



# Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

**4350**<sup>th</sup> meeting

Thursday, 26 July 2001, 10.30 a.m.

New York

*Provisional*

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<i>President:</i>	Mr. Wang Yingfan . . . . .	(China)
<i>Members:</i>	Bangladesh . . . . .	Mr. Chowdhury
	Colombia . . . . .	Mr. Valdivieso
	France . . . . .	Mr. Doutriaux
	Ireland . . . . .	Mr. Ryan
	Jamaica . . . . .	Miss Durrant
	Mali . . . . .	Mr. Touré
	Mauritius . . . . .	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway . . . . .	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Gatilov
	Singapore . . . . .	Ms. Lee
	Tunisia . . . . .	Mr. Chaouachi
	Ukraine . . . . .	Mr. Kulyk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . . .	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America . . . . .	Mr. Cunningham

## Agenda

Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998), 1203 (1998), 1239 (1999) and 1244 (1999).

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*The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998), 1203 (1998), 1239 (1999) and 1244 (1999)**

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): I would like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Belgium and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 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. Mladenović (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. de Ruyt (Belgium) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.*

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Guéhenno to take a seat at the Council table.

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

I now give the floor to Mr. Guéhenno.

**Mr. Guéhenno** (*spoke in French*): I am pleased to brief members of the Security Council on the developments in Kosovo since the last briefing of 22 June 2001. I will focus today on a few priority issues regarding our Mission in Kosovo: the preparations for elections, the preparation for Kosovo self-government, relations with the minority communities, the Mission's efforts to improve law and order, and the implementation of confidence-building measures to overcome the divisions that disunite Kosovo.

The first issue is the preparations for elections in Kosovo. The preparations for these elections have now entered a very active phase, with the conclusion of the party certification period on 20 July. As of that date, 16 Kosovo Albanian parties; 11 minority-community parties, including four Serb parties; one independent candidate; three citizens' initiatives; and one coalition had submitted the requisite certification applications to the Central Election Commission (CEC).

The institution-building pillar of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) has established a special task force to inform the Kosovo Serb community about the electoral system and ethnic representation in the Assembly that is to be elected. We are encouraged by the positive signs we have seen so far, but we continue to call on the Belgrade authorities to send an unequivocal sign to the Kosovo Serb parties to become fully involved in the election campaign.

The Kosovo Albanian parties are gearing up for the elections. Many of the smaller parties that received less than 1 per cent of the vote in the municipal elections are seeking coalition partners to strengthen their popularity in preparation for the elections. In order to encourage coalition-building, as opposed to an excessively fragmented political scene, the CEC has authorized a two-week extension so that these coalitions can register, be certified and thus participate in the upcoming elections.

Alongside party certification, preparations are also under way for the beginning of voter registration. This process will take place between 30 July and 9 September. In order to facilitate the registration of internally displaced persons, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has concluded memoranda of understanding with the Serbian and Montenegrin authorities. In order to facilitate the

registration of voters from minority communities in Kosovo, preparations are well under way for establishing special registration centres. This process includes the recruitment of 200 locals, mainly from these minority communities that we want to encourage to register to vote.

A key element that should make the establishment of voting lists easier this year than during the first elections, the municipal elections of 2000, is the distribution of identification cards to the habitual residents of Kosovo. I note that more than 850,000 identification cards have been produced to date, and that 600,000 of these have been distributed. The objective is to provide such identification cards to all eligible voters prior to the election.

I would like to say a few words on the second point, regarding the implementation of the Constitutional Framework, because, in fact, hand in hand with the electoral preparations UNMIK is continuing to work on fleshing out the provisions of the Constitutional Framework and to prepare for the transfer of authority that will follow the elections. UNMIK is focusing on the development of the institutions of the executive branch, because they are not yet spelled out in detail in the Constitutional Framework. UNMIK is also focusing on the support and oversight that it is to provide to these nascent institutions. The preparations for the transition have stressed the "Kosovarization" of senior management and the capacity-building of local staff in the areas of administration, procurement, market management policy, budget and finance.

I would like now to turn to the very important issue of engaging the communities of Kosovo. Special emphasis continues to be given to encouraging the minority communities, particularly the Kosovo Serb community, to participate in public life in Kosovo, through both direct engagement and improving contacts with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Preparations for the small-scale return of Kosovo Serbs continue, with particular emphasis on returns to the Osojane valley in the Istok municipality. In order to meet the crucial funding requirements for safe and sustainable return, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General Mr. Haekkerup chaired the first donor meeting in Pristina on 29 June.

The Contact Group on Detainees and Missing Person, comprising UNMIK officials and representatives of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, is now meeting on a fortnightly basis. Some advances have been made on a number of issues, such as direct collaboration on exhumations and the identification of remains found in mass gravesites, including the exchange of forensic experts. The issue of the missing remains emotive, of course, and continues to provoke demonstrations and protests on all sides. Most recently, Kosovo Serb relatives of the missing have been demonstrating in Gračanica. They have done so since 10 July, with several family members going on a hunger strike on 16 July. With regard to the remaining Kosovo Albanian detainees in prison in Serbia, UNMIK now has fuller access to case files and other pertinent information from the Department of Justice.

Further means to engage the communities include draft legislation on minority property sales to mitigate irregular sales, and increased involvement of the Kosovo Serb and other minority communities in the education process.

The number of appointed minority members of the communities continues to rise, including the recent assumption by a Kosovo Serb of the function of Deputy President in the Municipal Assembly of Gnjilane. This brings the number of minority Deputy Presidents to seven. A further important, positive sign was the minority community representation at the inaugural meeting of the Assembly of the Association of Kosovo Municipalities, which took place in Pristina on 30 June: of the 76 participants, 13 were representatives of the Kosovo Serb, Croat, Bosniac, Turk, Ashkali, Roma, Egyptian and Gorani communities.

Another point that I would like to touch upon is the relations with Belgrade. UNMIK continues to intensify its relations with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to address issues of mutual concern. The recent appointment of the Deputy Serbian Prime Minister, Mr. Covic, as the Coordinator for Kosovo — an appointment that has been welcomed by UNMIK — adds a new dimension to this relationship.

A recent complicating factor, however, in UNMIK's relations with Belgrade has been the increasingly direct activity of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and of Serbia in

Kosovo. These include attempts by the Federal Committee for Kosovo to establish its own executive taxation functions and business registration activities in Kosovo, as well as the opening of regional offices without UNMIK consent, and a humanitarian convoy organized by the Democratic Party on 14 July.

On the security and law and order issue, I would like to say that, following the formation of pillar I, the police and justice pillar, better coordination is evident in the crucial fight against organized crime and extremist violence. Links with the Kosovo Force (KFOR) continue to improve with the development of a Joint Security Initiative intended to explore how KFOR might assist further in law and order issues. Eleven cases are now pending trial on the basis of regulation 2001/7, on the authorization of possession of weapons in Kosovo. In addition to the consolidation of pillar I, work continues on several other key law-and-order initiatives: a draft regulation on organized crime; the establishment of the Kosovo Serious Crimes Bureau; a witness protection programme; the operational system to handle police informants; and plans to establish a Kosovo-wide crime hotline.

The Department of Justice is preparing for the deployment of five new international judges and prosecutors, bringing the total to 22. UNMIK continues to seek to double the existing number of 17 international judicial personnel to alleviate the increased caseload of sensitive cases. There is continuing concern about the lack of prison space. Currently, the number of prisoners is increasing by 60 persons per month. Should the number of prisoners detained by the courts remain at present levels, penal capacity will be exhausted in three months. UNMIK is considering several potential solutions for this problem.

UNMIK's efforts to bolster the indigenous police force continue, with the first promotion of first-line supervisors in the Kosovo Police Service taking place at the end of June. The first batch of promotions included 28 sergeants and one lieutenant-colonel. A further six lieutenant-colonels are due to be promoted at the beginning of August.

