and to all Member countries, including those represented in this body, for their good wishes. I also feel honoured to express our heartfelt thanks for the full support extended to the new Government of Indonesia in addressing the challenges ahead. One of its first priorities is to maintain its national sovereignty, territorial integrity and stability. Its foreign policy continues to be guided by the purposes and principles of the Organization.

That being said, we find it unacceptable that the report justifies the need to maintain a robust United Nations presence in the border areas and in East Timor by claiming inaction by the Indonesian Government to disband militia groups. Nothing can be farther from the truth. Such claims do not reflect that Indonesia has indeed disbanded and disarmed what were at that time called militias.

Undeniably, in any conflict situation, the process of disarming such groups is a complex and an arduous one, and its success is reflected in the lack of serious armed incidents that cause heavy casualties.

We also feel perplexed over the assertion made regarding the training and the operation of militias; nothing specific in the form of evidence has been provided. Similarly, statements about "easy access" (*S/2001/719, para. 50*) to modern weaponry, the strategy of militias of "lying low" (*ibid., para. 49*) and "Hard-line elements" (*ibid., para. 50*) operating from West Timor are made without any substantiation by concrete and detailed information. In this regard, Indonesia has requested UNTAET time and again to provide concrete facts concerning militia activity so that resolute action can be taken. But this has been to no avail; and suspicious attitudes, negative perceptions and innuendoes towards Indonesia continue. If the

Organization were to pursue a policy of containment, rather than of active and peaceful engagement, it would, we are afraid, create a worsening of the situation, as demonstrated by the incident of 28 July 2001, when an Indonesian soldier was killed by United Nations peacekeepers. In this regard, Indonesia has lodged a formal and strong protest against UNTAET for shooting into its territory, which resulted in a fatal casualty.

My Government was astonished when UNTAET radio recently broadcast news accusing a humanitarian non-governmental organization, operating under the name of Yayasan Hati, or the Heart Foundation, of abducting and providing military training to East Timorese children in Indonesia so that they could, in 20 years' time, launch military action against East Timor to retake this territory. The Indonesian Government categorically rebuts this accusation, following its investigation of the issue, as not being the case.

For one, guided by the noble principles stipulated in the Charter, my delegation would like to assure all members of the Council that the Government of Indonesia has never harboured any intentions to engage in activities that endanger neighbouring countries. Nor do we bear any ill will towards the East Timorese people. On the contrary, we aim to develop and to strengthen ties of amity, friendship and cooperation, as well as good relations and neighbourliness with East Timor. In fact, Indonesia, as a Member State of the United Nations, granted the people of East Timor the full right to express their wishes on whether to part with Indonesia or to remain within its fold.

Indonesia is committed to upholding justice, including in the case of the perpetrators of the Atambua killings.

Indonesia strongly believes that the establishment of a robust civil society is a prerequisite to the maintenance and promotion of peace, security and harmony in the territory. So also is the promotion of reconciliation. In this connection, we highly commend the active role of the United Nations specialized agencies in supporting capacity-building for civil society. Moreover, it is imperative to strengthen programmes in the field of poverty alleviation, health and education and to promote the establishment of microfinance banks and the use of traditional mechanisms to resolve disputes and conflicts.

True reconciliation is also a *conditio sine qua non* for the eventual establishment of a thriving civil society in East Timor. As clearly demonstrated in many instances of past and recent conflicts between parties, it is not inconceivable for them to overcome their hostilities, animosities, bitterness and vengeance and to agree to put the past to rest for the sake of peace and harmony for future generations.

Indonesia is open to any suggestion leading to a final and viable shape for a United Nations presence after the independence of East Timor, so long as it does not compromise the legitimate needs and aspirations of the East Timorese people. But in considering a United Nations presence, Indonesia will not accept any justification based on ulterior motives.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Heinbecker (Canada) (*spoke in French*): As we approach the 30 August elections, it is clear that East Timor has thus far made outstanding progress on the road to independence. The elections will be an important milestone and will surely help East Timor move forward in nation-building. While this process has been a success for East Timor, it has also been a success for the United Nations. But we cannot rest on our laurels. We are only at the beginning of the process, and the great progress that East Timor has achieved could be obliterated if we in the international community do not meet our commitments.

(spoke in English)

The security situation remains tentative, and we must see East Timor through. We agree with the representative of Singapore and others who have argued effectively and convincingly here that the transfer from the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) to East Timorese civilian authority must be managed carefully to ensure that the transition unfolds in a seamless manner.

