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Fifty-sixth year

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Provisional

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Mahbubani	(Singapore)
<i>Members:</i>	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Ireland	Mr. Cooney
	Jamaica	Mr. Prendergast
	Mali	Mr. Toure
	Mauritius	Mr. Neewoor
	Norway	Mr. Brattskar
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Ms. Soderberg

Agenda

The situation in East Timor

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2001/42).

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

Expression of sympathy to the Government and the people of India and of Pakistan in connection with the earthquake affecting their countries

The President: At the outset of the meeting, I should like, on behalf of the Council, to express deep condolences to the Government and the people of India and of Pakistan in connection with the earthquake which occurred today in western India, resulting in considerable devastation and loss of life. I am sure that members of the Council share my feelings on this matter.

Expression of farewell to the outgoing Legal Counsellor for the United States Mission

The President: I should like also to take this opportunity to bid farewell to Mr. Bob Rosenstock, the Legal Counsellor for the United States Mission. Mr. Rosenstock has been at the United States Mission since 1964. I understand that in 1964, there were 115 States Members of the United Nations. Today, there are 189. Hundreds of representatives have come and gone, but Bob has stayed on to work on those issues that are so important to us all. I can say this with some conviction, because when I came here for the first time as an ambassador, from 1984 to 1989, Mr. Rosenstock was already a legend then. He should know that everyone in this room will miss him when he leaves. I hope the members of the Council will now join me in a round of applause to bid farewell to a colleague who has been with us for 37 years.

I give the floor to Mr. Rosenstock.

Mr. Rosenstock (United States of America): Thank you very much for that very touching comment. I see there are more speakers than even I have years, so I will be very brief and merely again express my very profound thanks for the extraordinary gesture on the part of Security Council members, who — all of them out of order — applauded, which was even more enjoyable, and I certainly do not raise a point of order to it. Thank you again.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in East Timor

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2001/42)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Brazil, Chile, Fiji, Japan, Indonesia, Mozambique, New Zealand, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea and Sweden 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. Viotti (Brazil), Mr. Valdés (Chile), Mr. Naidu (Fiji), Mr. Kobayashi (Japan), Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia), Mr. Santos (Mozambique), Mr. Mackay (New Zealand), Mr. Manolo (Philippines), Mr. Kim Young-mok (Republic of Korea) and Mr. Schori (Sweden) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: 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 of the Secretary-General and Transitional Administrator of 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.

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. Harri Holkeri, President of the General Assembly.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Holkeri to take a seat at the side of the Council Chamber.

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 invitations under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Mark Malloch Brown, Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), to Mr. Klaus Rohland, Country Director for East Timor, Papua New Guinea and Pacific Islands of the World Bank, and Mr. Luis Valdivieso, Adviser, Asia and Pacific Department of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Brown, Mr. Rohland and Mr. Valdivieso to be seated at the side of the Council Chamber.

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

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) for the period 27 July 2000 to 16 January 2001, document S/2001/42.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/2001/83, which contains the text of a letter dated 25 January 2001 from Portugal to the President of the Security Council.

I would also like to point out that this open debate, by virtue of its timing, by virtue of the fact that we will be looking into the renewal of UNTAET's mandate and also by virtue of the fact that we will have many distinguished speakers this morning — including the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Harri

Holkeri, Mr. José Ramos Horta, who, I believe, will be addressing the Security Council for the first time, and Mr. Malloch Brown, as well as representatives of the World Bank and the IMF — suggests that we are going to have a future-oriented and forward-looking debate. We believe that this debate should afford us an opportunity to start to sketch out a collective vision for the future of East Timor, both in transition towards independence and after independence. We should also discuss the role of the international community in helping East Timor to achieve that vision.

I now give the floor to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello.

Mr. Vieira de Mello: Fifteen months after the adoption of resolution 1272 (1999), this is my last briefing during the current mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). On this occasion, therefore, as we review where we have come from and where we are heading, I would like to express my gratitude to the Security Council for its unflagging attention and support to our work in East Timor, perhaps most graphically illustrated in recent months by its decision to dispatch a mission to review the implementation of Security Council resolutions 1272 (1999) and 1319 (2000).

I would also like to note with appreciation your work, Sir, as current President of the Council, in organizing this important debate and in gathering together the key players here today, including the President of the General Assembly, whom we were fortunate enough to receive in East Timor only a few weeks ago. We are grateful that East Timor has been placed at the forefront of the Council's busy agenda for this month. Singapore's preparation for this, including the sending to Dili of a delegation to investigate conditions on the ground, is a model we should all admire. We are particularly grateful for this.

Finally, although he needs no introduction, I would like nonetheless to say a word about my friend and colleague who is also here to brief the Council, East Timor's cabinet member for foreign affairs, José Ramos-Horta. It is fitting today, as we introduce to the Council the structural changes we have made to the mission, most notably through the prefiguration of an effective government of East Timor, that we have here with us that country's most dedicated and prominent spokesman of the past 25 years. I thank the Council for inviting him here to speak.

We knew from the outset that the unique demands placed on UNTAET meant that our task would not be easy, although perhaps we failed fully to appreciate just how complex our task would be. As has often been noted, through resolution 1272 (1999) the Security Council gave UNTAET a mandate that was unprecedented in its breadth, involving not only peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance, tasks that are perhaps more traditional than the United Nations has in the past been asked to perform, but also full executive and legislative responsibility, including the administration of justice, for governing East Timor and bringing it to independence.

UNTAET was called on to carry out this mandate in a country that had just experienced a trauma of a truly horrific nature. While grateful for the tributes to UNTAET's accomplishments paid by the Secretary-General in his report, I am under no illusion that much still remains to be done to meet the high expectations that accompanied UNTAET's arrival. Despite the enormous strides made in the past year, our overall task is far from complete, even in such critical fields as infrastructure reconstruction, particularly in the health and education sectors, where our efforts have so far fallen worryingly short of that which is required. Moreover, in other areas, such as capacity-building, our mandate is only just beginning to be fulfilled and is many years away from completion. It is this sense of reality — that East Timor will require the ongoing commitment of the international community — that I would like to impress on the Council today.

What can be achieved in the coming year needs to be put in the context of the fast-moving political transition towards independence. At the heart of this process has been the formation of a structure of government in East Timor, albeit transitional or interim in nature, through the creation of a predominantly East Timorese Cabinet and the progressive delegation of executive authority to that body, as well as the expansion of consultative mechanisms through the establishment of the all-Timorese proto-legislature that we call the National Council. Together with the steady Timorization of government at all levels, and the creation of a Timorese judiciary, we are taking what I believe to be the most effective, most direct, and perhaps most audacious path towards fulfilling one of our core tasks, perhaps the central one, which is preparing East Timor for self-government.

Our initial model for UNTAET — namely, to Timorize the bureaucracy but to leave the political transition until elections had been held — has thus evolved into a more sophisticated model whereby the East Timorese now share much, if not most, of the responsibility for the conduct of the transition. Only by allowing institutions to evolve in the direction of progressively greater East Timorese participation have we taken the route most likely to produce enduring and stable governmental structures. The aim is to ensure that the transition to self-government occurs gradually throughout the mandate, rather than suddenly at the moment of independence.

Insofar as this mission has uniquely involved the creation of a new government, UNTAET should in fact no longer be seen as an international transitional administration, but rather as a support structure for the embryonic government of East Timor and other institutions of state. These institutions are still in development, but we should have no doubt that they exist. As I noted at the beginning of my statement, the presence here today of East Timor's Foreign Minister, as it were, serves as eloquent testimony to that reality. This does not always produce neat or easy results; Cabinet debates — for example, on the political parties regulation, which we adopted last week — are often protracted affairs requiring compromise solutions. Moreover, as we now have true separation of powers, there is no guarantee that the National Council and Cabinet will see eye to eye on all matters. Furthermore, the judicial sector — non-existent when UNTAET arrived — continues to face understandable but significant teething problems. Yet it is only through practical, and not just theoretical, preparation that the groundwork for self-government can truly be laid. This conceptual and structural shift in the manner in which UNTAET performs its mandate is the cornerstone of our efforts to implement resolution 1272 (1999).

Another complexity we have faced, and one with which we have not always been able to deal as effectively as we would have liked, has been the systemic problem of needing to adapt traditional peacekeeping practices to modern, multifaceted governance missions. Nowhere is this truer than in financing. I am not going to belabour this point, as it is already well known, but suffice it to say that I am grateful to the Security Council mission for having noted this dilemma in its report last November and for urging greater flexibility in the way in which United

Nations resources can be used. Likewise, I thank the Secretary-General for making this same observation in his latest report, and also the President of the General Assembly for his support in this regard.

UNTAET is very much an innovative mission. It illustrates the general point that rules and procedures must adapt to the changing environment in which we are operating if the wishes of the Security Council are to be fulfilled. Many of the key tasks laid out in resolution 1272 (1999) now fall on the new governmental structures of East Timor to perform, rather than on UNTAET, as originally conceived. We cannot expect that Government to perform those tasks adequately on what I call a "cruel" annual budget of \$59 million, without being able to tap into UNTAET's manifoldly larger resources.

The final phase of transition is before us. Key decisions are about to be made regarding the details of the political steps which will lead to independence, in conformity with the general process I outlined to the Council here in November. I am sure that José will have more to say on this, but what we do know is that there will be elections in mid-2001. Indeed, the political standing committee of the National Council has been holding hearings on the electoral timetable and framework, and there appears to be a consensus forming in favour of elections on 30 August, together with an electoral system combining both direct district representation and nationwide proportional representation. A final decision will be forthcoming soon after the National Council resumes its session on 12 February. These elections will be for a Constituent Assembly that will have as its core mandate the preparation of a constitution but that will, in all likelihood, also assume legislative functions for the remainder of the transition.

The Assembly's deliberations will be informed by broad public consultations on the constitution, which UNTAET will facilitate and support but which will be conducted by East Timorese. All thereafter is still relatively blank, with the canvas to be filled in by the East Timorese themselves on the back of this founding democratic act, though needless to say, in bringing down the curtain on resolution 1272 (1999) and its successor resolutions, consultations with the Council will indeed intensify. UNTAET, and not the Government of East Timor, will retain full responsibility for ensuring that the elections are fully free and fair, but what follows after — for example,

whether there are presidential elections, or whether the Constituent Assembly converts itself into the first legislature of East Timor after independence — are not decisions for us to make, as they can be appropriately reached only by the East Timorese themselves.

What is clear, however, is that international personnel will be needed well beyond independence to provide technical assistance, capacity-building and security. It is an inescapable fact that in a whole range of key high-skill fields it takes a long time to train personnel. Thus, East Timorese surgeons, of whom there is just one at present, will, like any other surgeons, take five to seven years to train. Many other of the skills required in a modern state also take many years to acquire. There can be no short cuts or quick-fix solutions. For example, the Department of Infrastructure believes that while it will be possible to develop fully Timorized water and port services relatively quickly, the skills needed to run a modern telecommunications system will take longer to learn, and continued international support will be required in the interim.

Or take as yet another example, the dearth of lawyers that has been one of many legacies left East Timor by its recent history. Efforts to establish a judicial system have already been significant, but they still only scratch the surface, as the Security Council mission itself noted. Or border control. While an East Timor Border Service has been created, it is still in its infancy, and East Timor's already meagre coffers continue to miss out on significant taxes due to smuggling of goods across the border with West Timor. Here again, we will need to concentrate our efforts beyond independence.

In his observations, the Secretary-General laid out our initial thinking on life after UNTAET and the need for a seamless transition to its successor mission. More work is being done to develop a fully fleshed-out proposal. We intend to have this prepared in time for the next donors conference in Canberra this coming June and to be able to discuss this with the Council in detail at the time of the Secretary-General's next scheduled report to the Council on East Timor — or at any other time that the Council may determine.

In preparing for this mission, coordination will be key if the mission is to be fully integrated and competition, duplication and confusion avoided. Coordination will be needed within and between the

United Nations and its agencies; the international financial institutions; the donors; you, the Security Council; and, of course, the East Timorese as the major stakeholders. It is worth highlighting at this juncture — because I think it is not highlighted enough — that one of the successes of UNTAET has been the remarkable level of cooperation and team-playing that has existed between all of the above, and how through this cooperation the whole has been much greater than the sum of its parts. We are all engaged in trying to achieve the same objective, and that unity has shone through in our work. Consequently, it is particularly appropriate that both the United Nations Development Programme — on behalf of all the agencies, who have been so central to reconstruction and rehabilitation in all sectors — and the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund will be taking the floor here today in this debate.

However, precise details are not yet possible. There are a number of reasons for this uncertainty.

First, as I have already pointed out, the political timetable, including the date of independence, has still to be finally determined.

Secondly, the level of economic and social development that can be sustained depends crucially on the budgetary resources that will be available to an independent East Timor — particularly those that will be generated by foreign investment, as well as from oil and gas resources in the Timor Sea. As regards the latter, while it is not possible at this stage to make firm estimates, what we do know is that the petroleum to which East Timor is entitled will, before not too long, generate revenues in multiples of East Timor's current budget. The negotiations on this issue with Australia are thus of paramount importance in determining the extent of East Timor's future fiscal independence. I am optimistic that an agreement may be reached in the not too distant future on many of the complex issues involved here.

Thirdly, as will be its prerogative, the elected Government of an independent East Timor could well decide on significant changes of policy that will require a reassessment of the skills and personnel needed by individual departments and government agencies after independence.

One area worth highlighting is justice. In my last briefing to the Security Council — echoing the concerns of the report of the Security Council

mission — I highlighted the resource constraints besetting the justice sector, particularly in the key area of investigations into serious crimes committed in the period surrounding the popular consultation of August 1999. At that time I made an appeal to the Council for additional resources — an appeal I make again today. We continue to endure a parlous situation, in which the lack of even translators forces delays to trials.

This is not to say that progress has not been made for prosecutions of defendants charged with serious crimes; the first indictment for crimes against humanity was filed on 11 December. As a matter of fact, I even read this morning that the first sentence was passed, if I am not mistaken, by the court in Baucau, also on a crime against humanity. But this process desperately needs an urgent injection of additional resources. Already, the target number of investigations established by the Serious Crimes Investigation Unit imposes practical limitations on the number of cases to be tried. We cannot risk leaving the public demand for justice dangerously unsatisfied by imposing further cutbacks on our goals in this area.

The East Timorese skills base is changing fast, and that is yet another reason why it is difficult to be precise about East Timor's future needs. There is already intense competition for the services of the limited pool of East Timorese. To augment that pool, we continue to reach out, though with only limited success, to the diaspora. That pool is also rapidly being transformed as increasing numbers of East Timorese rise to the on-the-job challenges posed by Timorization and by the opening of the University of East Timor and other tertiary institutions, as well as by the fact that we have recently recruited civil servants who are now taking Government training courses and the fact that hundreds of students are going abroad on scholarships, particularly to Indonesia.

Two areas where resource gaps can already be reasonably precisely identified are those of security and law enforcement. Since I spoke to the Council in November, just after a defence donors' conference had taken place in Dili, the process of creating an East Timor Defence Force has taken several important steps forward. Draft defence legislation is close to completion, and recruitment is under way. In the next few days, possibly on 1 February, the guerrilla force — Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor (FALINTIL) — will cease to exist, and will be replaced by the new Defence Force, of which

FALINTIL will form the core. Training of the first 600-man battalion will then begin, and is expected to be completed by the end of this year. This is a historic new beginning.

However, the force is not expected to be at its full strength of 1,500 regulars and 1,500 reservists until two to three years hence. At least until then, therefore, there will have to be a continued — possibly significant — international peacekeeping presence. In addition, the security situation, particularly in the border areas, will also influence the pace of our downsizing.

There have been a number of hopeful developments on the security front since the Security Council's mission in November. There has continued to be some, although not enough, progress on reconciliation. Among the various initiatives sponsored by the Indonesian Government and UNTAET since November have been further "go-and-see" visits, as we call them, East Timor by pro-autonomy leaders and ordinary refugees from the west, as well as a meeting in Denpasar between the National Council of Timorese Resistance (CNRT) and other East Timorese, on the one hand, and the pro-autonomy umbrella group known as Unit Timor Aswain UNTAS on the other. We hope that these will eventually produce significant refugee returns. Nonetheless, one year since we made our first overture to the pro-integration leaders, we continue to await true dividends. It is therefore with a sense of realism that we continue to seek a constructive solution to this problem.

Some of the recommendations made by the Security Council mission that visited East Timor and Indonesia in November have been taken up by the Indonesian Government. Trials have started in Jakarta of individuals accused of inciting and perpetrating the killings in Atambua on 6 September of three colleagues from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Two leading militia commanders, including the primary suspect in the killing of two of our soldiers in late July and early August last year, are now in detention. This coming February, the Indonesian Attorney-General, Marzuki Darusman, expects the new Human Rights Court to begin processing the first cases against members of the military, as well as against the police, militia members and the former civil administration of East Timor. Moreover, militia infiltration from West to East Timor has fallen off, due largely to the robust actions of cur

military in September, October and November of last year, and the onset of the rainy season.

But the Indonesian military have also been taking steps on the other side of the border. I personally welcome the firm stance adopted by the new Indonesian regional military commander, Major-General Willem da Costa, with whom I had a productive meeting two days ago in Denpasar, and I very much hope that this will lead to drastic and durable change on the ground, including through the comprehensive grounding of all remaining militias. This is a precondition for East Timor's security — and, consequently, our ability to downsize our peacekeeping force — as well as for humanitarian and other international staff to return to West Timor and for the remaining refugees freely to decide whether or not to return home.

Moreover, in line with the Security Council mission's call for steps to be taken to ensure the effective functioning of bilateral mechanisms, negotiations on issues arising from the Indonesian transfer of its control of East Timor and the first full meeting of the Joint Border Committee are both scheduled to take place in the next few days — to be precise, on 30 and 31 January. We hope for and expect concrete progress in these talks.

I cannot stress enough — and perhaps José Ramos-Horta will have more to say on this point, because he has just visited Jakarta — that East Timor's greatest hope for a stable future is a secure land border with Indonesia, as well as a framework for lasting and friendly bilateral relations with that neighbour. Without these foundations of territorial security, East Timor will continue to have to divert scarce resources away from much more critical tasks.

In the area of law enforcement, too, we expect that international assistance will be required well beyond the end of this year. Even after having put in place measures to speed up the training of East Timorese police, we estimate that this service will not be able to operate on its own until late 2004. The international civilian police will therefore need to continue to carry out their current mandate of performing law enforcement functions and providing training to East Timorese law enforcement officers until that time, albeit in gradually diminishing numbers.

In this connection, it might perhaps be worth mentioning concerns over the manner in which we deploy and use our civilian police resources in peacekeeping operations of this sort — operations in which they have executive policing responsibilities. Based on my experiences in both Kosovo and East Timor, I am increasingly of the view that the effectiveness of civilian police in these complex operations is not being maximized and that the time has come when we must consider ways to reform current practice. I know my colleagues in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations are reflecting on this subject.

To conclude, UNTAET will be judged not just on how many schools it rebuilds or roofs it replaces, on the calibre of the elections it organizes or on the peace it maintains, vital though these achievements are. Rather, judgement will also rest on how successfully UNTAET is able to assist the East Timorese in fully realizing their independence as masters of their own future and their own democratic and independent State. Independence, of course, is much more than a political state of being; the East Timorese have shown, more effectively than many, that they have always been independent in mind and spirit. But it is also a process, of which UNTAET is only a part. It is vital that after UNTAET — after everything that all of us here have invested in this endeavour — we continue to remain engaged in nurturing this process for East Timor so that it will become what we all wish it to be: a factor for political, social and economic progress and stability in the region as a whole.

The President: I thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his kind words addressed to me and my country.

I shall now call on Mr. Mark Malloch Brown, Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Malloch Brown: I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency this month. It is a great pleasure and a great opportunity to come before you today and contribute to this critical debate, and I am grateful for the invitation. Speaking both as Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and as Chair of the United Nations Development Group, I think there are few

more important current tests of the United Nations than helping East Timor to full nationhood.

It is a test, as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has just outlined, in which the United Nations has already enjoyed significant success and learned some tough lessons. Let me take this opportunity to pay special tribute to Sergio Vieira de Mello for his strong leadership and deep personal commitment in helping guide the country through this very difficult transition. We, his colleagues, are very proud of him, but not surprised by his success. His leadership has been key to providing a strong, coordinated response from the United Nations system. As the Council is aware, United Nations humanitarian and development agencies have been active in East Timor since September 1999. Currently nine — UNDP (including the United Nations Volunteers), the United Nations Children's Fund, the World Health Organization, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Labour Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the World Food Programme, the United Nations Office for Project Services and the United Nations Population Fund — maintain a presence in Dili. As Sergio kindly pointed out, the United Nations country team, led by a United Nations Development Coordinator, has, I hope, been able to provide a dynamic resource and support in helping cope with this, the first phase of the transition to independence.

Now, we face a tougher question, as was just outlined. How can we best support the process of helping move East Timor to a path of strong, sustainable development? The answer, I believe, lies in building on the strong work which the United Nations humanitarian agencies and others have begun with their contributions, from overseeing the repatriation and reintegration of some 175,000 refugees to the distribution of food aid to 180,000 vulnerable people.

We have already begun the work of building that critical bridge between emergency work and longer-term rehabilitation and development. United Nations agencies and programmes have, in collaboration with development partners, including non-governmental organizations, spent some \$136 million to address short-term needs while starting to build real capacity for the future. Our collective achievements to date include over 1,000 classrooms reroofed; a functioning health care system re-established; six power stations

and 120 kilometres of road repaired; the training of 200 public servants, including judges, public prosecutors and public defenders, and the rehabilitation of the courts; the basic training of youth auto mechanics, electricians and carpenters, and the establishment of new employment centres; support for 60 national non-governmental organizations; and the provision of technical, administrative and management skills through 500 United Nations Volunteers.

To help guide future policy decisions, the United Nations family has also undertaken a detailed assessment of future development needs. UNDP, the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank are carrying out a comprehensive poverty assessment and UNDP will have completed a benchmarking national human development report in time for independence. We are also, I think, all trying to play a key role in the coordination of the new development process, supporting the nascent East Timorese National Planning and Development Agency and helping to ensure a coherent response from the donor community.

But even as we reflect on what we have done, we must be honest about acknowledging what has not yet taken place. The United Nations as a system has had a difficult time making real progress in the area East Timorese people most need help in: building the institutional capacity to manage their own country and meet the needs of their people themselves. For a nation of 850,000 people that started with just 60 qualified secondary school teachers, 20 doctors and little in the way of effective systems of governance, that remains an enormous task. But it is where the United Nations development focus must now be turned, using our skills and experience to help develop sound democratic institutions and a strong, accountable public service while committing to remain on afterwards as a full development partner.

That kind of capacity-building is one of UNDP's special strengths and we have already been designated by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General as the lead agency for capacity-building in support of the Transitional Administration. To that end, we have already, in consultation with sister agencies and other partners, developed a broad plan of action to help do this in East Timor in key areas, from direct support to leadership for transition, to human resources, to electoral assistance and to the establishment of a fully-functioning justice system.

It is clearly a very ambitious agenda, but, I think, an achievable one. It provides a clear framework for the United Nations system to prove how we can respond to such challenges — in the spirit of the Brahimi report — in a more coherent manner built around shared objectives. We are committed to working closely with the donor community, the Bretton Woods institutions, civil society and other partners to achieve it.

But we and this Security Council must also face the fact not only that future funding remains uncertain, but that currently adequate resources are not being made available for this critical, forward-looking task of capacity-building. So, in closing, I would like to urge the Council to help seek out new ways of either adapting current funding arrangements or establishing new ones that ensure that the kind of issues I have outlined are not neglected, but are put, as they need to be, at the heart of preparations for independence.

To fund the current Administration's costs without investing in building on East Timorese administration for the future is evidently short-sighted but, nevertheless, in many ways, frankly, the sum of our current approach. We now need a funding and programming strategy that builds towards independence, so looking beyond the present recurrent needs.

José Ramos-Horta, our friend and colleague and the future Foreign Minister of East Timor, who is here with us today — and to whom I think Sergio and I would both defer as the one with the decisive voice in this Chamber on the future needs and goals of the East Timorese — and his colleagues need our support for tomorrow even more than they need it for today. There is no more important task than to help them build the people and institutions of an independent East Timor.

The President: I now call on Mr. Klaus Rohland, Country Director for East Timor, Papua New Guinea and Pacific Islands of the World Bank, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Rohland: I am very pleased to have this opportunity to address the Security Council. On behalf of the World Bank, I would like to express our sincere gratitude to the President of the Security Council for our invitation to this important meeting. I would also like to put on record our appreciation for the report of

the Secretary-General, the briefing of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the valuable analysis just provided by the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme.

The United Nations and the Secretary-General have shaped the historic process that we are about to witness and shown the way into East Timor's future as an independent, sovereign nation. The Bank pays tribute to this important historic undertaking.

East Timor is also very special to the World Bank. We have been involved in working with the East Timorese and their leadership and the United Nations Secretariat on economic issues since before the ballot. As a matter of fact, we started working with them as early as February 1999. We were there immediately after the violence. Many members know that resolution 1272 (1999) was approved by the Council on 25 October 1999, and we were out there with our joint assessment mission on 26 October 1999. We have followed the transition process and have worked closely with the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and the East Timorese ever since.

I think it is fair to say that the transitional process in East Timor has seen many successes. Most importantly, the country has a high degree of internal security and there are particularly good relations between the international peacekeeping force and the population. I pay tribute to the work of the peacekeeping force and its predecessor, the International Force in East Timor (INTERFET), in this regard.