On Mitrovica, another sensitive place in Kosovo, as the Council may know, at a meeting of the North Atlantic Council (NAC), at which both the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the Commander of KFOR were present, the NAC endorsed

UNMIK's and KFOR's joint efforts to develop a comprehensive strategy for Mitrovica, building on the principles described to the Security Council during its mission to Kosovo in mid-June. The strategy will entail concrete measures in a number of key areas: local government and public administration; security; economic development and job creation; returns; and general confidence-building measures. An integral part of the strategy will be a cooperative relationship and political dialogue with Belgrade, as well as consultations with the Kosovo Albanian leadership.

On the general issue of economic development I would like to stress that key to the functioning of the provisional self-government will be a sound financial foundation. With a view to handing over a balanced budget to the provisional self-government in 2002, the economic reconstruction pillar has developed several strategies to generate revenue and encourage a functioning market economy. Part of this is the reinvigoration of State and socially owned enterprises. Another part was the introduction on 1 July of value-added tax, which will be supplemented at the beginning of 2002 by a property tax.

I would like to say a few words on the situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The situation there continues to be of great concern to UNMIK. The Mission's effort to reduce the influence of members of ethnic Albanian armed groups operating from Kosovo has proved effective, with over 300 people arrested to date under the provisions of the regulation on the prohibition of unauthorized border/boundary crossings. A further effort to stem the support for the National Liberation Army coming from Kosovo was the decision of the Special Representative at the beginning of July to suspend five senior members of the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC) who had been blacklisted in the United States executive order.

As of 16 July, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimated that approximately 62,000 registered refugees remain in Kosovo, while some 12,000 have returned. At the moment, the number of arrivals outweighs the number of returnees, with many leaving Skopje as a precautionary measure while awaiting the outcome of the negotiations ongoing in Skopje. The fluctuating numbers reflect continuing uncertainty over peace prospects in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Host families in Kosovo have now reached

their absorption capacity in the Gnjilane area, where most of the refugees are settling. UNHCR is considering redirecting future influxes to other regions.

On 24 July, the Government of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia decided to close the border with Kosovo at the Blace border crossing for United Nations organizations and KFOR. Indeed, as with the earlier closure of the border in March this year, UNMIK is making representations to the authorities of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, as this decision imposes severe restrictions on the implementation of UNMIK's mandate.

To conclude, I should like to stress that continuing progress on planning the transition to provisional self-government, confidence-building measures and consolidation in the field of law and order over the past month has been a valuable contribution to UNMIK's goal of laying a solid foundation for Kosovo-wide elections later in the year. We are very pleased that four Kosovo Serb parties have decided to certify for the elections and again urge the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to unequivocally encourage participation in the elections as a means to undercut extremism, reduce inter-ethnic tensions and stake the rightful claim of the Kosovo Serb community to participate in the political process.

Now that some Kosovo Serb parties have taken the decision to certify for the elections, there is an even greater onus to ensure that the Kosovo Serb community sees that tangible benefits derive from this cooperation in the UNMIK-led process. It takes time for some projects to take root and for advantages to be seen. We must work to ensure that the programmes UNMIK is implementing at all levels to solicit the participation of the minority communities continue, as only through persistence will these goals be achieved.

**Mr. Gatilov** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are grateful to Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his detailed briefing on the situation in the region and the work of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

We note the efforts made by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Kosovo, Mr. Haekkerup, and the Mission he heads to re-establish normalcy in the province. We welcome steps to develop dialogue between UNMIK and the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We anticipate further intensification of that cooperation on

all matters, without exception, relating to the implementation of resolution 1244 (1999). We would emphasize yet again that it is only through solid interaction with Belgrade that the Mission can discharge its mandate. In that context, we stress the need for the signing with Belgrade of an agreement on the status of UNMIK and the Kosovo Force (KFOR).

One of the key issues now — as Mr. Guéhenno stressed in his briefing — is preparation for the Kosovo-wide elections. The task of ensuring that they are truly democratic and representative is ineluctably linked to the need for their careful preparation, with the active participation of Belgrade. First, security conditions must be established to ensure an equal footing for all ethnic communities in the province, without exception, and to guarantee them genuine freedom of expression and fair participation in the new organs of self-government. It is important that proper security conditions be established prior to the elections and that a steady process of return for refugees and displaced persons be under way.

We are seriously concerned over the ongoing absence of any real progress in identifying the fate of the 1,300 missing Serbs and other non-Albanian inhabitants of Kosovo. Inaction on this matter merely confirms the argument over unilateral humanism in respect of Kosovo Albanians and indicates a lack of willingness to heed appeals for assistance made by the relatives of missing non-Albanian inhabitants of the province. We urge that the matter be resolved as soon as possible.

We feel that we must recall the main achievement of the June visit by members of the Security Council to Kosovo: a clearly stated demand to UNMIK, KFOR and all the political leaders in Kosovo for full and comprehensive implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999), especially in respect of security for minorities.

Another serious problem that remains unresolved is the disarmament of combatants and the elimination of their illegal armed units. Literally every day, we hear reports of the discovery of weaponry in the province. As was noted by Principal Deputy Special Representative Matthews at the recent meeting of the Secretary-General's Group of Friends of Kosovo, it is not a question of nineteenth-century muskets, but of very modern types of weapons. We would expect that the arrangements recently made by the head of UNMIK

to combat the illegal ownership of arms and illegal crossings of the external and administrative borders of Kosovo and to fight against terrorism will truly help to solve the problem.

UNMIK and KFOR have taken certain steps to halt provocation raids by Albanian fighters beyond the borders of the province. These efforts, however, must be stepped up. It is now absolutely essential for the international presences to take effective and immediate steps to halt the expansion of Albanian extremism beyond Kosovo and to preserve stability in the Balkans.

We are very disturbed by reports that, in connection with the crisis in Macedonia, a large group of Albanian fighters in Kosovo are awaiting orders to invade that country. This cannot be allowed. We expect the leadership of UNMIK, in close cooperation with KFOR, to take additional steps to complete the genuine demilitarization and disarmament of former fighters of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), to deprive the post-KLA structures of any ability to influence the political situation and to halt illegal cross-border deliveries of weapons to extremists. One task of particular urgency today is the strict implementation of Security Council resolution 1160 (1998) on the arms embargo in Kosovo.

We have drawn attention to the UNMIK decision to suspend the powers of five leading members of the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC) who are suspected of engaging in subversive activities in Macedonia, and to arrest Major Saramati, the commander of a KPC brigade accused of undertaking activities threatening the international presences in Kosovo. We must stress once again the inadmissibility of a situation in which such individuals are among those cooperating with UNMIK on behalf of the KPC.

We would like once again to warn very seriously against any attempts to resolve the problem of the reintegration of Kosovo Mitrovica by force under the pretext that the status quo is inadmissible and that the situation needs to be resolved before the elections. Mr. Guéhenno spoke of this matter in his briefing to us. Any attempt in Mitrovica to use force or to speed up the Albanization of the region would be fraught with the most dangerous consequences: a flare-up of violence throughout northern Kosovo; the forcing out of the Serbs from that part of the province; and, in the final analysis, their complete exodus from Kosovo.

The solution can only be a political, comprehensive and carefully monitored one, and the basis for it must be a strengthening of the trust between the Serb and Albanian communities. In this context, we take note of the proposals to involve Serbian representatives from the parallel structures in UNMIK's police work in Mitrovica.

Overall, to stabilize the Balkans, we need approaches based primarily on the political will of the States in the region and on active assistance from the international community. That is the objective of the Russian initiative to convene a Balkan summit so that States of the region could conclude a legally binding agreement setting forth their mutual commitments to strictly abide by the basic principles of inter-State relations.

The signal from the international community must be clear and unambiguous. There can be absolutely no further redrawing of borders in Europe, including in the Balkans. It is essential to establish a solid and effective barrier to any kind of extremism, national intolerance or religious fanaticism. Those who try to resolve extremely complex problems of a national or religious nature by force of arms must be well aware that they will receive no support from the international community.