We also note that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, advocated this morning the cautious and thoughtful rightsizing of the international presence. He is right to argue that the successor mission to UNTAET ought to be funded by assessed contributions, and we agree with

him and with others who have said so. We recognize that, in due time, United Nations involvement can be reduced, but the United Nations must stay the course for the time being and must withdraw progressively when we have confidence that East Timor's success and stability as an independent State will not be compromised. A factor that would contribute to that stability would be the curtailment of militia activity in West Timor: a culture of impunity exists there.

We understand the challenges confronting the new Indonesian Government and the size of the job that faces it. We nonetheless urge that Government to bring to justice those guilty of the murder of United Nations civilian and peacekeeping personnel. Such people are there on behalf of us all, and we owe them justice.

At this critical juncture, we must be vigilant to ensure that UNTAET functions in a robust and responsible manner. In particular, we see the continuation of the United Nations civilian police and the development of the East Timor Police Service as essential to safeguarding law and order in East Timor. However, despite the achievements of the United Nations civilian police in training and developing the East Timor Police Service, we have noted some developments with increasing concern. For example, although we agree that a small number of specialized police units will be necessary for crowd control and other public safety purposes, the number of East Timor Police officers scheduled to be trained for those units is worryingly high. Last week's report of the Secretary-General (S/2001/719) says that upon completion those units will consist of 58 officers, with others to assemble in task forces as needed. Yet we understand that 750 East Timorese police officers are to be trained for those units. To whom will those specialized units report once trained? What functions besides crowd control and public order, as specified in the latest report of the Secretary-General, will they fulfil? To what level will they be armed? What sort of training are they receiving, and why is the training not taking place at the Police College? Those are questions that have been occurring to my authorities in Ottawa.

We believe that, in order to ensure that East Timor's developing security sector is effective, accountable and responsible, UNTAET's civilian police philosophy must adhere fully to democratic principles based on a community policing model. Focusing on

training a large quasi-paramilitary force strikes us as a distraction from that goal.

Our concerns with some aspects of police planning notwithstanding, we remain steadfast in our full support for UNTAET, and we thank Mr. Vieira de Mello and his entire staff for their dedicated work. The Security Council has an important responsibility before it: to ensure that the excellent job that Mr. Vieira de Mello and his team have done and are now doing is not prejudiced by a precipitous withdrawal.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Thailand. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Jayanama (Thailand): Let me first extend my delegation's appreciation to you, Mr. President, for providing an opportunity for non-members of the Security Council, including my delegation, to express our views on developments in East Timor. I wish sincerely to thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his comprehensive briefing this morning. I also welcome Mr. José Ramos-Horta, who is here in the Chamber today.

Thailand fully concurs with the Secretary-General's assessment in his most recent report (S/2001/719) that the past six months have been East Timor's most productive period. There is no doubt that this rapid progress was made possible by the collective efforts of the United Nations and the international community, under the able guidance of Mr. Vieira de Mello, in charting the course towards a self-governing and independent East Timor.

Thailand, for its part, has played an active role in the peacekeeping operation and in development assistance from the very beginning. We have continuously contributed military and civilian police personnel in East Timor since the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), which was the predecessor mission of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). We are pleased to provide Lieutenant-General Boonsrang Niumpradit, the Force Commander of the UNTAET peacekeeping force. We will continue to be a working partner of the United Nations and the international community.

While we recognize the remarkable achievements of UNTAET, it may be too early to proclaim it a success story for United Nations peacekeeping operations. It is pivotally important that UNTAET continue to build on its achievements as an example of a post-conflict peace-building mission. We believe that challenges remain and that developments over the next six months will be crucial to the future of East Timor. We believe that, in line with the report (S/2000/809) of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations chaired by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, which we all supported, the United Nations still has a role in steering East Timor towards the desired democratic path. We believe that the United Nations should have a clear exit strategy, as envisaged in the Brahimi report; this means that solid groundwork and appropriate conditions conducive to East Timor's self-development should be in place before the United Nations leaves.

Even after the United Nations leaves, international assistance will still be needed. Thailand thus supports the Secretary-General's recommendations on the need for a substantial international presence in East Timor after independence. One of the fundamental elements of East Timor's attaining self-sustenance in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres lies in capacity-building. In this regard, Thailand has offered its assistance — technical, agricultural and public-health expertise — to help the East Timorese sustain themselves. We recognize that only a strong and stable East Timor will contribute to the political and economic stability of the region. We therefore urge the further enhancement and acceleration of Timorization in institution-building in the areas of governance, education, the judiciary, management and security. In this regard, we urge more East Timorese living abroad to return home to help in the development of an independent East Timor.

