



# Security Council

Fifty-fourth Year

## 4043<sup>rd</sup> Meeting

Saturday, 11 September 1999, 11 a.m.

New York

*Provisional*


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<i>President:</i>	Mr. van Walsum . . . . .	(Netherlands)
<i>Members:</i>	Argentina . . . . .	Mr. Petrella
	Bahrain . . . . .	Mr. R. Al-Dosari
	Brazil . . . . .	Mr. Fonseca
	Canada . . . . .	Mr. Fowler
	China . . . . .	Mr. Qin Huasun
	France . . . . .	Mr. Dejammet
	Gabon . . . . .	Mr. Dangué Réwaka
	Gambia . . . . .	Mr. Faal
	Malaysia . . . . .	Mr. Kamal
	Namibia . . . . .	Mrs. Ashipala-Musavyi
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Lavrov
	Slovenia . . . . .	Mr. Žbogar
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . . .	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America . . . . .	Mr. Holbrooke

## Agenda

### The situation in East Timor

Letter dated 8 September 1999 from the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1999/955)

Letter dated 9 September 1999 from the Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1999/961)

*The meeting was called to order at 11.20 a.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **The situation in East Timor**

**Letter dated 8 September 1999 from the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1999/955)**

**Letter dated 9 September 1999 from the Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1999/961)**

**The President:** I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Belarus, Cambodia, Chile, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, Germany, Indonesia, Ireland, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mozambique, New Zealand, Norway, the Philippines, Portugal, the Republic of Korea, South Africa and the Sudan, 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, Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia) and Mr. Monteiro (Portugal) took seats at the Council table; Ms. Wensley (Australia), Mr. Sychov (Belarus), Mr. Ouch (Cambodia), Mr. Larraín (Chile), Mr. Rodríguez Parrilla (Cuba), Mr. Alemán (Ecuador), Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt), Ms. Rasi (Finland), Mr. Kastrup (Germany), Mr. Ryan (Ireland), Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Dorda (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Santos (Mozambique), Mr. Powles (New Zealand), Mr. Kolby (Norway), Mr. Mabilangan (Philippines), Mr. Lee See-young (Republic of Korea), Mr. Kumalo (South Africa) and Mr. Erwa (Sudan) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.*

**The President:** The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is

meeting in response to the requests contained in a letter dated 8 September 1999 from the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council and a letter dated 9 September 1999 from the Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, documents S/1999/955 and S/1999/961, respectively.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/1999/950, letter dated 7 September 1999 from the Permanent Representative of Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1999/956, letter dated 8 September 1999 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the declaration on the situation in East Timor made by the member States of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP) in Lisbon on 6 September 1999; and S/1999/963, letter dated 10 September 1999 from the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

I give the floor to the Secretary-General.

**The Secretary-General:** A week ago in this Chamber, I informed the Council that the people of East Timor had voted overwhelmingly to reject an offer of autonomy from the Indonesian Government and in favour of a transition towards independence.

The conditions under which the popular consultation took place on 30 August were far from ideal, but the extremely large turnout and the judgment of the international observers and the Electoral Commission left no doubt as to the integrity and validity of the ballot. The international community should therefore now be proceeding, without any hesitation, to implement the result of the ballot.

Unhappily, no sooner had the result of the ballot been announced than East Timor began a descent into chaos. The scale of the violence, death and destruction has been far beyond what any international observers anticipated. As I said in my press conference yesterday, what is happening in East Timor may well fall into various categories of international crime. The individuals who have ordered and carried out these crimes must be held accountable.

During the last week, my colleagues and I have given the Council regular and detailed briefings on these developments. There has been an overwhelming international public response to the plight of the people of East Timor in their hour of darkness. Members of the Council have been preoccupied with the crisis, as have my colleagues in the Secretariat and myself. In addition, I have been in constant telephone contact with many heads of State and other leaders from all parts of the globe. In particular, I have spoken throughout the week with President Habibie in Jakarta.

My goal has been to create conditions that would allow the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) to carry out the mandate with which the Council has entrusted it. The first such condition is the restoration of law and order, which, under the 5 May Agreements, is the responsibility of the Government of Indonesia. The Council has dispatched its own mission to Indonesia to emphasize directly to the leaders of that country at the highest levels the urgency of the situation and the necessity for immediate action.

Despite all our efforts, the security situation has steadily deteriorated and the United Nations Mission in East Timor has been forced to close all but one of its offices. Yesterday, UNAMET relocated all non-essential staff, including 280 UNAMET local staff and their families, out of East Timor. Only 86 international staff remain in the headquarters in Dili. Lawlessness and disorder have reigned in Dili this week, despite a significant presence of Indonesian police and military who are unwilling or unable to control the situation.

As I said in a public statement yesterday, faced with this grave situation the future of UNAMET's presence in East Timor remains under hourly review. On Tuesday, Indonesia declared martial law in East Timor, but neither this nor the presence of extra troops has had the effect of restoring order. As members know, on Wednesday and Thursday, UNAMET convoys were attacked by armed militias, despite having an escort of Indonesian troops, and yesterday soldiers of the Indonesian army tasked with guarding the compound joined the pro-integration militia who were terrorizing those inside.

Approximately 1,000 East Timorese have taken refuge in the United Nations compound. The conditions under which they are being accommodated are precarious. The plight of these unfortunate innocent victims is but one aspect of an unfolding humanitarian disaster in East Timor.

The vast majority of the population have been forcibly displaced.

With access to all of East Timor now denied to the international community, we cannot be certain of the full dimensions of the humanitarian crisis or of the requirements for survival of the population that has been uprooted. But it is clear that extremely urgent action is required to provide for the basic needs of food, water and health care. Food is fast running out in the places of known concentration inside East Timor. The problem of the bulk of the population, now believed to have fled or been forcibly moved to West Timor, is equally pressing.

I am glad to be able to say that UNAMET reports the situation in Dili today as being very quiet.

Earlier today the Security Council mission visited East Timor to see for themselves the conditions on the ground and the impediments being faced by UNAMET and its courageous staff. I understand that they were able to visit the whole city and see for themselves the extent of the destruction. Like the members of the Council, I look forward to receiving the full report of the mission within the next day or two. But I believe it is worth remarking at this point that the ability of the Indonesian armed forces to maintain calm in Dili during the mission's visit further emphasizes their responsibility for the security situation as a whole.

As I said yesterday, the time has come for Indonesia to seek the help of the international community in fulfilling its responsibility to bring order and security to the people of East Timor. This work must include guaranteeing the safety and protection of the civilian leaders of the pro-independence camp.

Once again I urge Indonesia to agree without further delay to the deployment of an international force. The international community is asking for Indonesia's consent to the deployment of such a force. But I hope it is clear that it does so out of deference to Indonesia's position as a respected member of the community of States. Regrettably, that position is now being placed in jeopardy by the tragedy that has engulfed the people of East Timor.

I sincerely hope this open debate in the Council will contribute to the ending of that tragedy. The meeting of the Council today symbolizes the determination of its members and that of the United Nations membership as a whole to fulfil their obligation under the Charter.

**The President:** I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Portugal to whom I give the floor.

**Mr. Monteiro** (Portugal): I would like to express my appreciation to you, Sir, and to the members of the Council for having decided — notwithstanding all the difficulties — to hold this open debate today on the situation in East Timor.

Allow me to recognize the presence of the Secretary-General, the first advocate of human rights, democracy and respect for freedom. Portugal praises his actions and his firmness in guiding this process. I thank him for the information he has just conveyed to the Council.

We fully support the statement that will be made by Finland on behalf of the European Union.

I will get straight to the point. Portugal has repeatedly requested at these meetings of the Security Council to confront the Council with its responsibilities in managing the appalling crisis in East Timor. I would be remiss if I did not recall that under the Charter of the United Nations this body has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. And there can be no doubt that international peace and security are being threatened in East Timor.

The people of East Timor have spoken and their wishes have not been respected. This is totally unacceptable.

The rape of East Timor has taken place before our eyes. Over the last week the situation in the territory has been steadily getting worse. Step by step the “militias” — in fact, a mere extension of the Indonesian security forces on the ground — have been slaughtering people, looting property and destroying all public buildings in the capital city of Dili. This is a clear demonstration that under the disguise of democracy and the rule of law we are confronting, in reality, the ugly face of military abuse and bad faith.