**Mr. Valdivieso** (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to thank Mr. Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, for the information he has presented to us this morning.

We would like on this occasion to follow up on a few matters that were dealt with by the Council a month ago as a result of the Council's mission to the field: mainly, the security situation, the preparations for the elections and the problem of missing persons.

With respect to security, I have to say that a month ago we had great expectations of the impact that the implementation of the three legislative initiatives would have, as well as the establishment by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) of a new police and justice pillar. We know, of course, that a month is not long enough to implement these measures. We are grateful for the valuable information that has been provided us by Mr. Guéhenno on the effectiveness that is being demonstrated in the area of combating organized crime, due precisely to the establishment of this new pillar.

As Mr. Haekkerup has said, the question of the refugees who are entering Kosovo from Macedonia is a source of serious concern. This is a potential problem that could affect the internal stability of Kosovo. Indeed, a greater number of people are coming from Macedonia than are going to it, thus the number of refugees in Kosovo is increasing. In addition, they are coming to regions or cities whose capacity to receive them has reached its limit. This situation calls for the attention of the international community, and we must take due note of it.

As concerns the elections, the main concern that we all have is to ensure that participation includes all of the minority groups, especially the Serb community. In order to achieve this, UNMIK intends to tackle various aspects of this issue, *inter alia*, the improvement of relations with Belgrade; the improvement of security conditions for the return of refugees; and the development of mechanisms for the registration of the population.

That is why we would like to highlight the importance of the signing of the memorandum of understanding between the International Organization for Migration and the Serbian Commission for Refugees, as well as the signing next Monday of an agreement between the International Organization for Migration and the Montenegrin Commissioner for Refugees in Montenegro. These agreements raise the possibility that the more than 200,000 Kosovars who, it is estimated, live in Serbia and Montenegro, will be able to take part in the elections that will take place in November.

I must also stress the new status that has been given to the Commissioner for Kosovo by the Government of Belgrade. This would seem to indicate that positive advances will continue to be made in these relations, which are essential for stability in the region.

As concerns the question of missing persons, we would like to stress the importance of the signing of the memorandum of understanding between UNMIK and the International Committee for Missing Persons. This will make it possible to begin DNA tests, so that we are able to identify the remains of various people.

When we visited Kosovo, one of the aspects mentioned by the various communities — with great sorrow and strong emphasis — was the need to raise the question of missing persons and detainees on a

priority basis, because it gives rise to other problems that can be resolved if we begin with the question of missing persons. We therefore commend the actions undertaken by UNMIK, and we hope that it will continue to work with dedication to ensure that this uncertainty, which affects a large number of families of missing persons, can be overcome.

Finally, I would like to stress the cooperation that has existed in recent weeks with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. We hope that this cooperation will continue on the part of all of the countries.

**Mr. Doutriaux** (France) (*spoke in French*): Belgium will speak later on behalf of the European Union, so at this point I would just like to offer a few comments.

First, I would like to thank Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno for the briefing he has given us on the situation in Kosovo. The adoption of the Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government of Kosovo and the upcoming Kosovo-wide elections next 17 November offer the necessary political prospects for democracy and stability in Kosovo.

Today it is the duty of all parties concerned, with assistance from the international community's involvement in Kosovo, to ensure the success of the elections. That success will depend primarily on the participation of all of the inhabitants of Kosovo, regardless of what communities they belong to. Belgrade's support for registration by Kosovo Serbs and the decision, mentioned by Mr. Guéhenno, of four Serb parties to register with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe are very positive developments. We hope that continued dialogue between Belgrade and the Serb community in Kosovo, and the initiatives and efforts under way on security issues, questions of missing persons and return of refugees, will all help to convince the Kosovo Serbs that full and complete participation will serve their own interests as well as peaceful coexistence and stability in Kosovo.

In this connection, I have a few questions for Mr. Guéhenno. A recent statement by the Yugoslav Committee on Kosovo indicated that, according to that Committee, the conditions for Serb participation in the elections are absolutely non-existent. I would like to hear Mr. Guéhenno's comments on this statement.

Above and beyond the preparations for the elections and the vote, it must be possible for the peaceful discussion of views and the free expression of democratic choices to be carried out in an atmosphere of security. I think that the recent adoption of regulations against crime and the establishment of the police and justice pillar that Mr. Guéhenno spoke about are useful measures, and we must encourage them. It is now a question of ensuring full implementation and effective functioning. We have to continue to step up our work against crime and against extremists.

My third comment is on Mitrovica, about which Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno spoke, as did Ambassador Gatilov. Mitrovica is an important problem, as Mr. Guéhenno said. The situation in Mitrovica cannot improve without the implementation of the comprehensive strategy that he spoke about, which would involve all of the communities and actors concerned, beginning with the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). In that way we would be able to tackle the causes of the problem in Mitrovica and not just the manifestations of the problem.

Fourthly, like other speakers, I would like to speak briefly on the situation in Macedonia. The recent developments there are very disturbing. We have condemned the confrontations of the last few days, and we call on the parties to scrupulously and fully respect the ceasefire agreed to on 5 July last. We call on the parties to demonstrate a very high level of responsibility, with a view to ensuring the success of the ongoing dialogue. There is no other option. Only a political solution can ensure a democratic and multi-ethnic future for all citizens of Macedonia. Mr. Guéhenno spoke about what the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and UNMIK were doing on the border between Kosovo and Macedonia, and in a way this was a response to Ambassador Gatilov's concerns. But KFOR and UNMIK must certainly do even more to ensure that the border between Kosovo and Macedonia is truly and completely under control so that there can be no illegal arms traffic to feed the conflict in Macedonia.

**Mr. Cunningham** (United States of America): I want to thank the Under-Secretary-General for the briefing. It is good to have an update and to check on the progress being made since our trip to Kosovo last month. Indeed, it is clear that while there is still much work to be done, there is progress being made, and we are gratified to hear that.

When we went to Kosovo, the most important message that the Council wanted to send was of the importance of the full implementation of resolution 1244 (1999). That is still the most important message, and I think we can see that progress is being made in all areas.

We also talked a lot during our trip about measures to reduce violence, including getting the new pillar I off the ground, the new security regulations and urging local leaders to publicly condemn the use of violence. I think we can see from Mr. Guéhenno's briefing that progress is being made in this regard, and we welcome that.

I also want to stress my Government's strong support for the recent decision by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) to extend the executive hold on the three suspects captured in relation to the Nis Express bus bombing. This is a topic that President Bush raised with Special Representative Haekkerup, and we urge UNMIK to form a special panel of international judges to review the available evidence — if that is the legally correct way to ensure that those suspected of such a shameful act do not walk free.

The Council mission also supported the political process, autonomous self-government, the legal framework, elections and, most specifically, Serb participation in that process and in those elections. I think we all understood and stressed that a multi-ethnic Kosovo will be possible only if all communities can and do participate in the process. So we are particularly gratified to have word that four Kosovo Serb political parties have registered for the elections. That is an important positive step, and we hope that other elements of the Serb community will take that step as well, and that they will participate.

Another major focus is how to support the rights of minorities in a multi-ethnic Kosovo, which includes the questions of Serb returns, adequate security, infrastructure and minority communities. We also wanted to promote the development of good working relationships with the Yugoslav authorities by UNMIK and the Kosovo Force (KFOR), which is an important element in realizing those goals. That cooperation is important. I think this is yet another area where we can see progress and commend the efforts of UNMIK and the Yugoslav authorities to continue a dialogue on how to move forward.