One area in which UNTAET has achieved remarkable success is in the maintenance of security in East Timor through UNTAET's military component. But that task is, in our view, far from over. What remains of concern to us is the post-election monitoring of security. Any future reduction in the force should take into account the prevailing security situation on the ground and the development of the East Timor Defence Force.

Finally, I wish to reiterate Thailand's commitment, within its limited capabilities and resources, to cooperating with the United Nations and

the international community to assist East Timor on its path to independence and democracy. We stand ready to play our role in making East Timor one more United Nations success story.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I will now give the floor to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello to respond to the comments made and questions raised.

Mr. Vieira de Mello: I shall also speak on behalf of José Ramos-Horta in answering the questions that were formulated by several of the speakers. But let me first of all extend thanks to all the members of this Council and to the non-members of the Council that took the floor today for yet another unanimous expression of support for the East Timorese people and for the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). Their strong support for the process we are leading — in particular the electoral process which is presently under way, as well as the formation after these elections not only of the Constituent Assembly, but also of the new, enlarged, all-Timorese transitional Government — and their support for the continued United Nations presence after independence, are, as always, a source of inspiration and encouragement for the people of East Timor, for their leadership and indeed for ourselves in meeting the many challenges ahead of us. East Timor and the United Nations know that they are privileged to enjoy such broad, unreserved support from the membership of this Council and from the membership of the United Nations as a whole. I can assure them that we shall continue to endeavour to deserve their confidence, which we never took for granted.

On the question of foreign relations, and here definitely speaking on behalf of José Ramos-Horta, the importance of relations with the region as a whole, but perhaps in particular with the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), have been highlighted by a number of speakers. As José Ramos-Horta indicated, we came to New York in fact from Hanoi, where we were invited to attend the ASEAN ministerial meeting. We also had the opportunity — in addition to exchanging important ideas and views with the ASEAN Foreign Ministers on the future of East Timor and its relationship with ASEAN — to hold discussions with a number of partners of ASEAN, including your own Foreign Minister, Mr. President.

It is also a priority for José Ramos-Horta to establish within his department, which will soon

become a ministry, the capacity to better manage relations with neighbours and, in particular, with ASEAN. That is also part of our overall capacity-building effort.

The importance of relations with Indonesia has been highlighted by many speakers this morning and this afternoon, and we very, very much welcome Ambassador Widodo's confirmation that the new Government of Indonesia will stay the course set by the previous Government, led by President Gus Dur. Indeed, good relations with Indonesia are vital to the future of East Timor.

I would like to touch on a few points in reply to a question posed by Ambassador Hume of the United States. We have made significant progress — indeed, in recent weeks — on the question of pensions for East Timorese who formally served in the Indonesian administration, and we are presently preparing a consolidated list of those former civil servants who will be entitled to pensions. But this entitlement — as I reported to the Council in the past — will cease on the date of independence. We are continuing discussions with the Government of Indonesia, which has made a very, very genuine effort to respond to the expectations of these civil servants, some of whom remain in West Timor as refugees and are unlikely to return to East Timor until this question is resolved.

As for the question of refugees, many speakers also referred to this issue, and I would like to say at the request of José Ramos-Horta that the East Timorese leadership is of the opinion — and this is to a large extent confirmed by the outcome of the civil and electoral registration — that the total number of East Timorese refugees in West Timor is, at the most, 60,000 to 70,000. This is the assessment of the East Timorese leadership.

The Indonesian Government that carried out a registration of the refugee population in West Timor on 6 and 7 June did a very thorough job, which was observed by a number of international observers. It has not yet provided us with final figures. They are still rechecking, double-checking the data obtained during that registration, so I am unable to provide the Council with any final and reliable estimate. But certainly the Government of Indonesia and ourselves believe that the fact that only a minority expressed an interest in returning to East Timor should not be taken as reflecting the definitive wishes of those refugees. On

the contrary, we believe that the majority — up to 80 per cent of those who remain in West Timor — will eventually return. No doubt many will choose to do so after the elections have taken place peacefully, as we know will be the case.

I must also commend the Government of Indonesia for very actively supporting all the initiatives that we have taken in terms of promoting the return of refugees from West Timor. They have established a commission known as Satgas, an inter-agency commission, and Major-General Willem da Costa, who is the commander of the ninth military region, which also includes West Timor, has personally accompanied my chief of staff, Ambassador Parameswaran of Malaysia, on many visits to West Timor, in order to provide the refugee population with accurate, objective information on the situation in East Timor and in order to counter the systematic disinformation being spread in refugee camps by some of the most extreme elements, which belong either to the political umbrella organization known as UNTAS, or to some of the hard-line militia groups.