This organized and premeditated campaign of terror has already forced tens of thousands of people to flee to the mountains, while others have been herded up and sent to West Timor and other destinations outside the territory. We do not know what is happening to these people, but there are reasons to fear the worst. As a result, the territory is

going through a severe humanitarian catastrophe that needs to be addressed immediately. The tragedy of East Timor is no different from those of Rwanda or Kosovo in its human dimension. In this regard, and following Indonesia’s security guarantees, I would like to appeal to all United Nations humanitarian agencies and the International Committee of the Red Cross to step up their efforts to assist all those in need.

Nothing seems to be off-limits to the so-called militias. Bishop Belo, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate, was attacked twice within 24 hours and was forced to seek refuge in Australia, and now he is in Portugal. An undetermined number of nuns and priests, including the Bishop’s personal assistant, have reportedly been killed in cold blood. The Bishop of Baukau was also forced to flee from his residence. One wonders whether there is also an element here of religious persecution at work against the people of East Timor, the majority of whom profess Catholicism.

At this grave moment, I would like, on behalf of my Government, to thank you, Mr. Secretary-General, and through you all United Nations staff that diligently and in an exemplary manner carried out their tasks under the most arduous circumstances.

The Secretary-General has extensively and continuously briefed members of the Security Council on the situation of the East Timorese and particularly that of the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET). Needless to say, those who are trying to expel UNAMET from East Timor are, in fact, trying to force the United Nations out of the territory. As hard to believe as this is, elements of the security forces of a Member State of the United Nations have been carrying out this action. This is a very dangerous precedent to set. Never in the history of the Organization have institutions of one Member State so clearly and blatantly attempted through violence to destroy a process organized and conducted by the United Nations.

The United Nations cannot afford to — and it must not — once again intervene in a conflict only to stand by helplessly while the process then loses its way. Indeed, at this stage it is also the Organization’s credibility that is at stake. The people of East Timor truly believed with open hearts in the United Nations; they were told they should register to vote; they were told they could vote freely and in security; they were urged to vote. And, indeed, in accord with the extremely compressed timetable requested

by the Indonesian Government, they answered with remarkable courage, civility and democratic spirit.

In reality, the popular consultation ended by allowing those who oppose this process to identify others who favoured democracy and independence for East Timor — in fact about 80 per cent of the population — and deal with them in the harshest possible terms. Xanana Gusmao, who was not even authorized to campaign for his cause, was only spared because he was in Jakarta and, when finally released, had to take refuge in a foreign embassy to protect his life.

After all the assurances given to the United Nations by the Indonesian authorities and to the Timorese people through the United Nations presence on the ground, we just cannot walk out, turn our backs and leave the East Timorese dying on their own. This is crucial. It is our legal and ethical obligation to protect the East Timorese. The people of East Timor expect no less and deserve as much.

The decision of the Security Council to dispatch a mission to Jakarta has unfortunately not had the slightest influence on restraining the outrageous actions that are taking place in East Timor. On the contrary, while the members of the Council mission were travelling to Jakarta, the situation in East Timor continued to deteriorate even further. This mission, which the Portuguese Government had called for before the announcement of the results of the popular consultation without a positive reply from the Council, continues to have our full support. We praise the members of the Council who are part of the mission, and we expect that they had complete freedom of movement so that they can give us a complete assessment of the situation on the ground.

What has to be done? Clearly, the first priority is to make sure that Indonesia complies fully and immediately with all its obligations under the 5 May Agreements and international humanitarian law. To this end, the Council should take action to ensure that Indonesia immediately takes concrete and verifiable steps to stop the killings and restore order to East Timor; immediately takes action to stop the forced dislocation of the civilian population and create the conditions for their safe return; immediately allows unimpeded access by all United Nations humanitarian agencies and the International Committee of the Red Cross to provide relief to internally displaced persons and to all those in need; immediately creates the necessary security conditions to allow UNAMET to fulfil its mandate and to allow United Nations staff temporarily relocating to do so in conditions of safety and security;

ceases the harassment of UNAMET by the militias and elements of the security forces; guarantees the security and physical integrity of those East Timorese who were forced to seek refuge inside the UNAMET compound; and takes all necessary steps in order to arrest all those responsible for the violence in East Timor.

However, it is clear that Indonesia has been unwilling to fulfil its responsibilities and should not, therefore, continue to refuse international assistance in dealing with the situation. Indeed, nobody else is to be blamed for what is happening in East Timor but Indonesia itself and in particular the military authorities in the territory who are directly responsible for the maintenance of law and order. Indonesia has to realize that by continuing to refuse the immediate establishment of a multinational force under the mandate of the United Nations, it is assuming full and sole responsibility for the massacres being perpetrated in the territory. The time has clearly come for Indonesia to accept help from the international community.

We urge the Indonesian Government to immediately agree to the sending of an international force. General Wiranto, who is directly responsible for the enforcement of martial law, has suggested today that Indonesia would agree to the acceleration of sending an international military force to East Timor. We do hope that these are not empty words.

As the Secretary-General stressed yesterday and again this morning, if the Indonesian Government refuses to accept such a force it cannot escape responsibility for what could amount to crimes against humanity. In any event, he added, those responsible for these crimes must be called to account. We are very pleased that the Security Council yesterday endorsed the Secretary-General's statement. Indeed, the Secretary-General has indicated the road this Council should follow.

Again yesterday we again witnessed a brutal and cowardly attack on the UNAMET compound and on the East Timorese taking refuge there. All of this occurred before the eyes of the world and in clear defiance of repeated appeals by you, Mr. President, on behalf of this body. This is clear proof that, even after the establishment of martial law and the replacement of the troops on the ground, the situation remains unchanged.

We strongly appeal to Indonesia to identify, detain and bring to justice all those responsible for the atrocities being committed in East Timor, because a strong message

that crime does not pay needs to be sent. I would like to point out that long before the vote Portugal and the United Nations repeatedly asked the Indonesian Government to curb the activities of the militias. In this regard, we continue to encourage all efforts by the international community to identify the culprits now violating international law in East Timor. Indeed, we expect all Member States to cooperate fully in this task, because we believe there should be no safe haven for murderers. Portugal is already working in this direction.

We would also like to recall Indonesia's request, under the 5 May Agreements, to the Secretary-General to maintain an adequate United Nations presence in East Timor during the interim period between the conclusion of the popular consultation and the transfer of authority in East Timor to the United Nations. We urge Indonesia to abide by its commitments.

Portugal has persistently demonstrated its unwavering commitment to find an internationally acceptable solution for the question of East Timor through the free and fair consultation of the East Timorese people, as defined by the 5 May Agreements. My Government will continue to work, and is ready to work, within the framework of the 5 May Agreements and under the guidance of the Secretary-General, for a successful transition towards the independence freely chosen by the people of East Timor. Portugal remains fully committed to assist this process with all the means at its disposal.

In this context, my Government stands ready to support financially and with human resources any action of the international community that is agreed upon to ensure the re-establishment of peace, security and order in East Timor. We demand that the Indonesian Government join efforts with the international community in order to take all the necessary steps to achieve this aim. Portugal has been persistently working towards this goal and Portugal stands ready to do what ever it takes for as long as it takes to achieve it.

On 30 August 1999, the Security Council expressed its support for the courage of those East Timorese who turned out in record numbers to express their views. I am quoting from a formal statement by the President of the Security Council (S/PRST/1999/27) in which the Council also declares that "It regards the popular consultation as an accurate reflection of the views of the East Timorese people", a people who unambiguously chose freedom, independence, democracy and the rule of law.

Bishop Belo, quoted by his American biographer in a book with a significant title, *From the Place of the Dead*, says:

"I beg the outside world not to forget us. If this happens, we are doomed."

I ask this Council to take action to make sure that East Timor will become again a place for the living. This Council must act, and act now.

**Mr. Fonseca** (Brazil): I thank you for your timely decision to convene this meeting in response to the requests made by Brazil and Portugal. This is a critical and tragic moment for East Timor and the international community. We are dealing with an urgent and serious threat to international security. No words are needed to justify this meeting. Facts have already done so. We gather here today so that violence in East Timor may come to an end. We gather here today to restore respect for international norms. For that, we must find ways to induce the Indonesian Government to comply fully with the May Agreements. And, if necessary, we must consider additional action by the Council under the appropriate provisions of the Charter. We can no longer wait while there is disorder and chaos in East Timor and people are being massacred at the hands of criminal militias.