As Jean-Marie Guéhenno did, I cannot finish my statement without moving slightly off-theme to mention the situation in the neighbouring former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Recent violence there is of great concern to my country. The ceasefire is an open-ended commitment and is crucial to providing the atmosphere for a political dialogue. The use by armed extremists of the ceasefire to improve their military positions is reprehensible and unacceptable. We applaud efforts by UNMIK and KFOR to improve control of movement across the border between Kosovo and Macedonia. At this crucial juncture, all sides, including the Government of Macedonia, must exercise restraint and respect the ceasefire agreements. The only solution is a political solution. All will lose, the region will lose, if war is the choice instead of peace. The United States is urging the Macedonian Government and the party leaders to continue negotiations and to reach an agreement that addresses the concerns of all sides, respects the rights of all the people of Macedonia and preserves Macedonia's territorial integrity and sovereignty. We believe that such an agreement is possible, and it is certainly necessary.

**Mr. Ryan** (Ireland): We are grateful for today's comprehensive further briefing from Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno and the opportunity given by today's meeting to review recent developments.

I join Ambassador Doutriaux in observing that Belgium, as Presidency of the European Union, will make a statement later in today's debate. Ireland subscribes fully to the position of the European Union in that statement, and I make the following points in my national capacity.

All communities in Kosovo must realize and accept that the only possible future for Kosovo is as a multi-ethnic society based on respect for minority rights and for human rights. When we discussed Kosovo last month, Mr. Guéhenno noted that our key task was to involve all communities in the political process. The Kosovar Albanians must respect the rights of minorities, and those communities must, as the Under-Secretary-General put it, "accept the risk of participation" (*S/PV.4335, p. 4*).

The November elections will present the people of Kosovo with a crucial opportunity to elect legitimate interlocutors to represent their interests. We note with great satisfaction the support of the Federal Republic of

Yugoslavia for the registration of Serbs in Kosovo, and we welcome recent efforts undertaken by Serb parties towards registration, with four parties now registered.

We are encouraged by those developments, but more needs to be done. Kosovar Serbs must register for the elections in larger numbers before the 9 September deadline. It would be most desirable for their leaders to continue to signal their wholehearted commitment to and support for participation. That will not happen easily, and there is an onus on Kosovar parties and on civic leaders to do all possible to encourage a positive climate for Serb participation. The Serb population has to be enabled to believe that it is in its overall long-term interest to take part.

In encouraging that environment, the Council should sustain its strong message that all terrorist activity must cease. Equally, we insist that all ethnic-Albanian representatives must clearly distance themselves from violence.

It is essential to make further early and quantifiable progress in the security area, including with respect to the illegal importation and trafficking of weapons and the recovery of existing illegally held weapons. In that regard, we welcome the establishment of the new police and justice pillar and the promulgation of three regulations of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). We are grateful and gratified to hear from Mr. Guéhenno of early Pillar-I action. We look forward to hearing further of UNMIK's plans to resolve the growing penal capacity problem.

Ireland welcomes the opening of the UNMIK Office in Belgrade and the various meetings between the Special Representative and President Kostunica. We believe that the Mission must engage in even closer liaison with the Administration in Belgrade, including on conditions that could lead to the return of refugees and internally displaced persons.

A comprehensive strategy is essential to address the problems of Mitrovica, and we welcome Mr. Guéhenno's outline of such a strategy this morning. That strategy will, of course, need to include political, social and religious elements. The parallel structures in northern Mitrovica must be removed. The economic situation will also need to be improved systematically and steadily, as elsewhere in Kosovo. I agree very much with Mr. Guéhenno on the importance of progress under the economic-reconstruction pillar.

It was clear to the participants in the recent Security Council mission that the lack of progress in relation to missing persons is a source of great contention for both communities. Progress must be made on this. In that regard, we welcome the announcement yesterday that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Haekkerup, had signed a memorandum of understanding with the International Committee for Missing Persons on the DNA testing of hitherto unidentified human remains. The sensitivity of that issue cannot be underestimated, nor can its central importance with regard to the wider promotion of justice.

Since we last discussed Kosovo in this Chamber, former President Milosevic has been placed under the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, in The Hague. In our discussions of conflicts around the world — indeed, as recently as the discussion of the Democratic Republic of the Congo here on Tuesday, 24 July — we have asserted that those guilty of crimes against humanity, of genocide or of grievous violations of humanitarian law cannot and will not escape justice. There can be no impunity. The arraignment of Mr. Milosevic underlines the importance to all the countries of the region of their obligation to, and also their interest in, cooperating fully with the Tribunal.

I join other members and Mr. Guéhenno in stressing that we are also following with concern the unfolding events in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In the context of the visit today of the European Union High Representative, Javier Solana, of the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, George Robertson, and of the Chairman-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Romanian Foreign Minister Mircea Dan Geoana, we call again on all the parties to negotiate in good faith and with determination, with the clear objective of achieving a realistic, equitable and peaceful settlement.

**Sir Jeremy Greenstock** (United Kingdom): We warmly thank the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations for an excellent briefing. Like our European partners, the United Kingdom fully endorses the statement which the representative of Belgium will later make on behalf of the European Union, not least in our collective support for the excellent work which the Special Representative of the

Secretary-General, Mr. Haekkerup, is doing in implementing resolution 1244 (1999) in all its aspects.

Mr. Guéhenno outlined a number of welcome developments, including especially on preparations for the elections. I want to highlight two key areas of continuing concern. The first is progress on law enforcement, and the second is developing contacts between the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and Belgrade.

On law enforcement, we very much welcome UNMIK's development of a professional police and justice cadre in Kosovo, and their efficiency in implementing regulations aimed at stamping out terrorism. We welcome particularly the recent arrest by the Kosovo Force (KFOR) of individuals caught possessing illegal weapons and illegally crossing Kosovo's borders. UNMIK and KFOR must both continue to address the holes in the framework of regulations to ensure that extremists have no room to operate. That applies to both sides of the community: a British Foreign Office minister was recently in Kosovo, and emphasized to Kosovo Albanian leaders that extremism and ethnically motivated violence had to stop because it undermines the responsible work of legitimate ethnic-Albanian politicians in the region. Small groups of armed Albanians cannot and should not be allowed to plunge other parts of the region into chaos.

On contacts between UNMIK and Belgrade, I think this was one of the most important areas where our mission last month had an effect. We welcome the appointment of the Serbian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Covic, as Belgrade's coordinator on Kosovo, because his involvement will be vital in many areas, including three in particular. The first is Mitrovica, where we look to Belgrade to use its influence positively to help resolve the situation. This is a crucial test of progress in establishing a multi-ethnic society in Kosovo.

The second is participation in the elections. Here, we welcome the decision of 12 minority parties to register; now they must participate. Individuals too must register to vote. It is important that all communities participate in the elections to ensure that their interests are reflected in the new institutions.

The third area is missing persons and detainees. We very much welcome the fact that a contact group of UNMIK and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on missing persons met for the first time on 19 June. That

group must be encouraged to continue its work in this difficult but crucial area.

Finally, since there is such a huge amount to do in a difficult environment, I want to echo the concerns about the situation in Macedonia that have been uttered by Ambassadors Doutriaux, Cunningham, Ryan and others. I will not repeat them; I share what they have said about the situation there. The Council is clearly going to have to keep a very close eye on developments.

**Mr. Chowdhury** (Bangladesh): First of all, Mr. President, let me thank you for organizing this open debate on Kosovo. We believe that the exchanges that have taken place so far have been very useful. Those exchanges were preceded by a very extensive and useful briefing by the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Mr. Guéhenno, and we thank him for it.

As we are having this open briefing today, we see that the international community remains committed to stability and peace in the Balkans. That is reassuring for us all, including the peoples of the Balkans and the inhabitants of Kosovo.

We in the Security Council should continue to remain actively involved in pursuing the full and effective implementation of resolution 1244 (1999). The Council should remain attentive to the support needed by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) to carry out its mission successfully.

There have also been positive developments. We welcome the increased cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia: the handing over or surrender of the indicted. The remaining persons wanted for war crimes and crimes against humanity need to be brought before the Tribunal in The Hague. The wounds of the Balkan wars will not be healed without accountability and justice.