We have succeeded in restoring core Government services. We have started long-term reconstruction programmes, and that more quickly than in any other post-conflict situation that we have witnessed in the past. For this we owe most to the East Timorese leadership and the East Timorese people and their commitment to build a new nation. But we also owe a lot to Sergio Vieira de Mello, working on behalf of the United Nations, and to the cooperation of the international donor community and our colleagues in international financial institutions and United Nations agencies. Again, I would like to put on record our deep appreciation for this.

I think this process, which started with our joint assessment mission in October 1999, has proved that there is a great spirit of cooperation among the

Timorese people, international participants and the international organizations. Yes, we have achieved a lot. The process in East Timor was, by historic standards, a very good one. We are on the road to success. But we can improve, and we should improve. We should take on the lessons of the last 18 months to be even better on the road to independence.

With all the success there have been social and political tensions. Reconstruction and restitution of Government services have not always met the expectations of the population; they have not always met with the impatience of the population. Sometimes the East Timorese themselves have not always felt the degree of ownership of the process that is needed for the transition to be successful. Let us build on our experience. Let us grasp the opportunity to improve.

In the Bank we are reviewing our support processes. We want to see where improvements can be made, and we will be working with UNTAET and the East Timorese and drawing lessons that can be fed into both current operations and the planning of post-independence support. This review will start in a few days, and I am sure it will provide valuable lessons that we will discuss at the next donors meeting at Canberra in June, as Sergio Vieira de Mello mentioned.

Let me point to some of these preliminary lessons that we see as critical, and let me try to give some answers to the question before you today. I think that first we need to develop a clear and structured plan for the transition and the post-independence mandate. The past year has seen rapid fire-fighting and reactions to a crisis situation. This was — and let me be very clear about it — the right thing to do, given the enormity of the challenge that faced the Timorese and their international partners in September 1999 and thereafter.

Now we need to take on a longer-term view. The UNTAET-World Bank process donor meeting document outlines some strategy elements, but much more work is needed to identify and to time out other critical steps. These details will need to be developed in the coming weeks, but I believe we can already distinguish some key characteristics of that plan.

The plan needs to be in place as soon as possible to enable mobilization of the right resources. It needs to focus on a small number of key objectives, not to try to cover everything under the sun. It needs to be a collaborative effort with the participation of all the

development partners. It needs to be driven by the East Timorese and supported by the international community. It needs to be widely disseminated and discussed among Timorese and international Government staff, the Timorese population and the development partners. Everyone needs to understand the path being taken. Finally — and Sergio Vieira de Mello has already alluded to this — the plan will need strong management monitoring to turn papers into results on the ground.

The area of administration, as previous speakers have pointed out, will be crucial to the transition. In an environment of devastated infrastructure and communications and with the total collapse of the State, the establishment of government functions has taken more time than expected. This has involved critical bottlenecks in procurement and recruitment, bottlenecks that are about to be overcome.

UNTAET and the emerging East Timorese administration needed some time to develop a way to work jointly and to overcome difficult legal and organizational issues to improve effectiveness. It is crucial for the success of the first independent Timorese Government that it inherit an administration with efficient systems, capable human resources, clear roles and lines of accountability, an administration free of corruption and undue political interference. The Timorese therefore must already participate fully in the interim administration between now and independence to ensure that the State being built is the same one they want for the future.

A smooth administrative hand-over will require concerted effort in recruitment and institutional and human capacity-building over the coming months, as well as good advance planning for post-independence technical assistance.

We need to recognize that true independence is not only political, but also economic. East Timor's independence will need to be based on sound fiscal management that balances revenues and expenditures for long-term sustainable development. Its central fiscal authority and its national planning and development agencies are the key drivers through which future support should be channelled to achieve sustainability. This was the message of the donors meeting in Brussels. Cooperation between the United Nations, the national leadership, the Bretton Woods institutions and bilateral donors is based on this

recognition. We need to integrate political, administrative and economic planning even more closely than was the case after the ballot.

East Timor needs a capable State, and it needs a sustainable set of financial and public management frameworks. Respecting the wish of the East Timorese leadership to inherit a lean State is key in this period. We must particularly take care to avoid undertaking unsustainable capital projects which cannot be maintained by the State in the future. We need to focus on a clear set of Government functions, and agencies should be appropriate to its development state. We should not replicate the situation of the proliferation of agencies, as in many richer and more developed countries.

Economic independence applies to individuals as well as to the State. When I go to the districts of East Timor, East Timorese people from every walk of life tell me that they do not want dependence on aid. They want a chance to work, to start small businesses, to sell their agricultural products. Private-sector recovery is critical. It is also critical because the withdrawal of many international personnel in the months to come will cause some job loss in public agencies and in the urban service sector.

We should take this seriously not only because of the hardships for the individuals, but also because of the links between security and economic development. More jobs, higher agricultural output, a strong private sector and a functioning public infrastructure will all help to ensure a stable political transition. It will show the population that they gain in an independent East Timor.

On the downside, unemployment and a crumbling infrastructure, in contrast, will act to destabilize the political transition. To get the link between economic development and political transition right, synchronization is the key challenge for all players around this table and in the international community.

We should work together with the Timorese leadership and with UNTAET and our colleagues in the International Monetary Fund to ensure that an appropriate economic stimulus is applied before the transition and to strengthen budget allocations to social services and core economic infrastructures.

The coming month will be challenging, and we in the World Bank stand ready to help in every way we

can. In addition to our continuing support, along with other donors to the Trust Fund for East Timor, we will offer assistance for a fiscally sustainable civil service, wages and structures. We will offer assistance on anti-corruption strategies, so vital for a sound public sector environment. We will work with the central fiscal authority in improving budgetary processes, and we would like to see the Trust Fund for East Timor involved in a mechanism to support a more integrated and sustainable budget for the new Government.

In the coming months, we will be discussing options in this regard with the Timorese, UNTAET, the United Nations and, most importantly, the donors to the Trust Fund for East Timor, whom I sincerely thank for their support over the last month and on whom I call for support for the month ahead.

I wish to thank you once again, Mr. President, for providing us with this unique opportunity to address the Security Council.

The President: I now call on Mr. Luis Valdivieso, Advisor, Asian Pacific Department, International Monetary Fund, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Valdivieso: It is a great pleasure and privilege to have the opportunity to come before the Council today and contribute to this critical debate. It is well known that we are very proud to be associated with the leadership of the United Nations in assisting the East Timorese on the road to independence and to try to establish the necessary structures for securing the future welfare of their society.

The role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in East Timor has focused on helping the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) develop a macroeconomic framework to guide economic decision-making and capacity-building, including developing institutions and skills, to help ensure that economic policies are implemented properly and that the resources made available to East Timor are efficiently used and appropriately accounted for.

The support provided has been quite specialized. The support that we have provided under the strategies that we have recommended transcends the political

transition process. The idea is to establish a framework that will endure after independence, so it is extremely important that whatever is being created, even during the first month, should be sound enough to endure all of the difficulties that are likely to be encountered in future during the transitional process.

The IMF will continue to stress the need for consistent and credible macroeconomic policies throughout the initial humanitarian relief period, the subsequent Transitional Administration, and the future independent East Timor. We will continue to stress the need for enhancing capacity-building and for creating adequate incentives for the private sector, because we believe firmly that the development of a vibrant private sector will be the engine of growth and prosperity and the only possibility of fighting poverty in East Timor.

The strategy developed in conjunction with UNTAET, the East Timorese, other institutions, United Nations agencies and the World Bank, and in continuous consultation with various donors and members of civil society, had three components. One was to ensure that there would be a payment system. Following the severe destruction of September last, there was no banking system and no possibility of making any meaningful financial transaction. Therefore that was one of the important elements. I think we have made some significant progress that will remain for years to come. Obviously, it will be under continuous monitoring and will require further adjustments to make sure that things function well.

The second important component of the strategy to ensure appropriate macroeconomic management was the development of a basic fiscal framework. There, the critical steps were to establish a central fiscal authority, which eventually will become the Ministry of Finance, and, more fundamentally, the adoption of a sustainable, consolidated budget. This budget is the national budget. It is not the assessed contributions budget, it is not the budget that supports UNTAET operations. It is the budget that supports the operations of the local administration. We focus significantly on that, but we have also broadened our perspective to make sure that we monitor closely the inflow of resources into the country, as an excessive amount of resources give rise to distortions.

There have been important and significant developments. They are very well documented and can be found on the Web sites of the United Nations, the

World Bank, the IMF and various other agencies that maintain Web sites with all the various reports, so I will not go into detail about what the achievements have been during these last 15 months of continuous contact with East Timor. But let me just flag a few that I think are important enough to keep in mind and that, as I said at the beginning, transcend the political cycle.

The first is the adoption of a currency as a means of payment and the design of a framework for the operation of banks. There are already two banks in operation, and, hopefully, there will be more in future. There are a number of initiatives for micro-financial institutions, and there is also some interest in foreign exchange bureaus.

For the time being, there is no problem with respect to the issue of monetary policy, as the currency chosen in the transition is the United States dollar. It will be up to a future independent Government of East Timor to decide whether a different monetary arrangement is suitable for its objectives.

With regard to fiscal developments, there was, for the first time, a preliminary budget. For a post-conflict country to present a preliminary budget right at the outset of operations is a very important development. It was rudimentary, but still a guideline to at least help allocate resources in a somewhat sensible manner. It also demands accountability, which is very important.

Subsequently, with the assistance of mainly the Australian and Japanese Governments, the central fiscal authority was staffed, and a very strong budget team was assigned to East Timor for about 15 months initially. These people have helped to develop a very comprehensive budget process, and now we are about to start discussions on the budget for fiscal year 2001-2002. I think that this has been very, very important. I mention the deficiencies in the design that need to be tackled, but that will come with time and experience. Furthermore, there has been the development of a tax administration body, which is implementing a policy that is being designed in consultation with the National Council and through public forum discussions. Some progress has also been made in that very important area.

I think there has been some debate on the issue of participation and ownership; it has been more and more encouraging to see that the East Timorese are taking a stronger interest. They are becoming better equipped by getting support from donors in terms of technical

assistance, and they are developing their own views with respect to various alternatives that are being offered to them for a system of taxation, a system of public tariffs for utilities and so forth.

Budget execution is a different matter, because it depends not only on having a budget but also on the spending agencies. This requires much more work. As Mr. Rohland indicated, they are having additional difficulties in procurement. There are some difficulties in the execution that hopefully will be addressed. But these two developments in banking and payments management—because there is no real monetary management—and in fiscal management are encouraging. I think they will require future assistance, and we stand ready to support the United Nations until the transfer of the administration to a new East Timorese government, and to support the future East Timorese government.

With regard to developments in capacity-building, we will focus initially on making operational the institutions that we consider key for economic management. We have provided comprehensive technical assistance, and I think that one of the important lessons we have derived from this situation is that there are very detailed blueprints on how to manage these institutions, what functions and what type of people are required. I think we are now proposing that this model be replicated, so to speak, for other economic institutions that are being developed, such as the national planning agency and the ministry of economy, because it is extremely important that we know *ex ante* what is required in terms of expertise, the type of institution being built and the requirements both for today and for the future. As previous speakers have said, it is very important that we do not create something that later will become difficult to sustain, especially when the massive amount of external support starts to decline.

We acknowledge that the process of building East Timorese managerial capacity in the macro-financial management area has been slow; it is quite a specialized area. This will take time. We are now trying to coordinate more closely with the World Bank, with the Asian Development Bank and with other agencies, trying to make sure that we have a systematic approach that will enable us to deploy qualified staff for these critical areas of macroeconomic management in the months to come. We have already started some comprehensive courses in Singapore. We have a

regional institute. We are trying to set up on-the-job training approaches. All the experts that have been recommended by our institution have, as part of their terms of reference, a capacity-building mandate, and they have the responsibility to identify and train local counterparts during their stay in East Timor, with a view to the latter eventually being in a position to assume their responsibilities, even though we anticipate that in these areas of expertise continued support will be required for a number of years to come.

What are the major challenges that we see ahead? I understand that the Council President wanted the discussions to focus on the future, but I think it is important to look at the past, especially in the area of our concern, because we do not really believe that we have to change the tune as independence approaches, since, as I said, the institutions that have been set up will be required in any market-based economy. I think the skills that are being developed will be required in the future. Policies may change, and then there will be a need for developing analytical capacity and to ensure that advice is understood, adopted and embraced by the Timorese, because the last thing we need would be the feeling that things were being imposed. I think it is very important that whatever they adopt be embraced and come from their own initiative. This dialogue is important. It will take time. It will be slower than things more familiar to us would have been. But I think the dialogue is important, and we have to be tolerant and patient.

The challenges that we see ahead in the economic sphere are essentially in the area of the maintenance of macroeconomic stability. I think that many people believe it is sometimes too early to talk about economic matters in a post-conflict situation; but it is never too early, because normally what happens is that in the rush of things, we make decisions that we may later regret. One of our major concerns, for instance, is wage policy. In the rush of things, sometimes we want to hire whoever is available at the moment, and we sometimes judge the adequacy of wage policy against the objective of trying to bring qualified people to help us as soon as possible. But in the process we may distort the wage policy for the future independent government of Timor. Another possibility is that we embark on projects that may be too costly over time. This pertains to the whole issue of sustainability over time. It is never too early to raise questions about sustainability. We are very concerned about that. I

think the challenge for East Timor will be to continuously go over every decision that is being taken and understand not only the short term benefits but also the future implications. This is something that we have raised in meetings with donors. Very generous bilateral assistance is being offered, but we are asking donors to be as specific as possible, with regard to what they are willing to do today as well as the recurrent costs needed to maintain in the future whatever is initiated now.

Even though our friend Sergio Vieira de Mello says that the budget is cruel, I think that the budget is realistic and is consistent with the availability of resources today and the medium-term potential of the country. That is precisely what forces us to ask ourselves continuously whether something that may be beneficial today may be too costly tomorrow. It is not that these questions should prevent us from making decisions; I think they have to be made.

So this is a very important challenge: to continuously have on the table the questions of sustainability that are critical for macroeconomic stability. Without macroeconomic stability, we cannot expect growth, and we cannot expect to be in a position to address serious poverty problems.

The other serious challenge is capacity-building. I am very pleased to hear, as our friend from the United Nations Development Programme indicated, that it has a mandate to deal with this issue, which is so critical. We stand ready to cooperate with it in all areas of our expertise, and we will continue to support the United Nations and our Timorese friends in the future independent government of East Timor with whatever resources we have.

The final major challenge is the creation of adequate incentives for the private sector. I think we have here a unique opportunity to move away from the traditional governmental structure that was set up, inherited from Indonesian times — that is, a large government. I think this is a very good opportunity. But for creating the right incentives for private sector development, a lot has to be done. In a couple of publications, we have presented in detail what we think would be the immediate steps. I will be glad to make available to all the members of the Council the references to these publications, which can also be found on our Web site.

We believe that for creating the right incentives there is an immediate need not only to maintain stability and to continue with a sensible fiscal budget and fiscal approach; it will also be important to move forcefully on developing basic legislation that is still missing, but not stopping at the level of legislation. In this regard, I fully agree with Sergio Vieira de Mello that enforcement is as important as having the laws in place, so the development of the judiciary has to go hand in hand with the development of legislation. Very specifically, we are very concerned about the need for developing quickly commercial law, the labour code and a foreign-investment law, because without those basic legal requirements and frameworks and the assurances that the rights of investors are going to be protected, we cannot expect an appropriate response.

We are also watching with great interest the approach followed in the political transition. This will also help, because political uncertainty also affects investment decisions. But I think two important elements that were mentioned by Sergio Vieira de Mello are the participation in decision-making and in the legislative effort of the East Timorese. These elements are providing more and more clarity with respect to where the country is likely to go, and this in turn is providing some assurances to some investors who are already analysing the possibilities.

We believe that every effort should be made to create the right incentives for private initiative. Without that, I think we run the risk of creating an environment in which the Government will be forced to take up obligations that I think the East Timorese have a unique opportunity to decide not to put in the hands of the Government — in contrast to what has traditionally been the case.

Once again, I really appreciate the invitation to speak to the Council. We are very pleased and we stand ready to continue cooperating with the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor, our Timorese friends, all United Nations agencies, our sister institution, the World Bank, and donors. We will be glad to answer any questions and discuss bilaterally any further issues that any of the members of the Security Council may have, or to present more specific briefings as required.

The President: The next speaker is Mr. Harri Holkeri, President of the General Assembly, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of

its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table.

Before giving the floor to Mr. Holkeri, I would like to convey a special word of thanks to him for taking time off from his busy schedule to address the Security Council. Rarely have Presidents of the General Assembly addressed the Council. Indeed, our research shows that the last time it happened was probably in 1946 — more than 54 years ago. So this is in some ways a historic occasion.

I invite Mr. Holkeri to make his statement.

Mr. Holkeri: I first wish to join you, Mr. President, in your expression of condolences to the people of India and Pakistan.

I am honoured to be able to participate in this open debate of the Security Council on East Timor. I would like to thank you in particular, Mr. President, for your efforts in making it possible for me to address the Council. My participation in this debate is part of the efforts to foster closer cooperation and coordination between the main United Nations bodies and actors.

I made a week-long visit to the South-East Asian region from 10 to 17 January 2001, visiting Singapore, East Timor and Indonesia. My visit was at the invitation of the Singaporean and Indonesian Governments and of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). In East Timor, I had a series of meetings in Dili, during which I was briefed extensively about the activities of UNTAET by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and by other officials of UNTAET. I also met with local political leaders, including Xanana Gusmão, as well as with the Force Commander of the United Nations peacekeeping force and the Commissioner of the civil police. Finally, I had the opportunity to meet with the heads of United Nations agencies and with representatives of the local diplomatic community.

In addition to my programme in Dili, I paid a half-day visit to Suai, the site of a massacre in 1999, where I was given a briefing on the various aspects of the operation of the district administration and of the Sector West peacekeeping force. In Suai, I had discussions with the members of the District Advisory Council and other local representatives.

The detailed account of my visit, including a list of all meetings, can be found on my Web site.

At the outset, I wish to pay tribute to the women and men, civilian and military, who serve the United Nations in East Timor, and to commend the leadership of Mr. Vieira de Mello. The working conditions — both in the physical and in the political sense — in the Mission area are very difficult. It is crucial that the Mission get all necessary support from Headquarters in order to overcome these difficulties. In addition, close cooperation between all United Nations agencies working in this comprehensive United Nations mission is vital for a successful outcome.

The main purpose of my visit to East Timor was to observe, in the light of our recent discussions on the Brahimi report, how a comprehensive and complex peace operation works at the field level. The visit allowed me to assess at first hand the situation in East Timor.

In East Timor there is a clear gap between the expectations of the local population and what may be expected to be a painstakingly slow process of nation-building. This is a gap common in post-conflict situations. It exists both at the grass-roots level, as echoed by the everyday concerns of the people I met in Suai, and at the political level, as reflected by growing calls among the local political leadership for moves towards immediate independence.

In a country that has never in its recorded history enjoyed self-determination and democratic rule, this desire for an immediate solution is understandable. But it should be tempered by a realization that building democratic institutions is, even under the best of circumstances, a complex and delicate task. However, I am sure that the people in East Timor, who have ultimate responsibility for the future of their country, will remember this during the coming months, as the political calendar brings them closer to independence. Furthermore, I trust that the Council will bear this in mind in its deliberations on the issue.

East Timorese society faces the fundamental question of justice versus reconciliation. There seems to be a genuine and commendable readiness among the political leadership to move towards national reconciliation, with maximum inclusiveness of former pro-autonomy elements now in West Timor. At the same time, there is a strong body of opinion, especially at the grass-roots level, calling for justice as the precondition for any true reconciliation. In my view, these views are not mutually exclusive. The pursuit of

justice is fundamental to nation-building and to any United Nations peace operation. Those responsible for human rights violations and crimes against humanity must be brought to justice. At the same time, reconciliation at all levels should be actively promoted.

Despite the commendable progress achieved, East Timor will need the assistance and presence of the international community for a long time to come, both to continue to maintain peace and to support reconstruction and nation-building. We cannot afford to exit East Timor prematurely or without a well-prepared strategy. The Timorization of the local administration is crucial and should be pursued vigorously. But it cannot wholly substitute for international presence in the near future.

United Nations peacekeeping is still needed to ensure the safety and security of the population and the overall stability of the country. It would be unrealistic and even irresponsible to expect or plan a quick pull-out. I also wish to emphasize that the operation must be given the resources commensurate with its mandate and that these resources must be provided from assessed contributions. In this connection, I also wish to express my support for the Council's request for increased flexibility in the use of assessed resources allocated to complex peacekeeping operations such as UNTAET. I will once again draw the attention of the relevant General Assembly bodies to this request.

The situation along the border areas between West Timor and East Timor is of grave concern. Even though I did not have the opportunity to visit West Timor, it became clear to me that much more needs to be done to disarm and disband the militias. This is essential so as to allow the United Nations to return to West Timor to deal with the refugee problem. It is also indispensable in order to stop the violence against the civilian population, including women.

I should point out that during my discussions in Jakarta with the President, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and other high-level officials, I was given assurances of their cooperation and determination to facilitate refugee return. They expressed their hope that the United Nations, especially the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), would soon be able to return to West Timor. As for my part, I underscored the need strictly to implement Security Council resolution 1319 (2000). I also expressed the hope that the relationship between

Indonesia and UNTAET would continue to be based on the joint communiqué of 29 February 2000 and the Memorandum of Understanding of April 2000. Again, my interlocutors expressed their commitment to good-neighbourly relations with East Timor. As with any United Nations peace operation, the success of UNTAET depends on the full cooperation of all parties.

In conclusion, I would like, in recognition of UNTAET's performance, to stress the urgency of the need to strengthen United Nations peace operations through implementing the recommendations of the Brahimi report. Moreover, I would like to stress one important commitment that the Council made when adopting its recommendations on the Brahimi report that is relevant to our discussions today. The Council undertook to ensure that the mandated tasks of peacekeeping operations are appropriate to the situation on the ground, including such factors as the prospects for success, the potential need to protect civilians and the possibility that some parties may seek to undermine peace through violence.

The President: Before giving the floor to the next speaker, I should like, in the spirit of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, to say a special word of welcome to the seventh-grade class of the Convent of the Sacred Heart — a class of which my daughter, Shelagh, is proud to be a member. I hope that the presence of these youthful spirits — the young ladies in the red blazers in the public gallery — will serve as a good omen for the future of East Timor.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is Mr. José Ramos-Horta, member of the Transitional Cabinet of East Timor responsible for foreign affairs, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. Your presence here, Mr. Ramos-Horta, is itself historic. Until today, no representative of East Timor had addressed the Council since UNTAET was established. I am glad that the very distinguished son of East Timor, a Nobel laureate, is here to address us.

I give the floor to Mr. Ramos-Horta.

Mr. Ramos-Horta: I would like to join all others in expressing my most sincere condolences to the Governments and peoples of India and Pakistan.

At the outset, allow me to extend to everyone the warmest greetings of President Xanana Gusmão, who apologizes for not being here today in person. I am

conscious that I am a poor substitute for him and beg the Council's indulgence.

I thank you, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to address the Council today. I am honoured to do so as a Cabinet member for foreign affairs of the East Timor Transitional Administration and to speak on behalf of all my Cabinet colleagues in East Timor.

I would like to take a moment to commend the Secretary-General for his leadership, compassion and staunch commitment to East Timor. Without him and his leadership, we would not be here today. We thank the Secretary-General for everything he has done for East Timor since he took office in 1997. I remember that he promised at that time that, during his term in office, he would see the conflict in East Timor resolved. He kept his promise. We take note of and commend his report to the Security Council.

In 1999, he appointed one of his most competent and trusted international civil servants as his Special Representative. We thank him for having loaned Sergio Vieira de Mello to us and commend Sergio for his commitment, patience, hard work and, most of all, for his friendship. Some have remarked that Sergio Vieira de Mello has aged much since he took up his latest challenge. He is only a couple of years older than me, but I have to admit he looks much, much older and I apologize to him for having caused him this early ageing. When he referred in his speech to the energetic, robust discussions in the Cabinet and the National Council, I know he was being very diplomatic and using British understatement. He was very polite to us.

This being the first time I have addressed this Council since the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) was established, allow me to extend to you, Sir, your Government, your country and all members of the Security Council, past and present, our most heartfelt appreciation for the dedication, compassion and firm determination shown by all in the worst period of our recent past. It was their collective compassion and sense of responsibility that compelled the Council to act in a swift manner, thus bringing to an end the extraordinary injustice and suffering visited upon our people.

I most sincerely regret that I have missed here by only a few days our good friend, Ambassador Richard Holbrooke. He was a true friend of East Timor and of the United Nations. His intellectual brilliance, energy

and dynamic leadership will be missed. We look forward to a close and fruitful collaboration with the new United States representative to the United Nations, whoever it may be.

Before I continue, allow me to introduce someone sitting in the gallery. His name is Greg Smith. He is only 11 years old. He is already in his second year of university, which I really envy. He began his work for peace when he was seven, when he established his first non-governmental organization. Right now, he is extremely busy mobilizing resources for East Timor – textbooks, medical supplies and vitamins – both in the United States and in Australia. I thank him and his parents for bringing him here. His mother had to leave her job to work full-time handling his schedule.