The statement of the Secretary-General offers effective guidance to our deliberations. We fully share his assessment on the disturbing events in East Timor. As he has just stated, these events could amount to international crimes. We are indebted to the Secretary-General for his strong leadership. Together with the resolve shown by the Governments of Portugal and Indonesia, his forthright initiative made possible the Tripartite Agreements and the holding of the popular consultation. Our recognition goes equally to his Personal Representative, Ambassador Jamsheed Marker, and to United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) personnel.

On 30 August 1999, the ballot held under the auspices of the United Nations clearly expressed the sovereign will of the East Timorese. Less than 10 days ago, there was a climate of positive expectation and optimism that the Timorese people would finally be able to take on the high responsibilities for their destiny. However, universal jubilation lasted less than 24 hours. It was overtaken by violence and intimidation.

The unfortunate facts are well known. Killings, looting, burning down of houses, impunity and forced

displacements have become daily occurrences in East Timor. United Nations personnel, who had a mission of peace, were threatened and besieged. Their attitude was heroic, and lives were lost. The international community must not remain passive or hesitant in the face of the atrocities committed against the East Timorese. Even if we do not yet have a complete picture of the situation, it is absolutely certain that the humanitarian crisis is deepening and the most fundamental right that this Organization stands for — the right to self-determination — is being denied.

Responsibilities under the historic May Agreements were freely taken up by the parties. The Government of Indonesia must maintain law and order in East Timor. Unfortunately Indonesian authorities have been unable to contain the violence. We once again call upon the Government of Indonesia to accept the assistance of the international community in ensuring the necessary security conditions for the implementation of the May Agreements. In this respect, I take note of the recent statement by the Indonesian Minister of Defense in hope that it expresses a real willingness to bring this about.

Early next week the Security Council's mission to Indonesia will present its recommendations. Its mandate has not yet been completed. We requested this meeting in the certainty that an open debate would further assist the mission in its endeavours. Some countries have already indicated their readiness to participate in an international force aimed at helping Indonesia bring about peace and stability in East Timor. Brazil is ready to join in this effort. We will contribute to any international force as soon as it is mandated by the Security Council. We expect that the Government of Indonesia will accept this international force without any delay.

We have asked for this formal session so that the Council and the entire membership of the United Nations can express themselves in no uncertain terms. Violence in East Timor must stop. The will of the East Timorese people must be respected and implemented. The Charter of the United Nations provides the appropriate framework for the Security Council to take action. No option should be excluded. Let us be reasonable. But let us be firm and resolute. The international community must be prepared to make recourse to all available means at its disposal within the United Nations Charter to guarantee that peace is restored in East Timor and that the May Agreements are fully put into effect.

**Mr. Holbrooke** (United States): I want to express my deep gratitude to the President of the Security Council and

to the Secretary-General for calling this meeting today under difficult and controversial circumstances. I had hoped that my first opportunity to speak publicly before this great and historic body, in this room in which so much history has been cast, would be on a less grave and sombre occasion.

Yesterday, the Security Council heard from Mr. Bernard Kouchner, the Secretary-General's superb Special Representative in Kosovo, about the challenges the United Nations faces in that part of the world. Those challenges are immense, but the United Nations is undertaking them and dealing with them. And they highlight the even greater difficulties and challenges we face today in East Timor, where the crisis is even deeper, the need for action even greater and the dangers at this point larger. Our responsibility is similarly profound.

The United Nations system is being challenged simultaneously in Kosovo and Timor, each of which is arguably as great a challenge as this great institution has ever faced. The Government I am proud to represent is deeply committed to this institution, in whose creation it played such a central role, and we wish to work with all of you to deal with this problem within the United Nations framework. Again, I express my personal commitment and appreciation for the enormously difficult actions the Secretary-General has undertaken to deal with this. I also commend the previous two speakers, from Portugal and Brazil, for their eloquent summations of the situation, which will allow me not to repeat the facts — I could not match their eloquence or their precision — but simply state the views of my Government.

Indonesia is a country of immediate and enormous importance to us all. Its fragile, multiethnic balance has been tested before, most notably and tragically a generation ago. Today it is being severely tested once again. On 5 May, the Government of Indonesia made a courageous decision to resolve the problem of East Timor — which has been a concern, a legitimate concern, of this body for over a quarter century — in a manner consistent with the best traditions of the United Nations Charter: popular consultation with the people of East Timor.

The international community responded to this challenge. With the indispensable leadership of the Secretary-General and the steadfast support of the Security Council, the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) worked successfully to allow the people of East Timor to express their will. When given the opportunity to vote, the people of East Timor made

their choice clear. In one act, on 30 August, over 400,000 East Timorese demonstrated dignity and courage, reminding us again about the vital, central place of the ballot box and the essential role of the United Nations in supporting and supervising elections.

But on a day when we should be celebrating the vision of the Government of Indonesia and the dreams of the people of East Timor, we are consumed with images of brutality, violence and mayhem. Almost immediately after the voting ended last month, militia — clearly backed by elements of the military of Indonesia — took to the streets and began a murderous rampage.

In recent days the pace of destruction has been appalling. Thousands of innocents have been driven from their homes — including the heroic bishop, Bishop Belo, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize along with Jose Ramos-Horta — and driven to take refuge in Australia. Hundreds have been killed — perhaps more. I suspect more. And United Nations personnel have come under attack in an unconscionable way.

What is happening in East Timor is against everything this institution stands for. It challenges the spirit and content that all of us in this room, all of us who have the honour to be accredited to the United Nations, have worked for. It violates all we represent. We have a responsibility to stand up for the moral principles that this institution articulates and seeks to advance.

The Government of Indonesia should understand that unless it reverses course immediately it faces the point of no return in its international relations. No one wants to see Indonesia, a great nation, become isolated in the world community. But its actions are driving it in a direction that is against the interests of it and the people of the vast and varied archipelago. There are clear indications that the troops under the leadership and command of General Wiranto have backed, encouraged, directed and perhaps, in many cases, participated in the atrocities on the ground. How can the people of East Timor, the United Nations and the international community now be expected to entrust their security to these very same soldiers under the same leadership?

It is imperative that the international community speak with a clear and single voice. And our message must be clear: Indonesia's Government must allow an international security presence, as proposed repeatedly by the Secretary-General — and I endorse fully his comments made yesterday in that regard and again this morning — and as

proposed by the Security Council team so ably led by Ambassador Andjaba of Namibia, who deserves the praise and admiration of this entire body. They have proposed to enter immediately into discussions that will lead to conditions necessary for the United Nations process to move forward. They are back in Jakarta; they have landed just a few minutes ago, and it is my understanding, indirectly from people who have talked to them, that they are preparing for their next round of talks at a high level with the Indonesian authorities. Those talks will be of critical importance to the process, and I hope that they will result in what we are seeking.

There are reports that the Indonesian Government may be prepared to accept such a force. The distinguished Ambassador from Portugal and the equally distinguished Ambassador from Brazil have mentioned those. We urge Indonesia to turn those hints and rumours into a reality immediately. We are discussing with other delegations what actions the Security Council will take next and are awaiting a full report from the mission under Ambassador Andjaba that has just returned from Dili.

I want to reiterate the importance our Government attaches to the immediate actions that we have supported. Already the United States has suspended all bilateral military cooperation with Jakarta and all military sales and deliveries. Let me point out in addition that the situation in East Timor has already had an enormously damaging effect on the confidence that is essential for economic stability. If the crisis is not speedily, swiftly and peacefully resolved, the problem will not be contained in East Timor and will do irreparable damage to the economy, the political process and the people of this entire nation.

The United States wants to work hand in hand with the Government of Indonesia in its quest for democracy, prosperity and territorial integrity. But our ability to do so will be severely constrained if the situation in East Timor continues to escalate out of control. We have worked tirelessly — including President Clinton and Secretary Albright, who are as we speak in New Zealand, talking to their counterparts about this crisis — to seek a solution to it.

Today, together, we should renew our call on the President of Indonesia and his Government, including the military leadership, to allow immediate introduction of a multinational force into East Timor.