Having been in the area only recently, having confronted the realities, hearing the views of all sides, we Council members have together drawn certain conclusions. We presented these formally on 19 June here in the Council and deliberated on those important issues during our public meeting on 22 June. It is important that we continue to flag those points and underscore the need to follow up on them.

I would like to recall some of the main findings and conclusions of the Council mission, as follows. It is important that UNMIK continue to receive sustained support and resources from the international community. The political process has to be taken forward, in accordance with Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). The promulgation of the Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government has been an important step in the implementation of that resolution.

The 17 November Kosovo-wide elections are of crucial importance. The elections will enhance the democratic process in Kosovo and the stability of the region. Secure conditions for the elections should be ensured. The participation of all communities in the elections, the return of refugees and displaced persons and their participation in the elections should be encouraged. The Kosovo Force (KFOR) should regularly provide detailed information including about the origin, type and quantity of weapons seized, in order to enable the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1160 (1998) to pursue any possible violations. Intensified efforts should be made regarding the issue of detainees and persons of all communities who are missing, which continues to be a major impediment to reconciliation. A comprehensive strategy should be developed to resolve the complex situation in Mitrovica, with emphasis on the need for multi-ethnic initiatives in the social, economic and religious areas in order to start rebuilding confidence between the communities. As economic development would make a major contribution to stabilization, additional funding needs to be found to continue the projects of the village employment and rehabilitation programme, which have proved an effective tool for inter-ethnic economic cooperation.

It is important that the majority ensure that the rights of the minority communities are respected. In turn, minority communities, too, must realize that there is no alternative to establishing a multi-ethnic society. The Kosovo Serb community in particular must integrate into the structures being set up by UNMIK, rather than attempt to set up parallel structures. UNMIK must continue and enhance its dialogue with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, whose influence in Kosovo is crucial for the implementation of resolution 1244 (1999).

Today these important elements remain as valid as when they were presented. It is important that all

Kosovars, irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds, accept the framework established under resolution 1244 (1999) and contribute to the full implementation of the resolution. They should learn to live together. This means reconciliation, tolerance and mutual accommodation. It means they have only one option: building a multi-ethnic Kosovo through a culture of peace. To this end, the representation of different communities in the interim institutions is essential. Therefore, the successful holding of elections in Kosovo is a most important challenge for UNMIK. The process should be owned by the people of Kosovo. The civil registration process must receive the necessary cooperation.

The role of civil society in building confidence, helping reconciliation and fostering greater tolerance is well recognized. In this connection, I recall our meeting with the representatives of women's non-governmental organizations in Kosovo. As part of civil society, they are engaged in reaching people across the ethnic divide. They should receive the support of UNMIK and encouragement from the international community. This would not only help in the effective implementation of 1244 (1999); it would also be in conformity with Council resolution 1325 (2000).

Let me conclude by commending UNMIK, under the leadership of Special Representative of the Secretary-General Haekkerup, for its very important work for peace and stability in Kosovo.

**Miss Durrant** (Jamaica): Let me begin by thanking Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his briefing, which has provided a useful update on the issues identified in the report on the Security Council's mission to Kosovo and Belgrade in mid-June.

National reconciliation, economic reconstruction and the preparations for elections are all part of the process which we hope will lead to a stable and multi-ethnic Kosovo. In this regard, Mr. Guéhenno has rightly emphasized that the activities of pillar 1 and increased cooperation between the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) provide a basis for improving law and order and security for all the people of Kosovo. My delegation also attaches importance to the development of a sound working relationship between UNMIK and the Belgrade authorities, as key to the full implementation of resolution 1244 (1999).

At our briefing last month we encouraged UNMIK to continue to focus on the implementation of initiatives that would provide for greater protection of the minority communities, encourage the participation of these communities in the political process and facilitate a greater return of refugees and internally displaced persons. It is clear that the problem of missing persons continues to be an issue that causes anxiety for the people of Kosovo and one that hinders our progress towards reconciliation. We are therefore pleased to hear that the Contact Group is now meeting on a fortnightly basis, and we can only hope that the efforts aimed at locating missing persons and the identification of missing persons after exhumation will add to the climate of stability. We are pleased that UNMIK police are about to begin work on the exhumation of grave sites, and we urge the speedy implementation of the memorandum of understanding signed between UNMIK and the International Commission on Missing Persons to begin DNA testing on unidentified bodies. We support the work of the forensic experts, and we hope that more will be sent by those countries which are able to assist in this important work.

Secondly, on the issue of refugee returns, we agree with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General that successful and sustainable returns require a safe and secure environment with an acceptable level of freedom of movement for returnees. They also require inter-ethnic dialogue among political and community leaders to build confidence among communities and a substantial commitment of resources by the international community. We therefore feel that reconciliation efforts must coincide with those aimed at economic reconstruction and the creation of a viable and sustainable economic basis in Kosovo.

The issue of property sales is also essential in ensuring the peaceful coexistence of ethnic groups in Kosovo. We have read reports of the sale of minority housing, and it has been indicated that this appears to be a guise for ethnic cleansing. We support the steps being taken by UNMIK to address this problem and welcome the draft regulation on the registration of contracts for the sale of real property in specific geographic areas of Kosovo. We hope that this regulation will halt what is perceived as unfair treatment of vulnerable communities.

The conflict in the neighbouring former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia also continues to have an

impact on the situation in Kosovo. Mr. Guéhenno reported that some 62,000 refugees from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia remain in Kosovo, while some 12,000 have returned to their home country. We certainly hope that this situation will be stabilized. It is one which requires close watching by the Council.

On the situation of law and order, my delegation is appreciative of the efforts of UNMIK to improve law and order and reduce crime and violence. The reports of UNMIK's recent discovery of more caches of military weapons and ammunition is something that my delegation is very concerned about. We believe that it is important that UNMIK and the Kosovo Force (KFOR) continue their disarmament efforts and their monitoring of the borders. With the consolidation of pillar I and other initiatives highlighted by Mr. Guéhenno, we hope that additional progress will be made to interdict weapons.

In closing, I wish to inform the Council, in my capacity as Chairperson of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1160, that the Committee has taken steps to send a formal request to KFOR to regularly provide detailed information, including that pertaining to the origin, type and quantity of weapons seized, in order to enable the Committee to pursue any possible violations. We look forward to receiving the cooperation promised by KFOR during the Security Council's mission last month.

**Mr. Koonjul** (Mauritius): We are most grateful to Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his very comprehensive briefing on the recent developments in Kosovo. Despite multiple political, economic and security concerns, the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) has made considerable progress in the implementation of its mandate. We pay tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Hans Haekkerup, for his very able leadership of UNMIK. We believe that they have a tremendous responsibility, and we feel that they are assuming it very well.

We commend the relentless efforts of UNMIK in maintaining peace in extremely difficult situations. With the promulgation of the Constitutional Framework, UNMIK's involvement in ensuring its effective implementation remains crucial. Of the very many challenges facing UNMIK, the registration of all the minority communities, including the Serbs, and

securing their participation in the forthcoming November elections in Kosovo are among the top priorities.

We note with concern that some Serb leaders are reluctant to participate in the registration process and have in fact hardened their radical positions. We refer in particular to the Serb National Council-Gracanica. We call on the Serb community to engage itself fully in the political process, which remains the only way for it to protect and promote its interests and jointly shape the destiny of Kosovo. We also urge it to cooperate fully with UNMIK and participate in the Joint Interim Administrative Structure.

The Kosovo Albanians, for their part, must respect the rights of the minority communities and create a safe and secure environment conducive to inter-ethnic dialogue.

Mauritius notes with satisfaction that the Kosovo Turkish community, which did not participate in last year's municipal elections, has now committed itself to participating in the Kosovo-wide elections.

We deplore the incidents and upsurge of violence in the Mitrovica and Pristina regions, where a number of people have been injured and where aid personnel from the international community have been targeted.

We do, however, welcome the promulgation of legislation to combat organized crime, illegal weapons possession and terrorism. The establishment of the new pillar I will further strengthen the law enforcement and criminal justice systems in Kosovo. With these positive changes, and barring other mishaps, we may reasonably hope for a democratic, stable and peaceful Kosovo society in the near future.