We have come a long way since that fateful day of 7 December 1975. A quarter of a century has passed; the world has changed beyond recognition; myths have exploded and empires have come tumbling down; freedom and democracy have expanded; and East Timor is free and now resurrecting itself from the ashes of war.

It has been a little over a year since East Timor was liberated and UNTAET was established. To illustrate the progress we have made so far, allow me to share some thoughts. I arrived back in East Timor on 1 December 1999, for the first time after 24 years in exile. Landing in East Timor in December 1999 was an extraordinarily mixed emotional experience of joy and pain: joy in celebrating the greatest gifts of all, peace and freedom; and pain at so much senseless destruction.

The scenes of the destroyed cities and towns reminded me of the black-and-white pictures of Hiroshima, London or Dresden after the Second World War. I visited Bosnia in 1997. The destruction of Bosnia was horrific in scale, and yet the destruction of East Timor was even worse. Not much was left intact. What had not been looted and taken away was vandalised and destroyed. Government services and infrastructures were wiped out; civil servants, schoolteachers, medics, semi-skilled and unskilled workers had fled, taken refuge in the mountains or been made hostage, maimed or killed. Not one single public service was functioning; not one modest eating place or kiosk was operating. In September 1999, East Timor was at the year zero.

One year later, as we travel around the country visiting towns, villages and the poor *bairros* of Dili and conversing with many thousands of my brave compatriots, humble, poor and dignified, we repeat to ourselves time and again: “What an extraordinary people. They deserve more. They deserve better”. But we keep telling them: “God has given us the greatest gift of all. He delivered us a miracle. He gave us our freedom. We triumphed against all odds, but He will not make any more miracles. We must be patient; it has been only one year since we gained our freedom. We cannot do more”. And our brave people have been understanding, patient.

While many international staff members have lived up to our expectations and illusions, displaying genuine commitment, integrity and professionalism, the recruitment of civilian personnel could have been more careful and the assignments better planned. Much waste could have been avoided, but we understand that time constraints and pressure did not leave enough room for those in charge of recruitment to be more selective. This situation has been rectified and the recruitment process has now been moved to Dili.

Much progress has been made on many fronts. Schools have reopened. Hundreds of thousands of brand new books provided by Portugal are in the hands of children. Hospitals and clinics are functioning. Thousands of children have been immunized. Tuberculosis, a scourge that eats away at so many in East Timor, is being confronted. In 2000, the economy registered a real growth of 15 per cent, though we are conscious of its fragility. More than 1,800 businesses have been registered and about 80 per cent are East Timorese-owned. The negotiations on the Timor Sea have been conducted in a very friendly atmosphere and have progressed. We are optimistic about reaching an agreement in the near future. We hope that oil and gas revenue will soon flow into East Timor.

UNTAET has accelerated the participation of East Timorese in the executive, quasi-legislative and judicial branches of the transitional government with the establishment of the East Timor Transitional Administration. Our compatriots are gradually shouldering the responsibilities that come with self-determination. There are nearly 7,000 East Timorese working as civil servants throughout the country in a wide range of areas, including police, education, health, border and customs services and in varying degrees of responsibility.

But it is not sufficient to delegate the responsibility; it is essential to provide our people with the necessary tools to accomplish their task. As my colleague Ana Pessoa Pinto, Cabinet member in charge of internal administration, noted at the donors' conference in Brussels in December, the tasks of preparing administrative cadres, strengthening local capacity and developing human resources remain priorities and require special attention. Our view is that emphasis must be placed on recruiting as many East Timorese as possible, but it is equally important to empower them in key positions.

Timorization, as we understand it, will not be achieved by continuing to have four to six internationals doing the job. We acknowledge the valuable work performed by some dedicated international staff, but we ask that the recruitment process for East Timor be immediately reinforced and given all the necessary tools to accomplish this crucial task.

Overall, power-sharing between UNTAET and the East Timorese has worked fairly well, though there have been some growing pains along the way. The structural and administrative ambiguity between the East Timor Transitional Administration and UNTAET must be resolved. We are working on these issues, and I believe we must stay the course. We do not believe that it would be in anyone's interest to suddenly disengage and not take advantage of the gains made by UNTAET.

This type of peacekeeping operation is new for the United Nations and it is new for the Timorese. The East Timor Transitional Administration must be given the means and real authority to ensure that the institutional structures created can continue to function properly and effectively after independence.

I will now turn to the security situation.

Overall, East Timor is enjoying a period of increased stability, with the militia threat largely dormant. But we cannot become complacent. The Portuguese, Australian and New Zealand battalions stationed in the two most critical operational sectors have performed extremely well and thus are instilling confidence and tranquillity among the population. The Jordanian battalion based in the sensitive Oecussi enclave has also performed efficiently through a combination of wise diplomacy and conventional military posture.

Sadly, as members know, last year Timorese grieved alongside our international friends over the senseless deaths of peacekeepers and humanitarian workers in East and West Timor. We will always remember these brave soldiers and the humanitarian workers who paid the ultimate price for helping our people. We are deeply grateful to the peacekeeping force for its work to ensure peace and stability in East Timor.

The peacekeeping force has been the most successful pillar of UNTAET, and all units deserve much credit, including those from Bangladesh, which perform a vital role in keeping the roads and bridges usable during our merciless rainy season.

Even though the East Timorese remain one of the most destitute people in the world, the rate of criminality among them remains one of the lowest. Political violence among emerging political groups has not erupted in the way that many people feared. This relative peace is partly credited to the maturity and sense of responsibility of the political parties.

In the area of law and order, there is room for improvement in the performance of the civilian police component (CIVPOL). It could be reorganized along the lines of nationality, in the same manner as the peacekeeping force. We believe that CIVPOL could be more effective if the elements of a given nationality were to be assigned designated tasks and/or areas instead of mixing different cultures, forms of professional training and security doctrines. For instance, the Portuguese Rapid Reaction Unit has earned the respect of all East Timorese for its exceptional professionalism. It is a model to be expanded and followed in other peacekeeping missions.

We are cognizant of the fact that there will be a reduction in the current strength of the peacekeeping force after independence. But we are also encouraged by the assurances offered by several peacekeeping troop-contributing countries that they are prepared to remain actively engaged in East Timor for as long as necessary.

A premature withdrawal of United Nations forces from East Timor would destabilize and derail the process. But we are conscious that the international community cannot shoulder indefinitely the responsibility for East Timor's external security; hence, we have decided to create the East Timor Defence Force. We are grateful to the Security Council for

authorizing UNTAET to undertake this additional task. Because our de facto President of East Timor has already addressed this issue, I will not elaborate further. I would only like to add that a defence force is only one way to guarantee our national security. We must continue to reach out to our neighbours and forge regional partnerships.

Among our own people there are still a few elements that continue to refuse to accept the results of the popular consultation. I am speaking about the militias that remain active along our border and continue to terrorize the refugees in the camps in West Timor. However, in keeping with what the President of the General Assembly said, we will spare no effort in engaging the so-called pro-autonomy faction in dialogue. However, those involved in, and who are accused of, serious crimes must face justice. After all, there cannot be sustainable peace without justice.

In this regard, we commend Indonesia's Attorney-General, Mr. Marzuki Darusman, for his courage and integrity in attempting to bring to justice in Indonesia those involved in fomenting, instigating, planning and carrying out violence in East Timor.

For the sake of justice for the victims, for the good name of the Republic of Indonesia and for the sake of the universal struggle against impunity, we must see to it that justice is served, regardless of the power and wealth of the culprits.

We are committed to continuing the process of healing and normalization of relations with our neighbour. My cabinet colleague Mr. Mari Alkatiri and I have just visited Jakarta prior to my arrival in New York. This was our first official trip to Indonesia as cabinet members of the East Timor Transitional Administration. We were warmly received by our hosts.

We had cordial talks with President Abdurrahman Wahid, Foreign Minister Alwi Shihab, Minister for Political, Social and Security Coordination Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the Minister of Settlements and Regional Infrastructure, Attorney-General Marzuki Darusman, Speaker of Parliament The Honourable Akbar Tandjung and other prominent members of Parliament.

President Wahid briefed us on his recent discussions with President Fernando Henrique Cardoso on a joint Brazil-Indonesia partnership to assist East

Timor in some specific areas, such as health. We warmly welcome such an offer, as it comes from a close neighbour and a distant one, both of them major regional powers with which we share a common history.

We are aware of the situation in many parts of Indonesia, the painful transition from a recent past of abuse and repression to democracy and the rule of law. It is only to be expected that conflicting interests and deeply entrenched classes and groups, including centrifugal forces, would collide in a country as ethnically, culturally and geographically diverse as Indonesia, particularly as it emerges from decades of a military-dominated regime.

We can only express our sympathy and solidarity to that proud nation. The Indonesian people are fortunate in having an outstanding, moral man as their President. In times of crisis and transition, nations need moral and compassionate leaders. This is what happened in India with Mahatma Ghandi, South Africa with Mandela and South Korea with Kim Dae-jung, to mention just a few cases.

Friends of Indonesia must redouble their efforts in assisting Indonesia and its leader President Abdurrahman Wahid in continuing the progress made so far in advancing reforms and democracy.

At the conclusion of my visit to Jakarta, at the press conference, as someone who was very much behind the sanctions movement, I also called on those countries that still maintain sanctions against Indonesia to lift them, whatever they may be, particularly in respect of non-lethal equipment, as a concrete way of sending a goodwill message to the Government of President Wahid.

I should like also to refer to our particular relationship with the Indonesian province of Nusa Tenggara Timur. Our relations with the central Government in Jakarta will determine our special relationship with our neighbour to the West — Nusa Tenggara Timur. We shall endeavour to normalize relations with that Indonesian province, with which we share a common and porous border.

A relationship of trust between Dili and Jakarta will enable the realization of our dream of ridding the two sides of weapons and of opening the border, allowing for the free movement of people and trade, sports and cultural exchange.

We are already inviting sports and cultural groups from West Timor to visit us in East Timor. The next Arafura Games, in which East Timor will participate this year for the first time ever — as we did in the Sydney Olympics, though, I must admit, without much success — will be an opportunity for us to pursue this process of fostering peace on the whole island.

There is resentment against the East Timorese refugees in West Timor because of the international assistance targeted to the East Timorese. We must follow up on the idea, discussed by President Wahid, Prime Minister Antonio Guterres of Portugal and Foreign Minister Alexander Downer of Australia during the Millennium Summit, of a consortium of countries to help West Timor develop its economy. Such an initiative, if realized, would go a long way towards creating the conditions for a lasting peace and stability on the island.

We are conscious that this is going to be a long process, and those who share in this dream are aware that formidable obstacles are in the way. However, our friends in Indonesia know that we must dare to dream, for even the most impossible dreams can be realized.

The plight of our people, many of whom are being held in squalid camps in West Timor against their will, remains an obstacle to the betterment of relations between Indonesia and East Timor. However, in all fairness, we must commend the Indonesian authorities for the efforts they have made in recent months to curtail the activities of the armed gangs.

The security situation in West Timor has improved, even though we are still concerned at the pervasive presence of armed gangs in the refugee camps. The Indonesian authorities must continue their efforts to dismantle those gangs completely.

We urge the United Nations to dispatch to Indonesia, as soon as possible, a team of security experts to assess the security conditions in West Timor. The continuing presence of tens of thousands of displaced persons in West Timor and of armed gangs in the refugee camps are detrimental to Indonesia's own interests. Hence we believe the Indonesian authorities are serious in wanting to resolve this remaining problem.

We are grateful to Indonesia for supporting East Timor's eventual membership in the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Our gratitude is

extended to all the leaders in ASEAN who have expressed their support to us in different ways.

In the course of the past year, President Xanana Gusmão and I visited almost all ASEAN member countries. We attended the ASEAN ministerial meeting with the Special Representative. We visited Japan, China, the Republic of Korea, Australia and New Zealand. In March, I will be leading another mission to Japan.

Beyond our immediate region, we hope that in the course of this year we will start developing relations with other countries of Asia. We also have a visit planned to some Arab and Muslim countries.

Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello has already elaborated in detail the political calendar. However, I will share with the Council some thoughts that reflect the discussions held in the National Council and my own discussions with many of my colleagues in the East Timorese leadership.

A broad cross-section of society — political parties, church officials and non-governmental organizations — all have attended, and participated in, the hearings held by the National Council. Throughout these discussions, a common theme persisted: everyone was committed to non-violence and to adherence to democratic ideals and the rule of law.

There are a number of decisions that must be taken to reach the goal of independence, such as, what type of democratic bodies should there be? What electoral system should we adopt? Answers to these preliminary questions will lead to the first elections in East Timor and will soon be provided by the Cabinet and the National Council after the current political debates.

However, some important elements have already converged into a consensus, as Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello has articulated. We hope that by next month a national pact will have been signed by all parties. Let me elaborate a bit on the contents of the national pact as we have discussed them among ourselves.

The national pact will comprise not only important elements such as our commitment to non-violence and to the acceptance of majority rule, but also a strong commitment to human rights and to signing, upon independence, some of the most important human rights instruments. It will also contain some important constitutional elements. This is

important in order to send a message to the East Timorese society at large and to the international community that no matter which party wins the elections in the course of this year, there are fundamental principles to which every party is committed, and there will be no change. These commitments are in regard to our foreign relations and to foreign investments that are already in the country or that will be coming into the country in the next few months before independence. Whatever the outcome of the elections, the national pact is important in that it permits everyone to participate in the political process through a number of solemn commitments with respect to human rights, democratic principles, foreign relations, reconciliation and foreign investments.

The national pact will be signed by all and will be followed by a constitutional conference that will debate and prepare the first draft of a constitution. Elections for a Constituent Assembly could take place at the end of August. Initially we had thought they would be in June, but we were advised by many of our friends — experts from the United Nations — that June would be too soon. Preliminary discussions have made us conscious of time constraints, and we are beginning to consider deferring the elections until the end of August, maybe to coincide with the second anniversary of the popular ballot.

The Assembly, which will have plenary powers, would have two to three months to prepare, debate and vote on the Constitution. We are also conscious — and that is the consensus in the leadership — that the Constituent Assembly should not repeat the mistakes made by some countries, dragging on for months and sometimes a year or two, or three. Therefore we all — those participating in the political process in East Timor — have reached a preliminary agreement that the Constituent Assembly should have two to three months maximum to deal with the draft constitution, which it will have before it as it begins its work.

We also believe — and this is a majority opinion — that the Constituent Assembly, once it has completed its main task of drafting and adopting a constitution — will convert itself into the first national Legislative Assembly. There have been precedents in many countries wherein the constituent assembly becomes the first legislative assembly, thus saving the country and the people from having to hold two or three elections in one year. We should leave the decision on a date for follow-up elections, including

presidential elections and a declaration of independence, to this electoral body. We hope that a new Government, a provisional Government, reflecting the election results for the Constituent Assembly, will be established.

We are aware that peace, although a reality in East Timor, is still fragile. We are all equally responsible for its consolidation; it is not only the responsibility of the peacekeeping force or of the international community. We, the East Timorese, are aware that we are all equally responsible for consolidating peace in order to ensure a smooth transition to independence.

I would like to conclude by saying that we are moving forward towards establishing the basic framework of government and civic institutions in a transition period. As these institutions are the underpinnings of all strong democratic nations, we need to strengthen them in East Timor through targeted capacity-building. We have heard the offers of the IMF and our friends from UNDP and other agencies, and of the World Bank, with whom we have had excellent cooperation and a personal relationship over the past few months in a really unique partnership that has been very beneficial to East Timor. Once again, I want to extend thanks to all — to Mr. Mark Malloch Brown, to Mr. James Wolfensohn and to Mr. Luis Valdivieso, our friend. As you know, the IMF is not terribly popular in many countries, but in spite of what Mr. Valdivieso represents, he has managed to charm everybody in East Timor — and this despite some of the austerity advice he is constantly giving us. We love him in spite of what he represents. Thank you to all the agencies, those who spoke and those who are not present today.

We are deeply grateful to the international community — to all of you sitting around this table and throughout the United Nations community — for your support for the reconstruction and development activities in East Timor. We have had to rebuild our country from its ashes. While we have made advances under UNTAET, we have further to go. Therefore, we once again ask the United Nations to sustain its partnership with the people of East Timor, so that our nation can pursue the development of its full economic, political and civic capacity. But in order to do this, we need your continued support, so that we can operate in a secure and stable environment. This can be provided only through maintaining a peacekeeping presence after the transition period. It will enable our forces to

ready themselves to take on our nation's security. With the continued support and active engagement of the United Nations, we will pass these tests and reach the light at the end of the tunnel.

Mr. President and members of the Council, we hope that you all will honour us in Dili on our Independence Day.

The President: I shall now give the floor to members of the Council. But before I do so, let me note that we have had an exceptionally rich exchange of views. Many key points have emerged. It is clear from the briefings that have been given that, despite wide recognition as one of the more successful peacekeeping operations, huge challenges remain. I think Mr. Vieira de Mello was being modest — or perhaps even more important, realistic — when he acknowledged that much still remains to be done. The East Timorese will need ongoing commitment of the international community for many years in support of the embryonic Government of East Timor.

Mr. Mark Malloch Brown of UNDP said that East Timor needs our support for tomorrow even more than for today. The World Bank noted that we need to develop a clear and structured plan for the transition and post-independence mandate. The IMF explained in detail how a patient consultative process to develop long-term and sustainable financial institutions and processes is necessary. The President of the General Assembly, Mr. Holkeri, noted that we cannot afford to exit East Timor prematurely or without a well-prepared strategy. And finally, Mr. Ramos-Horta also told us that, while he would not want the United Nations forces to remain forever, a premature withdrawal would be difficult for East Timor.

In brief, many major points have emerged, and we hope that Council members will address them.

Mr. Eldon (United Kingdom): Mr. President, thank you in particular for bringing together such a galaxy of talent today — not only our distinguished briefers, to whom I am most grateful for their useful and insightful contributions, but also the public gallery. It is a great pleasure to have the public gallery with us today.

I would like to join others in expressing my delegation's condolences to the Governments of India and Pakistan on the recent earthquake.

In recognition of the long list of speakers we have today, I will shorten my printed statement. I should also draw attention to the fact that the representative of Sweden will be speaking later in the debate on behalf of the European Union, and my delegation associates itself with that statement.

Many of us in the Council have been closely associated with East Timor, particularly since the Agreement of 5 May 1999. The Secretary-General's report shows that an enormous amount has been achieved in a relatively short period of time. But, Mr. President, as you have said, the priority now must be to look to the future. It is particularly noteworthy that recent months have seen a real effort to accelerate the transfer of authority to the East Timorese.

The process of Timorization was not envisaged when the Security Council adopted resolution 1272 (1999); it was, frankly, an act of great vision and imagination on the part of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. And it seems to be working well. In the United Kingdom's view, the establishment of the National Council not only is important in terms of accountability and legitimacy, but it is also a crucial contribution to capacity-building for self-government in East Timor.

For all this and more, we owe a vote of thanks to the Special Representative and to his staff for their remarkable work in such difficult conditions. We should also remember the enormously valuable work done by the International Force, East Timor (INTERFET) in re-establishing security in the territory. This is all the more important, since I gather that today is Australia Day. I understand that Lt. Gen. Peter Cosgrove, the former Commander of INTERFET, has been named Australian of the Year, and frankly, nobody is more deserving of such an honour.

But congratulations should not lead to complacency. For there is an enormous amount still to do, both before the transition to independence in East Timor and afterwards. East Timorese expectations are not being realized in a number of areas, including infrastructural improvements. The statements of the Special Representative and the President of the General Assembly implicitly recognized that fact. Although Mr. Rohland from the World Bank told us that the reconstruction programme in East Timor was the quickest ever, it was not quick enough. Realistically, we are unlikely to be able to deliver everything for

which the East Timorese people might hope. But the international community must do better in improving the delivery of the resources that are available. It is a good thing that the World Bank intends to draw out the main lessons of the Timor experience. I hope we will all learn them well.

I was also grateful for the information given by the Special Representative and Mr. Ramos-Horta on the timetable for elections and independence. The East Timorese are understandably impatient to strike out on their own. But we also have to recognize that although the process of building a new State is not a simple one, precision will be needed soon. Whatever the exact timetable proves to be, independence by the end of the year means that the time to complete the job is short. So it is vital that the next six months should see a continued delegation of authority to the East Timorese. This must be accompanied by a real effort to transfer skills to them through development and training, so that they can be fully prepared for the administration of an independent State.

This will be one part of a wider effort to build capacity in East Timor, which must become UNTAET's priority in the next months. On this point, I would be grateful for Mr. Vieira de Mello's assessment of the success of Timorization in qualitative rather than quantitative terms. This is relevant in the context of José Ramos-Horta's statement. Is the process effective in terms of building skills and competencies, rather than just filling offices?

Political skills will also be crucial. East Timor will shortly become the first newly independent country of the new millennium. It is important that it become a shining example to the rest of the world. As we have seen in José Ramos-Horta's statement today, the territory is well endowed with political leaders. But we also need to get the political and constitutional structures right. First, the process leading up to elections must be inclusive and transparent; and discussions on the terms of the new constitution should involve a full range of representatives from all sectors of society.

But if it is to move forward, East Timor must also deal with its past. When I travelled with the Security Council mission to East Timor and Indonesia last year, I was concerned at the rate of progress in building a judicial system. As Sergio Vieira de Mello has reported, some useful progress has since been made in

bringing to justice those responsible for crimes against humanity. It is particularly encouraging that this week saw the first successful prosecution by an international court in East Timor for the violence that surrounded the 1999 popular consultation. But more needs to be done by UNTAET and Indonesia to ensure that the judicial process remains credible and effective. UNTAET and the international community as a whole must think through the timelines for the judicial process, which cannot be allowed to drag on endlessly. The Special Representative has appealed for international assistance to help build the judicial sector. I would be grateful for any more detailed update he might wish to give us on the response to that appeal. And, as the President of the General Assembly has said, to complement the investigation and trial of serious crimes there must be a determined process of national reconciliation within East Timor, behind which the whole of Timorese society must stand together. Again, I should be grateful to hear from the Special Representative, and perhaps Mr. Ramos-Horta, how that process is maturing.

Another problem faced by East Timor is the tangible security threat that continues to exist on its border. As the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Mr. Ramos-Horta have said, a stable border is one of the keys to East Timor's future. That is why we agree that, despite the improvements reported to us today, there should be no downsizing of the UNTAET military component at this stage, and that is also why we believe that a significant United Nations military presence is likely to be necessary for some time into the future.

But it is no good simply saying that security measures must continue. Real progress has to be made in reducing the security threat. That the militias are still active in the camps in West Timor is appalling. No less worrying is the fact that large numbers of genuine refugees continue to live in such difficult conditions in the camps and are subject to serious intimidation, as the Security Council mission saw for itself.

This problem must now be properly addressed, not only because it has direct implications for the security of East Timor and the future structure of the United Nations presence in the territory, but also on the obvious grounds of pressing humanitarian need.

The successful "come and see" visit programme over Christmas was encouraging, and we hope it will

lead to an increase in spontaneous returns. But more must be done. We urge the Government of Indonesia to take steps to implement resolution 1319 (2000) in full and without delay, to complete the planned registration process and to facilitate the return of those refugees who want to go home to East Timor. Further delay would mean that the refugees would remain disenfranchised, which would have serious implications for the coming elections.

As you have reminded us, Mr. President, we must look to the future. It is clear to us that the newly independent East Timor will continue to need extensive international support. We welcome the intention to start planning for a follow-on operation now. The East Timorese are and should be fully engaged in this process. We look forward to receiving the detailed plans promised by the Special Representative as soon as possible, and to a further report from the Secretary-General later in the year. We have the time and opportunity to think carefully about how UNTAET should evolve from its present state to a new operation that will assist the East Timorese people to assume their rightful place in the community of nations in safety and security. That, as the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme has said, is a real challenge. And though the funding aspects are not necessary considerations for this Council, for the sake of the East Timorese people and for the sake of the United Nations itself, we must get it right.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): Before I begin my statement, let me, like you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Government and the people of Bangladesh, express deep condolences to our neighbours, India and Pakistan, for the loss of life and property suffered in today's devastating earthquake.

This morning, we listened with keen interest to the important statements from the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), Sergio Vieira de Mello, and from the United Nations Development Programme, Administrator Mark Malloch Brown. We thank the World Bank and International Monetary Fund representatives for their statements outlining the involvement of their institutions in East Timor. We heard very significant statements this morning from the President of the General Assembly, Harri Holkeri, and, if I may use this title, from the Foreign Minister of East Timor, José Ramos-Horta. They have provided the

Council with useful perspectives on the prevailing situation in East Timor — on developments so far and, more importantly, on the future of East Timor.

We particularly appreciate the kind presence of General Assembly President Holkeri among us, as his views, enriched by his recent visit to East Timor and Indonesia, offer us important inputs for the Council's future course of action as well as that of the broader international community. His underscoring of the fundamental question of justice versus reconciliation, in the context of East Timorese society, carries an important message. Mr. Ramos-Horta's perceptive and important first statement before the Council is very much welcomed by my delegation.

It is useful that the Council is reviewing the situation in East Timor again after two months. During this time a lot has happened, as the Special Representative outlined. In particular, there have been concerted efforts during the last six months to accelerate the transfer of authority to the Timorese people through a determined and innovative approach, as articulated in paragraphs 47 and 48 of the report of the Secretary-General.

After more than a year of UNTAET's operation in the territory, a road map to East Timor's independence is now emerging quietly but surely. The Secretary-General's present report attests to that. Bangladesh is especially encouraged by the steps being taken for the efficient holding of free and democratic elections early in the second half of this year.