The meeting we are having today will not solve the problem which we are here to discuss. We all know that. But I share the hope of the Secretary-General and of the Ambassadors from Portugal and Brazil that this meeting will convey to the authorities in Jakarta that they face international isolation and enduring damage to their economic and political aspirations if necessary actions do not take place.

In less than two weeks, the long-held dreams of the people of East Timor — to have the power to decide their own fate, asserting their influence democratically — were both realized and then shattered. We have an obligation to see that they gain the ability to shape their future in peace, in accordance with their own wishes.

**Mr. Dejammet** (France) (*spoke in French*): This debate in the Security Council was necessary. We are grateful to Member States who requested an immediate meeting. Of course, Security Council members will have to hear the conclusions of the mission they dispatched to the territory to decide on future action. But it is only right that, with any further delay, those who are to take the decisions should hear the voice of all Member States of the United Nations and take cognizance of the scope of the concerns and of the urgent need for a reaction.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General for being with us today and for his statement, which attests to the gravity of the situation and which indicates what should be done.

What is occurring in East Timor cannot be tolerated any more. The United Nations encouraged, inspired and accompanied a negotiating process leading to self-determination and which seemed exemplary. We all had applauded the efforts of Indonesia, Portugal and the Secretary-General. We had worked out procedures which led to a free consultation of the people of East Timor and which embodied the success of democracy and the observance of human rights in that part of the world.

Today, suddenly, everything seems to be collapsing because of the rebellion of one segment — we hope a limited segment — of the people concerned against international order and against the commitments of the Indonesian Government. But whatever the gap between official Indonesian reactions — which are to respect the referendum — and the behaviour of the armed gangs, we must take note of the extremely alarming scale of the disaster. The information reaching us mentions all sorts of violence, assassinations and reprisals by the militias against

the civilian population. The violence has resulted in large flows of refugees and displaced persons. Dili has been devastated by the militias. I need hardly reiterate the consequences, which have been described in such detail by previous speakers. The question before us today is really a simple one. Are we back in 1994, dealing with Rwanda? Are we back in 1998, facing Kosovo? Are we going to react in time to prevent forced exodus and massacres?

Yes, the Indonesian authorities have taken certain steps, but it is clear to us now that they have not been effective. Security has not been restored. Only yesterday, the general headquarters of the United Nations Mission was attacked by the militias. The choice of independence, which is now being contested by force of arms, is under threat.

At the beginning of the events, the Security Council, on your initiative, Mr. President, did react. It decided to dispatch a mission to the territory, stating that it was ready to shoulder all of its responsibilities in order to restore order and security and to ensure full compliance with the 5 May Agreements. Day after day, a unanimous Council, through the voice of its President, has been appealing to the Indonesian Government.

We do not wish to see the Government of Indonesia isolated. We hope that it will understand the need to honour its commitments and to ensure order and the safety of all in East Timor. We know full well that that is a heavy responsibility, but it is not being shouldered today. This tragic impasse cannot go on. If the Indonesian authorities are not capable alone to fulfil their responsibility to restore order and to implement the 5 May Agreement — and unfortunately the facts seem to demonstrate this — Indonesia must accept the offer made to it by the international community to help it to attain those goals.

The Secretary-General, in a statement made yesterday, was very clear and very firm. He said:

“The time has clearly come for Indonesia to seek help from the international community in fulfilling its responsibility to bring order and security to the people of East Timor and to allow those who have been displaced to return home in safety. (...) I urge the Indonesian Government to accept their offer of help without further delay.”

The Security Council yesterday approved that statement, which the Secretary-General reiterated this morning. In this context, we have today noted very carefully the statements made in Indonesia by General Wiranto.

France hopes, therefore, that the Security Council will be ready to decide, in the light of the assessment of the mission dispatched to the territory, on the establishment of an international security presence — an international force to help restore peace. If the necessary conditions were present and the Security Council were to decide to establish that force, France would participate.

Finally, I should like to pay tribute to the courage of the personnel of the United Nations Mission in East Timor. Bearing in mind the security conditions, France appeals for the maintenance of a United Nations presence in that territory.

**Mr. Petrella** (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me to thank you, Mr. President, for your efforts to convene this open meeting of the Security Council to consider this urgent and important matter. I should like also to reiterate that we admire the effective and authoritative manner in which you have been guiding and presiding over our meetings. I would also express my particular appreciation for the resolve and efforts of the Secretary-General throughout this entire process, as well as for the clarity of his dramatic report, which requires no further comment on our part.

I would now like to emphasize Portugal's interest in this matter. Its request that the Council hold an open meeting to discuss the situation in East Timor, which was clearly set out in its letters of 8 and 10 September, had to be heeded at once. Given the events — which we all regard as extremely serious, because they have a direct bearing on the fundamental values enshrined in the Charter — the Council had to echo the voices of the innocent victims. It had to respond to the demands of public opinion and to requests made by Member States. Accordingly, we supported your efforts, Mr. President, calling for maximum visibility for the Council in this matter. We also supported Portugal and Brazil immediately when, on 9 September, they formally requested that this meeting be held.

When, on 30 August last, the people of East Timor expressed their views freely and democratically, we welcomed the successful outcome of one stage in the process that was initiated thanks to the courageous decision

taken by President Habibie of Indonesia to invite the Timorese to determine their own future.

In this way, one of the best-organized undertakings of the United Nations took effect. Registration of voters had proceeded without problems, despite conditions that were less than ideal, and there was a high degree of participation in the ballot. Indonesia's cooperation in these two stages was certainly essential. At that time, we recognized that the Indonesian authorities had done their best to facilitate the process, and we expressed our thanks to Portugal and to the Secretary-General for the very important role that they played.

Unfortunately, the wealth of information that we have today shows that we are very far from the positive scenario glimpsed two weeks ago. We believe that the Council's reaction, in its three statements to the press on 8, 9 and 10 September, was appropriate under the circumstances. The Council not only expressed its serious concern at the deteriorating situation in East Timor and the growing humanitarian crisis there, but also urgently called on the Government of Indonesia to implement the commitments it had entered into in the 5 May Agreements, namely to maintain peace and security throughout the territory. In the light of the gravity of the situation, the members of the Council supported the initiative of the Secretary-General and adopted all the measures that he recommended, endorsing his efforts to help Indonesia to find a solution to the crisis.

I must say that the initiative to send a mission to Indonesia must be commended and supported. In so doing, we will show that we are not blind to the serious humanitarian violations that have emerged in the issues on our agenda. The mission has held, and will hold, very important talks with the highest authorities in Indonesia.

However, at this time all of us are asking how this situation of violence and disorder can be brought to an end. In the 5 May Agreements, Indonesia made a commitment to maintain order and security in East Timor before, during and after the consultation. Accordingly, the first step in controlling the situation must be taken by the authorities of that country, particularly by its armed forces. The Secretary-General and the Security Council have on many occasions appealed to the authorities in Jakarta to take all the steps that are within their power to normalize the situation immediately.

We reiterate that appeal, especially to those sectors in Indonesia that seem to have placed themselves outside

the traditions of their country, outside international law and outside basic humanitarian norms. We appeal to them to put an end to their actions.

The Secretary-General has also stated repeatedly that if Indonesia cannot control the situation, it must seek the cooperation of the international community. Many countries have already expressed their willingness to participate in an international force to assist in the restoration of peace and security in East Timor, thereby allowing for the results of the consultation to be implemented peacefully. Argentina supports the Secretary-General and explicitly associates itself with that appeal.

The Security Council mission has repeated that request in Indonesia at all levels, emphasizing the fact that Jakarta would continue to be responsible for maintaining order in East Timor, as established in the 5 May Agreements.

It seems to us that those within Indonesia who do not yet understand the extent to which they will be responsible if they fail to take the steps that the Council has set out for them will have to take into account every one of the concepts set forth in the statement on East Timor made by the Secretary-General yesterday — a statement endorsed by this Council.

In this context, the crimes and abuses against innocent civilians and against the personnel of the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) — to whose dedication and courage we pay tribute today — are aberrant. I should like to recall the constant concern of Argentina that United Nations and associated personnel should enjoy all the guarantees of security and freedom of movement that they need so as to discharge their functions. We in the Security Council must find the formulas to ensure that the activities and the lives of United Nations personnel are strictly respected. Those who do not understand this will have to pay a high price.