We welcome the improvement of relations between the UNMIK team and the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. President Kostunica's offer to work closely with UNMIK for a multi-ethnic Kosovo society during the Council's mission to Belgrade is indeed a great leap forward in the reconciliation process. With the opening of the UNMIK office in Belgrade, dialogue and cooperation on issues of mutual concern will be enhanced. Consequent closer collaboration between the Kosovo Force (KFOR), the UNMIK police and the Yugoslav police should ensure a safe and secure environment for the return of the minority communities to their homeland. The Yugoslav authorities should continue to play an important role in

persuading the Kosovo Serb community to participate in the UNMIK-led process and to register themselves for the forthcoming elections.

We note with regret that the issue of the missing Serbs has seen little development. We welcome the signing between UNMIK and the international community of the memorandum of understanding on the missing persons with a view to identifying the missing persons through DNA testing. The Serb community should be given every assurance that the international community is committed to finding the truth about the missing persons. We call on the Kosovo Albanian leaders to cooperate with UNMIK to address this problem. This is very important to build the necessary confidence and feeling of security among the Serbs.

Likewise, the handing over of detainees to Kosovo remains to be completed. Though some of them have been returned by the Yugoslav authorities, there are still more, including children, women and elders, who are held in Serbia. We call on the Yugoslav authorities to accelerate the process of handing over all the remaining detainees to UNMIK, which, in turn, will ensure the review of their cases.

Kosovo has been the scene of great human tragedy. Thousands of people, including women and children, have been killed mercilessly. Thanks to the prompt intervention of the international community, we have been able to stop this tragedy. It is now time to build peace and reconstruct the economy in a climate of justice, fair play and tolerance, where each ethnic community can live free of fear and in harmony.

Coming from Mauritius, we know that this is possible. We exhort the international community to support this process fully.

**Mr. Kulyk (Ukraine):** I would like to thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his comprehensive and informative briefing, which gives us a clear update of the developments on the ground. My delegation acknowledges the progress in the implementation of the Constitutional Framework and in the preparation of the Kosovo-wide elections.

Moreover, we note the reduction of the level of tension in the province. In our view, this has been achieved by the result-oriented efforts of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), the return of the forces of the Federal

Republic of Yugoslavia to the ground safety zone and the activities of the Kosovo Force. However, additional progress in this field is challenged by further critical problems that remain unresolved. Let me highlight some of these questions.

First is the issue of ensuring a safe and secure environment for the sustainable return of Kosovo Serbs to the region. My delegation welcomes and supports the recent statement of Special Representative Haekkerup on three key elements — a safe and secure environment, enhanced inter-ethnic dialogue and a substantial commitment of international resources — that should be in place to ensure successful returns. At the same time, we believe that the latest worried comments of the Serb authorities would clearly be best answered by practical results. In this context, we would be grateful for comprehensive information from UNMIK on the dynamics of returns, the time perspectives and major difficulties involved towards that objective.

Secondly, my delegation attaches particular importance to pillar I and UNMIK's efforts aimed at promoting an effective law enforcement and judicial system. We applaud UNMIK activities to reduce ethnically targeted crime and political violence and its progress in developing the Kosovo Police Service. We consider the implementation of legislation to deal with illegal border and boundary crossings, illegal weapons possession and weapons trafficking to be a step of the highest importance. That is why we would appreciate any comments on UNMIK's evaluation of the implementation process and of possible additional steps to enhance cooperation with the Yugoslav authorities in this practical field.

Thirdly, I should like to touch on the humanitarian issue. The continuing flow of refugees from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia poses a serious threat to the general security situation in Kosovo. We believe that the measures taken by the international community to face this challenge should be redoubled. In particular, we count on UNMIK's vision of the practical ways that can help to improve the situation.

Speaking of the regional dimension of the Kosovo issue, we attach particular importance to the current situation in Macedonia. We strongly condemn the military activities of the Albanian extremist armed groups, their terrorist attacks against Macedonian

soldiers and their acts of violence against civilians, which have claimed the lives of dozens of innocent people. My country reconfirms its full support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Macedonia and supports measures taken by the Macedonian Government in this regard. At the same time, in our view, there can be no military solution to the present crisis and we urge the parties concerned to seek the settlement of the crisis through political means.

**Mr. Kolby** (Norway): Norway would like to reiterate its support for the work done by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), led by Special Representative Haekkerup, and the Kosovo Force (KFOR), led by General Skiaker, to implement Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). However, the international community, as well as local leaders, must intensify their efforts to create conditions for a multi-ethnic, peaceful and democratic Kosovo for all. Serbs and other non-Albanians in the province have seen few signs of improvement with regard to the security situation, possibilities for return and the resolution of missing persons cases.

Successful elections in November will depend on an improvement of the security situation, especially for non-Albanians. This is necessary in order to ensure the widest possible participation in the elections. We trust that UNMIK will do everything in its power to facilitate meaningful minority participation. Furthermore, we expect the leaders of the Kosovo Albanians to cooperate fully in these undertakings. Their readiness to assume responsibility in the period prior to the elections will indicate their readiness to assume responsibilities also following the elections.

At the same time, we count on Serb leaders in Belgrade, as well as in Kosovo, to show support for UNMIK's endeavours to implement Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). In this respect, we welcome the positive attitude of President Kostunica regarding Kosovo Serb participation in civil registration. We stress the importance of continued cooperation between UNMIK and Belgrade in this process and we welcome the appointment of Serb Deputy Prime Minister Covic as state coordinator for Kosovo. The international community expects the authorities in Belgrade to encourage Kosovo Serb participation in the elections.

Creating security and conditions for the return of all refugees and internally displaced persons to Kosovo must also be given priority. The United Nations and

KFOR cannot do this alone. Kosovar leaders should demonstrate increased political will to establish a multi-ethnic society which is ready for meaningful self-rule in accordance with Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). There seems to be scope for improvement in the efforts of the representatives of the international community to determine the fate of the many missing Serbs in Kosovo. However, Kosovo Albanians and their leaders ought to be far more cooperative in order to facilitate these efforts.

Norway welcomes the extradition of the former President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic, to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague. This is yet another sign that the democratic authorities in Belgrade are working systematically and are determined to settle the accounts of the country's recent past and to bring Yugoslavia back to normal international cooperation. This we welcome.

I wish to say a few words on the Macedonian crisis. The Macedonian crisis cannot be resolved militarily. Sustainable peace will require a political solution. The political leadership needs to take great responsibility for the peace process. This requires increased willingness to compromise. Experience to date shows a great need for continued international engagement. The close cooperation between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union is very positive. It is of vital importance that the international community speak with one voice. NATO's decision to respond positively to President Trajkovski's request for assistance in the monitoring and disarmament process will, hopefully, facilitate the political dialogue.

**Ms. Lee** (Singapore): We would like to join the other delegations in thanking Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his comprehensive briefing on the recent developments in Kosovo and in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. I should like to make just two main points today.

Singapore's positions on the major issues confronting Kosovo are well known. We have articulated them several times since we joined the Security Council. Now that Kosovo-wide elections, scheduled for 17 November, are coming closer, it is even more important for all the parties involved to invigorate their efforts to make sure that the necessary conditions are in place. Of utmost importance is the

full participation and engagement of all the ethnic communities in Kosovo in the elections and in developing substantial autonomy. This includes refugees and displaced persons, who should be encouraged to return and to participate in the registration, the elections and the self-government structures. Several conditions are required. I would like to highlight four conditions which we feel are needed.

First is a secure environment where all the ethnic communities feel safe. Building on the establishment of pillar I and the promulgation of regulations against terrorism, organized crime and illegal weapons possession, the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Kosovo Force should take steps to further improve the security situation in Kosovo. The Kosovo leadership also has a part to play in forcefully rejecting violence, extremism and terrorism. Violence against the ethnic minorities, in particular, must cease.