However, for East Timor's successful transition to independence, a few important building blocks remain to be put in place. The first is to continue the efforts to establish peace and security. This is crucial not only for long-term reconstruction and development, but also for the return and settlement of refugees. As the Secretary-General reports, there has been improvement in the security situation. Although militia movements remain a source of concern, we are happy to hear from the Secretary-General's Special Representative that such movement has fallen off. Thanks largely to the robust and decisive action of United Nations peacekeepers, the militia violence has been curbed. In this regard, we expect an early conclusion of the trial, which began in a Jakarta court this month, of the suspects in the September killing.

The second element is the safe return of refugees. In this regard, we appreciate the concerted efforts made

by the Indonesian Government to work closely with the relevant agencies, especially the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Organization for Migration. The recent assurances of cooperation and determination given to the President of the General Assembly during his visit to Jakarta will, we hope, facilitate and speed up all efforts aimed at the safe return of refugees to East Timor.

We welcome the meeting between UNTAET and the Indonesian authorities in West Timor last week. The last of the “come and see” visits by the East Timorese refugees on 19 January demonstrated the positive collaboration among all concerned.

The third element is effective donor support. Bilateral donors, international financial institutions and United Nations funds and programmes should all fulfil their pledges to the Trust Fund at an early date. We hope that the donors’ meeting next June in Canberra will produce results in this regard; it is critical for capacity-building in East Timor, particularly in the areas of governance, the judiciary and basic social services. The Secretary-General’s report details those well. In that regard, Bangladesh would like to emphasize the need to pay attention to providing indigenous solutions to Timorese development problems. For Bangladesh’s part, we are expecting a Grameen Bank mission to visit East Timor next month to assist the Timorese in initiating micro-credit

programmes for poverty eradication and the empowerment of women.

Finally, by the same token, there is a need for ongoing commitment by the international community in post-independence East Timor. As all speakers have emphasized, this is absolutely necessary for effective Timorization to take root. Last November, the Secretary-General’s Special Representative, Sergio Vieira de Mello, confirmed in this Chamber — and the Secretary-General’s report also brought this out — that there will be a need for an international presence in the early years of East Timor’s independence. The Secretary-General underlined areas such as the judiciary, defence and police forces, where continued international financial and technical assistance will be needed. Bangladesh will continue to offer its humble contribution in these areas as part of the broader international support.

Effective support for the process of Timorization is a major responsibility of the United Nations, as East Timor comes out of conflict and engages in reconstruction and development as an independent State. As a member of the Council, Bangladesh will continue to contribute to this process.

The President: As it is now approaching 1 p.m., I intend to suspend the meeting. We will resume promptly at 3 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1 p.m.



Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

4265th meeting

Friday, 26 January 2001, 3 p.m.

New York

Provisional

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Mahbubani	(Singapore)
<i>Members:</i>	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Ireland	Mr. Cooney
	Jamaica	Mr. Prendergast
	Mali	Mr. Toure
	Mauritius	Mr. Neewoor
	Norway	Mr. Brattskar
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Ms. Soderberg

Agenda

The situation in East Timor

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2001/42)

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The meeting was resumed at 3.20 p.m.

Mr. Ben Mustapha (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): I wish to welcome Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, who unfailingly makes himself available, both in the field and in the Security Council, to keep it informed of the progress achieved by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) in carrying out its mandate in East Timor. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his exhaustive report. My thanks also go to Mr. Mark Malloch Brown, Mr. Klaus Rohland, Mr. Luis Valdivieso, Mr. Harri Holkeri, President of the General Assembly, and Mr. Ramos-Horta, member of the Transitional Cabinet of East Timor, for having given us their assessments of the situation in East Timor.

Our meeting today is being held in a forward-looking spirit with regard to East Timor. We have reached a very important stage in the process that started more than one year ago and that, more than ever before, requires the unconditional and renewed support of all the parties. What is at stake is the future of East Timor, which we would all like to see secure, and the stability of the region as a whole.

Since it was set up more than a year ago, UNTAET has succeeded in discharging its mandate in a number of areas, despite the difficult circumstances under which the Transitional Administration is doing its work. We note with satisfaction that the situation on the ground has improved. To date, concrete results have been achieved in various areas, such as education, health, justice, public security and infrastructure.

Likewise, the information sector has also registered definite progress, thanks in particular to Radio UNTAET and to the bimonthly Timorese newspaper, which enables refugees to be better informed about the situation in East Timor and thus encourages them to take a decision as to whether to return.

We welcome these achievements, which confirm the assessments made by the members of the Council during their visit to East Timor. It is also an opportunity for us to reiterate once again our full support for Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for the effective manner in which he has been carrying out work that, only a short time ago, seemed difficult to imagine.

Undoubtedly, there are still obstacles to overcome, and we consider that at this stage,

cooperation with the Indonesian Government is very important in order to succeed in this endeavour and to contribute to a calming of the situation in general. The proven and affirmed will with which the Indonesian authorities have dealt with the various issues that have come up — such as those relating to the arrest of, and the start of court proceedings against, suspects; the collection and destruction of weapons; the disarmament of the militias; the commitment to put a stop to their activities; and the return of refugees — attests to their commitment to resolve issues that are still outstanding. We believe also that the international community should continue to lend substantial support to East Timor in all areas.

UNTAET is a test case for the United Nations. The positive results it has achieved thus far are an inducement for us to make an additional effort to enable East Timor's successful transition to independence, thereby ensuring a smooth transition to lasting peace in that country — a peace that we must now build.

However, as was pointed out by the Secretary-General, East Timor, after independence, will still need very substantial international aid, which will have to go far beyond the type of aid normally given to developing countries.

I should like to take this opportunity of the presence among us of Mr. Harri Holkeri, President of the General Assembly, to reiterate to him the Security Council's request that he consider authorizing a more flexible use of the resources provided for under assessed budgets in the case of complex peacekeeping operations, such as UNTAET.

We are duty-bound to succeed in this transition process, which is paving the way, in a satisfactory manner, for the longed-for independence of the East Timorese people. In this respect, the two-stage political timetable presented by the National Council of Timorese Resistance is an important element that we should fully support, in order to give concrete embodiment to the political will of the Timorese people.

We are convinced that UNTAET's presence is necessary to prepare for the upcoming peace-building stage through the establishment of an integrated mission, to be led by a special representative of the Secretary-General. In this regard, it is necessary to begin a thoroughgoing process of reflection on the way

in which this integrated mission will be managed in order for it to obtain the expected results.

We believe it is important to lend our support to the Secretary-General's request for an extension of UNTAET's mandate until 31 December 2001, so that the Transitional Administration can achieve its goals.

Before I conclude, may I, on behalf of my country, convey condolences to the peoples of India and Pakistan on the loss of life occasioned by the earthquake that has just struck these two friendly countries.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): I, in turn, would like to convey the heartfelt condolences of France to the people and Government of India and of Pakistan on the occasion of the tragic earthquake that has afflicted both countries.

I am particularly pleased to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in East Timor, our friend Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello. We appreciate the remarkable work done by the Special Representative and his team and their resolve in carrying out UNTAET's mandate.

I should like also to thank the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, Mr. Malloch Brown; Mr. Klaus Rohland, Country Director of the World Bank; and Mr. Luis Valdivieso, Adviser of the International Monetary Fund, for their statements.

For the second time this week, following the open debate on the situation in the Central African Republic, the Council has the opportunity to work with eminent representatives of international financial institutions and of United Nations funds and programmes. This is an example we must follow. It is indeed essential to promote concertation, including during the consideration of complex peacekeeping operations, among the major institutions with responsibilities in the area of peace-building.

I should like also to pay tribute to President Holkeri, who led a mission to East Timor with the determination and resolve with which we all are familiar.

I should like finally warmly to welcome Mr. José Ramos-Horta, member of the Transitional Cabinet responsible for foreign affairs. He told us that Sergio had aged rapidly after coming to East Timor; I would

like to say to José that he himself never changes, and I have known him for 20 years.

We have heard his statement — the statement of a man of vision and wisdom. He has given us a realistic and ambitious vision of an independent, democratic East Timor. Let us thank him for that.

There is no doubt that the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) will go down in the annals of the United Nations as an exemplary success. The report accurately describes the impressive progress achieved in the past few months, particularly as regards the setting up of a Timorese administration, the functioning of public services and the reconstruction of infrastructures.

But that is not the end of the story of East Timor. Yet another success remains to be achieved: the post-independence era. For the Timorese people, independence remains, most understandably, a growing aspiration. Not to respond to these expectations could only provoke uncertainty and frustration. We must send the Timorese an unambiguous signal of our trust in the future of their country. The political class in Timor has developed a partnership with UNTAET that deserves to be encouraged.

It is up to the international community to help the Timorese to achieve their goal. A clear vision must be provided to them. France is gratified that the Secretary-General, in paragraphs 4 and 50 of his report, confirms that independence by 31 December 2001 is the goal. The speedy transition is a positive factor; it avoids the risk of getting bogged down. Several examples of successful transitional authorities bear witness to this fact. The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia lasted 18 months, and the United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium lasted just under two years.

It is indispensable to accelerate as much as possible the progressive emergence of Timorese political and administrative power. Some notable efforts have been made. The figures speak for themselves: over 7,000 Timorese officials have been recruited; there is a majority of Timorese in the Transitional Cabinet; and the Timorese budget has been endowed with \$124 million.

But more progress remains to be achieved. Less than a year before the date planned for independence,

UNTAET's budget, the largest of all United Nations peacekeeping operation budgets, still represents more than 10 times the budget of East Timor. The recruitment of upper-echelon and mid-level Timorese public officials remains too slow. More attractive training programmes and salaries must be proposed. Communications remain a serious obstacle to development in the country's interior, and health services are provided almost exclusively by international non-governmental organizations. The education sector still operates to far too great a degree on a basis of emergency aid. The viability of many enterprises set up in the last few months still depends too much on the international presence. These are some of the many challenges that will have to be faced for an independent Timor to be viable.

In dealing with these challenges, we will have to appeal increasingly to bilateral and multilateral donors, the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme and other funds and programmes, particularly those of the United Nations. The pledges made at the Brussels donor conference last December must be honoured, and disbursements should be accelerated.

East Timor should be a test, but it must be a successful test of the effectiveness, suitability and celerity of actions and funding for peace-building.

Independence will bring about a profound change in the part played by the international community in East Timor. Its action will have to be complementary to that of the Timorese authorities and must no longer replace them in any way. Independence will mean the definitive transition from peacekeeping to peace-building.

It is up to the Council to see to it that the transition progresses as smoothly as possible. The Council must make sure that the transition is prepared upstream. Our debate last November on the item "No exit without strategy" can be applied perfectly to East Timor. Thus, in the coming months, the Council should frequently examine the mandate and the means of UNTAET in order to make sure they are optimally consonant with the rapidly evolving needs of East Timor.

France supports the Secretary-General's proposal to renew the mandate of UNTAET to 31 December. This exceptionally long period for a peacekeeping

operation should enable UNTAET to calmly traverse the hectic political transitional period.

Such a mandate, however, should not prevent more frequent consideration of the means and objectives of UNTAET. It might be useful for the Council to have more frequent updates on the situation. France hopes that a thorough consideration of the appropriateness of the means available to UNTAET, in terms of the situation on the ground, will be carried out within three months, on the basis of detailed recommendations from the Secretariat. In the draft resolution currently under discussion, France will make proposals regarding such a consideration. For instance, we should consider the suitability of the operation in the eastern parts of East Timor, where security seems easier to ensure and where risks linked to militia infiltration are not so great. Such a capacity to adapt to a rapidly evolving situation is an indispensable prerequisite for success in our international effort in East Timor.

As for the form of the international presence after independence, France will examine with care the recommendations to be made by the Secretary-General. We will have to think carefully about the distribution of tasks among the various actors concerned.

In conclusion, I would like to put a few questions to the Special Representative concerning preparations for the elections to the Constituent Assembly. How, in the post-election period, does he see the part to be played by UNTAET, side by side with an elected Constituent Assembly? What changes in the mandate will be required — or, at least, what changes to UNTAET's mode of operation? Will return operations be accelerated to enable the refugees to participate in the elections? Failing this, should we provide for voting by mail? These are some of the questions we wanted to ask the Special Representative.

Mr. Prendergast (Jamaica): At the outset, on behalf of the Government of Jamaica, my delegation wishes to express its condolences to the Governments and the peoples of India and Pakistan on the recent earthquakes that have occurred.

The Jamaican delegation joins in welcoming the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, to the Security Council today. We wish to thank him for his comprehensive update of the developments in East Timor. We are also pleased to welcome the President of the General Assembly, Mr.

José Ramos-Horta of the Transitional Cabinet in East Timor, the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the representatives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. This meeting today, with such broad-based participation, is indicative of the importance the Council attaches to the development of East Timor in the broadest sense, including through economic and social development and reconstruction.

My delegation continues to attach importance to the work of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) as it seeks, *inter alia*, to provide security and maintain law and order; to establish an effective administration; to assist in the development of the civil and social services; and to support capacity-building for self-government. We have observed the work of UNTAET, in collaboration with the East Timorese people, in fulfilling the provisions of resolution 1272 (1999), and we express our unequivocal support for UNTAET as it seeks to prepare East Timor for independence.

The involvement of the East Timorese in administration has been of critical importance to my delegation. Capacity-building and training will ensure a sustainable future for East Timor. Mr. Vieira de Mello stated that the capacity-building mandate was just beginning to be fulfilled. This is critical; and we encourage UNTAET to continue to forge ahead in this regard. We also note that in the past six months there have been concerted efforts to accelerate the transfer of authority to the East Timorese people, and we welcome these efforts. We are supportive of the further progressive delegation of authority until it is finally transferred to the government of the independent State.

We agree that this is an innovative approach which requires a great deal of understanding and flexibility from all involved. It is of fundamental importance, as it fully meets the objective of preparing the East Timorese for self-government. As Mr. Ramos-Horta rightly said, the delegation of responsibility is not sufficient. The East Timorese need to be provided with the necessary tools to build capacity and develop human resources. The task of strengthening capacity must remain a priority.

My delegation is particularly interested in the assertion in the Secretary-General's report that there is a growing consensus among the East Timorese to seek independence by the end of 2001 and possibly to hold

elections by 30 August. We agree that there needs to be a timetable which elaborates a time-frame for movement towards independence and, ultimately, independence. We attach importance to the steps outlined in the report of the Secretary-General, which include nationwide consultations, decisions regarding the Constituent Assembly, drafting a constitution and eventually the establishment of a Government. We agree that a phased approach is the most practical route in this situation.

As a corollary to this, we believe that in order to move ahead with the timetable, the security situation must be dealt with, as must other logistical challenges such as the organization of elections and the decision-making process. Taken together, these factors are complementary and can either advance or hamper the agenda for independence. We are of the view that these issues must be dealt with in the most comprehensive manner possible in order to lay a solid foundation for success.

We wish to underscore the importance of promoting sustainability in the electoral process, to come. We therefore support the establishment in the future of an electoral commission, comprised of eminent Timorese and others, to oversee the elections.

My delegation, like others here, believes that even after independence East Timor will still require substantial assistance from the international community, as it will no doubt be subject to the teething pains that many of our countries experienced. We agree that the international support required will go beyond the kind of assistance normally provided to a developing country. There will be a range of areas that will need to be addressed beyond independence, such as the judicial system and defence, as Mr. De Mello pointed out.

The security situation and the refugee situation remain of primary concern to us. With regard to the former, we remain concerned at the incidents of militia activity, although they have decreased somewhat. We noted Mr. Vieira de Mello's point that there have been some developments on this front.

The refugee situation is also a continuing concern to us. We recognize that many continue to live in difficult conditions. We recognize the commitment of the Government of Indonesia to dealing with this and other problems, and we encourage them to continue to take steps to deal effectively with the difficult and

challenging situation in the camps in West Timor. We note that the registration of refugees will now take place in March, and we hope that this will contribute to addressing the situation. The return of refugees to their homes in safety will contribute to reconciliation and rebuilding efforts and will ensure that they are reintegrated into East Timorese society.

It would be remiss of my delegation not to mention the work of organizations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in contributing to the rehabilitation and reconstruction of East Timor. We value the involvement of these organizations in East Timor over the past year and wish to emphasize that their presence points to the importance of a broad-based and collaborative approach to the development of East Timor. We note their collaboration with UNTAET in contributing to local capacity-building and employment creation and, as Mr. Malloch Brown said, in building a critical bridge between emergency work and long-term development.

UNDP's work in governance, poverty alleviation and reconstruction has undoubtedly contributed to advances in East Timor. We are supportive of its work there, and we are particularly interested in its efforts at reconstruction, supporting employment generation, vocational training and in the Joint Poverty Assessment Initiative, which is being done in collaboration with the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. The involvement of the UNDP in East Timor demonstrates the importance of the flexibility of UNDP's mandate in addressing the particular needs of developing countries at different stages of development.

Similarly, the role of the World Bank in East Timor has been of fundamental importance. We note the range of programmes under the auspices of the Bank, beginning with the short-term focus on the basics, through to assistance in preparing for independence. Of significance again to my delegation is the focus on building local capacity and ownership of the development process at all levels through joint project planning and broad consultation with the East Timorese leadership and civil society, in order to empower the indigenous East Timorese institutions to carry out the functions effectively on their own.

We wish to underscore the importance of these particular elements as political transition takes place, in

order to develop the administrative, human and social capital needed to manage a State.

The challenges in creating a viable entity in the international community are great, particularly as the movement towards independence looms larger. We recognize the complexities, but we encourage the relevant actors to continue their efforts to ensure that the transition process is as smooth as possible. Effective collaboration between UNTAET, the World Bank, UNDP, IMF, civil society and the people of East Timor will ensure that the consultative process is as broad as possible and takes into account differing perspectives.

We wish, in closing, to commend the work of UNTAET, and we support the extension of its mandate.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): First of all my delegation would like to express our thanks for the report, which highlights the many different activities that the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) has carried out in so short a time. It is indisputable that the situation in East Timor has been evolving at an extraordinary pace after so many years of political stagnation. Unfortunately, these so-rapid changes have been accompanied by some deplorable acts of violence that could perhaps have been avoided if the transition had been more gradual. As many have said at various times in this Chamber, the task assigned to UNTAET carried with it great responsibilities, and my delegation certainly joins all those that have paid tribute to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and his entire team for their tremendous efforts.

We are also grateful for the very interesting statements made by the representatives of the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund — as well as the special statement of the President of the General Assembly. As you yourself said, Sir, we can call the General Assembly President's appearance in this Chamber "historic". We are also grateful for the presence of and the statement made by Mr. José Ramos-Horta today. We were very moved by his testimony and by his faith in the future of East Timor.

It is clear that the situation in East Timor now requires coordinated and integrated action from the different bodies in the system charged with economic and social development, and — we can hope — increasingly less attention from those of us in this

Chamber, who are primarily concerned with international peace and security. In this regard we are struck by the contrast between the sad reminders of what East Timor endured and today's positive atmosphere.

Bearing the aforementioned in mind, my delegation believes that the Security Council should take the necessary measures to enable UNTAET to complete its work successfully, without hurrying in ways that might jeopardize the future of the emerging administration in East Timor. Along these lines, we agree with the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report published as document S/2001/42.

We have noted the reports about the emergence of an increasingly strong consensus among the population in favour of achieving independence by the end of 2001, after elections are held. In this regard we must take into consideration that the Secretary-General has noted that the timetable is tight, and that a certain degree of flexibility will be required.

We welcome the establishment of the National Council, as well as the concerted efforts to speed up the transfer of responsibilities to the Timorese. UNTAET's efforts to build the capacity for self-government among the Timorese so as to enable them to assume all the responsibilities of government is extremely important, and we must provide our full support in this respect. Furthermore, we should also welcome the efforts to bring about a consensus on the holding of a national consultation regarding electoral modalities and the composition of the Constituent Assembly, which will draft the future constitution and become the first legislature of the independent State. We believe that it is important to emphasize that UNTAET will be responsible for the conduct of the elections.

The incidents of violence among supporters of different political groupings are of great concern to us. These developments must be followed very closely and dealt with resolutely, because they do not augur well for the democratic future of the new State. In this context, we believe that UNTAET must, as soon as possible, set up the civic education programmes to which the report refers in order to help prevent such outbreaks of violence.

The situation of the refugees still in West Timor remains a cause for concern, and every effort should be

made to resolve the problem quickly, including by controlling the militias. We welcome the fact that the trial of the six people accused in the Atambua killings opened on 11 January in a Jakarta court. As Mr. Ramos-Horta pointed out, there cannot be lasting peace without justice, which must be handed down regardless of the power or wealth of those who committed the crimes. Reconciliation cannot take place in an atmosphere of impunity. We also believe that UNTAET must intensify its efforts to bring about reconciliation among the Timorese people, including those who continue to favour the idea of autonomy.

No less important is the need for relations between UNTAET and the Government of Indonesia, in particular the authorities of West Timor, to continue to improve. Furthermore, We welcome the new spirit of cooperation between the leaders of East Timor and the current Government of Indonesia.

My delegation fully shares the recommendations of the Secretary-General to the effect that significant economic assistance from the international community must continue. We must ensure that the process will not result in the creation of a State whose future is in jeopardy from its inception. As the report makes clear, continued assistance will be necessary until the defence and police forces have been consolidated and, even more importantly, the judicial system is fully operational. The United Nations and the international community must continue to provide support in the period after independence.

Mr. Shen Guofang (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): First of all, I should like, on behalf of the Chinese Government, to offer condolences to our friendly neighbours, India and Pakistan, for the tragic earthquake that struck their two countries.

I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening today's important meeting. I should also like to welcome to the Security Council Mr. José Ramos-Horta, member of the Transitional Cabinet of East Timor responsible for foreign affairs; Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General; Mr. Harri Holkeri, President of the General Assembly; and the representatives of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the United Nations Development Programme, and to thank them for their comprehensive briefings.

The recent developments in East Timor are encouraging. Security Council resolution 1272 (1999)

is being implemented smoothly. The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) has made considerable progress in all areas, especially with regard to the involvement of the East Timorese in the administration. Despite some current difficulties, we are gratified to note that, with the assistance of the international community, the East Timorese are being prepared to run their own country. This is the result of the concerted efforts of UNTAET, various United Nations agencies and the East Timorese people, for which we express our sincere appreciation and admiration.

In this context, I should like to express particular gratitude to Mr. Vieira de Mello for the tremendous efforts that he has made. His wisdom and skill have ensured the smooth implementation of resolution 1272 (1999) and contributed to the great success of United Nations peacekeeping efforts.

Today, the Chinese delegation would like to emphasize several issues. The first relates to the smooth transition to independence. The year 2000 was an important one for East Timor as it made the transition from turmoil to independence. We are heartened to note that, with the help of UNTAET, the administrative framework has been established and the Transitional Cabinet and the National Council have taken their initial shape. The Timorization of various administrative departments is taking place fairly rapidly. The preparation for the establishment of the departments of defence and foreign affairs has already begun, and these developments are truly encouraging. However, there are still difficulties with regard to reconstruction and the judicial and administrative areas, which will require continued support and assistance from the international community. After all the turmoil they have experienced, the East Timorese are looking forward to achieving their full independence at the end of the year. We fully understand the ardent desire of the East Timorese people to be the masters of their own nation, and we hope that their wish will be fulfilled at an early date.

The United Nations and the international community as a whole should ensure the smooth and steady progress of the process leading to independence. To this end, the United Nations should conduct full consultations with the East Timorese in preparing for independence and should progressively and smoothly transfer power to the East Timorese. The various parties in East Timor should step up their efforts to

achieve unity and cooperation so as to lay a solid foundation for the East Timorese to run their country on their own in the future. The international community should provide vigorous financial and technical support so as to fully enable the East Timorese to run their country as they see fit.

Secondly, efforts should be intensified to develop the economy. East Timor is still confronted with serious economic difficulties. The daily per capita income for the East Timorese is less than \$1, and the unemployment rate is as high as 60 per cent. Such an adverse economic situation will have a direct bearing on stability and the smooth transition to independence there. We believe that, while helping to build the administration and legal system, UNTAET should work together with the World Bank, the IMF and the relevant United Nations agencies to intensify efforts for economic reconstruction in East Timor. We hope that the funds pledged by the international community will be made available as soon as possible so as to facilitate the implementation by UNTAET of measures for revitalizing the economy.

Thirdly, the most urgent task at hand is to bring about national reconciliation and strengthen national unity. The problem of the refugees still stranded in West Timor constitutes the main threat to the independence process and stability there, and is the main obstacle in the way of improved relations between East Timor and Indonesia. We are heartened to note the increased high-level exchanges, visits and dialogue between Indonesia and East Timor. The improvement of such bilateral relations will be conducive to stability in East Timor, Indonesia and the Asia-Pacific region as a whole.

The refugee problem cannot be solved without the understanding and cooperation of Indonesia. The Indonesian Government has taken practical measures and made some progress towards implementing resolution 1319 (2000), thus demonstrating its sincerity and resolve to settle this problem, which the international community should support and encourage so as to enhance Indonesia's capacity to do so. Without international assistance, Indonesia cannot solve the refugee problem on its own. The international community must therefore assume its collective responsibility to provide assistance in the search for a comprehensive, realistic, fair and lasting solution to the refugee problem.