This debate is taking place at a time when the Council's delegation has not yet returned to New York. Only the urgency of the situation can explain that circumstance. For that reason we believe that, in the interests of ensuring greater clarity, we should wait until we receive the report from the Ambassador of Namibia, who is chairing the delegation. We reiterate here our support for and solidarity with the work he is doing and the difficulties that he has had to overcome.

We should like to conclude our statement by expressing our belief that Indonesia, which is coping with

enormous difficulties because of the necessary process of change that is under way, will understand that the violent groups that have destroyed parts of East Timor do not deserve any support whatsoever and do not represent the best interests of their country. We therefore hope that the process of independence will be completed, that Indonesia will agree to international assistance as soon as possible and that anarchy will be brought to an end.

**Mr. Fowler** (Canada) (*spoke in French*): I should like to begin by expressing my Government's deep appreciation for the essential work being undertaken under extremely difficult and dangerous circumstances by all the men and women of the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), as well as by national and international aid agencies, which have sought to assist and protect the beleaguered people of East Timor.

Canadians are appalled by the actions of the pro-integration militias in East Timor since the holding of the popular consultation on 30 August. The militias, with the evident collusion of the Indonesian military and police, have terrorized the civilian population, engaging in summary executions, targeting religious sanctuaries and precipitating large-scale displacement of the population. Such gross violations of human rights are clearly of grave concern. We are also deeply concerned for the safety of UNAMET personnel, in particular the locally engaged staff, who have effectively remained under siege in their compound in Dili for several days, as well as the internally displaced persons who have found refuge with them. The safety of those who have sought United Nations protection must be assured. We commend the courage and steadfastness of the UNAMET staff.

(*spoke in English*)

The Council has taken the opportunity to examine the protection of civilians in armed conflict during several recent debates. In these discussions the Council has condemned the deliberate targeting of civilians and the obstruction of assistance to them. It has affirmed the importance of bringing to justice individuals who incite or cause violence against civilians in armed conflict or otherwise violate international humanitarian and human rights law. It has also, in this regard, expressed its willingness to respond, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to situations in which civilians have been targeted or humanitarian assistance to civilians has been deliberately obstructed.

The presidential statement which the Council issued in February following our open debate is clearly relevant to the current situation in East Timor, and I am particularly pleased, Mr. President, that you have decided to pursue our examination of this issue next week when we consider the Secretary-General's report — issued only yesterday — on the plight of civilians caught up in armed conflict.

The current situation is obscene in its dimensions. The numbers of dead and displaced are growing steadily, as is the wanton destruction of property. The Government of Indonesia must immediately assume its responsibility for security in East Timor, as stipulated in the 5 May Agreement, or, if incapable or unwilling to do so, allow the international community to assist it in providing a safe environment for the people of East Timor. If Indonesia continues to refuse to uphold its commitments, it will face the opprobrium of the international community.

Indonesia has agreed to ensure that the killings and terror cease, but those killings and that terror persist unabated. The Government of Indonesia has imposed martial law with a view to restoring peace and order in East Timor, yet its soldiers and police stand idly by or, indeed, partake in the violent rampages of looting and burning which are the stuff of every media report and eyewitness account. Indonesia must come to grips with the reality of what is actually happening in East Timor and stop it. In addition, Indonesia must take immediate measures to ensure safe and unhindered access for humanitarian personnel so that all affected Timorese can be assisted.

Canada stands ready to consider favourably international appeals to help alleviate East Timor's pain, but for that to happen Indonesia must make credible guarantees of security for the delivery of humanitarian assistance and translate these guarantees into reality.

On 5 May, the Indonesian Government committed itself to respecting the right of the people of East Timor to determine their future in a direct democratic ballot. On 30 August, the vast majority of East Timorese went to the polls and four out of five chose to begin the transition to independence. That clear choice must now be respected and the process that began with the historic 5 May Agreement carried to completion.

**Mr. Dangué Réwaka** (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): On 5 May 1999 in New York, an overall Agreement was reached that, *inter alia*, called on the Secretary-General of the United Nations to organize a popular consultation in East Timor. In signing that Agreement, the Indonesian and

Portuguese Governments demonstrated their resolve to find a peaceful settlement to the question of East Timor. We sincerely thank the Secretary-General for his work to persuade those two Governments to sign that Agreement.

The consultation was held on 30 August 1999 and gave the East Timorese the option to choose or reject a proposed constitutional framework providing for a special autonomy for East Timor within the unitary Republic of Indonesia. We know the results of the consultation. An East Timorese majority rejected special autonomy. The Indonesian Government accepted that decision of the people of East Timor. The Gabonese delegation welcomed this and paid tribute to the Indonesian authorities for their cooperation, without which the ballot could not have been held.

We were therefore surprised by the violence currently in most cities of East Timor. We know that the Indonesian authorities decreed martial law in order to control that violence. That decision, however, has not in any way changed the situation of terror that has reigned over East Timor for several days now.

We would encourage the Indonesian Government to give favourable consideration to the assistance it has been offered by the international community so as to bring the soonest possible halt to this dangerous situation and to allow the Secretary-General to maintain an adequate United Nations presence in East Timor, in accordance with article 7 of the 5 May 1999 Agreement.

Indonesia is a great country. It plays an important role in maintaining stability and security not only in Asia, but also in the rest of the world. The most unfortunate events that have engulfed it over the past few months are a further indication of that role. It is our most ardent wish that Indonesia continue in unity and concord the major reforms that it has undertaken.

My delegation eagerly awaits the report which the Security Council mission sent to Indonesia will make next week on the situation in East Timor.

**Mr. Qin Huasun** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The popular consultation held in East Timor two weeks ago provided a historic opportunity for the final settlement of the issue of East Timor through peaceful means. The initial decision of the Indonesian Government and its good cooperation afterwards established conditions for the realization of that historic opportunity.

The people of East Timor have made their choice for their future. We strongly appeal to all sides concerned to respect the will of the people of East Timor. In the meantime, we hope that the various parties in East Timor will join hands in building a stable and prosperous future for East Timor.

It is our hope that the result of the popular consultation will be fully implemented in a peaceful and orderly environment. We are gravely concerned over the continuing violence and resulting humanitarian crisis in East Timor. We demand the immediate cessation of all acts of violence in East Timor and, in particular, the protection of United Nations personnel. We hope that measures taken by the Indonesian Government will achieve the desired results as soon as possible.

The Chinese delegation appreciates the United Nations close cooperation with the Indonesian and Portuguese Governments on East Timor and the efforts made by the United Nations Mission in East Timor to ensure the smooth conduct of the popular consultation. According to the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international and regional peace. The issue of East Timor must be solved through the United Nations. The deployment of any peacekeeping force should be at the request of the Indonesian Government and endorsed by the Security Council. China is willing to be actively involved in United Nations efforts in this connection.

**Mr. Eldon** (United Kingdom): Like other speakers I should like to emphasize the gravity of the present situation in East Timor. Shortly before this meeting I spoke to Sir Jeremy Greenstock, who had just returned from Dili with the Security Council mission. He confirmed at first hand the extent of the destruction in the city and the urgency of the humanitarian crisis we face in East Timor. The mission's meeting with President Habibie tomorrow in Jakarta will indeed be of crucial importance.

The United Kingdom warmly welcomed the holding of the popular consultation of the East Timorese people on 30 August this year. We also welcomed the process that led up to it. We respect the boldness of the Indonesian Government's new approach to East Timor, which seems to us very much in accordance with the values of the new democratic Indonesia. The elections held recently in Indonesia were indeed a model of their kind.

We would also have wanted to congratulate the Government of Indonesia on the Tripartite Agreements of

5 May. This was a courageous step in implementing its new policy. And it seemed to us that with this Agreement we could expect an end to more than two decades of dispute between Indonesia and the international community, and to more than two decades of bloodshed within East Timor.

In the run-up to the ballot there were very serious concerns about order and security in East Timor. We were therefore relieved that the day of the ballot itself was peaceful and orderly. The Indonesian Government deserves credit for that too.

