



# Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

*Provisional*

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New York

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<i>President:</i>	Mr. Gayan . . . . .	(Mauritius)
<i>Members:</i>	Bulgaria . . . . .	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon . . . . .	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	China . . . . .	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia . . . . .	Mr. Franco
	France . . . . .	Mr. Levitte
	Guinea . . . . .	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Ireland . . . . .	Ms. O'Donnell
	Mexico . . . . .	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Norway . . . . .	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore . . . . .	Mr. Mahbubani
	Syrian Arab Republic . . . . .	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . .	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America . . . . .	Mr. Williamson

## Agenda

The situation in East Timor

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2002/80 and Corr.1)

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*The meeting resumed at 3.05 p.m.*

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

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

It is indeed a pleasure once again to greet the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello. We renew our deep gratitude to him and to the rest of the personnel of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) for the remarkable way in which they are carrying out their Security Council mandate.

We are also very pleased to greet the Senior Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Mr. José Ramos-Horta. Our thanks and praise go also to the people of East Timor, without whose support the extraordinary progress achieved over the past year would have been impossible.

The year 2002 will mark the birth of a new country that will become a Member of the United Nations: 20 May will be independence day for East Timor and a date for the Organization to remember with pride and satisfaction. However, we want to stress that it will not be the last day of the United Nations association with East Timor. There is a need to guarantee the security of the country and the viability and stability of the future Government as UNTAET progressively transfers responsibilities to it. The European Union strongly supports the Secretary-General's recommendation that the mandate of UNTAET be extended until 20 May. We also welcome the proposals for the phasing out of the United Nations presence and for a successor mission to serve for an estimated two years after independence.

The European Union has already endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendation that the mission should be an integrated one drawing upon all the services of the United Nations. We welcome the

consistency of the latest report of the Secretary-General (S/2002/80) vis-à-vis the proposals he had set out in his report (S/2001/983) of last October. We look forward to further specific proposals in due course.

Since the previous report of the Secretary-General was issued in October 2001, the pace of progress towards independence has accelerated. The security environment has improved. A draft constitution is being intensely discussed by the Constituent Assembly with the assistance of, inter alia, the European Union. Presidential elections will take place on 14 April.

We congratulate UNTAET and the East Timorese people on the increasing number of responsibilities that local institutions are assuming in areas such as public administration, security and social and economic affairs.

We acknowledge the crucial role that the Indonesian Government is playing under the leadership of President Megawati Soekarnoputri. Relations with Indonesia are gradually improving, although important issues such as cooperation in the investigation of serious crimes and human rights violations, payment of pensions and the demarcation of the common border are still pending.

Despite these achievements, major challenges to a successful transition remain. Several reported incidents of political violence should remind us of the need for adequate channels for expressing political dissent and diversity. The full and peaceful integration of various political currents through political parties will be critical for a successful transition to democracy.

In the elections held in August 2001, the East Timorese people showed their political maturity. The coming 14 April elections should be held in a similarly peaceful and transparent way.

Despite the continued long-term militia threat along the border with Indonesia, we note that the Secretary-General deems it feasible to plan for a gradual assumption of security responsibilities by East Timorese institutions. We support the Secretary-General's proposal to reduce UNTAET's military and civilian police components by the time of independence. We note his observations that the security situation and the provision of adequate training and equipment to the East Timor Defence

Force and the Police Service will directly affect the downsizing plans.

Success in East Timor is very much about reconciliation. During recent months, refugees have continued to return, although there are still many in camps in West Timor. Efforts should continue to be made to promote cross-border contacts, increase mutual confidence and resolve the problem of the payment of pensions.

Reconciliation, however, must be cemented by justice. We welcome the recent establishment of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation. The continuation of the work carried out by the courts and the Office of the General Prosecutor will be important steps in this direction.

The European Union once again calls upon the Government of Indonesia to ensure the speedy operationalization of the Ad Hoc Human Rights Court, fully mandated in accordance with international standards, with jurisdiction over all human rights violations. In this regard, we welcome the appointment by the Government of Indonesia of judges for the Ad Hoc Human Rights Court and recall the urgency of making the Court operational. We trust that cooperation with UNTAET in judicial matters will progress in a similar way. The European Union is ready to provide technical assistance to both the judges and the prosecutors of the Ad Hoc Court.

We are hoping for a parallel evolution in the economic and social services areas. The Secretary-General's report contains some good news, showing that economic activity is expanding. The international community has an important role to play in supporting the economy of East Timor. It is now time to move towards a relationship based on development goals. The donor community should provide support beyond independence.

The collection and investment of revenues from natural resources will be essential. As it becomes less dependent on international donors and develops into a stable country based on sound institutions and peaceful relations with its neighbours, it will become attractive to international investors.

As we see other countries in the world falter in the wake of conflict or natural disasters, we hope that the success of East Timor will prove to be less of an exception and more of a precedent.

The date of 20 May might well become a significant milestone in the often troubled history of United Nations peacekeeping. We are learning the hard way, through trial and error — or perhaps in this case I should say “trial and success”.

In May, a new State will be born, and the United Nations — that is, all of us — will have reason to be proud. It is now up to all of us to bring this process to fruition and to help our new sibling stride safely into a world that is demanding, but full of promise.

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

**Mr. Satoh (Japan):** I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening today's meeting on this important subject. I welcome Secretary-General Kofi Annan's report of 17 January, submitted to the Security Council, on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). I would also like to express my appreciation for today's briefings by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and by East Timor's Senior Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Mr. José Ramos-Horta.