Fourthly, it will be necessary to maintain the United Nations presence in East Timor following the territory's achievement of independence. UNTAET has made important progress towards preparing East Timor for independence. We support the Secretary-General's recommendation to extend UNTAET's mandate. Even after East Timor achieves independence, the United Nations should continue, on the basis of prevailing conditions, to provide it with the necessary support and assistance. The proposal made by the Security Council mission, following its visit to the region, that the United Nations presence be maintained in East Timor has won extensive support. We hope that UNTAET and the Secretariat will continue their in-depth study of this issue, sincerely heed and respect the views emanating from East Timor and make concrete recommendations for maintaining the United Nations presence, including military and civilian police components, which the various parties can consider and prepare for.

In conclusion, I wish to stress that, as a close neighbour of East Timor, China is ready to continue to assist it through bilateral and multilateral channels towards independence, self-government and reconstruction. China is ready to develop bilateral relations with East Timor on the basis of equality and mutual benefit so as to contribute to peace, stability and prosperity in the region.

Mr. Granovsky (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): On behalf of my Government, I offer our condolences to the Governments and peoples of friendly India and Pakistan for the tragedy that has struck them.

At the outset, I wish to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello; the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Harri Holkeri, the member of the transitional Cabinet of East Timor, Mr. José Ramos-Horta; and the others who have been invited to participate in our meeting for their excellent statements containing deep analyses of the positive development of the situation in East Timor.

We believe that we have every reason to describe the results of the work of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) in various areas as impressive. Some of the most varied issues fall within UNTAET's purview, ranging from the state of the infrastructure to the development of political processes. In this respect, we feel that it is pointless to attempt to determine which is the most

important. At the same time, we are convinced that unquestioned priority should be accorded to UNTAET's efforts to Timorize authority and to promote national reconciliation among the inhabitants of that part of the island. Both these elements are of key importance to the future of the territory because they will prepare East Timor for self-government and help to create the atmosphere in which East Timorese society will have to live.

In the Secretary-General's report, it is rightly pointed out that UNTAET is taking innovative approaches in solving the problems facing East Timor. We feel that we must pay due tribute to the staff of the Transitional Administration, and first and foremost to its head, Special Representative Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his efforts in the search for creative solutions and for his ability to take an innovative approach.

Naturally, the problem of refugees and their camps in West Timor remains rather acute and we hope that the Indonesian authorities will do everything necessary to halt as soon as possible the activities of units of the integrationist militias. At the same time, we consider it necessary to note with satisfaction the good level of cooperation between the Government of Indonesia and UNTAET.

It may be concluded from the Secretary-General's report that East Timor is moving steadily forward towards independence. This is in accordance with the aspirations of the people of East Timor. We therefore support the Secretary-General's recommendation that the mandate of UNTAET to 31 December 2001 so that the Transitional Administration can successfully promote the achievement of that worthy aim.

Mr. Cooney (Ireland): I would like to join with others in expressing condolences to the peoples and Governments of India and Pakistan for the suffering inflicted by the recent earthquake.

I thank you, Mr. President, for calling this open debate today. The representative of Sweden will shortly make a statement on behalf of the European Union, with which Ireland fully associates itself. However, I would like to take this opportunity to highlight a number of issues which Ireland, as an incoming member of the Security Council, a troop contributor to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and a country which has long

demonstrated a special concern for the people of East Timor, considers to be of particular importance.

We have heard from a number of speakers today. I will not list them all, but I am sure that nobody would begrudge my paying special tribute to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, both in his own right and as representative of all the men and women of UNTAET who are currently serving in our name in East Timor. Nor can I fail to mention the moving contribution of Mr. Ramos-Horta. The statesmanship and generosity of his remarks concerning Indonesia set a standard that could usefully be emulated in post-conflict situations elsewhere.

Ireland has read the latest report of the Secretary-General and agrees with other delegations that his Special Representative and UNTAET have achieved significant progress to date and that they must continue their excellent work. We fully support the recommendations of the Secretary-General and agree that the mandate of the current mission should be extended to the end of this year.

As East Timor moves towards independence and international recognition as a sovereign State, it is clear that the Timorization exercise remains central to achieving the aims of peace-building. When UNTAET was established in October 1999, there was no history of open and democratic political activity in East Timor. In a short period of time, significant progress has been made towards independence. A political structure is now emerging with the development of consultative mechanisms, such as the East Timor Transitional Administration and the all-Timorese National Council. The UNTAET programme of promoting civic education, constitutional development, the rule of law and political education, and in preparing the people of East Timor for democratic elections, has laid good foundations. As a result of the further development and intensification of this work, my delegation looks forward to the people of East Timor participating in truly democratic elections this summer, which in turn will provide a solid foundation for the future.

Ireland welcomes the development of the judicial system in East Timor and encourages Member States to respond to Mr. Vieira de Mello's renewed call to provide additional personnel for the investigation and prosecution of serious crimes. We also welcome the positive steps taken by Indonesia to arraign before their courts those militia members accused of crimes against

refugees and personnel of international organizations. We support these and other attempts to re-establish trust and confidence among all the people of East Timor.

But despite the many positive developments, Ireland remains concerned about the security situation, particularly the plight of refugees in the region. In this regard, we strongly condemn the continued activities of irredentist militia groups in West Timor and call on them to end their attacks, in line with resolution 1319 (2000). We welcome the efforts of UNTAET, the Indonesian armed forces and the Government of Indonesia Task Force for Refugees to arrange exploratory visits by militia leaders in 2001 to East Timor.

We call on the Indonesian authorities to further increase their efforts to eliminate militia action, which serves only to damage the international reputation and standing of their country. We hope to see an early improvement in the security situation, especially in the western districts. As well as enabling refugees to return home safely, it is essential that the security environment should enable a resumption of humanitarian efforts and ensure that elections can be prepared and carried out in a calm and safe manner.

We emphasize that objective assessments of the security situation need to be made by UNTAET on a regular and ongoing basis, and that any revision of the military and security components of the Mission should be made only in the light of real progress towards sustainable transition. The significant efforts of the international community, including the European Union, should not be endangered by a premature reduction of troops.

Ireland fully recognizes the desire of the people of East Timor to move quickly towards full independence. We believe an international presence will need to be maintained after independence, including military, humanitarian and technical expertise components. We believe that such a presence should be mandated by the United Nations and should comprise as wide as possible representation of countries. It will be important to include careful plans for the progressive hand-over of defence and policing responsibilities to the East Timorese authorities, keeping in mind the need to constantly evaluate progress within the East Timor Defence Force and the local civilian police. We agree with the other

delegations at this meeting that the handover from UNTAET to the newly established functioning structures should be as smooth as possible and that a precise exit strategy should be worked out in advance.

On a national basis, in addition to providing troops to UNTAET and making financial contributions to the United Nations and the World Bank projects, Ireland has a substantial bilateral programme of assistance with East Timor. In this connection, we have recently opened an office in Dili that is helping to draw up plans for assistance that include the post-independence period. Ireland is committed to spending the equivalent of \$10 million, which will be focused on the vitally important areas of education and agriculture, as well as the establishment of a proper justice system.

Ireland remains fully committed to supporting the people of East Timor both during the period of transition to independence and, importantly, after independence has been achieved.

Mr. Toure (Mali)(*spoke in French*): Like the delegations that have spoken before me, I wish to offer Mali's sad condolences to India and Pakistan following the earthquake that struck those two countries.

I wish to thank the Secretary-General for his report of 16 January 2001, and to welcome Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in East Timor, and thank him for his very instructive statement. My thanks also go to Mr. Mark Malloch Brown, Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Mr. Klaus Rohland, Country Director of the World Bank for East Timor, Mr. Harri Holkeri, President of the fifty-fifth session of the General Assembly, Mr. José Ramos-Horta, who is responsible for foreign affairs in the Transitional Cabinet of East Timor, and Mr. Luis Valdivieso, Adviser of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), for their statements.

The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) is the first governance operation in United Nations history. Its main objective is to give the Timorese the bases of a viable democratic State and to provide them with the tools essential for its functioning in a reasonable period of time. I wish to reaffirm my delegation's support to UNTAET for its remarkable efforts in the political, administrative and economic fields, in East Timor.

As emphasized by the Secretary-General in his report, among the most important political elements in these past six months has been the fact that more and more Timorese want independence for their country before the end of 2001. The will of the Timorese people is in keeping with the aim of the international community, clearly stated in resolution 1272 (1999): to lead East Timor to independence in a period of two or three years. That is why my delegation, while supporting the actions carried out within the context of political transition by UNTAET and the National Council, asks them to comply with the political timetable, which will ultimately lead to the establishment of republican institutions. We have no doubt that UNTAET will succeed in taking up the challenge of organizing transparent, honest, free and democratic elections.

From a security viewpoint, the infiltrations of militia groups from West Timor, although they have diminished, is still a source of major concern for my delegation. We believe that the dismantling of these militias by the Indonesian authorities will certainly ensure the security and safety of refugees in the West Timor camps and of international personnel.

In this respect, we express satisfaction with the decision taken by the Indonesian authorities in West Timor and local chiefs to encourage the rapid repatriation of East Timorese refugees currently living in West Timorese camps. From a humanitarian standpoint, my delegation is of the view that everything should be done to ensure that international humanitarian organizations can return to West Timor to bring support to the thousands of refugees who are caught in a situation over which they have no control. In order to do this, security conditions must be improved and reinforced through bilateral cooperation forged between UNTAET and the Indonesian Government. It is imperative that the international community do everything possible so that appropriate resources are made available to humanitarian organizations for the benefit of refugees.

At the legal level, it is important to address the shortcomings of justice in East Timor. We believe that justice and national reconciliation will be critical to the future of an independent East Timor. Justice must serve as a foundation for national reconciliation. Without justice there is no reconciliation. The mobilization of the appropriate resources by the international

community will also enable the justice system to appropriately carry out the mission assigned to it.

My delegation supports the idea, stated in paragraphs 50 and 51 of the Secretary-General's report, of an international presence in East Timor after the country accedes to independence, in particular to provide it with financial and technical assistance and assistance in the area of security.

In conclusion, I would like again to pay a heartfelt tribute to UNTAET for its positive work in East Timor. It is crucial to maintain the momentum of international support for East Timor's transition to independence. That support is fundamental for the success of United Nations efforts in East Timor. Therefore, my delegation favours the extension of UNTAET's mandate for 12 months, until 31 December 2001.

Ms. Soderberg (United States of America): First let me commend you, Mr. President, for holding this meeting, and I thank Sergio Vieira de Mello for coming all this way. It is a long way to come, and I think it symbolizes his own commitment to working closely with the Council, but also his personal stamina — having to travel so far and then sit so still all day long. We appreciate it, and I think this is a very useful dialogue. Similarly, I think it is a pleasure to have Mr. Ramos-Horta here. He has become a well-known figure to us all, and I hope it will stay that way.

This meeting and the wide range of participants — which I think is unusual for a meeting of this sort — and the various troop-contributors' meetings - thanks to the leadership of our President, these were some of the highest-level discussions — and very frank discussions — that we have had with the troop contributors — underscore the commitment of the United Nations as a family to support East Timor and the people of East Timor as they move towards independence and a secure a stable environment.

The involvement of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the international financial institutions and particularly the General Assembly, with the President of the General Assembly having been out to the region, is, I think, an encouraging sign that we all realize that we have to work together for East Timor's future. I think that both Mr. Vieira de Mello and Mr. Ramos-Horta can take a clear message back to the people of East Timor that the international community's attention to East Timor will

not end with UNTAET's mandate, when it closes down towards the end of this year. I think that one of the hardest problems will be to keep the international community engaged in East Timor. Once it has the impression that the crisis is over, attention tends to go elsewhere, and I think everyone who has spoken here today is committed to ensuring that that does not happen. I hope that that message will be strongly conveyed to the people of East Timor.

Obviously, any plan that is developed would have to be developed in close consultation with the people of East Timor, the first elected government and the United Nations. We certainly take notice of the Secretary-General's view recommending an integrated mission under a special representative, mandated by the Council and funded from assessed contributions. That is something that we will have to discuss in depth over the next month. I hope that you will stay very engaged in that issue. It is one that we will certainly take under advisement.

The United States, for its part, has its own troops there. We are assisting in the efforts and continuing to strongly support UNTAET and the people of East Timor. As you go through a really fascinating transition, I think that you are pursuing a very ambitious calendar that you have defined together, which the United States will certainly remain quite focused on. To actually engage in the creation of a nation and to watch that occur is a rare privilege for all of us. I think it is one that we will work on side by side with you. I found the trip we went on as part of the Security Council's second mission out there just fascinating — watching the country being rebuilt from the ground up. I would certainly hope that the Council and the various United Nations agencies stay very much engaged.

I think that there are going to be some key benchmarks along the way. Let me just put them for your consideration and discussion over the next year. There are four main ones, and I think that both of you are very well aware of them.

The first is the progress that has been made to incorporate the East Timorese into the transitional government. It is always important to be cautious in coining a new word, but the Timorization process, I think, is well under way, and the Council is strongly supportive of the authority that Mr. Vieira de Mello has transferred to the day-to-day governance of the East

Timorese government, as well as of the involvement of the people of East Timor in that effort, which is a very difficult one. I do not think that people pay enough attention to how much has been done in this respect and to the priority that has been put on that.

The second is the holding of free and fair elections, which will be open to a wide range of parties and candidates in East Timor's successful transition to independence. I would anticipate that a large involvement of the international community would be requested in that respect. We would want to play a role in that process to ensure that participation is as broad as possible in that process, so that the outcome has the strongest possible support among the people.

The third point concerns the continued threat of militia incursions and the potential for internal instability between now and the foreseeable future, but particularly in the period leading up to the elections. For that reason, we would support maintaining the current ceiling on the troop numbers for UNTAET, and we also support the mandate, which, we would remind everyone, includes the robust Chapter VII authority. I commend Mr. Vieira de Mello and the United Nations leadership for their interpretation of the authorities there. The use of forceful action by UNTAET in protecting itself, I think, has saved an enormous number of lives and took some courage. I hope that that will become the norm for peacekeeping operations in future — that they will not tolerate threats against their personnel. I think that lives were protected through the taking of that forceful stand, which we have been strongly supporting.

Lastly, the coordination of the bilateral programmes assisting the creation of the East Timor defence force will be key to maintaining stability after the United Nations presence leaves and throughout the process of building up an independent country. I think we all took to heart your comments on how to move forward with that programme, and I think that the international community will be very much looking forward to working with you.

Just a few other quick points. José Ramos-Horta made an interesting recommendation on the reconfiguration of the civilian police as national contingents, as the peacekeeping forces are now. While civilian police officers are currently assigned to multinational contingents, switching to national contingents is an idea that needs further study. But it

could well help move towards effective policing, and any other comments that either of you would have on that would be useful.

Certainly one of the major points emphasized by the Security Council mission in which I participated, upon its return, was the need for an independent and objective judiciary and its link to the issue of reconciliation, as justice is needed for reconciliation and vice versa.

We would appreciate any feedback on what will happen with the serious crime investigations and the prosecution post-independence. I think that is something that we should begin to prepare for now. Is there anything else we should be doing to prepare for that issue? Because certainly establishing the rule of law is going to be key in the transition to democracy. That is definitely the message we got: that as long as there is a fair process, the chances of reconciliation are much, much greater.

I think it is also vital to note the importance of cooperation with the Government of Indonesia on this front, and the American delegation, over the last few months, has been pushing very hard for the Government of Indonesia to deepen its cooperation with UNTAET on this as well as move forward on some of the high-profile cases. It is worth noting that there are some important trials going on in Indonesia right now, particularly that of Eurico Gutierrez, which is now under way. The international community will be watching that very closely, as it will the trial of the six who are responsible for the death of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) workers, a question this body has dealt with in the past. I think that is a very significant step forward on that front, and hopefully it will help to move forward the whole process of reconciliation.

With respect to the commitment of the international community, I think the presence here of the international financial institutions underscores the need for those agencies to continue medium-term planning for the development of the East Timorese society. As our French colleagues have underscored, encouraging the international financial institutions, United Nations funds and other concerned countries to increase their activities there will be key to ensuring that the resources are available to help the East Timorese create the society that they need. We would appreciate any comments on what more we could do on

that front by taking advantage of the expertise of the various entities involved in capacity-building, development, nation-building — anything more we can do that is going to be key to ensuring that the international community does its part.

When we were in Dili in the fall, Mr. Vieira de Mello made it very clear that he needed some additional flexibility in how the assessed funds are used. I think that the comments made by Mr. Holkeri, the President of the General Assembly, on recommendations that the Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies look at ways to increase that flexibility are ones that we owe Mr. Vieira de Mello. We have given him a very difficult mandate, and we have to try to work with him to get the flexibility that we need.

In closing, I think that it is important to step back and look at how much has been done in East Timor. A year ago, there was a real humanitarian crisis going on in East Timor, and it has now moved from a humanitarian crisis into the more political arena of trying to build an institution and a government. I think that it is largely to the credit of the United Nations and the international community that that has happened, not to mention the people of East Timor. If one steps back and looks at what has happened in the last year, it is really stunning. I was lucky enough to see it on the ground, and I think it is important for the international community to note what is happening there. Your leadership, Mr. Vieira de Mello, has been key to showcasing what the United Nations can do and how to do it right. You deserve great credit for doing it right.

There are still problems remaining, such as that of the refugees in West Timor. I know that is not your direct insight, Mr. Vieira de Mello, but when we were there before, you talked about the need to have a ship to be able to transport refugees back and forth. I know there have been meetings with some of the signatories of the letter to the Security Council President. Do you have any insight on that matter, or if there is anything more we could do to try to move the refugees?

Let me just say in closing that I think the year ahead is going to be an exciting one. Even though it is difficult to get back here to New York, I hope you will be a regular visitor — both of you — and I commend you for your tireless efforts.

Mr. Brattskar (Norway): Norway welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations

Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and would like to express our support for the Secretary-General's proposal regarding the extension of UNTAET's mandate. Norway would like to pay tribute to the men and women of UNTAET, and especially to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for undertaking a difficult task in a manner that gives hope for a smooth transition to an independent East Timor.

There seems to be growing support among the East Timorese people for seeking independence by the end of this year. It is therefore of great importance that we, the Member nations, support the work done by UNTAET so that it can fulfil its mandate as soon as possible.

Norway follows the political developments in East Timor with great interest and anticipates that elections can be held late this summer under the supervision of UNTAET. We would like to underline the importance of fair elections. East Timorese citizens living in Indonesia, especially those living in refugee camps in West Timor, must be given the opportunity to vote.

One of the most important challenges at this stage, and in the process leading to independence, is the participation of the East Timorese themselves in the building of their future nation. In this respect, Norway welcomes the establishment of the East Timor Transitional Administration and the transformation of the National Consultative Council into a National Council, a broader and more representative body.

Norway believes that a United Nations presence after independence is needed. Such a presence must be based on full respect for the sovereignty of East Timor and developed in full cooperation with the new government. Once independent, East Timor will need substantial international assistance, both in terms of financial assistance and in terms of a continued United Nations presence. Norway welcomes the suggestion made by the Secretary-General in his report in foreseeing an integrated mission under a special representative of the Secretary-General and mandated by the Security Council.

We feel that it is of particular importance that both the United Nations military component and the civilian police force can undertake their responsibilities in an efficient way and in line with international standards.

Norway recognizes that all sovereign States have legitimate defence and security needs. We therefore endorse the decision to establish the East Timor Defence Force. To ensure the security of the people of East Timor, there should be a United Nations military presence also after independence until the East Timor Defence Force is fully established.

It is important that a national civilian police force be established as well. The role of this police force should be separate from the mandate and role of the defence force. International civilian police should be present after independence until the national police force is fully recruited and trained and should assist the national civilian police force under the auspices of the East Timorese authorities.

Norway would like to take this opportunity to underline the importance of a long-term development perspective in our common East Timor policy. We must ensure that the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank, among others, are given sufficient resources and opportunities to participate in the reconstruction process in a coordinated manner.

Norway would like to stress the importance of an integrated approach with regard to political and development planning in East Timor. The development agencies should work closely with UNTAET in the months to come and be given a central role in the United Nations presence after independence. Capacity-building must be an important focus in the planning for independence. The presence and participation at today's meeting of UNDP, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund were therefore most welcome. It was also very useful for the Council to have an opportunity to hear the views of Mr. Harri Holkeri, President of the General Assembly.

I would like to take this opportunity to assure the East Timorese people and the Security Council that Norway has a long-term perspective regarding our engagement in East Timor, in terms of both political and financial support. I am particularly glad to be able to stress this point in the presence of Mr. José Ramos-Horta, who is with us today as a member of the Transitional Cabinet of East Timor. Norway has already provided substantial support to East Timor and will continue its support, taking due account of the fact that East Timor should not be overly dependent on development assistance. Our Minister of International

Development, Ms. Anne Sydnes, will travel to East Timor next month to assess the need for future Norwegian development assistance to East Timor.

Norway continues to be seriously concerned about the security situation on the border with Indonesia, especially in the refugee camps in West Timor. We urge the Indonesian Government to take the necessary steps to fulfil Security Council resolution 1319 (2000).

Norway emphasizes that the instigation of criminal proceedings against individuals responsible for serious crimes is an important prerequisite for the establishment of lasting peace and reconciliation. In this respect, we are pleased to learn that the investigations conducted by the prosecution authority are materializing in indictments.

Mr. Krokhmal (Ukraine) (*spoke in Russian*): First of all, may I express deep condolences to the Governments and the peoples of India and Pakistan on the occurrence of the tragic earthquake.

I would like to endorse the words of previous speakers and thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his comprehensive briefing, in which he stressed the long-term tasks that lie ahead of the Transitional Administration in solving the problem of East Timor's transition to independence. We are grateful to the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Harri Holkeri, for the important statement that he made today in the Council. We are also pleased to see here the representatives of international financial and development institutions. The information that they presented was extremely interesting and useful. We believe it is significant that at this meeting of the Security Council we have a member of the Transitional Cabinet in the person of Mr. José Ramos-Horta.

In view of the impressive list of speakers, and also in view of the fact that many of the important issues have been very extensively covered in previous statements, I would like to touch only upon certain important points. We fully share the view that it is necessary to concentrate on a smooth transition to legitimate power in East Timor and on a satisfactory administration in the context of the attainment of independence. In this respect, we would like to support the measures taken to strengthen the potential of what is vitally important for East Timor in certain spheres. These were mentioned by Mr. Vieira de Mello and Mr.

Brown of the United Nations Development Programme today.

An important contribution to strengthening the potential for the management of East Timor was the establishment of the Transitional Cabinet of the National Council. At the same time, it is necessary to recognize that in order to set up a fully fledged administrative structure, much time and effort will be needed. Undoubtedly the implementation of the measures on the political calendar that has been agreed to for East Timor will be a key political event on the path to the achievement of independence. It is necessary to ensure the holding of democratic and transparent general legislative elections. This will spur the political organization of East Timorese society and be a concluding stage in the process of national reconciliation.

We believe that an indispensable step towards independence and an important aspect of the transition to self-rule is the establishment of an East Timorese defence force, of local police and of an effective system of justice. If these tasks are not accomplished, all the other efforts to move towards East Timorese independence may be threatened. Many delegations have already pointed out that the development of good-neighbourly relations and cooperation with Indonesia is of great importance to the territory, as is support for achieving stability on the common borders and in the refugee camps. We were very pleased to hear this view confirmed in the statement of Mr. José Ramos-Horta.

Substantial progress in establishing the economic foundations for independence is among the priorities that will require further international efforts. In this regard it is gratifying to see the revitalization of the economic life of the territory. We share the view expressed by the representatives of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund that East Timorese independence must be founded on a viable private sector, which must be supported and stimulated in every possible way. Special attention should also be given to the development of agriculture, which represents the largest share of the gross national product. We should also take into account that approximately 180,000 people still receive food assistance in East Timor.

Last week the Council considered the question of extending the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

We agree with other delegations that the international presence in East Timor needs to be extended at this stage and into the period of transition to East Timorese independence. In this connection it seems to us important that the financial plan, as well as the corresponding 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 under independence. Ukraine will continue to support the fulfilment of UNTAET's mandate, so that an independent democratic Government can be established in East Timor.

In conclusion we would like to note the impressive results produced by the activities of UNTAET — results that members of the Security Council were able to observe firsthand during their visit to the region in November of last year. My delegation would like to pay due tribute to all the personnel of UNTAET, and in person to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for their outstanding efforts to carry out the complicated mandate entrusted to them by the United Nations.

Mr. Neewoor (Mauritius): Let me take this opportunity to express our deep sympathy to the Governments and peoples of India and Pakistan for the earthquake disaster they have just suffered.

We thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report of 16 January on the situation in East Timor. We also thank Mr. Vieira de Mello, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for East Timor, for his important briefing. We very much appreciate also the briefing by Mr. Malloch Brown, the United Nations Development Programme Administrator; Mr. Klaus Rohland, the Country Director of the World Bank responsible for East Timor; and Mr. Luis Valdivieso of the International Monetary Fund. We warmly welcome the presence at this meeting of the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Harri Holkeri, and Mr. José Ramos-Horta, a distinguished freedom fighter and member of the Transitional Cabinet of East Timor. We thank these people for their important statements this morning.

It is indeed very heartening to read the report of the Secretary-General. Viewing the current situation against the backdrop of the recent traumatic history of East Timor, one feels extremely gratified to note that not only have peace and calm now been firmly established in the country, but the people of East Timor

are heading towards achieving their cherished goal of independence, shortly and in a systematically well-prepared manner. Mr. Vieira de Mello and his United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) team, who are working diligently and imaginatively to implement the UNTAET mandate, deserve to be complimented highly for doing such a great deal in so little time. We also thank the Government of Indonesia for facilitating the process.