Nobody has any doubt about the outcome of the ballot. The wishes of the people of East Timor could not have been clearer. In spite of attempts by some factions in East Timor to intimidate the people, they courageously turned out in large numbers — more than 98 per cent — to take their chance for the first time in 24 years to have a say in their own future. More than three quarters of them voted for independence for East Timor. We salute their courage in voting, and — above all — we must respect their decision. The international community must stand by the people of East Timor and ensure that their democratic choice is turned into a political reality. The political leadership in Indonesia has accepted the implications of the consultation. Not just President Habibie, but leaders of all of the other major Indonesian parties have accepted the decision of the East Timorese: that East Timor must in due course become independent.

In the light of these events, which seemed at one time so encouraging, what has happened after the ballot in East Timor is all the more tragic, horrible and unnecessary. We have all seen on our television screens the violence and brutality taking place each day in East Timor. We have all read the horrifying stories. We have unimpeachable evidence from United Nations and other observers of what is going on. Militia forces have rampaged, even attacking schools situated near the United Nations compound. There are reports of women and children being forced into trucks to be taken to West Timor while men and boys are left behind. We know and we fear, from Kosovo, what that may mean. One report from a Catholic nun describes children being butchered, including one young boy who had nails hammered into his head and strips of flesh cut off him. We know how terrified some of the people are. We saw them climbing over the razor wire to try to get into the United Nations compound. There are now thousands of people in the hills. Starvation is beginning to take effect, especially on young children.

Under the Agreement signed on 5 May, Indonesia took on the responsibility for maintaining law and order in East Timor. So far it has failed to do so. The imposition of martial law has done little to restore order. Indeed, reports suggest that the situation may have even gotten worse, if that is possible. They indicate that the Indonesian armed forces are either turning a blind eye or are themselves assisting in the acts of barbarism going on in East Timor.

If Indonesia is unable to meet its obligations under the 5 May Agreement, it must allow the international community to assist in restoring order and in securing an orderly transition to independence for East Timor. The United Kingdom has repeatedly made clear to Indonesia its willingness to provide practical help and support for a multinational force to restore security in East Timor. These offers have so far been declined by Indonesia on the grounds that it is capable of restoring security itself. But its attempts to do so to date have — to put it charitably — done little to improve the situation on the ground.

The Indonesian Government says that more time is needed. We understand that. Order cannot be restored overnight. But every day means more deaths, more homes destroyed, more innocent people wounded, more refugees, more violence and more personal tragedy. How long does the Indonesian Government think we should wait? And how many more people will have to die before action is taken?

Every country in the Asia-Pacific region is calling for action to restore order. Every television station is broadcasting pictures of atrocities. Every newspaper is printing pictures of the horrors of East Timor. How can the Indonesian Government assure us that things are under control and that nothing needs to be done?

We look forward to receiving the report of the Security Council mission following its visit to Dili. We welcome the Government's agreement to allow international humanitarian assistance to enter East Timor. Humanitarian flights and humanitarian workers must be allowed in as a matter of urgency. But it is not enough to allow the international aid agencies in, although that is welcome. The Indonesian Government must provide security for them, or it must allow others to do so.

Above all, the Indonesian Government must meet its obligations under the Tripartite Agreement of 5 May. It must allow the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), which has a legitimate and agreed role, to operate throughout the territory. UNAMET is central to the process to which Indonesia has agreed — leading through

phase II to phase III and eventually to independence. I should like here to pay tribute to the courage with which the staff of UNAMET have carried out their mission, in circumstances that can only be described as most difficult and most dangerous.

It remains essential that the Indonesian military take immediate steps to restore safety and security in East Timor in accordance with their international obligations. If they do not meet these requirements, Indonesia must understand that it will be held responsible by the international community.

The United Kingdom is a long-standing friend of Indonesia. We want to see a strong, united and democratic Indonesia. We do not question Indonesian sovereignty or unity. But we are horrified at the tragedy going on in East Timor. We fear that if it continues it will undermine all of the remarkable progress in Indonesia which we have so much admired over the last 12 months. We appeal to the Government of Indonesia, in the name of its obligations to the international community and in the name of humanity, to take action or to accept the help of others to do so.

**Mr. Lavrov** (Russian Federation)(*spoke in Russian*): Today's meeting is in response to the abrupt worsening of the situation in East Timor. The Government of the Russian Federation is seriously concerned at the reports reaching us from there regarding massive upheavals, attacks on peaceful civilians and the United Nations Mission and the murders of completely innocent people. We believe that acts of violence must be immediately halted and that necessary steps should be taken to ensure the safety of the population and of international personnel.

Russia, together with the entire international community, welcomed the conclusion of the Agreements of 5 May 1999 between Indonesia and Portugal and between those countries and the United Nations on East Timor. We note the constructive role played by the Government of Indonesia in working out these Agreements which put an end to the conflict that lasted 24 years and provided the basis for the popular consultation on the future status of that territory. However, the results of the consultation have caused a sharp escalation in violence by those opposing independence for East Timor.

In the view of Russia, assistance should be given to the Government of Indonesia to help restore proper order in East Timor and to carry out the results of the

consultation. In these circumstances, efforts should be directed primarily at activating the entire arsenal of political means available to the United Nations to redress the situation. Russia is actively trying to assist in this. We hope that the Government of Indonesia will immediately utilize all the means at its disposal to halt the disturbances in East Timor and to comply with its obligations under the 5 May 1999 Agreements.

If the situation develops according to a different scenario and the question arises regarding the dispatch of an international force to East Timor, in Russia's view, this will only be possible if two conditions are met: consent is received from the Indonesian authorities for the acceptance of such a force, and there is endorsement by the Security Council of an appropriate resolution setting forth its mandate. Russia will be prepared, together with other members of the Council, to expeditiously consider additional measures to resolve the East Timor crisis, including in the light of the report of the Security Council mission dispatched to Indonesia.

**The President:** I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, Cape Verde, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Italy, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay and Viet Nam, 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. Coelho Da Cruz (Angola), Mr. Leao Monteiro (Cape Verde), Mr. Rokanas (Greece), Mr. Da Gama (Guinea-Bissau), Mr. Nejad Hosseinian (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Hasan (Iraq), Mr. Fulci (Italy), Mr. Haque (Pakistan), Mr. Donigi (Papua New Guinea), Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore), Mr. Arias (Spain), Mr. Dahlgren (Sweden), Mr. Pérez-Otermin (Uruguay) and Mr. Ngo Quang Xuan (Viet Nam) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council table.*

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

**Ms. Wensley (Australia):** Australia has watched with growing alarm and concern the developments that have unfolded in East Timor over the last week. We are now facing a serious crisis. Law and order have completely broken down. Murder, arson, looting and acts of violence and intimidation against innocent civilians continue unpunished. Armed militia are running rampant, with elements of the Indonesian security forces standing by and making no attempt to intervene. As the Secretary-General said yesterday and again today, the situation is descending into a state of anarchy. A humanitarian crisis is emerging. Hundreds of thousands of people have been forced out of their homes. Many have been forced to leave East Timor and those that remain are subject to continued harassment and intimidation. The provision of humanitarian assistance has halted because aid workers are no longer safe.

The United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) is now at the point where it has to consider withdrawing completely from East Timor. Officials of the Australian Consulate in Dili were also withdrawn two days ago because we could no longer be assured of their safety.

This deplorable situation has arisen because of the failure of the Indonesian military to honour Indonesia's commitment to provide security in East Timor for the United Nations consultation and transition process. We call on Indonesia to agree immediately to the deployment of a United Nations-authorized international force to provide the necessary security for UNAMET to resume its role.

Let us not forget what the United Nations is actually doing in East Timor, and why it is there. It is there because it was asked — by the Government of Indonesia, as well as the Government of Portugal — to play a role in implementing the historic agreement between those two countries on resolving the question of East Timor. It was invited by the Government of Indonesia to assist in the implementation of the popular consultation of the East Timorese people.

We call on the Indonesian Government to give an unequivocal commitment to respect the result of the 30 August ballot and to expedite the transfer of control of East Timor to the United Nations, in accordance with the provisions of the 5 May Agreement.

In the immediate future, the most urgent task is to restore security in East Timor. The restoration of peace

and security in the territory remains, indisputably, the responsibility of the Government of Indonesia. Indonesia must do everything in its power to stop the violence, bring the militias under control, allow the return of internally displaced persons and begin the process of restoring normality to the territory — and this must happen immediately.