At the outset, I would like once again to express, on behalf of the Government of Japan, our high regard for the contributions that UNTAET has made to efforts aimed at achieving East Timor's independence and for the leadership that Mr. Vieira de Mello has demonstrated in the process. Naturally, the Government of Japan supports the extension of UNTAET's mandate, as recommended in the Secretary-General's report, until 20 May this year — the date on which East Timor is to become independent.

I would also like to take this opportunity to reiterate our admiration for the people of East Timor, who, in cooperation with UNTAET, have been making strenuous efforts to achieve their own independence. We would encourage them to tackle, with a sense of ownership, the remaining tasks leading up to independence, including the adoption of the new Constitution and the holding of the presidential election.

For its part, the Government of Japan will continue to extend to the people of East Timor and to UNTAET its utmost cooperation and assistance in order to ensure the stability and prosperity of East

Timor. The comprehensive resolution of the issue of East Timorese refugees will be vitally important for the stability of East Timor. Recognizing that fact, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi recently announced, in response to the Joint Appeal made by the United Nations and the Government of Indonesia, that Japan would extend assistance amounting to \$5.39 million to support East Timor refugees in West Timor. Prime Minister Koizumi also told Mr. Xanana Gusmão, the former President of the National Council of Timorese Resistance, who is now visiting Japan, that the Japanese Government will consider extending assistance amounting to \$1 million for the activities of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation.

Furthermore, the Government of Japan is now preparing to dispatch an engineering group of approximately 700 members of its Self-Defence Forces to the peacekeeping operation in East Timor. The engineering group plans to begin its deployment on the ground in the course of March and April, engaging in the construction and repair of roads and bridges, thus making a contribution to the reconstruction and development of East Timor.

We are pleased to note in the Secretary-General's report the progress being made in planning the functions and structure of the post-UNTAET follow-on mission. The Government of Japan is of the view that a United Nations presence is necessary in order to ensure the stability of East Timor after it achieves independence. We therefore hope that the work of preparing the Secretary-General's recommendations on the follow-on mission will be completed as soon as possible and that the Security Council will promptly decide on the establishment of the mission.

I would like to make it clear in this context that the Japanese Government supports the idea of funding a minimum and indispensable civilian component, including 100 key functions, with peacekeeping assessed contributions.

The independence of East Timor, which will soon be achieved, will be a success story for a world in which conflict and instability are widespread. But as I have stated several times in this Council, many difficulties lie ahead for East Timor, before and after independence, and it is the responsibility of the international community to continue to extend its support and cooperation to the people of East Timor.

Recognizing this, the Government of Japan is determined to continue to play an important role in the international community's efforts to support East Timor.

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

**Mr. Seixas da Costa (Portugal):** Let me begin by expressing what an honour it is for all of us who are concerned with the East Timor process to see you, Sir, presiding over this meeting. This stresses the importance that the Mauritius presidency of the Security Council, whose performance we all praise, attaches to this question.

I would be remiss if I also did not mention the symbolism of the presence at the Council this morning of the Prime Minister of Australia and the State Minister of Ireland.

Portugal fully supports the statement that has been delivered by Ambassador Inocencio Arias of Spain on behalf of the Presidency of the European Union. Since a lot of our views are contained in that statement, I will focus my own on some issues of particular relevance to my country.

Like others, I would like to start by thanking you, Sir, for convening this meeting and giving the general membership of the United Nations the opportunity to participate in this debate. I also want to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for taking time from his very busy agenda in Dili to come to New York and brief us on the progress achieved by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), as well as on his views for the future of the United Nations presence in East Timor. I also must express our appreciation to the Senior Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Mr. José Ramos-Horta, for sharing with us the insights of the East Timorese leadership.

I would especially like to thank the Secretary-General and his staff for the report we have before us. In it the Secretary-General reaffirms his recommendations for the United Nations peacekeeping mission that will succeed UNTAET, as well as for the measures being taken to achieve as seamless a transition as possible from one to the other. The fact that the framework defined several months ago and amply discussed with the Timorese is now being

reaffirmed and reinforced clearly shows how well the United Nations knows the situation on the ground and how seriously it has engaged in the planning exercise.

Portugal fully supports the recommendation contained in paragraph 104 of the Secretary-General's report to extend the current UNTAET mandate until the date of independence. As this historic day approaches, I believe we need to look closely at what has been done to date, as well as at the way ahead of us.

We have all many times congratulated UNTAET for the progress it has achieved, together with the Timorese and the rest of the international community, in East Timor's security, political, economic and social life. But I think we have grown used to looking at UNTAET and East Timor as a success story and to take that for granted. We sometimes lose sight of how difficult and complex UNTAET's task was and still is.

The initial UNTAET mandate, contained in resolution 1272 (1999), was approved in October 1999. Although the first United Nations officials moved to Dili very soon after that, it was not until the first trimester of 2000 that the mission was fully deployed. This means that we are having this debate just about two years after the very start of UNTAET. Two years is really not much time to work literally from scratch on establishing a security environment, building a democratic government, improving human capacity, rebuilding infrastructure and restarting the economy.

We all have very strong reasons to feel proud if we consider that, only two years after the widespread violence that followed the popular consultation, the Timorese can reasonably expect to have not only their long-fought-for independence, but also a functioning administration, a democratic regime that respects human rights, and prospects for economic sustainability.

In just two years security has been re-established, the training of local police and defence forces is under way, 192,000 refugees have returned and been successfully reintegrated in their communities, and the health and education systems are working again. Many roads, bridges and public buildings have been rebuilt, and water and electricity are being provided to the population. A Constitutional Assembly has been elected and a Transitional Government subsequently appointed, new legislation has been passed in all areas of activity, and the courts and prisons are functioning.