We see in the plan worked out by the United Nations Transitional Administration to take East Timor to independence in the next few months a blueprint for a successful new and democratic nation. We are pleased that the plans of UNTAET are proceeding according to an established time-frame in spite of many challenges. We are particularly happy that the people of East Timor have been fully involved in the decision-making process from the very outset. We also note with satisfaction that the people of East Timor are being trained and organized to take charge of the administrative machinery and the institutions so vital for the success of a newly independent and democratic nation. This is a crucial factor in the preparations for the independence of East Timor.

We are sure the people of East Timor understand that with independence they will have to shoulder collectively as well as individually the responsibility for the well-being of all the people of their new nation. In this regard, the great responsibility always lies with the political leaders, who by their own examples are expected to inculcate in the people a culture of respect for the democratic process and the institutions of the nation. We are glad to note that a multi-party political structure is envisaged for East Timor. We welcome this, as such a system works on the basis of accountable governance and responsible opposition.

We believe that East Timor is now poised to engage in the electoral process necessary for the concretization of its independence. We wish that all East Timorese, including those who currently find themselves in West Timor as refugees, will be able to participate in the process, which must be inclusive. In this regard, we invite the Government of Indonesia to extend all the cooperation possible to facilitate the early return of the refugees, whose return home is being obstructed by the militias in West Timor. We further invite the Government of Indonesia to enter into early discussion with UNTAET to finalize a definite date for the independence of East Timor.

Finally, my delegation wishes to thank all the countries that are supporting the work of UNTAET through the provision of manpower and technical and financial support. We also express our appreciation to all the agencies of the United Nations system for the valuable work they are currently performing in East Timor. We recognize in particular the work done by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. We have no doubt that the larger international community and the international financial institutions will come forward to contribute liberally to facilitate the process under way leading to the independence of East Timor, as well as for the development agenda of the country after independence.

My delegation supports the extension of the mandate of UNTAET for a further period of 12 months, until 31 December 2001, as recommended in paragraph 52 of the report of the Secretary General of 16 January 2001.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Singapore.

Although earlier I conveyed the condolences of the Council to the Government and the people of India and of Pakistan, I should also like to add our national condolences for the tragic loss of life resulting from the earthquake in the subcontinent.

I would also like to add my personal words of welcome to those already extended to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, the Secretary-General's Special Representative for East Timor, and to Mr. José Ramos-Horta, the member of the East Timor Transitional Cabinet in charge of foreign affairs, and to thank them for being here with us in the Council today. We are also pleased to have been able to listen to Mr. Mark Malloch Brown, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Administrator, as well as to representatives from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In addition, we were honoured by the participation of Mr. Harri Holkeri, the President of the General Assembly at its fifty-fifth session, who has recently returned from a trip to the region. Their presence and their briefings have given us invaluable first-hand perspectives.

More importantly, their collective presence at today's open debate symbolically demonstrates the direction in which East Timor is heading in the long haul: a growing Timorization process to allow for a smooth transition to independence and an increasing

emphasis on reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts moving towards sustainable development and good governance, with the ongoing collective responsibility of the entire United Nations membership to oversee and help ensure East Timor's success. East Timor is very much the child of the United Nations — a child which, as Mr. Vieira de Mello said earlier, is now at the embryonic stage of its development.

The United Nations has played a large part in the process that has led East Timor to where it is today. It has played a critical role in the East Timor issue for the last quarter century, or longer. Since 1982, regular tripartite talks between successive United Nations Secretaries-General, Indonesia and Portugal, aimed at resolving the status of the territory, have taken place at the request of the General Assembly. As the United Nations shepherds East Timor towards independence, it is clear that the responsibility of the United Nations for East Timor is not coming to an end. As with parenthood, the real test of the responsibility of the United Nations will only just begin when the child is born.

In his report of 16 January 2000 on the progress of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) since 27 July 2000, the Secretary-General has sketched a largely positive picture of developments in East Timor. Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, speaking here today, has echoed similar views. We commend Mr. Vieira de Mello — a good friend of Singapore — for his tremendous efforts and those of his team. Singapore is heartened to hear about the steady progress made in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of East Timor. UNTAET is, without a doubt, one of the largest and most complex operations undertaken by the United Nations. In East Timor, the United Nations has not only to keep the peace but also to re-establish entire social systems and provisional institutions from scratch. It is a massive multidisciplinary, multidimensional task, by any reckoning.

With the support of the international community, UNTAET has made progress in the important areas of health, education and infrastructure. Efforts are also under way to revitalize the economy. UNTAET is hastening its critical Timorization efforts to help the East Timorese people run their own country. Politically, UNTAET has successfully established a quasi-government: the East Timor Transitional Administration, with key Cabinet positions staffed by East Timorese. East Timorese leaders have outlined a

political calendar setting out the important political milestones. As the Secretary-General noted in his report, this timeline is ambitious but achievable.

However, Timorization must not only take place at the political level, but percolate throughout the entire administration. As a far-sighted parent, UNTAET must build up the capacity of East Timor to stand on its own two feet and not develop a crutch mentality. While East Timor will look towards the United Nations for support and advice for some time, the United Nations must also listen increasingly to what its child wants.

Nonetheless, it is clear that there is still a long way to go for East Timor. More needs to be done in the area of security, where the refugee and militia problems have not yet been resolved. The killing of United Nations personnel and the intimidation of refugees by militias cannot be condoned. Singapore calls on UNTAET and the Indonesian Government to work together to prevent such instances and to take all steps to bring the perpetrators to justice. In this regard, we are pleased to note that both the Indonesian armed forces (TNI) and UNTAET have agreed to launch joint security operations along the border of East and West Timor. The ongoing trials in Dili and Jakarta of suspected militia members and leaders will also help to ensure that justice is served.

Being a relatively young country, Singapore knows from our very own experience that a stable and lasting foundation for a country cannot be built overnight. The Security Council must therefore send a strong message of political support and engagement. The credibility of the United Nations would be damaged if it were seen to have raised expectations only to leave before the job was done, and before it was done well. A premature and precipitate exit from a peacekeeping operation poses the danger of the situation unravelling and becoming worse than it was before the operation was initiated.

It is often easy for us, sitting in the Security Council here in New York, to take a clinical view of half an island at the far end of the earth. But let me be clear about the stakes that East Timor poses for the region. The issue is not just the fate of East Timor and the East Timorese, but that of the entire South-East Asian region. East Timor's future is intimately tied to that of Indonesia — a large, diverse and complex country spanning the breadth of South-East Asia, with

over 17,000 islands and 210 million people. Indonesia's fate is indistinguishable from that of the region.

East Timor achieved independence at a time when Indonesia was undergoing a profound political and economic transition. Its independence was a consequence of the wrenching transformations that Indonesia was itself experiencing. A decision taken under these circumstances was bound to be controversial, but East Timor's independence is now an irrevocable fact. But it is also a fact that Indonesia's transition is still ongoing. We cannot ignore either fact. A volatile East Timor could set back Indonesia's efforts to return to normalcy. Political uncertainty and instability in Indonesia would in turn have far-reaching implications for the rest of the region and East Timor's future.

However, both Indonesia and East Timor have spoken of reconciliation, notwithstanding the fact that there are still a number of outstanding issues to be resolved. In this regard, we welcome the positive expressions of good will towards Indonesia made by Mr. José Ramos-Horta when he spoke here this morning. We are of the view that, with good will and understanding between the newly independent East Timor and its larger neighbour Indonesia, these issues can be resolved amicably. Cooperation between them will usher in a period of peace and stability for East Timor and Indonesia and also contribute to stability in the South-East Asian region.

It is therefore vital that the United Nations take a long-term perspective on this issue and, as in all other issues that the Security Council considers — for example, Kosovo and the conflicts in West Africa — also recognize the regional context. I wish to quote the statement made by Ambassador Chowdhury to the Security Council on 15 November 2000 on “No exit without strategy”. Before I do, however, let me note that, when he spoke an hour or two ago, Ambassador Levitte also reminded us of the debate on “no exit without strategy”. In November, Ambassador Chowdhury said:

“the parameters for the conclusion [of a peacekeeping operation] should include an objective assessment of a given situation in the medium- to long-term perspective. Such an assessment should take into consideration the political, military, humanitarian and human rights

aspects and the regional dimension”. (*S/PV.4223, p. 8*)

These are important considerations which we should always bear in mind.

Attaining independence is the easy part. It is more difficult to be successful at it. East Timor's interest would be best served by the full engagement of the international community in the rehabilitation and development of East Timor, even after its independence. Much of what UNTAET has achieved would not have been possible without the resources and political support extended to it by the United Nations and by the international community. We cannot expect an independent East Timor to manage all of its problems on its own. None of the regional countries, including Australia and New Zealand, nor the Association of South-East Asian Nations have all the necessary expertise and capabilities to deal with East Timor's enormous needs. The United Nations and the international community therefore have an important responsibility and obligation to East Timor to remain engaged, even after independence.

On this, we strongly support the Secretary-General's assessment that East Timor will still require substantial international support after independence. The President of the General Assembly, in his recent visit to East Timor, also pledged his continued support to UNTAET's efforts in rebuilding the country. The Council's own mission to East Timor also returned to New York in November 2000 with the view that a strong international presence would be required in post-independence East Timor. We find the same conclusions drawn in our own consultations with the East Timorese and the Indonesian Government.

Singapore has contributed actively to the international and United Nations efforts in East Timor right from the start. We have sent our troops, doctors and civilian police to participate in the International Force in East Timor and UNTAET. Bilaterally, we have prepared a comprehensive technical assistance package to assist East Timor in all aspects of rebuilding its society. We are committed, within our abilities and resources, to continuing to support the international effort to help East Timor get back on its feet.

United Nations peacekeeping has seen its fair share of successes and failures. East Timor and UNTAET present a unique opportunity for the United Nations to show its ability to draw on the lessons learnt

from past experiences to make it one of the most successful peacekeeping operations in United Nations history. The challenges facing East Timor and the commitment displayed by the East Timorese people are clear. With sufficient will and commitment, the United Nations and the Security Council can turn and rebuild a devastated and conflict-ravaged society and guide its child towards becoming a peaceful, stable and productive member of the international community and the United Nations.

I now resume my function as President of the Security Council.

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. I also wish her a happy Australia Day.

Ms. Wensley (Australia): Let me add Australia's voice to all those which have expressed sympathy to the Governments of India and Pakistan for the deaths and the suffering which have been caused to so many of their citizens by the serious earthquake which struck their region yesterday.

I want to thank you warmly, Sir, for arranging this open meeting of the Council, which has given non-members once again the opportunity to hear directly from the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Vieira de Mello, on developments in the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) over the past six months, and his views on the tasks and the challenges which must be dealt with in East Timor in the coming year and beyond. I would like to thank him for his thorough and characteristically candid briefing and to reiterate the Australian Government's appreciation of the excellent work of UNTAET under his skilled guidance as the Secretary-General's Special Representative.

We also appreciate the opportunity to hear from the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the President of the General Assembly and, especially, José Ramos-Horta. These presentations underlined in a very practical and clear way the unique character of international cooperation over East Timor and conveyed an evident commitment to seeing this effort succeed fully.

The work of UNTAET, in close cooperation with the East Timorese, over the past 15 months has set in

place many of the building blocks required for East Timor to become a self-reliant independent nation. The renewal of UNTAET's mandate, which Council members will consider following today's substantial debate, will be decisive in determining UNTAET's capacity to continue to build on the work it has done so far and, importantly, to focus on preparations for the next steps, up to independence and beyond.

Australia certainly welcomes recent United Nations efforts to accelerate the transfer of authority to the East Timorese. We agree with the emphasis in the Secretary-General's report on maintaining the pace of what has been called "Timorization" over the coming months. As a fundamental element of capacity-building, Timorization will remain critical to East Timor's successful transition to independence. Continued capacity and institution-building will be essential to achieving a timely transfer of authority from the United Nations to an effective East Timorese Government and administration.

In addition to this key task, UNTAET and the East Timorese face other considerable challenges over the next 12 months. One of these is to build the basis for a transparent, democratic political system, including through the provision of adequate civic education — a point which, I noticed, the Ambassador of Colombia also placed strong emphasis on in his statement earlier. Another is assisting the development of East Timorese capacity to maintain security, law and order. The establishment of the East Timorese Defence Force will be an important factor enhancing East Timor's capacity for self-reliance in security matters. But we also look forward to progress in the training and development of the Timor Lorosa'e Police Service, as independence approaches.

The prompt repatriation of remaining East Timorese refugees in West Timor remains an important and pressing priority for East Timor's future stability and security. An end to militia intimidation, unimpeded access to camps for humanitarian workers and a credible registration process all remain key prerequisites for this to succeed.

As I have emphasized at every possible opportunity, Australia considers it crucial that international support for East Timor's transition to independence be maintained. Gains have been made, but there is significant distance yet to be travelled to consolidate the good work of UNTAET to date and to

build the necessary foundations for an independent East Timor that will take its place in the region and in this United Nations, confident, secure and well-prepared to manage the many challenges of statehood.

For all these reasons Australia strongly supports the Secretary-General's recommendation to renew UNTAET's mandate until 31 December 2001. We are looking to the Council to renew the current mandate in terms that will secure continuity of its operation. Given continuing security concerns, maintenance of a strong security component is particularly important. We feel that troop-contributing countries will all need to remain committed to the UNTAET peacekeeping operation over this period. It is also our firm view — and I note that we share this with a number of other speakers today — that any consideration of a reduction in the military component of UNTAET should be based on an objective military assessment by UNTAET forces. It is the situation and circumstances on the ground that must be the paramount determinant.

I would like to take this opportunity to note Australia's appreciation for the outstanding leadership that Thailand is providing to the current UNTAET peacekeeping operation.

Finally, on this question of the peacekeeping operation, in recognition of the recent important discussions on HIV/AIDS and peacekeeping in the Council, and indeed elsewhere ongoing in the United Nations system, I also want to highlight the importance that Australia attaches to UNTAET peacekeeping operation members being fully briefed on the prevention and control of HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases.

The United Nations role in East Timor is not going to end on the day of independence, although obviously the nature of the Organization's relationship with the East Timorese will change as soon as they achieve a government of their own independent nation. We should therefore be thinking and planning now not just for the renewal of this mandate, but for the period beyond independence, when it is going to be necessary to ensure that the groundwork laid by UNTAET can be maintained and developed by the new East Timorese Government.

The Secretary-General's report recognizes that an independent East Timor will still require substantial international support, including military and civilian police components and support for civilian

administration. I reiterate that it is timely now that Member States — and particularly troop-contributing nations — focus on the need for early planning and preparation for such a presence, including possible contributions. My Government is certainly giving very close consideration to these matters, and we look forward to ongoing dialogue with UNTAET, in turn in the closest of consultation and collaboration with the East Timorese, on the appropriate shape and mandate for a future United Nations presence. East Timorese input on models for post-independence cooperation between the United Nations and East Timor will obviously be critical to the planning and the preparations for the next phase in its transition. Ultimately, as we all recognize, it will be for the East Timorese themselves to determine how they wish the United Nations to assist.

To contribute to this process of dialogue and consultation, including with other international actors, Australia offers the following ideas on the future United Nations role.

Any post-independence United Nations presence in East Timor will most likely be smaller than UNTAET, and focused on the main task of assisting East Timor with capacity and institution-building, including in the areas of financial management — about which we heard quite a great deal this morning — judiciary, police, defence, health, education and infrastructure. To this end, the mission should be staffed by United Nations personnel with appropriate experience and qualifications, capable of providing skills transfer to accelerate the localization of skills. The mandate for a new mission obviously should be constructed to ensure that it has an appropriate relationship with the new East Timorese Government.

A post-independence United Nations security component should, in our view, take the form of a Blue Helmet operation mandated by the Security Council with a clear end-state. The size of the peacekeeping operation should be based on an assessment of the security situation done much closer to independence. Diversity of troop contributions will remain important, and a wide range of international contributors, including strong regional representation, should be encouraged. In the field of law and order, assessments of the results of police training to date indicate that United Nations civilian police will need to remain beyond independence, and we would welcome any further comments that the Special Representative might

be able to offer with respect to the results of the police training to date.

More broadly, in the area of security, I would make two additional points that might seem obvious but which we feel should not be underestimated. First concerns the need for continued efforts to bring to justice those responsible for crimes and human rights violations in East Timor, and in this regard, like a number of my colleagues, I particularly note and welcome the fact that the Dili District Court has just completed its first successful prosecution of a case related to the violence that took place in 1999. Second is the importance of East Timor working actively to build positive relations with its neighbours, especially Indonesia. I note that this morning Sergio Vieira de Mello emphasized this as a foundation stone for the future and that José Ramos-Horta laid special emphasis on this and, indeed, indicated that the East Timorese leadership is working very actively on this.

Finally, it is fundamental that arrangements across a range of areas, of which financial are particularly important, support the transition to an effective East Timorese Government and do not cease on the formal date of independence. In this context, we endorse the Secretary-General's support for consideration of increasing flexibility in the use of assessed contributions allocated to UNTAET and its post-independence successor. I think in this respect that Mark Malloch Brown's strong call for a funding strategy is particularly relevant.

To conclude, I want to underline the two key points of my remarks. First, Australia fully supports the continuing UNTAET operation, including the progressive transfer of authority to the East Timorese, as the path to a fully functioning independent State. Secondly, it is our strong view that it is important that the international community begin now to prepare the groundwork for an appropriate United Nations presence in East Timor after independence. In order to be effective and to preserve all the gains made by UNTAET, the transition from one to the other must be as seamless as possible, in both organizational and financial terms.

Many of us here today have already made a significant investment in the future of East Timor. But the long-term success of that future depends on continuing commitment to the UNTAET operation and

our willingness now to plan, prepare and commit for the period beyond independence.

Let me assure the Council and Member States that Australia remains committed to East Timor and ready to do its part, working with the United Nations, the East Timorese and all other international players which share that commitment.

The President: 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. Mackay (New Zealand): Before I begin, I should like to join others in expressing condolences to India and Pakistan on the earthquake which has struck them so tragically.

In opening, may I express my appreciation to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his excellent briefing this morning. We are extremely fortunate to have an international civil servant of his calibre at the head of the United Nations operation in East Timor. May I also record our great pleasure at the fact that Mr. José Ramos-Horta is also taking part in the Council's proceedings today. This is highly symbolic of the process we are embarked upon in assisting East Timor to come to independence, which was the choice of the overwhelming majority of the people of the territory in the United Nations-sponsored consultation in September 1999. Finally, I would like to thank the President of the General Assembly for his perceptive observations on his recent visit to East Timor and the representatives of the development agencies for their statements this morning and their commitment to East Timor.

New Zealand fully supports the proposed extension of the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) until 31 December this year, as recommended by the Secretary-General in his report. We do so as one of the major troop contributors to the operation, providing a battalion group and a helicopter squadron for service in the sensitive western border region. I am pleased to note that we were able to advise the Secretary-General shortly before Christmas that New Zealand will maintain its present level of military contribution until May 2002.

Today's debate to consider the extension of UNTAET marks an important milestone in the period

since the operation's mandate was originally adopted by the Council in October 1999. A great deal has been achieved since then, particularly in the security and humanitarian fields. This is a credit to the efforts of the people of East Timor, to Mr. Vieira de Mello and his team as well as hardworking officials of the Secretariat here in New York, and to the contributions of Member States.

It is critical that UNTAET now build upon these achievements. The Secretary-General and Mr. Vieira de Mello have identified areas where further progress is essential. Chief among these, in our view, is the accelerated transfer of authority to the Timorese. This is perhaps the most difficult challenge, but, despite serious skill shortages among the Timorese people, UNTAET must make every effort to put them in the driving seat. The day must come, sooner rather than later, when East Timorese are the ones making decisions, with United Nations staff acting as mentors and providing guidance.

While gains have been made in guaranteeing East Timor's security, the threat posed by the militia groups in West Timor remains and will continue to do so as long as they are not disbanded. Moreover, the maintenance of security will be crucial for the conduct of pre-independence political events, including elections. New Zealand therefore strongly believes that UNTAET operations, including the military component, should continue at present levels through the period of the extended mandate. The day when an East Timor defence force might take over some of these responsibilities is still some way off. Future reductions in United Nations troop numbers will have to be based on a careful, objective military assessment of the situation by those in the field. Such a decision should not be driven by extraneous issues such as budgetary concerns.

Looking ahead to the post-independence period, we believe it is equally important for the international community to continue to remain engaged if UNTAET's achievements are to be secured. We fully endorse the Secretary-General's tasking of UNTAET to draw up plans for an integrated operation, in close consultation with the Timorese and partner organizations, which might be considered by the Security Council closer to the time. Such an operation will need to include a blue-helmeted security component.

Finally, I would like to record my Government's appreciation for the actions by the Government of Indonesia and the Indonesian armed forces which led to the detention recently of Jacobus Bere, a leading suspect in the murder of Private Manning, who was killed last July while serving with the New Zealand contingent to UNTAET. Those responsible for this crime must be brought to justice. New Zealand and, I am sure, many other countries represented in this Chamber will be following this case very closely.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kobayashi (Japan): Before I begin, I should like to take this opportunity to express condolences to the people of India and of Pakistan for the terrible losses they have suffered as a result of yesterday's earthquake.

I would like to express my appreciation to you, Mr. President, for this opportunity to discuss the situation in East Timor, as the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) is about to be renewed.

I would also like to thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for shedding light on the important progress that has been made and on the challenges that remain on the ground. We wish to extend our warmest welcome to Mr. Ramos-Horta, who has come to present to us the views of the East Timorese people, which the international community must always respect and heed as it supports their nation-building efforts. We look forward to welcoming him in Japan in March.

We also commend Mr. Holkeri, President of the General Assembly, for his participation in today's discussion, following his recent visit to the region.

We thank the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund for presenting their views. Their participation in today's discussion illustrates the multifaceted nature of the activities of UNTAET, which encompass not only military and police activities but also a wide range of nation-building efforts.

Since the inception of UNTAET in October 1999, efforts to prepare for the independence of East Timor have made substantial progress, with the competent and resourceful leadership of Mr. Vieira de Mello, the dedication of United Nations staff and the constant

support of the international community, including non-governmental organizations, all working hand in hand with the people of East Timor. My delegation is pleased to know that, as a result of these efforts, the goal of independence is now within sight. Although considerable work still needs to be done, my delegation is confident that, with the commitment and integrity demonstrated by those concerned, that goal will be achieved smoothly and successfully. Japan, for its part, remains fully committed to assisting the process to the best of its ability.

Japan welcomes the progress highlighted in the Secretary-General's report, including progress in the political process, in infrastructure development and in judicial and human rights matters, and encourages UNTAET to continue its efforts in all those areas. Japan fully supports the extension of UNTAET's mandate.

Today I would like to focus on the political process leading to the independence of East Timor and to share some thoughts on the post-independence phase. First, let me touch upon the political process towards independence.

Japan welcomes the growing consensus among the East Timorese people on the political calendar for achieving independence. It is our fundamental position that the will of the people must be respected in deciding how East Timor should be governed. In this regard, my delegation would like to reiterate the critical importance of pursuing independence through a political process that is open, fair and democratic. And, in order to ensure lasting peace and security after independence, it will be necessary to establish a political system that is likewise open, fair and democratic. We are confident that Mr. Ramos-Horta and other leaders of the East Timorese people understand the importance of these goals and will spare no effort in achieving them.

Although we understand the existence of possible technical difficulties, as mentioned in the Secretary-General's report, we urge the United Nations to do its best to realize the sequence of political steps that are to be agreed upon by the East Timorese people. At the same time, we call upon the people of East Timor to understand that insufficient preparation can result in compromising the openness, inclusiveness and fairness of the process. We also fully support the emphasis, as described in the Secretary-General's report, that is

placed on sustainability and capacity-building in the election process with a view to enabling the East Timorese themselves to conduct their future elections.

The issue of East Timorese refugees in West Timor continues to be a source of concern. Efforts should be made both by the Indonesian authorities and by the relevant United Nations agencies to solve the refugee problem as soon as possible. We should bear in mind that the political process towards independence should involve as many people as possible, including East Timorese refugees who are willing to participate in the nation-building process.

The recent violent incidents in connection with political campaigning by the East Timorese parties are disturbing. We call on the people of East Timor to ensure that the political process towards independence is orderly and peaceful, and we urge UNTAET to make every effort to assist them in this regard. Caution and sensitivity on the part of UNTAET are required in dealing with this matter, but violence must not be tolerated. Efforts to instil respect in the East Timorese people for the democratic process and its rules can also be useful. Japan is more than willing to help in this regard and has decided to sponsor a seminar on electoral law, to be held by UNTAET in February, with the aim of promoting discussion and understanding of the electoral system among the East Timorese.

Next, let me comment on the post-independence phase. We share the Secretary-General's analysis that East Timor will continue to require substantial international support after independence is achieved. Japan will remain committed to helping East Timor in the post-independence phase. I would like to stress two important points in this regard.

The first point is that after independence the transfer of authority should be complete. In order to encourage East Timor's self-reliance, it should be made clear that with independence the responsibility for administering the country will then rest with the East Timorese, while the international community and the United Nations play 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 running a nation. From this point of view, Japan fully supports UNTAET's policy of accelerated transfer of authority to the East Timorese

people and the so-called Timorization of the administration. We strongly encourage the continuation of this policy.