We are concerned at the discredit that the actions of the Indonesian military are bringing to Indonesia as a whole. We have made it clear to Indonesia, one of our nearest neighbours, that we are ready to help. We are ready to contribute to, and to lead, a multi-nation security force to assist Indonesia to restore law and order and to enable the full return of the United Nations. A number of other concerned countries, from our own region and further afield, have said they are ready to join us. But we need Indonesia's cooperation.

The Secretary-General said in his statement yesterday and he reiterated today that the time had come for Indonesia to seek the help of the international community, and in the form of such an international force. My Government agrees, and we are ready to play our part.

We are also working with our United Nations partners and with non-governmental organizations to address the disastrous humanitarian situation. On 9 September Australia announced an urgent package of humanitarian assistance for the East Timorese people as an initial response to this crisis. We are ready to provide further assistance as soon as the security situation permits and as we obtain a better picture of the needs of people throughout Timor.

A great deal has been invested in the popular consultation of the East Timorese people. We have all recognized it as an historic opportunity. So a great deal stands to be lost. The East Timorese people have expressed themselves overwhelmingly in favour of independence. The failure of the international community to support them in the realization of that goal would amount to turning our backs on them.

Australia, for one, cannot and will not do that. We urge Indonesia, as a friend and neighbour, not to do so. And we pledge our readiness to assist them in restoring peace and security to the territory and to creating the conditions in which the East Timorese people can rebuild their lives in accordance with the wishes they expressed so clearly in the popular consultation.

I should say that Australia welcomes the important changes that have occurred in Indonesia itself during the past year, particularly the democratic elections that were held on 7 June. The Indonesian economy is now beginning to recover from the impact of the East Asian financial crisis. Australia's interest is in an Indonesia which is successful and is constructively engaged with the international community, not an Indonesia which is isolated and disadvantaged through confrontation over East Timor.

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

**Mr. Sychov** (spoke in Russian): First, allow me to thank you for having convened this meeting of the Security Council.

The Government of the Republic of Belarus has been closely following events in East Timor. We sincerely welcome the fact that the holding of the popular consultation of the people of East Timor became possible thanks to the efforts of Indonesia and Portugal, and that it took place with the efficient and active participation of the United Nations.

Our delegation agrees with assessments of the Secretary-General made at the meeting of 3 September immediately after the ballot results were announced. We also believe that the results of the popular consultation of the East Timorese do not give grounds either for the celebration of victory or for the declaration of failure. It marks the beginning of a long, complicated path of building statehood, in which the assistance and support of the United Nations must play an important part.

Unfortunately, events of recent days in East Timor give many grounds for concern for the international community. The peaceful transition to independence has turned out to be a rather complex matter. Belarus welcomes the balanced and well-considered approach adopted by the Security Council, which we believe makes it possible for the Government of Indonesia and the people of East Timor themselves to resolve all the complexities of the transitional stage and to guarantee the political stability of the country.

We believe that the possibility for a political and diplomatic solution of any, even the most complex crisis, is always present. But here the will of all interested parties, inside and outside East Timor, is particularly

important, their will to respect the results of the popular consultation. In this context, the provisions of the Agreement between Indonesia and Portugal on the question of East Timor, and the Agreements between the United Nations and the Governments of Indonesia and Portugal signed on 5 May 1999 must be fully complied with.

In view of events taking place in East Timor, there is a priority need to consider all further steps by the United Nations, which is becoming the only guarantor of the peace process in East Timor. We are convinced that solely on the basis of the provisions of the United Nations Charter, which ascribes the priority role to the Security Council for resolving questions of the maintenance of international peace and security, can the United Nations and the world community as a whole properly discharge the truly historic tasks facing them at this stage.

**The President:** The next speaker is the representative of Finland. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

**Ms. Rasi (Finland):** I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union, Bulgaria, Latvia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Romania and Slovakia, and the associated country Cyprus align themselves with this statement.

The European Union is deeply shocked by the news from East Timor, where, following the expression of the democratic will of the people on 30 August, a calculated campaign of intimidation and violence has resulted in widespread slaughter and destruction and the violation of their most basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. The United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), which has courageously withstood heavy intimidation and pressure, has now been obliged to withdraw most of its staff from Dili. Also the International Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations have had to leave, as have practically all international media. Thus, almost no impartial eyewitnesses are left in East Timor. According to reports it is clear that hundreds, if not thousands, of innocent civilians, including women and children, have been killed. Tens of thousands of people have fled or have been forcibly relocated out of East Timor.

The European Union has expressed its grave concern to the Indonesian authorities and urged them to discharge fully their obligations on security arrangements under 5 May 1999 Agreements. The Presidency's Foreign Minister has also been in direct contact with her colleagues, both

European and others. She has also discussed the matter with United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan. It is clear that the international community shares the same concern, sense of urgency and gravity of the situation.

The European Union stresses that the popular consultation of 30 August 1999 is an accurate reflection of the views of the East Timorese people, who have made a clear and democratic choice in favour of independence. This irreversible choice must be respected.

The European Union recalls its position, which was expressed in its statement of 27 August before the Security Council, that it is the Indonesian Government's responsibility to ensure security, stability and public order in East Timor, to disarm militias and to hold accountable the perpetrators of the killings.

The European Union condemns in the strongest terms the escalation of violence in East Timor and urges the Government of Indonesia to take immediate steps to restore law and order and to cooperate with the United Nations. It is essential that a secure environment is restored so that people can return to their homes in safety. We call on the Government of Indonesia to accept an international armed presence under the mandate of the United Nations Security Council to assist it in this task. The European Union is following the situation closely and is considering further action to support the efforts of the international community.

The European Union is increasingly concerned at the worsening humanitarian situation in East Timor. Conditions must be restored for the rapid resumption of humanitarian assistance, including full access for United Nations agencies and humanitarian and human rights organizations to areas where the displaced have gathered, including West Timor. The Union deplores the attack on the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) compound, leading to the evacuation, as well as attacks on churches and church property and the killing and dispersal of people who took refuge there.

The European Union commends the courage and efficiency of the staff of the United Nations Mission in East Timor, which has been operating in extremely difficult conditions.

The European Union is following the situation closely. It stands ready to consider further how it can contribute to meeting the needs of East Timor and its

people in the process of independence resulting from the popular consultation.

I wish to add that Malta also wishes to align itself with this statement.

**The President:** The next speaker 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. Lee See-young** (Republic of Korea): Allow me to begin by expressing my delegation's appreciation to you, Sir, and through you to Security Council members for having decided to organize today's open debate in a formal session on this deepening tragic crisis unfolding in East Timor. My delegation sincerely hopes that today's meeting will indeed contribute to restoring and further enhancing the credibility and authority of the United Nations as a whole and the Security Council in particular vis-à-vis world public opinion, in effectively and responsibly responding to such an emergency crisis situation as East Timor.

We noted with appreciation and also with grave concern the Secretary-General's statements on East Timor yesterday and this morning. My Government deeply deplores the rapidly deteriorating situation in East Timor as described in the Secretary-General's statements, even after the introduction of martial law. We also remain seriously concerned about the fate of tens of thousands of internally displaced persons in Dili and elsewhere.

We would be remiss if we did not recognize the bold initiative taken by the Indonesian Government in agreeing to organize the popular consultation in East Timor under the auspices of the United Nations. Now that the free will of the East Timorese people is clearly confirmed in a most peaceful, orderly and democratic manner, thanks mainly to Indonesian cooperation, we firmly believe that the results of the popular consultation should be the sole foundation on which the tragedy in East Timor should be brought to an end. We therefore strongly urge all parties directly concerned to reaffirm their commitments to respect the results of the popular consultation and to continue to take all necessary measures to uphold them and to put them into practice.

The Republic of Korea, as a longstanding and close friend of Indonesia, has intensely followed with appreciation the events in East Timor and the measures the Indonesian Government has taken so far to restore law and order and to help assist humanitarian activities.

However, given the deterioration of the situation in East Timor, as reported by the Secretary-General, even after the imposition of martial law, we cannot but renew our call upon the Indonesian Government to continue to take necessary measures in a more decisive and vigorous manner to fulfil its responsibility to restore law and order, to protect all human lives and to help facilitate the activities of the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) in carrying out its mandate.

In the process of taking these urgent measures, we very much hope that Indonesia will be able to consider favourably the help of the international community as necessary, as suggested by the Secretary-General, and accept the friendly offers readily available, individually or collectively, to help Indonesia fulfil its responsibility of restoring order and security for the people of East Timor and of helping humanitarian assistance to reach those desperately in need without further delay.