I believe we should be asking ourselves how many United Nations missions can claim such an extensive record of achievements. How many of our own countries can report similar developments in such a short time and under such difficult conditions? East Timor is four months into the process approving a constitution and very close to concluding it. I do not believe it would be feasible to accelerate this and other processes without serious risk to their future sustainability.

My Government strongly believes that all these reasons amply justify the continued engagement of the United Nations and the international community in East Timor, especially after independence. The fact that UNTAET and the Timorese have achieved so much is all the more reason to continue supporting them, so they can finish and strengthen the tasks that the Security Council entrusted to them. Any other option would be irresponsible and unacceptable. It would be like punishing the good student because he has been doing all his homework and is therefore getting better results than his colleagues.

Section III of the Secretary-General's report outlines in some detail the plans for the transition to the post-independence United Nations mission in East Timor. Portugal strongly supports the framework and line of action proposed, as well as the timeline envisaged for that process. We believe that an integrated peacekeeping mission, comprising military, police and civilian components, is the best approach to post-independence support for East Timor. We feel very strongly that a number of civilian support positions should be included in that mission and financed through assessed contributions in order to ensure minimum stability to the new administration in its early stage of independence.

I would like to highlight the recommendations of the Secretary-General in the area of security. We noted that despite the significant improvements there are still some risks and that the planned downsizing of the peacekeeping force is taking this into account. We also noted that the Secretary-General linked the progressive downsizing of the military and police components of UNTAET to the progress in training and making operational the East Timor Police Service and Defence Forces. We very much support this approach by the Secretary-General, which is based on the continued analysis of the prevailing situation on the ground.

The Security Council as a whole, and its member States individually, have been instrumental in the progress of East Timor towards independence. By handing down to UNTAET a very comprehensive mandate, the Council did not make the mission's goal any easier, but it certainly allowed it to develop an integrated and wide-ranging approach to peace and stability in the country. It allowed the United Nations and the international community to develop its action with due regard for the interlinked nature of the requirements for stability. We all know that in today's world there is hardly any separation between security, political, social and economic problems. To address one, we have to address all of them in a coordinated manner. This is by no means an easy task, but it is the only way to address conflict and post-conflict situations if we are to reach sustainable solutions. This is as valid for East Timor as it is everywhere.

In its presidential statement of 31 October 2001, the Council endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendations for the post-independence mission in East Timor, including the need to ensure assessed funding for a number of civilian positions. The Council has thus made clear that it is willing to continue to have a supportive and constructive role in East Timor's independence and stability. It has also made it possible for the Secretariat to have an early and very clear basis on which to develop an exit strategy which takes into account the United Nations capacities, the situation on the ground and the wishes of all people of the country.

I believe that, for the first time in its peacekeeping history, the United Nations is analysing the impact of its withdrawal from a country and is trying to define timely measures to counter and reduce its negative effects. This means we are learning from past mistakes and establishing good precedents for the future.

Looking at the post-independence period in East Timor, I must underline a number of areas that we believe are crucial for the sustainability of democracy and the rule of law. These are the training of the Timorese police and military, the development of the judiciary, and the establishment of a human rights culture. In all these areas several steps have been taken, both through UNTAET and through United Nations agencies, non-governmental organizations and bilateral donors, but a lot remains to be done.

Without a strong and well-trained judiciary, the basic premise of democracy — the separation of powers — cannot become a reality and the people will not be able to trust their governmental institutions. Also, without a strong judiciary, there is not much room for reconciliation and the healing of society. Reconciliation and justice must go hand in hand. I believe the Timorese have shown they are very tolerant and willing to forgive. They want to leave the past behind them and build a new future. But this is not likely to last if there are no assurances that in that future, crimes will not go unpunished.

Similarly, the police and military must absolutely be perceived as professional forces, subject to civilian rule, that exist to protect and help the citizens. As for human rights, I do not need to point out how important it is that they are not only formally included in the legal basis of the State but also implemented in the daily administration of the country.

Portugal believes that the post-independence presence in East Timor must continue to have a strong role in these areas. Building credible institutions will be the best legacy that the United Nations, indeed all of us, can leave in East Timor. And it is not an area where we can afford to fail. I can assure you that Portugal has done and will continue to do its utmost to support these endeavours.

In the four months ahead of us, the role of the Council will continue to be crucial. A number of aspects, both substantive and procedural, will need to be discussed and agreed on so that the Council can take timely action to turn the planning exercise into a reality. We are looking forward to further recommendations from the Secretary-General on issues such as the mechanisms of cooperation between the United Nations and the Timorese authorities after independence, especially in the area of security, and the mechanisms that will trigger the post-independence United Nations mission in the country. Portugal would welcome an early discussion of these issues among Council members and between Council members and other interested countries.

The independence of East Timor will be a historic moment not only for the Timorese; it will also be very special for the United Nations. Some people have said that East Timor is the child of the United Nations. I would say rather that East Timor is the child of its own very difficult struggle but that it would not be about to

stand on its own if it were not for the excellent caretaker leading it in its first years.

The independence of East Timor is an important date in a long process in which the East Timorese were always the major players as the masters of their own destiny. In the past, they were prepared to die in order to prove that they were alive. In the future, I am sure they will give us a lesson of responsibility in the management of their new democratic State.

But let us not forget that the international community cannot assume a neutral role in the process of building their nation, because the international community has implicitly recognized that for many years it was guilty of the neutrality it assumed when the Timorese were the innocent victims of the injustices of history.