In recent days we have held an important meeting in Jakarta of the Joint Border Committee. This meeting covered a number of issues, including the question of a demarcation of the border between West and East Timor. In the discussions we held in Jakarta the Government of Indonesia expressed an interest in moving forward with this plan, which incidentally would significantly decrease the likelihood of incidents such as the one that occurred on Saturday. We welcome that.

We have also discussed in Jakarta the question of the enclave of Oecussi, a subject that was raised by some speakers here today. We discussed arrangements for freedom of movement for the population of the enclave, in accordance with the joint statement signed between Foreign Minister Alwi Shihab and myself on 29 February of last year, during President Wahid's visit to East Timor.

On the question of judicial cooperation, which was also raised by some speakers, I think I did state this morning in my presentation that it was important that the ad hoc human rights tribunal be finally established without any temporal restrictions to its jurisdiction. Unfortunately, as you know, the first decree issued by President Gus Dur, did impose a temporal limitation. We discussed this with the then-

Attorney General, Marzuki Darusman, who indicated that they would be working on a second degree that would waive this temporal limitation. As you know, the Attorney General was replaced was Professor Lopa, who unfortunately died only a few days after his appointment. Now with a change of government, I believe that we must wait until the new attorney general is appointed to renew contacts with the Indonesian Government on this question.

There are many other issues pending in the judicial area between us and Indonesia, and I cannot fail to refer to the question of the light sentences for the six individuals found responsible for killing the three United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) colleagues in Atambua in September of last year. Attorney General Marzuki had assured me before he left his functions that indeed the Chief Justice of Indonesia was planning to present an appeal to the Supreme Court with a view to correcting what was recognized by all, including the Indonesian Government, as unacceptable sentences of these individuals.

On the question of the post-independence mission in East Timor, we have taken, obviously, very, very careful note of all the comments made here today. We have taken particular note of the request by several members the Council for a detailed report in October, which I have pledged we will submit through the Secretary-General to you, not only on the future size of our military and civilian police presence, but also on the question of the civilian presence in support of the new administration following the independence of East Timor.

Let me open here a parenthesis, because the Ambassador of Canada referred to the question of civilian police in his earlier statement. I would like to reassure him that only a small number of East Timorese policemen who have, in fact, gone through the police academy are now being trained as the embryo of the future rapid response unit of the East Timorese police. International police should not continue to provide rapid response, particularly crowd control. This is a function that Xanana Gusmão, José Ramos-Horta and many other East Timorese leaders believe should be carried out — if at all necessary, God forbid — by East Timorese policeman. I can assure him that if they are being trained outside the academy, it is because, after their basic training, they require more technical

training that is being provided by two of our supporters in the training of the East Timorese police force.

Focusing on the civilian component of the post-independence United Nations presence, Ambassador Hume asked me what were the current figures of the international civilian presence as part of both the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and the East Timor Transitional Administration (ETTA). The figures I can provide you with are the following. As part of the ETTA structure, we have at present 550 international staff and 606 United Nations Volunteers, most of whom are currently engaged in the preparation of the elections and will leave East Timor in the course of the month of September. Regarding UNTAET, we currently have 672 international staff and 217 United Nations Volunteers. As indicated in the Secretary-General's report, we are planning to bring the ETTA international staff in East Timor down to 25 percent of its present strength at the end of the current mandate of UNTAET and to downsize the civilian component of UNTAET to about 80 percent of its present size by that date.

Ambassador Doutriaux of France and Ambassador Valdivieso of Colombia, as well as the United States, insisted on the importance of a greater participation of international agencies in supporting the new Government. I hope you will allow me to reply to Ambassador Doutriaux in French.

(spoke in French)

Ambassador Doutriaux asked me whether we were planning to involve intergovernmental organizations even further, in particular the specialized agencies of the United Nations system and international financial institutions. I can assure him that the answer is in the affirmative, as I noted in my introductory statement this morning. We hope that the agencies of the system will be in a better position to meet our needs in the post-independence phase than was the case at the very beginning of our mission. The international financial institutions are very much present and have provided us with invaluable support.

I have in mind the World Bank, the Asian Bank for Development and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF, in particular, has assured us that it would continue to support us with specialized personnel in the area of finance and the future Timorese central bank. The Fund is represented in this room by Mr. Valdivieso, who once again reaffirmed to

me the medium-term commitment of the IMF, well beyond independence, in these two fields, more specifically.

We will also need by October to take stock of the resources which will be made available to us on a bilateral basis. We should therefore be in a position in October to present to you a comprehensive chart with a detailed description of these three civilian support elements for the new Timorese Administration: the multilateral component, the bilateral component and the one which we will be proposing to you for financing by United Nations mandatory contributions, if this Council were to agree with that.