Second is an environment favourable to improving inter-ethnic relations and promoting reconciliation. The Kosovo leadership has an important duty in this regard, while Kosovo society must overcome the deep hatred that exists among the ethnic communities. Specifically, the Kosovo Albanian leadership has to be more forthcoming on improving the treatment of the minority communities, while the latter must be more forthcoming in integrating into the society at large.

A multi-ethnic Kosovo is clearly the only option, and both the majority and minorities in Kosovo must work towards this goal. The United Nations and the international community can only assist to push the process forward.

Third is a continuing emphasis on developing a sustainable market economy. The positive spiral effect of economic progress on Kosovo should not be underestimated. Economic growth even has an affirmative effect on the security environment in the province. But just as for reconciliation, economic development depends on the readiness of the Kosovo leadership itself to build economic sustainability in the province. In this respect, we urge the Kosovo leadership to support the work of UNMIK in relation to the strategies developed under the economic pillar.

Fourthly, it is even more important, in this crucial period, for UNMIK to have regular, direct dialogue with Belgrade. Dialogue between the Kosovo political

leaders and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Government should also be encouraged. Clearly, the effective implementation of resolution 1244 (1999) requires continued communication with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Government.

The United Nations responsibility to Kosovo does not end with the elections and the establishment of the structures of provisional self-government. These are indeed significant milestones, but Kosovo's return to normalcy is likely to take more time.

Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) must be strictly implemented until an agreement on the final status of Kosovo is reached. The need for a continued and substantive United Nations presence in post-election Kosovo, supported by other international agencies and interested parties, is obvious. The duration and nature of that presence must take into account the larger political context and environment.

The peaceful resolution of the Kosovo question is integral to the security and stability of the entire Balkan region. We are of the view that the eventual termination of the United Nations presence, as in other troubled parts of the world, must be gradual and carefully structured to bolster, not undermine, the painstaking progress achieved. It is imperative that the United Nations, having begun such a major undertaking, does not terminate or draw down one mission prematurely on the simple-minded proposition that another, elsewhere, can be supported.

The fact is that demand for resources to restore international peace will always exceed supply. However, if exit strategies for operations that the United Nations has already committed to are not carefully calibrated and executed, we run the real risk of unravelling all of the achievements made. This would render the substantial investments made by the international community a total waste and seriously undermine the credibility of the United Nations. Worse, it might render necessary the expenditure of even more resources to put the pieces back together again.

**Mr. Touré** (Mali) (*spoke in French*): Like the delegations that have spoken before me, I should like to thank the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, for the very thorough update of the activities of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).



Despite the many problems facing UNMIK, we must acknowledge that remarkable progress has been achieved in the implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999), which aims to set up democratic, multi-ethnic institutions in Kosovo.

My comments will touch on the following points.

From a political standpoint, my delegation is grateful to Mr. Haekkerup and to the entire UNMIK staff for the tireless efforts they have been making in preparing for the general elections to be held on 17 November. We believe that the proper organization of these elections is crucial for the participation of all of the communities of Kosovo. That is why we call on all of the peoples of Kosovo to take part en masse in these elections, which constitute a vital framework to combat intransigent extremism and ethnic intolerance.

The participation of all of the communities, in particular that of the Serb minority, which boycotted the municipal elections last October, is of major concern for my delegation. We welcome the registration of the four Serb parties, and we invite UNMIK and the Kosovo Force (KFOR) to take the necessary security measures to encourage all of the Serb refugees to return home and to actively take part in the election and in the building of a multi-ethnic and democratic society in Kosovo. The development of a reliable electoral registry is necessary to move ahead the electoral process under way in Kosovo.

From a security standpoint, my delegation expresses its deep concern over the continuation of ethnic and political violence as well as organized crime in Kosovo. There is no doubt that violence against minorities in the province is perhaps the major obstacle to achieving the international community's goals of peace, democracy and prosperity in Kosovo. We strongly condemn this indiscriminate violence which is affecting minorities and which, regrettably, is the greatest obstacle to the return of refugees and internally displaced persons.

The setting up by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of Pillar 1 and the existence of legislation suppressing organized crime, the illegal possession of arms and terrorism are useful measures that could considerably improve the security conditions in Kosovo. We also support the concrete measures taken by UNMIK and KFOR concerning the monitoring of the administrative borders of Kosovo, in

particular the border with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

All of the necessary measures must be taken so that Kosovo will not serve as a base for sending weapons to Albanian rebels and to the UCK. We launch an urgent appeal to the Macedonian army and to the UCK to respect the ceasefire that went into force on 5 July, and we condemn any form of violence against democracy and the rule of law.

From an economic standpoint, even though efforts have been made in this area by UNMIK, the very high unemployment rate that prevails in Kosovo as well as the fragile state of the economy are sources of concern for my delegation. We are convinced that economic development is a major element in stabilization, and therefore my delegation recommends that the international community mobilize additional funds for economic recovery programmes for villages in Kosovo.

From a humanitarian standpoint, the situation of thousands of Albanian refugees from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia who are fleeing confrontations between Macedonian forces and Albanian extremists and who have found refuge in Kosovo are a source of concern for my delegation, and we believe that the international community should render them substantial assistance.

Finally, while taking note of the enormity of the task facing UNMIK, my delegation would like to pay tribute to Mr. Hans Haekkerup for the work he has done as head of UNMIK and to the entire local and international staff of UNMIK and KFOR for their determination and commitment to implement Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). The international community must step up its efforts to assist UNMIK in this crucial phase of its commitment to Kosovo in order to enable the achievement of the objectives of peace, security and sustainable development.

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of China.

We appreciate the latest efforts made by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) in the comprehensive implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) and the progress that has already been achieved. Voter registration in Kosovo is to be held on schedule,

at the end of this month. China has all along stressed the importance of the participation of minority communities, which is necessary to ensure an impartial and fair election.

Integrating the strategy used to build trust among the various ethnic groups in the area of Mitrovica, as requested by the Security Council mission to Kosovo, is also indispensable for the holding of elections in Kosovo. UNMIK should continue its efforts in this regard.

Another important consensus reached by the Security Council mission to Kosovo is the need for the total disarmament of illegal armed groups. Now the Kosovo Police Service (KPS) is gaining in strength and will play an increasingly important role in ensuring law and order and the administration of justice in Kosovo. We understand that the KPS has recruited, or is about to recruit, a large number of members of the Kosovo Liberation Army, which might affect whether the KPS can fulfil its role impartially in providing law and order. We hope that UNMIK will proceed with caution on this matter.

The situations in Kosovo and Macedonia are somewhat related, so it is necessary to pay attention to the illegal flow of arms and the humanitarian situation along the border of Kosovo and Macedonia. UNMIK has the responsibility to take effective measures to stop the illegal cross-border flow of arms. The situation in Macedonia is at a critical stage. We hope that the parties concerned, in the spirit of respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Macedonia, will mediate the ethnic tensions between Macedonian and Albanian communities in an objective and impartial manner so as to avoid the escalation of violence and deterioration of the security situation, which would have a negative impact on the peace and stability of the region as a whole.

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

I call on the representative of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

**Mr. Mladenović** (Yugoslavia): I would also like to thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his comprehensive briefing.

Since the last consideration in the Security Council, last month, of the situation in Kosovo and Metohija, the autonomous province of the Yugoslav

constituent Republic of Serbia — the priority issues have become the elections in the Province, the return of displaced persons and the tracing of abducted and missing persons.

The common goal of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and international actors involved in the quest for a solution to the crisis in Kosovo and Metohija should be a consistent implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) and the creation of conditions for building a multi-ethnic and democratic Kosovo and Metohija, including self-government and substantial autonomy with full respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Surely one of the essential steps towards the realization of this goal is the return of displaced persons. A fully secure environment must be created for the return of Serbs and other non-Albanians to their homes, rather than to some places of temporary residence. Of course, this will take time, but it could be done step by step. Southern Serbia is eloquent proof that displaced persons can return if proper conditions are created. Such conditions must be created in Kosovo and Metohija as well. Since the entry of the Yugoslav forces into the entire ground safety zone on 31 May this year, more than half of the 12,000 displaced Albanians have returned to the area.