The United Nations was able to reconcile the international community with the Timorese. The Council, as one of the Organization's major organs, has the duty to guarantee that the responsibility of the United Nations is exercised until the adequate means to run the country are put at disposal of the Timorese. Through the Timorese case, the Council also has the opportunity to reflect on the way the United Nations operates in all its dimensions in its peacekeeping missions. Not currently being a member of the Council, I am sure that you will not disappoint those who trust its *sagesse*.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Bangladesh. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

**Mr. Chowdhury** (Bangladesh): We thank you, Mr. President, and Ambassador Jagdish Koonjul, for organizing this public meeting on this important subject despite the heavy calendar of the Security Council this month.

This debate once again affords us an opportunity to deliberate on the situation in East Timor in the presence of the country's Senior Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Mr. José Ramos-Horta, and the head of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, who are together in this Chamber. High tributes are owed to both. The participation of Prime Minister John Howard this morning was encouraging, Australia having been such a key player.

The Secretary-General's current report underlines progress in a number of important areas regarding the situation in East Timor. While awaiting his report on UNTAET's successor mission, I should emphasize a few critical elements on the journey ahead.

First, East Timor is on course to becoming a major success story of the United Nations. But that can be assured only if the United Nations exit is premised on a sound strategy and not only on political expediency or financial considerations. I would only emphasize that the Security Council underscored the need for a gradual and orderly exit from East Timor beyond independence when adopting presidential statement PRST/2001/32 at its 4403rd meeting last October, during which Ambassador Mahbubani also made reference to the Secretary-General's report.

Secondly, we recognize the constructive role of Indonesia in ensuring the stability and vitality of the Timorese State and its people. We were heartened by last week's meeting in Kupang, Indonesia, between the East Timorese Government and its West Timorese counterpart to address reconciliation and the return of refugees to East Timor. The Indonesian Supreme Court's recent verdict, we hope, will add to a positive spirit in next month's high-level talks in Denpasar to address the outstanding bilateral issues comprehensively.

An early resolution of those issues will have a significant effect on the containment of an illegal economy along the border and on the return of refugees to East Timor. For a nascent Government like that of East Timor, the draining of precious foreign currency through smuggling can indeed prove destabilizing, as it introduces many other vices into society. Similarly, the return of the remaining 60,000 to 75,000 refugees to East Timor before independence will also remain a critical benchmark. An early conclusion of the Memorandum of Understanding between East Timor and Indonesia in that regard, we believe, would also deepen the relations between the two countries.

Thirdly, continued financial support to East Timor will remain critical in the foreseeable future. The rationale and pitfalls in that respect are well articulated in the report, especially in paragraphs 75 and 84. The Timorese Government should be assured of adequate assistance. As has been stated this morning, there is a need for early funding in a number of areas, particularly for making operational the

Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation, accomplishing tasks related to the prosecution of serious crimes. However, the essential point remains that, for an independent East Timor to be viable and vibrant, UNTAET's successor mission should be funded through assessed contributions.

Finally, Bangladesh supports the extension of UNTAET's mandate and other observations and recommendations that the Secretary-General has made in his report. Just like the others present here, Bangladesh is looking forward to the ceremonies in May in East Timor. That occasion will be a celebration of hope, in which Bangladesh will be privileged to participate at a high level, in keeping with our involvement in East Timorese reconstruction.

**The President:** I now invite the representative of Fiji to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

**Mr. Naidu (Fiji):** Mr. President, my delegation is very pleased to see you preside over this very important meeting. We welcome you to New York. We also commend the dynamic leadership of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello through whom the Security Council mandates have been accomplished to date. My delegation also wishes to recognize the contribution of Mr. Ramos-Horta, Senior Foreign Minister, for his role in the developments in East Timor leading to its independence on 20 May 2002.

Fiji is closely following the progress of developments in East Timor. As a fledgling State of the wider Asia-Pacific region that has come out of years of struggle and conflict, we are truly proud of East Timor's achievements thus far. Its successes closely mirror those of similar peace-building initiatives in the Pacific, such as Bougainville, Solomon Islands, and, to some extent, my own country, Fiji. We hope that this wind of peace heralds more constructive engagements towards democratic governance in the region and beyond.

Fiji's peacekeeping task in Suwai, bordering West and East Timor, has not been an easy one. While light is visible at the end of the tunnel, we will stay engaged as long as is necessary.

We congratulate the Constituent Assembly and the people of East Timor on their plans for independence on 20 May 2002 and observe that the presidential elections scheduled for 14 April 2002 are

on target. Fiji has been approached to provide one of the two international members of the Board of Commissioners for the April presidential elections. In this regard, my Government is pleased to be of service in this historic engagement, as well as in similar electoral engagements, such as the recent one in the Solomon Islands.

Some remarkable advances made since October 2001 are detailed in the Secretary-General's report on the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). Fiji is heartened by the building of a rapprochement between West and East Timor through the border reconciliation meetings between Indonesia and East Timor. As expected, the resulting positive effects on internal security have been reported by the Secretary-General. This increasingly welcome environment, coupled with some outstanding tasks for the new Assembly to resolve with the assistance of UNTAET, will encourage more refugee returns.

In this difficult transition period, we are particularly challenged by the preparatory work on building a gender component into the administration system prior to independence. In turn, we are hopeful that this will engender a more secure domestic environment than as reported with respect to women and children.

We are pleased to see civil service recruitment reaching close to its target, a slow but steady development of the infrastructure and robust socio-economic progress, especially in the education sector. It is critical, however, that allocations in the United Nations core budget remain committed to support a specific number of civilian technical assistance posts. This would boost programmes for socio-economic development and poverty eradication.