We are encouraged to hear this morning of the emergence of signs of flexibility on the part of the Indonesian authorities in this regard. We sincerely hope that these signs will turn out to be true and be turned into reality sooner rather than later.

I do not want to conclude without paying my delegation's special tribute to the entire staff — men and women — of UNAMET and all other humanitarian personnel, particularly those who still remain voluntarily and courageously in Dili, for their tireless efforts, devotion and sometimes sacrifices that they have so valiantly demonstrated in the face of an extremely difficult environment throughout the process, since the popular consultation up to now. Our appreciation also goes to the members of the Security Council mission to East Timor for all their efforts in Jakarta, yesterday in Dili and now back in Jakarta. We look forward to their report and recommendations, which will hopefully lead to appropriate action by the Council.

In conclusion, I take this opportunity to reaffirm the willingness and readiness of the Government of the Republic of Korea to contribute to the efforts of the parties directly concerned and of the international community. We will work closely with them in bringing expeditiously the volatile and tragic situation in East Timor to a peaceful solution acceptable to all of us.

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

**Mr. Ryan** (Ireland): I wish to begin by associating my delegation fully with the statement made by the Ambassador of Finland on behalf of the European Union.

The Government and people of Ireland have been deeply shocked and outraged at the unfolding events in East Timor following the popular consultation on 30 August, and most particularly following the announcement of the clear result by the Secretary-General on 3 September.

On 30 August the people of East Timor had an opportunity for the first time to express their will with regard to their future. Ireland's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. David Andrews, in his capacity as the Personal Representative of the European Union presidency, was present to observe the event. His report, on behalf of the European Union observer groups, clearly confirmed that the ballot was conducted by the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) in an eminently fair and transparent manner, and that, in consequence, there could be no doubt that the outcome, whatever it might be, could be taken as the clear expression of the will of the East Timorese people.

There has been a widespread systematic campaign to negate the clear result of this transparent exercise in self-determination, through organized intimidation and violence. There is growing evidence of a brutal policy, through killings and forced displacement, to reverse the result by removing from East Timor large numbers of those who voted for independence. Virtually all of those who would bear witness to these events to the outside world — the staff of UNAMET regional offices, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), international humanitarian agencies, non-governmental organizations and members of the media — have been forced to withdraw.

Allow me to pay tribute to the courage and commitment of all the members of UNAMET. I wish to acknowledge their remarkable efforts in protecting, under the most difficult circumstances, those who sought refuge in the United Nations compound.

The responsibility for this turn of events lies squarely with the Indonesian authorities. They undertook, in the 5 May Agreements, to maintain peace and security in East Timor. In the face of mounting concern they insisted that it was their prerogative to maintain security, while at the same time cynically excusing unrestrained militia activities. It is now entirely clear to us all that the Indonesian authorities are not in a position to maintain security. Despite the proclamation of martial law, the Indonesian

armed forces are unable or unwilling even to prevent militia from threatening the remaining UNAMET personnel in Dili.

The Secretary-General said in a statement yesterday that there are reports that crimes against humanity have been committed. My delegation is aware of similar reports, including allegations of genocide. If that is the case, those responsible must be apprehended and brought to justice.

The international community has made an offer of assistance to the Indonesian authorities in restoring law and order and the re-establishment of the conditions which would allow the people of East Timor to return to their homes in safety. This offer has been conveyed directly by the mission which was dispatched by the Security Council. Ireland urges the Government of Indonesia to accept this offer of help without further delay. Ireland also urges all those who may hold influence over the authorities in Indonesia to do all in their power to persuade them to accept the offer.

The campaign of terror unleashed in East Timor has created a major humanitarian crisis. International humanitarian assistance is urgently required if starvation and disease are to be avoided. However, there can be no such assistance if the necessary security conditions are not in place. It is clear that the people who need the assistance are still under severe physical threat from those who displaced them, and that the Indonesian security forces are manifestly unable, if not unwilling, to contain this threat.

Hopes were high that, by the exercise in self-determination provided for under the 5 May Agreements, the status of the Non-Self-Governing Territory of East Timor would finally be settled, furthering an established objective of the United Nations when it proclaimed the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, now drawing to a close. The turn which events have taken is tragic, but, it is, we believe, reversible if Indonesia now accepts the help on offer. If it does not, the result will undermine and damage fundamentally Indonesia's relations with its friends in the international community. It is very hard to believe that anyone, inside or outside Indonesia, could wilfully seek such an outcome.

**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. Mabilangan** (Philippines): Mr. President, thank you for the opportunity to participate in this meeting of the Security Council.

The events in East Timor are, with good reason, deeply troubling to many of us. The Philippine delegation is greatly concerned with the eruption and continuation of violence in Dili and other towns in the territory, some of which have been directed against United Nations properties and personnel. We express our deepest sympathies to the victims and their families, and we particularly mourn the loss of many lives.

We would also, at this time, pay a special tribute to all the personnel and staff of the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) who courageously stood by their commitment to the service of the international community. We are glad to hear that they have reached safe refuge. We also hope that their colleagues who chose to remain in East Timor as well as those refugees inside the United Nations compound will be kept from harm.

The internal political dynamics in East Timor have always been complicated. It is a territory that, for decades, has been torn within itself. The international community has always known that the resolution of the East Timor question would never be simple and easy, and this belief is proving to be accurate. It is therefore important that the process established under the 5 May 1999 Tripartite Agreements be continued to help the people of East Timor achieve their collective aspirations. This process, under the solemn agreement of Indonesia and Portugal and the United Nations, should not be derailed by the actions of some.

The consultative process on 30 August was the culmination of years of effort to reach a just and fair settlement of the East Timor question that would be acceptable to the international community. An overwhelming number of East Timorese participated in last week's vote, which was also conducted peacefully and impartially.

The generally positive conduct of the 30 August vote would not have been possible without the earnest efforts of the Indonesian Government to fulfil its commitments under the 5 May Agreements. Let us also be reminded that the Indonesian Government was instrumental in forging the agreements that led to the consultation process. The Philippine delegation believes that Indonesia, a close neighbour and friend and a sister member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), deserves this acknowledgement.

It is difficult to deny, however, that the recent incidents of violence in the territory have tarnished the accomplishments of the consultation process. It is therefore important that the violent groups and individuals that continue to sow terror and mayhem in the territory be stopped immediately. Violent attacks against the people of East Timor, foreign religious and other workers — some of whom are Filipinos — members of the media, and the United Nations presence in the territory cannot be allowed to continue. If it continues unabated, violence in the territory may further worsen the humanitarian situation that has now become extremely precarious in certain areas of East Timor.

Under the 5 May Agreements, the Indonesian Government has sole responsibility for security in East Timor until the Indonesian National Assembly has ratified the results of the consultative process. We hope that the Indonesian military will exert every effort and be able to restore order in East Timor. They have asked for more time to restore order, and we fully understand that. The declaration by the Indonesian Government of a state of emergency in the territory should be a step in the right direction. The change in the command structure of the military in East Timor would be another urgent requirement for the restoration of peace and order in the territory. Further determined action would be necessary to restore and maintain order in East Timor.

It is important for the Philippines to see that the people of East Timor be given a chance, with the full support of the international community, to chart their future after the completion of the process in the 5 May Agreements. That is the same objective that the parties to the Agreements intended to reach. The Philippines would therefore be ready to provide assistance to achieve that objective. We will continue, and expand, our participation in UNAMET until the third phase of the East Timor process. As indicated by the Secretary-General yesterday, we would also respond positively if called upon to participate as part of a United Nations international peacekeeping force to restore order in East Timor, if such international involvement was duly mandated by the Security Council and welcomed by the Indonesian Government.

My delegation urges the members of the Security Council to consider appropriate actions on East Timor which the United Nations might take in the next few days,

based on discussions and consultations with concerned parties. In the meantime, we call on all the parties to the 5 May Agreements to faithfully fulfil their obligations under the Agreements so that the resolution of the East Timor question will finally be achieved.

**The President:** There are still close to 30 speakers remaining on my list. In view of the lateness of the hour, and with the concurrence of the members of the Council, I intend to suspend the meeting for one hour.

*The meeting was suspended at 1.35 p.m.*