The other point I wish to raise is the importance of the international community remaining steadfast in its efforts to assist East Timor. Continuity is essential in order to ensure that the efforts made thus far for the reconstruction and development of East Timor are fruitful. The necessary systems and mechanisms must be in place to ensure continuity in the provision of international assistance. In this regard, the need for effective donor coordination mechanisms remains undiminished. These should include a framework for the overall assessment and review of the assistance that is being provided. The well-established practice of holding donor conferences is one such mechanism. A coordinating mechanism on the ground, such as the role currently played by UNTAET, to maintain daily contact with the donors is also necessary.

Furthermore, in view of the profound shortage of human resources in East Timor and its implications for the transfer of the administration, Japan believes that the United Nations presence in East Timor after independence should include not only military and civilian police components but also a capacity- and institution-building component to provide advice to the East Timorese. Without such a component, the nation-building process could be seriously disrupted.

In conclusion, I would like once again to commend the United Nations staff under the able leadership of Mr. Vieira de Mello, the members of the international community and especially the people of East Timor as they work together to build a promising future. Japan shares their hopes for a successful transition to independence and remains determined to make a genuine contribution to this endeavour.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Sweden, whom I invite to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Schori (Sweden): First of all, I, like others, would like to express my deepest condolences to the Governments and peoples of India and Pakistan, and particularly our thoughts are with the families of the victims of the catastrophe and those directly affected by it.

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU). The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries Cyprus, Malta and Turkey, as well as the European Free Trade Association country member of the European Economic Area, Iceland, align themselves with this statement.

I would like to commend the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr Sergio Vieira de Mello, and all the women and men of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and its partner organizations for their efforts to meet one of the greatest challenges facing the United Nations: leading East Timor towards independence. The EU reaffirms its solidarity with the people of East Timor and its support for UNTAET.

In October 1999, the Security Council established UNTAET with the broadest mandate ever given to a United Nations peace operation, with responsibility for the administration of a territory vastly devastated by those unwilling to accept the results of the popular consultation. In the light of the complexity of the task, the progress achieved has been considerable and merits our deep appreciation. In the Secretary-General's latest report, which is contained in document S/2001/42 and is now before us, he concludes that the United Nations has cause to be proud of what has been accomplished in East Timor. The European Union agrees and encourages UNTAET to continue its work.

The European Union would like to take this opportunity to stress the importance of learning from the UNTAET experiences. Some of the lessons learned from East Timor are already reflected in the Brahimi report, which outlines a number of recommendations to better prepare the United Nations system for complex peace operations.

The European Union pays tribute to the military component of UNTAET. While the situation in West Timor continues to constitute a threat to the security situation in East Timor, the peacekeeping force has done excellent work on re-establishing and upholding safety and security throughout the territory of East Timor. But this has not been without cost. The European Union would not like to miss this

opportunity to recall the tragic loss of the New Zealand, Nepalese and Portuguese peacekeepers.

At the same time, the European Union strongly supports the gradual transfer to the East Timorese of local ownership of the maintenance of law and order. In that context, although it recognizes that that an international police presence will be needed after independence, the European Union encourages UNTAET to accelerate the training process of the East Timorese police force. The European Union expresses its appreciation for the excellent work of the civilian police in keeping law and order throughout East Timor. The Union is, however, concerned by reports of increasing criminality, particularly violence against women.

During the past six months, progress has been made in integrating the East Timorese into all major decision-making actions within the administration. The European Union particularly welcomes the inclusion of Mr. José Ramos-Horta, who is present here today, as cabinet member for foreign affairs.

The European Union would, however, like to emphasize the need to further strengthen national capacity-building in all governance areas. The Timorization efforts within the Transitional Administration must be pushed forward, and the role of UNTAET should gradually change from execution to an advisory role. Greater efforts can be made to strengthen capacity-building, including through on-the-job training. During the transition period it is essential to involve the East Timorese, including women and youth, in a broad, representative manner in the policy-making and administrative structure at all levels.

The European Union welcomes the effort of UNTAET to inform the population of progress in this respect, but understands the natural desire of the East Timorese to accelerate this progress.

UNTAET has now fully embarked on the transition from emergency relief activities to sustainable development and administration building. Despite the difficulties encountered, the European Union is pleased to note that significant improvements have been achieved in providing schooling and health care.

The European Union takes note of the Secretary General's comments on the judicial system in East Timor, and welcomes the taking of the first measures

against those persons who committed serious crimes during the violence in 1999. The European Union also stresses the importance of strengthening East Timor's judicial system, which will be the guarantor of democracy.

The EU welcomes the fact that the trial has commenced in Jakarta against those accused of the deplorable killings of three staff members of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in West Timor last September. It also welcomes the arrest of the suspected perpetrators of the killing of a United Nations peacekeeper. The European Union calls on the Government of Indonesia to continue all necessary efforts to bring the perpetrators of serious crimes committed during and before the violence in September 1999 to justice. It also takes note of the efforts being made by the Indonesian Attorney-General concerning the investigation of human rights violations in East Timor, and calls on the Indonesian Government to follow the spirit of the Memorandum of Understanding signed with UNTAET. The investigation process and the bringing to justice of those responsible for the atrocities that followed the popular consultation must not be delayed. The European Union also encourages the Indonesian judicial authorities to continue their cooperation with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

The European Union emphasizes the importance of a reconciliation process, and welcomes the contacts made between some pro-integration leaders and the National Council of Timorese Resistance (CNRT) and the soon-to-be established Truth, Reception and Reconciliation Commission. Furthermore, it believes that there exists at present a sincere willingness to find ways and means to re-establish trust and confidence among all East Timorese.

The European Union shares the Secretary-General's appraisal of the timetable for East Timor to achieve independence late in this year, as well as the National Council's endorsement of a political calendar for the transition to independence. The European Union notes that UNTAET will be fully responsible for the conduct of the elections, with the support of the Secretariat, in particular the Department of Political Affairs' Electoral Assistance Division. The Union urges UNTAET to continue its efforts to ensure that free and fair elections and the establishment of the Constituent Assembly can take place within the time-

frame to be agreed by the mission and the East Timorese people. The European Union stresses that the composition of the Constituent Assembly needs to reflect broad political participation and allow for an open and truly democratic debate. The European Union also considers that the United Nations Secretariat has a role to play in conducting the elections and implementing a broad civic-education campaign.

The European Union fully supports UNTAET's and East Timor's goal of developing mechanisms for good governance. The value of a lean, efficient and transparent administrative system as a means of achieving a democratic and prosperous society cannot be overstated.

Closely linked to the political transition is the security situation in East Timor. Despite considerable improvements there are still reasons for concern. The European Union reiterates its full endorsement of the recommendations in Security Council resolution 1319 (2000), and urges the Indonesian Government to continue its efforts to implement the resolution without further delay. The Union also fully supports the recommendations made by the Security Council mission to East Timor and Indonesia in its report (S/2000/1105) of last November.

The European Union strongly condemns the continued activities of militia groups in West Timor, which have a destabilizing impact on the transition to independence in East Timor. It is therefore imperative to finally put an end to these activities, in line with Security Council resolution 1319 (2000). The prompt disbanding of the militia groups is essential in order to resolve the refugee situation in West Timor. The European Union would like to recall the urgent need for a quick settlement. This unresolved matter could have serious repercussions on the political situation in East Timor and might be a factor that could jeopardize the transition process.

The refugees must be given a free choice of whether to return to East Timor or resettle in Indonesia, including through a credible registration process. The establishment of security in the refugee camps, the resumption of humanitarian assistance, a resolution of the refugee situation and support for reconciliation are essential for the creation of lasting peace and stability in East Timor. The Union is deeply committed, together with the international humanitarian

organizations, to continue to play an active role in this regard.

The European Union has noted the observation in the Secretary-General's report that it might be necessary to maintain what is now the UNTAET military component after independence at a strength to be determined in the light of developments. The Union understands that a gradual downsizing of this component will take place only if an objective assessment of the security situation by UNTAET shows that this is appropriate. It is crucially important that security assistance be provided for the independent state.

The European Union welcomes UNTAET plans and the efforts of a number of interested Governments aimed at the establishment of an East Timor Defence Force (ETDF) and notes that this will be drawn initially from the Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor (FALINTIL). With regard to those FALINTIL members who will not join the ETDF, the European Union welcomes the plans for the reintegration programme organized by the International Organization for Migration and the World Bank.

The role of the European Union as the biggest contributor to the East Timorese development process was most recently reaffirmed at the donors meeting in Brussels last December. The Union agrees that there will be a continued need for development cooperation by the international community, and it is ready to assume its part in further assisting with the rehabilitation of East Timor and its transition to independence. The European Union recognizes the role of the international financial institutions and United Nations agencies, particularly UNDP and the World Bank, and encourages them to continue to play their part.

The European Union supports the proposal by the Secretary-General to extend the mandate of UNTAET until 31 December 2001 and looks forward to his recommendations on the plan for a new integrated follow-on operation that would function in the independent East Timor. It is important that no vacuum be created in connection with the transition to independence.

The European Union will continue to follow the process closely and to support the work of the United Nations and the Secretary-General. As stated earlier, we believe that there are reasons for the United Nations

to be proud of what has been accomplished so far in East Timor. We must work together to ensure that the UNTAET mission becomes a success not only for the United Nations but, most importantly, for the people of East Timor.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Chile. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Valdés (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): Like previous speakers, I should like to express the condolences of Chile to the Governments of India and Pakistan for the tragedy that has affected so many of their citizens.

I should like to thank you, Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Chile for convening this meeting to consider the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in East Timor and to give our views on the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). Ensuring the success of the United Nations mission in East Timor is the collective responsibility of the international community, and that is why this open debate is so important. We must also take note of last Monday's meeting between the members of the Council and the countries, including Chile, that contribute troops to UNTAET. That exchange of views led to conclusions that will prove very useful for the Council when it must make decisions.

Chile takes particular pride in being associated, as a contributor to UNTAET, with the United Nations work in reconstructing East Timor. Chile's participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations is a key element of our foreign policy, and this was reaffirmed by the visit to East Timor last November of Mr. Ricardo Lagos, President of the Republic of Chile. I should like to pay special tribute to the staff of the United Nations in Timor, under the leadership of Under-Secretary-General Sergio Vieira de Mello, for their selfless dedication and admirable work. I should also like to welcome the presence in our midst of José Ramos-Horta, one of the most distinguished leaders of the independence movement of his country, who has the unique task of conducting the process of nation-building and transfer of power to the Timores, for which the United Nations is providing solid support.

We studied with great interest the report submitted by the Secretary-General, and we fully share

its conclusions. The situation in East Timor and the progress of the work of UNTAET must be seen from the perspective of the magnitude of the task that was entrusted to this Organization. Almost two years ago, the United Nations was required to undertake, together with the leaders and people of East Timor, the extraordinary task of building a nation-State — a task that is not normally among the responsibilities of any multilateral institution and for which there were no precedents or comparable situations in the history of the Organization. This task, begun under extremely adverse conditions following a true tragedy for the people of Timor, had to be taken on, given the prevailing risks to regional peace and security.

The magnitude of the tasks was outlined this morning by Sergio Vieira de Mello. Among them, the establishment of the Truth Reception and Reconciliation Commission, which is scheduled to begin its work in the coming months, seems to us to be particularly relevant. This marks a very significant development in the field of human rights in that country; it is an inevitable requirement of any democratic transition. Chile can attest to the fact that reconciliation will not be sure, nor peace real, without true justice in the area of human rights.

At the same time, we have taken note of the continuing areas of concern, particularly the general situation with regard to security and to refugees, and the militia problem. We are reassured by the positive signs that we see in the bilateral relations between East Timor and Indonesia, which are essential for the implementation of Security Council resolution 1319 (2000) on the collection of weapons and the elimination of the militias' ability to make threats. In this regard, we also welcome the improvements in the implementation of the recommendations of the Security Council mission relating to the expansion of the opportunities for bilateral consultation between the two countries. Furthermore, account must be taken of the relations between UNTAET and the population and the local authorities so that the necessary measures can be taken to ensure that they remain as good as possible. As we have heard this afternoon, this will be crucial to the transition and the successful conclusion of the democratic elections.

As regards the future, the main question of concern today is to determine whether the main objective of UNTAET has been accomplished, in accordance with resolution 1272 (1999). The view of

Chile, based on the Secretary-General's report, is that this has yet to happen and that it is therefore essential to renew the mission's mandate, at least for the rest of the year. We fully share the view expressed this morning by the President of the General Assembly that East Timor will require the presence and assistance of the international community for a long time, be it in relation to peacekeeping or to national reconstruction.

The opinion expressed by some in favour of a rationalization of UNTAET and a reduction of its peacekeeping resources could be very premature. In view of the complexity of the current security situation in Timor and the time needed to organize the East Timorese defence forces, we feel that the continuation of the Security Council's role is fully justified. Any change or withdrawal of its current functions would, in our view, be a serious mistake.

At the appropriate time, moreover, we will have to deal with the question of the support that East Timor will require after its independence, which further underscores the need for the Security Council to continue to be seized of the matter. We hope that the Council will approve the recommendations contained in the report, particularly the extension of UNTAET's mandate until the end of the year.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Brazil. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Mrs. Vioti (Brazil): I would like to associate my delegation with the expressions of sympathy to the Governments of India and Pakistan for the suffering and loss of life caused by the earthquake that struck that region.

I wish to thank you, Sir, for organizing this open debate on East Timor. It shows the commitment of your country and yourself personally to the objective of building a solid basis for the future independent East Timor.

Allow me to express my delegation's deep appreciation to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his comprehensive presentation and admirable work. It is also a great honour to have with us today Mr. José Ramos-Horta, who has been a key political figure in the construction of a free and independent East Timor. We listened with great interest to the personal testimony of the President of the General Assembly, as well as to the briefings of the Administrator of the

United Nations Development Programme and the representatives of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Brazil remains 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 early this week. I would like to share with the members of the Council and other delegations some information on the Presidential visit. The Permanent Representative of Brazil, Ambassador Gelson Fonseca, Jr., who accompanied the President, will be in a position to complement this report upon his return to New York.

As President Cardoso stated in Dili, his visit was intended to convey a message of solidarity to the East Timorese people, whose struggle for independence and freedom captured the hearts and minds of all Brazilians. In Dili, President Cardoso, accompanied by Xanana Gusmão and Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, laid a floral wreath at the monument in the cemetery of Santa Cruz in honour of the victims of the struggle for independence.

President Cardoso had extensive talks with Special Representative Sergio Vieira de Mello and the East Timorese leadership. He also attended a special session of the National Council. In order to underline the practical and concrete aspects of our assistance to East Timor, he personally presided over the launching of Brazilian cooperation projects in the fields of capacity-building, professional training and literacy.

During his visit, President Cardoso announced that the current cooperation could be expanded to other areas, including public health, agriculture, assistance regarding the establishment of regulations on oil prospecting, and use of satellite-gathered data for natural resource assessment and environmental monitoring. With regard to the Brazilian participation in the peacekeeping force, the possibility of reinforcing our contingent with the addition of a field hospital unit is under consideration.

After visiting East Timor, President Cardoso flew to Jakarta, where he had a fruitful dialogue with President Wahid. In his cordial talks with President Wahid, President Cardoso brought up the issue of the East Timorese refugees in West Timor and the need to overcome the security threat posed by the militias. Both Presidents agreed to study the possibility of joint cooperation initiatives to be mutually agreed by the

two countries with East Timor in projects designed to help in the efforts of reconstruction and reconciliation, as was also reported by Mr. Ramos-Horta in his statement to the Council.

It is important to start planning for a smooth transition to self-government, and that includes creating the environment for self-sustained development. It is not just a matter of ensuring political stability and putting in place the right regulations. It has to do with the need to ensure that the international community does not turn its back on East Timor after it becomes independent.

The creation of conditions for development will not be attained in the short term and will require generous international cooperation long after independence. This is the rationale behind our projects in East Timor, which focus mainly on education and capacity-building. Such programmes also have a positive impact on the preparation of the East Timorese people to take over the future democratic State of East Timor.

The Timorization of the administration is under way. The efforts in capacity-building are starting to bear fruit with the training of police, judges and other civil servants. But the obstacles ahead cannot be overlooked. Less than 10 per cent of permanent management positions have been filled. Management levels are of particular importance for the transition — these are the people who will be at the helm of the administration after independence.

Allow me to state briefly Brazil's position on the pressing issue of the transition to independence and the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

Brazil supports the recommendation of the Secretary-General to extend UNTAET's mandate until 31 December 2001. We look forward to receiving the recommendations of the Secretary-General concerning the successor mission of UNTAET. It is clear, however, that regardless of the format of the new mission, the international presence will have to remain substantial.

Despite the impressive progress achieved by UNTAET under the able leadership of Sergio Vieira de Mello, the situation in the areas of security, law and order and public administration do not allow for scaling down the international presence. In the sensitive area of security, it is essential to maintain the

current level of troops until a reliable security assessment by the people in the field provides the necessary assurances for downsizing the force.

In conclusion, I would like to highlight the fact that, in East Timor, the United Nations and the international community have embarked on an unprecedented exercise of cooperation in nation-building. We are bearing witness to the birth of a nation-State that will embody the universal values enshrined in several international documents adopted under the aegis of the United Nations. For such values to become deeply ingrained in East Timorese society and shape its polity, they need to be shored up by the improvement of the day-to-day reality on the ground at the very grass-roots level. And to that end, our efforts must be untiring.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for her kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Fiji. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Naidu (Fiji): I wish to join you, Sir, and all others who have spoken in expressing our sympathies to the families affected by the devastating earthquake that struck India and Pakistan.

Fiji is greatly honoured to continue to serve the United Nations goals in pursuit of global peace and security. To this end, we have committed 195 of our military personnel in East Timor under the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), and we acknowledge the Singapore presidency for the Security Council initiative again to allow troop-contributing countries such as Fiji to contribute to the discussion on this mission.

Fiji acknowledges the immense developments to date under the leadership of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, in furthering the Security Council mandate in East Timor. The recent visit to Dili and Suai by the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Harri Holkeri, is a source of great comfort indeed to the East Timorese and to Fiji. Suai is where Fiji soldiers are stationed. This gives us real hope that lasting peace and real independence for the people of East Timor will ultimately be attained. We recognize, therefore, that the extension of the UNTAET mandate is inevitable and

critical, and we commend the Secretary-General's vision in that process.

The slogan that you also referred to in your statement, Mr. President, "No exit without strategy", is now most apt for East Timor today. All United Nations resources and commitments deployed thus far to assist Indonesia in the devolution of power to East Timor in their collaborative path to full and free elections and independence for East Timor would be wasted if United Nations peacekeeping were withdrawn without a proper consultative process with all stakeholders.

It will boost the morale of the people of East Timor and cement their faith in the United Nations for its positive engagement in post-conflict peace processes if United Nations presence is sustained. A viable exit strategy may be taken in phases, each preceded by close monitoring and evaluation of the security situation, needs assessment and appropriate responses by development partner agencies with United Nations facilitation.

Despite relative peace in East Timor, crucial humanitarian relief operations are severely hampered by persistent and violent militia elements. This situation underscores the continuing need for United Nations presence in East Timor.

Fiji recognizes, however, that the United Nations engagement in East Timor is two-pronged. Peace settlement is the immediate goal. Perhaps the more important objective is securing peace within a sound infrastructural foundation to achieve a truly enduring solution. If such a goal necessitates further extension of the UNTAET mandate, the Government of Fiji would fully endorse it. After all, it is a fact that peace and poverty are mutually exclusive, and East Timor deserves not only good will, but also tangible financial and technical support to attain reasonable international standards.

Now more than ever, the United Nations is being called upon to provide military, civilian and infrastructural leverage in the rebuilding and rehabilitation of East Timor at a time when her needs are greatest, to ensure that peace is profoundly bolstered by sustainability, thereby affording her people genuine opportunities to work towards political, social, economic and cultural independence.

Finally, Fiji would welcome future visiting missions to East Timor that would include

representatives of troop-contributing countries, which will have greater beneficial effects as well as provide a boost to the morale of peacekeepers in the field.

The President: I thank the representative of Fiji for the kind words he addressed to me.

Before I give the floor to the next speaker, I would like to note here that José Ramos-Horta has asked to say a few words. He has to catch a plane this evening, and as we all know, getting to Kennedy Airport on Friday evening can be very, very difficult. So I will give him a chance to speak before leaving for the airport.

Mr. Ramos-Horta: Thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity to essentially say many, many thanks to you, first, for inviting us to share in the deliberations of the Council today, and to thank all Council members for their very kind words addressed to me, and in particular to thank them all for their continuing active engagement with the ongoing process of Timorization, capacity-building and security in East Timor.

I would like to use this opportunity to answer only one question that has been raised consistently by a number of speakers. Sergio Vieira de Mello will speak for all of us on all other questions in his capacity as Special Representative of the Secretary-General and head of the United Nations in East Timor.

I would like to address the issue of security and violence which has been raised, only to point out that in the course of last year — one full year — there were only two politically related violent incidents. Neither of them caused any deaths. This is only to put the issue in context, since some delegations raised with certain concern the issue of political violence. This is the clarification. There were two politically related violent incidents in the course of twelve months, neither of which caused any deaths.

In balance, the situation is largely very peaceful. But even when we address the issue of increasing criminality, including common crimes, petty theft and so forth, according to the statistics of the civilian police, East Timor still records among the lowest criminality rates in the world, even given one of the highest rates of unemployment.

In view of that, in the context of security in the territory, political violence is minimal. Criminality in terms of common crimes and in view of the

unemployment rate is really not very significant in terms of the peacefulness of the territory. This is to reassure Council members and other speakers that, by and large, the situation has been very peaceful and successful in this regard.

I thank the Council once again and sincerely apologize for not being able to stay longer. We have been given a ticket that does not allow changes. In view of the constraints induced by the International Monetary Fund on our budget, I cannot change my ticket. I really have to leave.

The President: I thank Mr. José Ramos-Horta for his remarks and I wish him a safe journey to his next destination.

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 to make his statement.

Mr. Kim Young-mok (Republic of Korea): Before beginning my statement, I would like to join the previous speakers in extending our deepest condolences to the people of India and Pakistan at the tragic earthquake and the human and physical losses resulting from it.

I would like to begin by extending my delegation's appreciation to you, Mr. President, for the timely preparation of this debate and your personal interest in East Timor, to which many Member States, including the Republic of Korea, attach great importance.

I should also like to take this opportunity to commend and thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Transitional Administrator for East Timor, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and all the members of international agencies for their laborious efforts in helping East Timor to secure peace and build a new, self-sustaining nation.

I would like to express my delegation's particular pleasure in having with us today Mr. José Ramos-Horta, Cabinet member for foreign affairs of East Timor, who represents the aspiration of the East Timorese people to peace and independence. My delegation also welcomes the contribution of Mr. Harri Holkeri, President of the General Assembly, to this debate, which is particularly valuable to us. We hope that his exceptional presence today in this Chamber

will enhance the interaction between the Council and the General Assembly.

As many speakers have already pointed out, the continued interest and assistance of the international community is essential for the future of East Timor and for the success of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), which, along with the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), has become an important test case of United Nations engagement beyond its traditional peacekeeping mandates. In this regard, my delegation supports the extension of UNTAET's mandate until 31 December 2001, as recommended by the Secretary-General in his report (S/2001/42).

The Republic of Korea has committed itself to continuously supporting the United Nations engagement in East Timor and is prepared to do so in future. In this spirit, we have joined efforts with the international community since the very beginning of its engagement in East Timor through the contribution of troops as well as other human and financial resources. My delegation is pleased to note that the contingent of the Republic of Korea has been successfully operating as a part of the military component of UNTAET.

With regard to nation-building in East Timor, tremendous work and resources are required, as the informative and insightful statements made by Mr. Vieira de Mello, Mr. Ramos-Horta and other senior officials of various organizations have confirmed today. My delegation believes that, among other things, keeping the political process of integration active and effective is a most important task at this juncture in achieving a stable and strong nation. In this regard, no mistakes should be made in securing stability in East Timor at this particular time, when the country is confronted with a major and crucial political calendar for independence. In our view, the process should be democratic and inclusive and form a solid basis for a new Timorese government. The opportunity lying ahead of the people of East Timor is rare and precious. We understand that this process requires wisdom, patience and perseverance on the part of all East Timorese.

In this daunting process, the international community must spare no effort in helping the East Timorese in achieving, as speedily as possible, complete Timorization in every field.

My delegation believes that the cooperation of the Indonesian Government is crucial in addressing the challenging issues facing East Timor, such as removing the threat of militias, the return of refugees, the prosecution of war criminals and the securing of borders. My delegation believes that the cooperation of the Indonesian Government is crucial. My delegation takes note of the fact that the Government of Indonesia has done a great deal of work in this regard. However, we believe that there is room for strengthened cooperation between the Indonesian Government and UNTAET. My delegation also hopes that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which was withdrawn last September, will be able to return to West Timor as soon as possible to allow for continuing assistance to, and the return of, refugees.

We also agree that East Timor will continue to need the development cooperation of the international community, in parallel with security assistance. My delegation supports the request of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for a certain level of flexibility in using the allocated resources, which would contribute to the capacity-building of the East Timorese, expediting Timorization in all matters.

Concerning the engagement of the international community in a post-independent East Timor, my delegation believes that, although the future of East Timor will depend on the East Timorese people themselves, a continued United Nations presence, including a peacekeeping mission, will be necessary until East Timor achieves an integrated democratic system with the strong set of institutions that are necessary to that end. We hope that discussions among Member States on the future engagement of the United Nations with East Timor will continue. The Republic of Korea, as an important troop contributor, welcomes an early opportunity to consider an appropriate mandate for and level of a peacekeeping operation, in parallel with the changing environment in East Timor.