All parties have been alerted to the downside of UNTAET's drawdown and ultimate withdrawal. In anticipation of this event, we therefore encourage the Constituent Assembly, in conjunction with UNTAET, to continue with measures that would cushion the impact on the local economy.

Although security is largely at hand, much depends on the border delimitation issue to be determined by the respective Governments of East Timor and Indonesia. Capital investment is also critical in order to develop the full capacity of the East Timor Defence Force and, similarly, for the certification

targets of the East Timor Police Service. Until both the Defence Force and the Police Service show the capability to maintain security in East Timor, the UNTAET military and civilian police components should stay engaged. This transition is predicated on a viable capital programme.

Other related concerns that will sustain post-independence East Timor are equally dependent on benevolent international and bilateral donations. In this regard, we are very hopeful that an outpouring of goodwill will in time bring a fitting closure to UNTAET's mandate.

We also look forward to the celebrations on 20 May 2002, and we anxiously await the welcoming of East Timor into the fold of the United Nations, thus increasing the number of Member States from 189 to 190.

**The President:** I thank the representative of Fiji for his kind words addressed to the Chair.

I now invite the representative of the Republic of Korea to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

**Mr. Sun Joun-yung (Republic of Korea):** Mr. President, let me begin by commending you for your leadership in the Security Council this past month. I would also like to thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his useful briefing. We also welcome the presence of Senior Minister Ramos-Horta and the briefing he has given us.

In the process of helping East Timor achieve independence, we have witnessed several landmark events. Following the successful completion of the Constituent Assembly elections last August, we now have a number of other critical tasks before us, such as the presidential elections in April and the independence celebrations in May.

My delegation would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the staff of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and the East Timorese people for their hard work in preparing those political processes. We hope that the East Timorese people, despite some reported rivalries among political groups, will once again demonstrate their capacity for democracy by smoothly adopting a Constitution and holding peaceful and democratic presidential elections.

We are eager to witness and participate in the historic celebration of a new nation's independence, and my delegation fully endorses the Secretary-General's recommendation to extend UNTAET's mandate until that time.

Regarding the restructuring of UNTAET, we welcome the detailed downsizing plan that will continue to be implemented until independence, as well as the general picture that has been painted of the post-UNTAET mission. In accordance with the plan, the Republic of Korea's military battalion successfully completed its one-and-a-half-year mission in the eastern area and was recently redeployed to the Oecussi enclave. The Korean battalion will do its best to ensure the security of the new mission area and to promote the development of the area together with a Japanese engineering company, which is expected to arrive there soon.

With respect to the United Nations mission in East Timor after independence, we fully agree with the Secretary-General's basic assessment that the continued assistance of the international community will be required, considering the still weak security environment of East Timor and its fragile administrative and economic foundations. In keeping with the East Timorese people's efforts to become self-reliant in the shortest possible time, a gradual exit strategy for the United Nations peacekeeping mission should be planned and implemented in a way that will not diminish all the progress that has been achieved up to now. We hope that the planners can work out a downsizing programme that strikes a good balance between the United Nations assessed contributions and the roles of bilateral and multilateral donors. We look forward to seeing another report of the Secretary-General before the termination of the UNTAET mandate, containing further specific proposals for the mandate and structure of the successor mission of UNTAET.

Before concluding, I would like to emphasize two points. First, a slackening of resolve among donors or the overly speedy disengagement of the international community in East Timor would be detrimental and must be forestalled. Secondly, the long-term viability and progress of East Timor will very much depend on its relations with its neighbours and other regional and international friends.

We will continue to follow the developments in East Timor with great optimism and anticipation. The Government and the private sector of the Republic of Korea are committed to developing strong political and economic ties with the democratic republic of East Timor.

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

**Mr. MacKay** (New Zealand): Thank you, Sir, for the opportunity to address the Council today and for your presidency this month. We are, as always, very appreciative of Council meetings which are held in open session, like this one, as well as of other mechanisms to strengthen dialogue with Council members, such as the very useful troop-contributor meeting held on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) last week.

We are also very pleased to see Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and Mr. José Ramos-Horta here participating in the discussion today so eloquently and perceptively, as they always have in the past.

New Zealand is very happy to support the renewal of UNTAET's mandate through to East Timor's forthcoming independence in May this year. We very much commend the hard work and determination of the East Timorese people and of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor and the leadership provided by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in laying the foundations for independence in such a very short period.

The Secretary-General's report of developments in East Timor, from mid-October 2001 to the present, summarizes very well both the achievements and the ongoing challenges. New Zealand very warmly endorses that report. We welcome in particular the innovative step taken by the East Timorese Council of Ministers to hold open meetings in each of East Timor's 13 districts as a means of educating the population on the workings of government. We also very much applaud the interim Government's ongoing efforts to strengthen East Timor's relations with its neighbour, Indonesia. We also note with some pleasure how the small seeds planted by New Zealand customs officers back in January 2000 have today grown into a very respectable East Timor customs, immigration and

quarantine service responsible for bringing in significant government revenue.

As the Secretary-General's report makes clear, however, the partnership venture between East Timor and the United Nations is not yet over. I noted the words of Prime Minister Howard of Australia in his most eloquent statement, when he said that, without continuing support, these successes cannot be maintained. I think that, if one looks at the themes that have come through from the discussion in the Council both this morning and this afternoon, that has certainly been a very consistent theme. Our colleague from Singapore used the term "unfinished business" and I think that is very much what everyone has in mind.