(spoke in English)

The Ambassador of Colombia also put three very specific questions to me, to which I will try to reply. First of all, on the question of the interface between the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and a future possible Deputy Special Representative who might also wear the hat of Development Coordinator in East Timor, I am very happy that you put this question, Ambassador Valdivieso, because this is very important, not least for achieving what you and other members of the Council have called for, which is a more active participation of the United Nations system in the continued building of the new administration in East Timor. I know that my good friend Mark Malloch Brown, who visited us in February, fully supports this recommendation by the Secretary-General.

As you know, this is a formula that we have tested elsewhere — in Haiti, in Tajikistan and also in Sierra Leone. There is, obviously, no conflict between the position of the UNDP resident representative, United Nations Development Coordinator and Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General. On the contrary, we believe that this would significantly contribute to a truly integrated United Nations mission after independence.

As regards the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF), I have been informed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) that since such documents are negotiated with sovereign, independent Governments, this has not yet started but will certainly begin as soon as a sovereign Government of East Timor is in place. Undoubtedly, this UNDAF will be based on the medium-term economic development strategy that Mr. Ramos-Horta referred to this morning and that we

shall start working upon immediately after independence, as well as on the human development report that I know UNDP is currently preparing.

On the question of the security assessment mission, all I can say to Ambassador Valdivieso and the others who expressed interest in the outcome of that mission is that obviously that is outside my purview, but I have been informed that the Secretary-General will transmit the findings of the mission to the Security Council as soon as is possible.

On the question of security, I shall start with the incident on 28 July. Early this morning I received a report on that incident, which led to the death of an Indonesian Armed Forces First Sergeant. I will not go into the details. We have agreed to establish a joint investigative team with the Indonesian Government to study the circumstances of that incident and establish responsibilities. Of course, we deeply regret any death on either side of the border, and we have every interest in shedding full light on that incident and in establishing relations of true and lasting confidence between ourselves, the new East Timor Defence Force and the Indonesian Armed Forces. But obviously, that incident, as we are all aware, is related to the broader question of security on the international border. I told the Council that this was a prominent item on the agenda of the Joint Border Committee, as it is on the agenda of all the bilateral meetings between our Force Commander, General Boonsrang Niumpradit, and General Da Costa on the Indonesian side.

This morning José Ramos-Horta informed the Council of a number of initiatives that Xanana Gusmão, with our full support, has been taking with a view to engaging the more moderate leaders of militia groups in a dialogue that we hope will soon lead to their return, as well as the return of those refugees they claim to influence. And we know that they do influence them. Mr. Gusmão has had a meeting with two of those militia leaders on the southern border, at Salele, and he is planning to have two more meetings in early August. This has received the full support of the Indonesian Government, and this is the way forward within the broader context of the further normalization of relations between East Timor and Indonesia. This will also enable us to isolate those more extreme former or current commanders of militia groups that we hope will be dealt with once and for all by the Indonesian authorities; and we trust General Da Costa to do that.

The representatives of Brazil and Ukraine asked me whether there was any likelihood that parties that did not sign the pact of national unity would disrupt the process. No, I do not think so. I think I can reply on behalf of Mr. Ramos-Horta that this is unlikely. We know the individuals and very small groups that remain determined to derail the process. We have them under very careful watch, and we shall not hesitate to intervene using all means at our disposal, particularly the penal code, to deal with that threat should it ever materialize in the coming weeks.

The representative of Ukraine also asked me what other measures could be taken to prevent violence during and after the electoral campaign, in addition to the pact. We have adopted a regulation on electoral offences. We have the penal code, obviously. But we also have a strong military and police presence in the country, which was obviously not the case in 1999. But I must say that our strongest allies in maintaining a peaceful process before, during and after the elections are the East Timorese political leaders and the East Timorese people. I toured all the districts of the country before coming to New York and I noted with great satisfaction a high degree of maturity and vigilance on the part of the Timorese population, as well as on the part of the political party leaders who accompanied me on many of these visits. That is the

most reassuring development in recent months in East Timor. The East Timorese may not know precisely what democracy is, but they certainly know what democracy is not. They reject violence in any form. They have been calling on leaders of political parties to abide strictly and scrupulously by the pact of national unity. I think political leaders have heard that call and will heed it.

Let me once again thank you very sincerely, Mr. President, for giving this opportunity to Mr. Ramos-Horta and me to brief the Council and thank you again for your very strong support.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I would like to thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for the additional statement, clarifications and answers he has provided.

I would also like to thank all the representatives who expressed their kind words to me in their statements.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.