In closing, let me reiterate our hope that the people of East Timor will maintain their courage and vision in their efforts to achieve all these goals, for the international community, as manifested today, will remain committed to working with them. I would like once again to commend Mr. Vieira de Mello and the staff of UNTAET for their achievements and dedication. The Republic of Korea, for its part, will

continue to be a friend to East Timor and to render its support for this noble cause.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Philippines. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Manolo (Philippines): At the outset, I wish to join the other speakers in expressing condolences to the Governments of India and of Pakistan in connection with the tragic earthquake that struck yesterday.

Mr. President, my delegation would like to thank you for organizing this open debate, which comes at a critical time in the work of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). We also thank the Secretary-General for his lucid and comprehensive report on the activities of UNTAET over the past six months. We also welcome the presence of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Transitional Administrator; Mr. José Ramos-Horta; Mr. Harri Holkeri, President of the General Assembly; and the officials of the international financial institutions, who all spoke today. We thank them for their valuable contributions to today's deliberations.

Allow me also, Sir, to pay tribute to the presidency of Singapore in the Security Council and to convey our congratulations for the work you have accomplished so far this month. In particular, the Singaporean presidency has given further impetus to the work of the United Nations in East Timor by opening the Council's discussions to non-members, especially to those who are participants and contributors to UNTAET. This, in our view, reinforces the importance of the principle of close cooperation between troop contributors and non-members with the Council.

We also appreciate the fact that earlier this week, the Council presidency conducted formal, "triangular" consultations among troop contributors, the Council and the Secretariat.

We are at a crucial stage as far as the situation in East Timor is concerned. In February last year, UNTAET began the arduous task of helping the East Timorese achieve self-rule. Less than a year later, we are now facing the real prospect of an independent East Timor by the end of this year. This is indeed a laudable goal, whose achievement will require the utmost

cooperation of all concerned. In solidarity with this objective, we support the recommendation of the Secretary-General to extend the mandate of UNTAET until 31 December 2001 in order to continue the task that will ensure that this aspiration for independence becomes a reality for the Timorese people. For success in East Timor will stand as testimony to the unwavering vision and remarkable fortitude of the Timorese people, as well as the undaunted commitment of UNTAET under the leadership of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. It will also serve as testimony to the importance of international and regional cooperation.

However, the road ahead will not be easy. Broad and intensive public consultations must be conducted to ensure the unity of purpose and constructive cooperation of all those with a stake in the future of East Timor. Furthermore, details of the plans for the Constituent Assembly and the election scheduled for this summer must be finalized soon.

There are crucial factors that may affect the timetable for these activities, the most important of which remains the security situation in the territory. During the last six months, we have seen the deaths of two United Nations peacekeepers, as well as of three staff members of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Several others have also been injured. We therefore believe that a draw-down of the current level of troops in East Timor should not be pursued until the security situation is deemed to have stabilized. The extended mandate should not include any reference to reduction of troops. Any future reduction of troops in UNTAET should be made only after a thorough assessment on the ground of the security situation.

Security Council resolution 1319 (2000) called for steps to disarm and disband the militias. We were glad to hear today that their activities, as well as politically motivated violence, have fallen off. Nevertheless, the security of the territory and the refugee camps in West Timor should continue to be addressed closely. We welcome the trial that began in Jakarta two weeks ago of the suspects in the Atambua murders, and we commend the Indonesian Government for cooperating with the United Nations efforts to improve the security situation in the territory.

The Philippines is committed to participating in the work of the United Nations in East Timor until the

Timorese people have attained their independence. We recognize, however, that after independence East Timor will still require substantial international assistance to support its efforts to promote development, meet the basic needs of its people and build capacity. A post-independence scenario should also include the continuation of United Nations engagement in the military, police and civil affairs of the new state. Such arrangements, we believe, would be required until the political infrastructure of an independent East Timor is fully in place. We would hope, however, that before the mandate of a post-independent United Nations effort in East Timor is finalized, extensive triangular consultations would be conducted, as in the case of UNTAET. In this regard, the Philippines would be prepared to consider participating in a post-independence United Nations effort, depending on the mandate that will be finalized by the Council. Such an effort should have a clear mandate and exit strategy and effective regional representation. It must also be deployed as a United Nations peace operation and, naturally, in accordance with an agreement reached with the new government. We look forward to open discussions and consultations on this matter.

The President: I thank the representative of the Philippines for his kind words addressed to me and to my delegation.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Mozambique, whom I invite to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Santos (Mozambique): I wish to associate myself with the expressions of sympathy to the peoples and Governments of India and Pakistan for the natural disaster that struck the two countries, causing death and destruction.

Allow me at the outset to join those who preceded me in congratulating you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council during the month of January and on the brilliant manner in which you are conducting the affairs of the Council. I would also like to pay special tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Sergey Lavrov of the Russian Federation, for the exemplary manner in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

I wish to take this opportunity to once again express our profound appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for their relentless efforts and

dedication to ensure a smooth historical transition in East Timor. Mr. Vieira de Mello's leadership has been crucial in ensuring a good transition process. We thank him for his informative briefing today.

We welcome the presence of Mr. José Ramos-Horta, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate and determined fighter for East Timor's self-determination and independence. We admire his courage, and we value the message he delivered today to the Council.

We want to take note with appreciation of the presence of the President of the General Assembly at this meeting; he made a very good gesture by joining us here in the Security Council and sharing his findings from the visit he made recently to East Timor and Indonesia. We also thank the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme and the representatives of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund for their briefings; they perform the task of bringing sustainable development to East Timor.

We are pleased to note that the security situation in East Timor is relatively stable. This is a factor that will certainly contribute decisively towards a smooth transition to independence, bringing the people of East Timor into the community of nations. In this regard, we would like to praise the firm action by the peacekeeping forces of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) in dealing with the threat to security posed by the activities of militia infiltrated from West Timor. It remains imperative to continue dealing decisively with the problem of refugees and militia activity from West Timor if the transition process is to remain on the right track.

To that end, the authorities of Indonesia and UNTAET must continue their cooperation in order to ensure security in that area and allow the activities of humanitarian agencies, including the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to alleviate the suffering of refugees. An information strategy must be designed to allow refugees in West Timor to make informed decisions with regard to their future.

We also congratulate UNTAET on fulfilling effectively its mandate in several areas in East Timor. UNTAET has achieved considerable progress in sensitive and vital areas such as training the East Timorese police, deploying civilian police throughout

almost the whole country, developing a system of law and order, public administration and initiating education and basic health services.

However, the task of UNTAET, and indeed of the international community as a whole, remains challenging. The transition in East Timor will be smooth only if, inter alia, the East Timorese police force is effectively trained in timely fashion to perform its duty; if the refugee problem, associated with militia activity in West Timor, is dealt with; if a national public administration is put in place; if an effective justice system is established; and if infrastructure, including roads and power supply, is rehabilitated or constructed. A lot needs to be done in these areas.

We welcome the consensus of the people of East Timor to hold elections and attain independence during the current year. This represents the political maturity that the people of East Timor have demonstrated throughout their quest for self-determination and the establishment of their own State.

The consultations within the framework of the National Council of Timorese Resistance, involving all East Timorese political actors constitutes an indication that the people of East Timor are committed to building a new nation founded on fundamental principles of democracy, freedom and the rule of law.

It is now more pressing than ever to take stock of the progress already achieved and plan for the huge but certainly surmountable challenges in the way of the transition process in East Timor.

The international community must now demonstrate its solidarity with the Timorese cause by making available the necessary resources for the timely completion of the UNTAET mandate and lay the foundations for a future independent State of East Timor. As proposed by the Secretary-General, resources from assessed contributions must be made available at adequate levels, and UNTAET must be allowed to use the resources in a more flexible manner as it prioritizes and discharges its complex mandates in East Timor.

The current pace of implementation of UNTAET's mandate and of other projects by international organizations seems to indicate that a strong United Nations presence will be required in East Timor after its independence. We are of the view that

such a presence should be adequately planned and given a proper mandate.

We are pleased to note that the elections that will precede the declaration of independence in East Timor will be conducted by UNTAET. It is of utmost importance to build internal capacity in terms of electoral planning, with a view to allowing the East Timorese to manage their elections in the future.

We also call on the international community to continue supporting East Timor after its independence, as the East Timorese build their own sustainable system of governance. The provision of technical, financial and other forms of assistance will be crucial in order for that nation to rise and stand among the community of nations. This is a case in which we need to implement what we advocate as regards post-conflict peace-building.

The right of self-determination is one of the essential foundations of international relations to which Mozambique has always attached great importance. It is in this regard that my country is now giving to the East Timor transition process a modest contribution: a small contingent of civilian and military personnel in that territory.

We look forward to welcoming an independent East Timor to the United Nations.

The President: I thank the representative of Mozambique for his kind words addressed to me.

The last 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. Wibisono (Indonesia): I wish first to join other speakers in expressing my delegation's deep condolences and sympathy to two friendly countries, India and Pakistan, for the tragic loss of life as a result of the earthquake that struck the subcontinent yesterday.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate Singapore, and the other new members — namely, Colombia, Ireland, Mauritius and Norway — on joining the Council. We are convinced that the new members will contribute new ideas and perspectives to the work of the Council. I should also like to express my delegation's sincere congratulations to you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Council for this month of January. We are confident that under your able

stewardship the work of the Council will be brought to a successful conclusion.

Today the Council is considering an issue of great importance and profound interest to the international community — namely, the issue of bringing a territory into nationhood. If it is successful in this undertaking, the world will, in the not-too-distant future, witness East Timor becoming the first nation to be born in this new millennium. In the meantime, our collective support is deemed necessary, as it involves the complex and difficult tasks of nation-building, governance and development.

As part of the international community of nations situated in close geographical proximity to, and sharing a common border with, East Timor, I should like to reiterate my Government's firm commitment to building a mutually beneficial and harmonious relationship with a future independent, democratic and stable East Timor. Therefore, we are fully committed to resolving all outstanding issues, including the question of East Timorese refugees. To that end, Indonesia has consistently cooperated, as it will continue to strive to do, with UNTAET and its administrators, as well as with the leaders of East Timor. Undoubtedly, the resolution of these issues would facilitate the attainment of my Government's objective.

Its attainment, however, depends not only on the prevailing situation in East Nusa Tenggara, but also on the situation in East Timor. While acknowledging the results achieved by UNTAET thus far, we cannot ignore the fact that some independent observers, including Xanana Gusmão, in his new year's message, have been critical of UNTAET. These views, in our opinion, reflect the aspirations of the East Timorese people and thus must be taken into account and considered constructively.

My Government has on several occasions reiterated its strong belief that the key component to resolving the myriad of existing issues is the need to promote true and genuine reconciliation among all East Timorese of all political persuasions — particularly in view of the fact that, in the past, political differences among them have usually led to violence. Thus, reconciliation has attained greater importance and must be pursued in all earnest if the potential of civil strife befalling East Timor and its people is to be avoided.

For its part, Indonesia has facilitated and will continue to facilitate talks leading to reconciliation

among the East Timorese. The most recent of these talks were those held in Denpasar, Bali, on 18-19 December 2000, with the assistance of Uppsala University of Sweden. The fact that the leaders of the two groups participated in such an event was indeed a milestone and could pave the way for similar undertakings in the near future.

The repatriation of refugees and the early resolution of this issue is another aspect that needs to be urgently addressed, as it is in the interest of both Indonesia and East Timor, particularly when viewed from the perspective of ensuring stability on the island of Timor. To that end, it is essential that an environment of calm and tranquillity, including job security and employment prospects, be advanced in East Timor. Therefore, independent reports stating that abuses, violence, intimidation and even killings were perpetrated against pro-integration returnees, as well as minorities, are not conducive to their return. As a step towards furthering their repatriation, Indonesia conducted a pilot project of an ad hoc, spontaneous nature with former reservists of the Indonesian armed forces (MILSAS) on 22 November 2000, with the assistance of UNTAET and the International Organization for Migration. In this context, it is pertinent to note that since September 2000, the Indonesian Task Force for Refugees in East Nusa Tenggara has facilitated 4,000 spontaneous returns, conducted in close cooperation with UNTAET and aid agencies at the border.

It is undeniable that refugee problems are multifaceted and have many dimensions. In the conclusion of its publication entitled *The State of the World's Refugees — In Search of Solutions*, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees states that

“The search for solutions does not depend on governments, international organizations and NGOs alone. It relies on the knowledge and capacities of the refugees themselves, and on their determination to resume a more productive life.”

The East Timorese refugees need to be reassured, not only as concerns economic development in an independent East Timor, which is necessary for pursuing a productive life, but also as concerns the kind of development that will allow them to realize their human potential, retain their self respect, enjoy

physical security, meet their material needs, participate in decisions which affect their lives and, above all, be governed fairly, under the rule of law.

In my Government's view, these are the objectives that should be pursued by UNTAET as the extension of its mandate is being considered, in the context of the principle of shared responsibility, as called for by the Millennium Summit Declaration, as we begin the twenty-first century.

Furthermore, Indonesia is continuing its endeavours to disarm the militias, through both persuasive and repressive measures, resulting in the confiscation of hundreds of standard and home-made weapons, including ammunition and grenades. The Indonesian security apparatus is now in control of the situation in and around the camps and along the border with East Timor. These endeavours have been lauded by Mr. Ramos-Horta, the Foreign Minister of East Timor's transitional government, as the measures have resulted in a significant decrease in criminal activities and acts of violence by the so-called militias since September 2000.

On the question of the registration of refugees, two rounds of meetings between Indonesia and international aid agencies were held in Jakarta to discuss the necessary modalities for the resumption of the process; that resumption is expected to begin in March 2001. The tragic incident of 6 September 2000 has, however, resulted in the area being placed under the security phase five category, prohibiting international agencies from conducting operations. Undeniably, the present situation of the refugees demands an urgent response so as to alleviate their plight. It is therefore hoped that the ongoing consultations between Indonesia and the United Nations Development Programme Resident Representative, as the security coordinator of United Nations personnel in the area, on the modalities for conducting a security assessment, in line with the procedure established by the Office of the United Nations Security Coordinator, will result in the re-rating of the phase five category.

During a visit to Geneva, Vice-President Megawati Soekarnoputri and Foreign Minister Alwi Shihab met the new High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. Ruud Lubbers. Minister Shihab reaffirmed Indonesia's commitment to ensuring security in the refugee camps in West Timor.

As a manifestation of my Government's commitment to bring the perpetrators of criminal acts to justice, it should be noted that the judicial process began with several trials of the accused parties. On 2, 8 and 15 January 2001, Eurico Guterres went on trial for his role in inciting his followers to retake possession of arms already surrendered to the authorities in September 2000 and was thus charged with illegal possession of weapons. Meanwhile, the six suspects in the killings of the three UNHCR staff in Atambua were brought to trial in the north Jakarta district court. The first hearings took place on 11 and 23 January 2000, and the judicial process is expected to continue in the coming weeks. Another suspect, Jakobus Bere, alleged to have killed Private Leonard Manning, surrendered himself to the Indonesian armed forces authorities at the border in Atambua on 9 January 2000 and is presently in police custody for further questioning. During this investigative phase, the suspect will be accorded due process of law.

In looking towards the future, Indonesia will endeavour to ensure that East Timor's geographical location is reflected in the workings of the Association of South-East Asian Nations. A further manifestation of Indonesia's serious commitment to building a mutually productive and beneficial relationship with East Timor at all levels is reflected in the proposal of President Abdurrahman Wahid to form a new regional grouping, called the West Pacific Forum, in which the nascent state of East Timor will find itself amid friendly countries in the region, thereby assisting it in consolidating the process of nation-building and development.

In conclusion, in the light of the foregoing, it is Indonesia's sincere hope that the extension of the mandate of UNTAET will focus on the future and meet the challenges in a positive, balanced and comprehensive manner, as well as fulfil the aspirations of all the East Timorese people during the final phase leading to independence.

The President: I thank the representative of Indonesia for his kind words addressed to me and my delegation.

I give the floor to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello to respond to the comments and questions that have been raised.

Mr. Vieira de Mello: I should like to express, on behalf of Mr. José Ramos-Horta and on my own behalf,

our gratitude for the unanimous support — I think I can use those words — for our mission and for the Secretary-General's recommendations, contained in the "Observations" section of his report to the Security Council, including those relating to the extension of the mandate of our mission until the end of this year. This support will act as a very powerful incentive and encouragement to my colleagues in East Timor — East Timorese and international colleagues alike, those from the various United Nations agencies and the non-governmental community, which continues to play a crucial role in the reconstruction effort — as well as those here in the Secretariat. But, perhaps more importantly, this was a message of hope to the East Timorese population large. This has been a truly exceptional debate, and I wish to thank you personally, Mr. President, as well as your staff and your Government, for the investment of energy, time and commitment that I know you have made in the cause of East Timor.

On the question of the post-independence presence, most speakers, including you, Sir, have assured us that they wish the United Nations to remain involved and to continue to play a strong support role after East Timor becomes independent. This is of great importance to the Timorese people and the Timorese leadership. I cannot overstate the importance of this message. Some members — in particular, China — have requested us to submit an in-depth study and detailed proposals, which I am sure the Secretary-General will agree to do in the not-too-distant future, on his proposed structure and on the proposed functions and mandate of this follow-on, integrated United Nations mission in East Timor; and this will also outline the role of other United Nations agencies, not least the United Nations Development Programme.

I am also grateful for statements made by different speakers, including the President of the General Assembly, on the question of flexibility in the use of assessed contributions in East Timor for the building of this new governmental structure.

On the question of security, I am grateful for the support we have received in the establishment of the new East Timor Defence Force. As far as civilian police is concerned, the United States representative requested my comments on the suggestions made by José Ramos-Horta on the use of national contingents. As I said this morning, our colleagues in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations are looking

into this question. I have made similar recommendations to New York and I believe we can find a new formula that will improve considerably the performance of the international civilian police component in East Timor.

I was also requested to provide the Council with my own assessment of the results of the Timorese police training so far. My assessment is very positive. As a matter of fact, I think it is one of the areas in which UNTAET has been particularly successful, not only numerically speaking, but also in terms of high quality and the degree of commitment of the new East Timorese police cadets. I should also note that, so far, 32 per cent of recruits into the East Timor police force have been women. The figures for February 2001 will be 300 Timorese police officers, in various stages of training, in the streets of East Timor. As of February 2001, a minimum of 100 police officers will graduate from the police academy each month, which will take us by June to 800 police officers and another 200 in the academy undergoing training. By December this year, the number of East Timorese policemen and policewomen in the streets of East Timor will have increased to 1,400. However, as I stated in my presentation, this new police force will not be fully trained and fully deployed before the year 2004.

On the question of Timorization, the representative of the United Kingdom asked me how we could improve it in qualitative rather than quantitative terms. Let me say that the assessment I can make today is that Timorization has been excellent at the top of the executive echelons, as well as in the proto-legislative that we have established. It has been fair at the lower levels of the executive structure, the new East Timorese civil service, as well as in the judiciary. It has been poor in the senior levels of the new civil service, which obviously are crucial for the long-term success of our endeavours in East Timor. This is why we have agreed in recent months that this should be the focus of our attention for the remainder of the transitional period. This is due to many reasons that I will not enumerate here, but that I am sure members of the Security Council are aware of.

On the question of the judiciary, the representative of the United Kingdom also asked me what had been the international response to the appeal we circulated here in late November. Well, it has been limited; in fact, only the United Kingdom has made an offer of financial support. But our paper has been

recirculated by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to the members of this Council, as well as to troop contributors, and I know that the Department will be organizing very soon — next week, I understand — a technical meeting with permanent missions here in New York to try to explore with them additional urgent support in response to our request, mainly in terms of investigative personnel. That is what we need — competent, trained human resources to help the Serious Crimes Investigation Unit complete investigations that have been outstanding for too long.

On justice at large, the representative of the United States also asked me how we could ensure that this process continues beyond independence. We can do this not only through the consolidation of the new East Timorese judiciary, and in particular the Special Panel For Serious Crimes that has been created in the Dili district court, but also, I should point out, through the creation — which has now been approved by East Timorese civil society at large — of a truth and reconciliation commission. This is a very important step forward, particularly for crimes that do not fall into the category of serious crimes. We are working hard on the drafting of the regulations for the establishment of this commission and I am hopeful that, by March, it will be functioning, not only in Dili, but also in five subregions, as it were. In the remainder of the transition and beyond independence, this should be a very important mechanism to satisfy the Timorese population that justice is being addressed to their satisfaction.

On the question of civic education that was put to me by Ambassador Valdivieso of Colombia, I think José Ramos-Horta has already clarified that incidents of a political character have been very few indeed. It is our hope that, through the adoption of the regulation on political parties, the regulation on elections for the constituent assembly, the pact on national unity — to which Mr. Ramos-Horta referred this morning — and a code of conduct for political parties, as well as through the civic education campaign, which will be launched and integrated into the electoral registration exercise and will use the infrastructure that will be put in place for the electoral registration process, we will be able to contain any potential violence in the coming months.

The East Timorese people are highly disciplined, as we have remarked over the years and since our arrival in East Timor, and they are determined to reject violence. They have acquired one fundamental right,

which is to live in peace, and they will exercise that right. Moreover, the groups that might be at the source of this violence are very small. We know them and I believe they can be neutralized through peaceful means, but also, if necessary, using our very strong civilian police and military presence on the ground.

On refugees, many questions have been raised. I will not try to answer them all. Ambassador Wibisono partly answered those questions, as far as the Indonesian Government is concerned, and we fully support the policies of the Indonesian Government on this question. Many initiatives have been taken jointly with the Indonesian authorities in recent months. I will not enumerate them again, because time is very short. I mentioned a few in my presentation here this morning. I also told the Council that I discussed some ideas with the new regional military commander, General Da Costa, only three days ago in Denpasar. We did the same with the Director-General of Political Affairs in the Indonesian Foreign Ministry and with the head of an inter-agency task force of the Indonesian Government, who has visited us in Dili twice in recent weeks. I do hope that, with a stronger and better coordinated implementation of some of these ideas, we will finally manage to address and resolve the remaining refugee challenge in West Timor.

As far as disinformation is concerned, Ambassador Wibisono is right in saying that rumours are spread in West Timor that create artificial fear in the minds of the refugee population as to how they would be treated if they decided to return to West Timor. We have been discussing with the Indonesian authorities a new strategy to counter this disinformation campaign in the refugee settlements in West Timor, and we are very much counting on the Indonesian police and the Indonesian army to help us spread objective and true information on the situation in East Timor. We have also agreed recently that we will again be inviting the Indonesian media, from Jakarta and Bali, but also from Kupang in West Timor, to visit us and move around the country freely, as they have done in the past, so as to relay a more accurate picture of the situation in East Timor to public opinion and the refugees in the West.

Finally, we are also hopeful that in the bilateral negotiations on 30 and 31 January the question of pensions for East Timorese refugees who find themselves in Indonesia at present and who were civil servants under the Indonesian administration will be

satisfactorily resolved. That would be a very powerful incentive for them to return home.

(spoke in French)

I will end by responding to the questions put to me by Ambassador Levitte.

With regard to the adequacy of UNTAET's means in relation to the situation on the ground over the next few months, he asked us whether any assessments could be presented within three months. My response is yes, of course, we can do this without any difficulty because we had planned to provide regular assessments, particularly with regard to the military force.

As far as the other two questions that were put to me — how, after the holding of elections, I see the relationship between UNTAET and the Constituent Assembly and how we might need to change the way UNTAET functions — let me say first that all Timorese political leaders in have very clearly stated that they will recognize unreservedly that the United Nations continues to exercise administration over the territory up until independence. Therefore, my role is that of a transitional administrator. I think I said this morning that a new Cabinet reflecting the results of the election will be appointed after the elections for the Constituent Assembly, which should facilitate the interfacing of the executive with the legislative.

As I see it, one problem could arise if the Constituent Assembly, as I said this morning, also exercises legislative power before independence. Depending on the length of time until independence and the scope of these powers, it is clear that we will need, and I will need, to apply operative paragraph 1 of resolution 1272 (1999) with a degree of flexibility and a lot of tact and balance, which states that the Transitional Administration will be empowered to exercise all legislative and executive authority, including the administration of justice. Clearly, with regard to legislative power, we must strike a balance with this new Constituent Assembly, if, I repeat, it is to exercise legislative power before independence.

(spoke in English)

This concludes my remarks and replies to some of the questions. I am sorry that I have not answered them all, but it is very late and I thought I should address only those that were particularly salient or relevant to the remainder of this transition. Once again, I thank

members wholeheartedly for allowing us to take the floor perhaps more extensively than would have otherwise been the case.

The President: I would like to thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his comprehensive responses, congratulate him on the tremendous stamina he has shown and also thank him for the kinds remarks he has made about me and my delegation.

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

However, before adjourning the meeting, please let me read a letter I have just received from the Permanent Representative of India:

“Dear Kishore,

“I am writing to you in your capacity as President of the Security Council. I understand that at the open meeting of the Security Council today on East Timor all speakers offered their sympathies to my Government over the loss of life in the earthquake in Gujarat. Since we were not inscribed to speak, we were unable immediately to convey our gratitude, but I wish to convey to you, and through you to all the members of the Security Council and to the other representatives who spoke in the Council today, our gratitude for the solidarity and the sympathy that they had expressed in their statements. Regards.

“Yours sincerely, Kamallesh Sharma”

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.