It is certainly true that the challenges that lie ahead are considerable and, as underlined in Oslo last month, will call for constant vigilance that precious funds are directed to top-priority activities. Both the East Timorese leadership and the international community have a particular duty to ensure that mutual expectations — both those of the East Timorese people and those which the international community has of East Timor — remain realistic and within the capacity of donors and the East Timorese Government to deliver.

For our part, we take this occasion to renew New Zealand's unequivocal support for what the people and the interim Government of East Timor, with exceptional international assistance, are striving to achieve. We all share the same end-goal — self-sufficiency for the country and people of East Timor — and look forward to donor relations with East Timor reverting to a normal development model as soon as feasible.

We are therefore very happy to endorse the Secretary-General's concept of a successor mission whose primary objective will be to enable an independent and stable East Timor to stand on its own two feet and for the United Nations to quickly fulfil its post-independence mandate.

For its part, New Zealand will continue to contribute to East Timor's and international efforts in the build-up to independence and beyond through ongoing military and civilian expertise and through development assistance. We are now well-launched down the path of a new bilateral relationship with a new and very valued regional neighbour. It is thanks to the determination of the United Nations to do right by

that new and small country that the possibility for such constructive links exists.

We therefore reiterate New Zealand's support for this last extension of UNTAET's mandate and look forward to the Council's detailed consideration of the United Nations post-independence presence at a later date.

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

**Mr. Fonseca (Brazil):** It is a great honour to have you, Sir, presiding over today's meeting.

Let me begin by paying tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Sergio Vieira de Mello, whose leadership has been instrumental in making the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) a success story we all should be proud of. I would like also to welcome Mr. José Ramos-Horta, the Senior Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of East Timor and one of the greatest leaders of his country.

The work of Sergio Vieira de Mello and his team has been made easier thanks both to the vision of the East Timorese leaders, such as Senior Minister Ramos-Horta, and to the political maturity of its heroic people.

At this critical juncture, as we prepare for independence and plan for the successor mission to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), it is important to convey a clear message to the East Timorese people. This must be a message of encouragement and unflinching support: we will not let you down, you will not be alone, your struggle for freedom was not in vain.

Independence will be declared in a few months, but that will not be the end of the United Nations involvement in East Timor. It must be the beginning of a new phase in which the exercise of sovereignty by the East Timorese will have to be shored up by our cooperation and support in a vast array of critical areas.

The mission of the United Nations in East Timor was not merely the creation of new State; it was, and still is, the creation of a functioning, stable and democratic State. As our Secretary-General rightly points out in his latest report, a number of difficulties facing the nascent State will require significant assistance from the international community. We must

ensure a smooth transition to independence — one that preserves stability and security as well as continuity in the public administration. For that to happen, we cannot rely solely on voluntary contributions. It is necessary to secure a predictable source of funding.

Brazil supports the establishment of a successor mission, as proposed by the Secretary-General, which would comprise a military component, a civilian police component and a civilian component. Given the very limited pool of professional and administrative expertise in East Timor, it is particularly important that the civilian component include the 100 key functions within the administration to guarantee continuity and ensure on-the-job training for East Timorese officials. Undoubtedly, these positions must be included in the assessed funding of the new mission.

As for the military and civilian police components, their downsizing is desirable. The only factor that must guide the downsizing process, however, is the capacity of the East Timor Defence Force and the East Timor Police Service to provide external and internal security. As far as we know, despite the relative calm in East Timor, hard-line militias may still pose a long-term threat and continue to be a source of concern.

If we are to apply commonsensical lessons from our own previous experiences with United Nations peacekeeping operations, we must hope for the best of scenarios but prepare for the worst. I am confident that stability will be preserved in East Timor as the democratic process evolves and the reconciliation efforts gain momentum. However, let us ground the decisions concerning the level of the force and the duration of its presence in a clear assessment of the concrete needs of the future sovereign State of East Timor.

We have witnessed important progress in the implementation of UNTAET's mandate over the last year. The election for the Assembly was a huge success that bodes well for the future of party politics and democracy in East Timor. The Constituent Assembly has made strides in its deliberations. With regard to the refugees, it is good news that there has been an increase in the number of repatriations. This is also a sign that the efforts of Xanana Gusmão, with a view to healing the wounds of past animosity, are bearing fruit despite reports of misinformation in the camps. Brazil appreciates the efforts of President Megawati of

Indonesia to solve pending issues and build strong bilateral ties with East Timor based on friendship and mutual respect. This is crucial for the stability and development of East Timor.

All these positive aspects notwithstanding, it is clear that there remain important deficiencies that must be addressed with the continued support of the international community. It is also important to address legal problems that might inhibit economic recovery and development, particularly the need for clear and stable legislation on property rights as well as a commercial code.

The impressive growth of East Timor's gross domestic product in 2001, by 18 per cent, will be difficult to maintain in 2002. In this context, it becomes even more important to continue to put in place income-generating projects to minimize the possible adverse impact of the decrease in United Nations personnel and expenditure. In addition, it is essential to maintain the current level of public services after independence. The deterioration of such services, which include health and education, would hurt the most vulnerable and could constitute a blow to public confidence in the future State.

Anyone who deals with development issues knows that widespread poverty, high unemployment rates and the collapse of public services are an explosive mixture and a recipe for trouble. This is exactly what we must avoid at all costs, and it is why the international community as a whole must continue to provide generous support for the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of East Timor.

A mission with a mandate as broad as that of UNTAET requires a sizeable investment. It is time to protect the investment we made. We cannot afford to jeopardize the progress achieved.

The day of independence will mark a new era in East Timor, the fulfilment of a legitimate aspiration of an admirable people. But it will also be a moment to reflect on the complex challenges that lie ahead in terms of making the independence of East Timor work for every citizen. The international community must bear in mind that the declaration of independence is no magic wand that will turn East Timor into a full-fledged and functioning State. Now is the time to show solidarity and ensure that independence becomes more than a symbolic event to celebrate the glory of those who fought for self-determination.

The celebration of the deeds of the East Timorese heroes is important, but it will be really meaningful only if the people of East Timor are given the opportunity to use their independence to attain a dignified livelihood. To that end, the assistance of the international community continues to be vital. We hope that the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations will continue to give high priority to East Timor. This will require matching our words of support with resolute decisions and firm actions.

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

**Mr. Manalo** (Philippines): At the outset, Sir, allow me to express my delegation's pleasure in seeing you preside over this meeting and our congratulations on your delegation's successful and able leadership and guidance of the Council during this month.

We also thank the Secretary-General for his latest comprehensive report on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). In addition, we wish to express our appreciation to Prime Minister Howard, Senior Minister Ramos-Horta and Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for their statements earlier today.

We are almost at curtain time in East Timor. All our efforts for more than two years will be rigorously tested starting 20 May, when East Timor formally declares independence. As the Secretary-General observes, the international community has abundant reasons to be proud of what has been accomplished in East Timor in such a short period of time. For many of us, it is also truly gratifying to have made some contribution in the efforts towards creating a strong foundation for an independent East Timor — a real success story in the history of the United Nations.

In times of success, such as in East Timor, it is not difficult to be lured into complacency, to rest on our laurels and become victims of our own success and achievements. However, we hope that our success in East Timor will not distract us from the multitude of tasks remaining to be done.

We have not yet reached the point, in our view, where we can be reasonably assured that our efforts in East Timor will be secure and durable. My delegation therefore urges the Security Council and the international community to remain vigilant and to

ensure that the gains we have achieved thus far, and intend to achieve in the future, in East Timor are preserved and sustained.

We have carefully read the report of the Secretary-General. It is essentially, in our view, an unequivocal call for adequate funding and support for East Timor. UNTAET, the Secretariat and other international partners are working hard to come up with a comprehensive plan for the future of East Timor. But we should know that without sufficient funding it will be virtually impossible to implement successfully even the best-laid plans. The maintenance of security and the building of a sustainable administrative and economic structure in East Timor depend on this.

We thus call on the donor community to intensify its efforts to ensure adequate and predictable funding for the growing needs of East Timor. With crises in other parts of the world, and the international community's attention riveted to the war on terrorism, we hope that East Timor will not be relegated to the background or, worse, forgotten in the scramble for assistance and support at this critical time. The international community should not fail to respond to the aspirations of the East Timorese, who deserve, at the very least, our continued support and active encouragement. The people of East Timor have earned the right to freedom and independence. We cannot let them down.

Attaining independence in East Timor is no small achievement. But it cannot be the final chapter of the United Nations exit strategy for East Timor.

The Philippines supports the further extension of UNTAET's mandate until the declaration of independence in East Timor on 20 May. We also express our broad support for the proposed framework for the successor mission to UNTAET and in this regard look forward to its further elaboration by the Secretary-General. We urge the Security Council to accept these recommendations.

In the meantime, the Philippines remains committed to participating in United Nations efforts in East Timor and to supporting the East Timorese people in their historic endeavour.

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

**Mr. Widodo** (Indonesia): Let me begin by extending my delegation's felicitations to you, Sir, for presiding over the deliberations of the Security Council in this month of January. It is also a pleasure for my delegation to congratulate Bulgaria, Cameroon, Guinea, Mexico and the Syrian Arab Republic, which became members of the Security Council on 1 January this year. We are fully confident that the new members will provide valuable contributions to the work of the Council.

I should also like to join previous speakers in welcoming the presence in our midst of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and of the Senior Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Mr. José Ramos-Horta.

Having listened with keen interest to their insightful briefings on the challenges and opportunities that have arisen during East Timor's transitional period, leading up to the historic moment of independence and preparations for a successor mission to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), my delegation would like to emphasize how important it is for the international community, including Indonesia, to focus its concerted attention on the future of East Timor as it embarks on its journey to nationhood in May this year, and beyond.

Indonesia's commitment and support in this regard need no further reiteration. Indonesia and UNTAET have jointly engaged in various productive bilateral talks since the last meeting of the Council. Seizing the initiative once again, we have now scheduled talks at the ministerial level with the representatives of UNTAET and East Timor, to be held in Bali on 25 February 2002, and to be followed the next day by a trilateral ministerial meeting between Indonesia, UNTAET and East Timor, and Australia. In my Government's view, these talks provide the most appropriate forum for exploring ways and means to resolve the outstanding and wider issues of interest to the parties.

Since October last, there have been encouraging developments with respect to the issues of refugees, security, justice and reconciliation. With the prevailing atmosphere of calm and stability in the border area, the number of refugee returns has been steadily rising since October 1999, to date totalling more than 190,000 East Timorese. Motivated by this environment of normalcy, Indonesia's Regional Military

Commander in Udayana decided to withdraw two battalions of the army from the East Nusa Tenggara province.

My Government has consistently called for resolving the refugee issue once and for all, because not only has the refugees' prolonged presence caused disharmony with the local population in East Nusa Tenggara, but also because, as time marches on, the issue will become increasingly complex and harder to deal with. More important, however, is the fact that to leave the refugees to an uncertain fate is indeed a violation of their fundamental human rights. Bearing in mind the upcoming presidential election and the nation's subsequent independence, it is a matter of the highest priority that they become active participants, along with the rest of their countrymen, in these momentous and fundamental processes and thereby determine the future of their own country.

It was with this in mind that the Government of Indonesia and the United Nations launched a Joint Appeal on East Timorese refugees on 27 November last, in Jakarta. It is expected that through this endeavour around 60,000 refugees could be repatriated this year. Through this body, my delegation appeals to donor countries and institutions to contribute generously to these efforts. Indeed, support for the Joint Appeal is singularly urgent, as my Government has, as of 1 January this year, discontinued the assistance which had been provided since September 2000.

Nonetheless, Indonesia will continue to make provisions, within its modest means, for vulnerable groups and emergency situations until 30 April 2002, when the camps will finally be closed. Hence, this is a crucial period, during which the refugees will have to finally decide on the options offered by my Government: whether to accept repatriation before their country's imminent independence or to join Indonesia's resettlement programme.

Moreover, Indonesia and United Nations agencies continue to enhance coordination on voluntary repatriation such as encouraging a "go and see" visit. A special fund has also been established to alleviate any insecurity relating to the pension benefits of former Indonesian government employees who have returned to, or will live in, East Timor. Within its limited capabilities, Indonesia will make a contribution of \$2 million towards that fund.

Simultaneously, reconciliation is an important component in post-conflict circumstances, including in encouraging the repatriation of refugees. In this respect, we were gratified by the dialogue session held by Mr. Xanana Gusmão with some 1,000 East Timorese, predominantly pro-autonomy supporters, on 3 November last. Just last week, Mr. Gusmão reiterated that the new Government of East Timor would ensure their safety if they returned to their homeland. My delegation can only underscore the importance of such reconciliation initiatives, and it earnestly hopes that the international community will lend this process its full support.

It is also pertinent to note that the Indonesian military and United Nations peacekeeping forces have been working in close cooperation and coordination, leading to more favourable conditions along the border. The third meeting of the East Timor-Indonesia Joint Border Committee took place from 19 to 21 November 2001 in Dili, and negotiations are expected to continue in the near future. Meanwhile, both sides have agreed to a joint border reconnaissance next month. My Government will continue to provide the assistance deemed necessary in this regard and hopes that all parties will support this effort in the same spirit as it is being given.

Pursuant to Indonesia's assurances that justice would be upheld, Presidential Decree No. 6/M/2002 was issued on 12 January 2002 regarding the appointment of 18 judges to the Ad Hoc Human Rights Court as a follow-up to the Presidential Decree issued last year to expand the jurisdiction of the Ad Hoc Human Rights Court. The Ad Hoc Court is expected to commence its work next month.

With regard to the Atambua cases, Indonesia's Supreme Court has overruled the decisions of the District Court of North Jakarta, as well as those of the High Court of Jakarta, with regard to the six perpetrators, and their sentences ranging from 10 to 20 months have been reset at from 5 to 7 years. While welcoming this development, my Government fully respects the independence of the national judicial system.

To conclude, this significant meeting of the Security Council merits profound introspection regarding the future of East Timor and the new objectives of the successor mission following the end

of UNTAET's mandate in May 2002, provided the new Government consents to this.

**The President:** I shall now give the floor to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello to make a few, very brief remarks.

**Mr. Vieira de Mello:** For the sake of brevity, I will also speak on behalf of José Ramos-Horta.

I would like first to thank all the speakers for their generous words addressed to my colleagues, to the second Transitional Government and other Timorese institutions, not least the Constituent Assembly. Whatever our joint achievements, they would not have been possible without the unfailing and unanimous support of this Council over the last 27 months. We thank the Council for the unanimous support it has expressed for UNTAET's mandate extension until independence. With regard to the successor mission, we welcome the approval in principle of the concept outlined in the report of the Secretary-General, as well as the support expressed by many speakers for the civilian positions in core areas that the Secretary-General proposed be funded from the assessed budget of the United Nations.

With regard to the request made by some speakers that the Secretary-General present specific proposals in his next report — his end-of-mission report — for the successor presence of the United Nations in East Timor, we have taken note with great attention of the suggestions formulated here by many delegations, in particular by the Russian Federation and France.

I would like to confirm to the representative of Guinea that, indeed, we shall be convening a last donors conference in Dili about 10 days before the country becomes independent, a donors meeting to which we will be presenting the outcome of the work being carried out by the Planning Commission. That

outcome should be a mid-term development strategy for East Timor, which is what, I believe, the representatives had in mind.

Finally, on the comments that were made on a variety of topics, I would like to say that we have not only taken them into account in the past. We will continue to do so in the future because we definitely share those observations, in particular those made about the extension of the mandate of the Constituent Assembly and the good use this extension should be put to in refining the text of the first constitution of East Timor with regard to the presidential election, the justice system, the truth and reconciliation commission, economic development, as well as the situation of the remaining refugees in West Timor.

To conclude, I would like to thank the Council and Ministers very sincerely, on behalf of José Ramos-Horta and the second Transitional Government he represents here today, for the support and solidarity extended to us by this Council in the course of today's debate, which will serve as strong encouragement to all of us, particularly the people of East Timor, in the final phase of the transition to independence of a territory the Council tasked us to administer and steer.

I thank you, Minister Gayan, for presiding over this meeting today, and, through you, we extend our gratitude to Ambassador Koonjul and his team for the keen interest and sympathy they have demonstrated in the preparations for this debate of the Security Council on East Timor.

**The President:** I thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his kind words.

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

*The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.*