However, more than 250,000 persons displaced from Kosovo and Metohija now live in other parts of Serbia and throughout Yugoslavia. Twenty-five thousand non-Albanians left the province in 2000 alone. Under the return plan of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2000 persons are supposed to return this year. Considering the existing circumstances in Kosovo and Metohija, even this modest number appears unrealistic.

The other very important and painful issue is the fate of abducted and missing persons. We must not turn a deaf ear to the desperate pleas of families and relatives. We must invest every effort to trace each and every missing person. The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia attaches utmost importance to resolving this issue. There is no doubt that this can be done only with the involvement of the international community and Albanian factors. So far, I regret to say, the latter have shown no readiness to become actively engaged. It is of course encouraging, though, that understanding for this issue was shown at the meeting

of the Yugoslav delegation with the North Atlantic council and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Secretary-General in Brussels on 18 July 2001.

The question of the participation of Serbs in the general elections in Kosovo and Metohija on 17 November 2001 is of widespread interest. For the international community, it is a precondition for their inclusion in addressing the future of Kosovo and Metohija. My delegation presented the position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the elections in its statement to the Security Council on 22 June 2001. Let me reiterate that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is ready to support the participation of Serbs in the elections if necessary conditions are created.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has shown readiness to cooperate with the international community. It called on the Serbs to register and defined the necessary conditions so that it could call on them to take part in the elections. These include security guarantees to all residents of Kosovo and Metohija; the creation of conditions for a safe return of all displaced persons; tracing all abducted and missing persons; and the preparation of the elections in cooperation with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia. Meanwhile, appropriate arrangements have been made with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe mission and the International Organization for Migration to begin voter registration in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, implementation and the monitoring of the elections.

Let me also point out on this occasion the need for institutionalizing cooperation between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). This would not only facilitate numerous practical solutions, but would also recommit the international community to respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as provided for by Security Council resolution 1244 (1999).

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is ready to build relations with the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and UNMIK, based on partnership and mutual respect. However, by its latest guidelines for visits by Yugoslav Government officials and political party representatives to Kosovo and Metohija, UNMIK has, in our opinion, taken a step in the wrong direction. The formalities required contain very serious restrictions which imply

relations between sovereign States. They are clearly inappropriate with regard to visits of individuals from the rest of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to Kosovo and Metohija, which is an integral part of its constituent Republic of Serbia. This brings about an absurd situation in which the Yugoslav democratic authorities now have to meet conditions that were not required even of the regime of Slobodan Milosevic. These guidelines should be reconsidered, and the best way to do this would be, we believe, through reaching a mutual agreement.

The removal of anachronistic vestiges of the past would greatly facilitate the progress of democracy in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. To that end, we hope and believe that the arms embargo imposed by Security Council resolution 1160 (1998) and the ground safety zone and air safety zone established by the military technical agreement of 9 June 1999 will be lifted and abolished soon.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will invest every effort to improve the situation in Kosovo and Metohija, which is now far from what was intended to be achieved by the implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). To that end, it is necessary that, in cooperation with international actors, the Albanian community in Kosovo and Metohija also play an active role and avoid steps that violate or go beyond the bounds of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). Taken together, these efforts would be conducive to a multi-ethnic and democratic Kosovo and Metohija, the stabilization of Yugoslavia and, by extension, the stabilization of the Balkans as a whole.

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

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

Last month, the Security Council had the opportunity to discuss the situation in Kosovo on the

basis of reports of the Secretary-General and of the Security Council mission to the region. The European Union commented on developments in Kosovo on that occasion, and I shall therefore confine myself to stressing elements that are of greatest importance to the Union — elements, moreover, that Mr. Guéhenno highlighted in his excellent briefing.

I would like first of all to reaffirm the support of the European Union for the efforts of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Hans Haekkerup, in implementing resolution 1244 (1999). The work carried out by the men and women of UNMIK has led to concrete and positive results which should be underlined.

The European Union welcomes the promulgation of the Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government and the announcement of the date of parliamentary elections. These are crucial steps towards a democratic and multi-ethnic Kosovo. But to attain that goal it is essential for all communities to participate in the elections and in the provisional Kosovo institutions that will stem from it. The elections offer all communities the opportunity to take their fate in hand within the context of resolution 1244 (1999).

In that connection, we welcome the support of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the registration of Kosovo Serb voters. We hope that the appointment of Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Covic to coordinate policy on Kosovo will contribute to those efforts, and that the Belgrade Government will also be able to persuade the Kosovo Serb community to participate in the 17 November elections. We welcome the fact that several political parties have already registered for the election. We encourage the others, and particularly the Serb parties, to follow their example.

The European Union is aware of the problems still remaining in Kosovo, especially with regard to security, missing persons and the return of refugees and displaced persons. We welcome the measures and initiatives already taken and encourage UNMIK and other concerned actors to continue their efforts in those areas.

The tension in Kosovo has abated somewhat over the past month. But the risk of the situation deteriorating should not be underestimated. It is to be

hoped that the recent security measures will lead to a reduction in violence. Consolidation of Pillar I, “Police and justice”, should also open the way to an improvement in public order. The Union supports the adoption and enforcement of firm measures against extremists and criminal organizations, and we emphasize the worrying situation in northern Kosovo, in particular in Mitrovica. We support the efforts of UNMIK and of the Kosovo Force (KFOR) to ensure security and to restore confidence in this area.

For the European Union, the handover of Mr. Milosevic to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, at The Hague, is an important development. It is necessary for the process of reconciliation that the people of Kosovo and, more generally, those of the entire region, realize that justice will be done and that nobody is above the law.

Despite the fragile ceasefire, the situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia remains a cause of concern. We remain convinced that the only way to achieve a lasting settlement is through political dialogue. The European Union welcomes the political dialogue initiated on the basis of the framework document. All the parties must now shoulder their responsibilities. The Union will continue to offer its assistance with a view to finding a peaceful and lasting solution to the conflict. And, as members know, the High Representative, Mr. Solana, is today in Skopje along with the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Chairman-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The European Union will continue its efforts to promote stability, democratic development and prosperity in the region, in close cooperation with all parties. Next month, the electoral process in Kosovo will have reached the significant milestone of registering political parties and voters. We hope to be able, at the next meeting of the Security Council, to express satisfaction that all went smoothly.

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): I call now on Mr. Guéhenno to respond to questions and comments.

**Mr. Guéhenno** (*spoke in French*): Let me first address the comments and questions of the representative of France. Ambassador Doutriaux asked me to comment on the unambiguous conclusion of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia’s Committee on Kosovo that conditions for Serb participation in the elections were “non-existent” (*supra*). I think the first

response is that four Serb parties have decided to register and to request certification. That indicates that those four parties hope that the elections can result in true participation by the Serb community in the affairs of Kosovo.

Clearly, the progress that the Serbs expect will be gradual — too slow to meet their expectations. As I think everybody agrees, that progress can come about only through a gradual approach, such as the one instituted by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). The pace might be debated, but I think everyone agrees that it must be gradual.

Clearly, expectations in three basic areas need to be addressed. Some questions have symbolic and emotional dimensions, such as that of missing persons. Here, several delegations referred to the memorandum of understanding with the International Committee for Missing Persons, by which we shall enjoy its cooperation on DNA testing. That is a practical step forward that I believe will enable us to make progress on this distressing issue.

There are certain practical issues that can have a direct effect on Serb participation in the elections, first and foremost the question of the return of refugees and displaced persons. Here, talks are under way on the pace of such returns. We hope it will be as fast as possible. But we know we must take the security situation into account, for nothing would be more harmful to the restoration of trust than returns taking place under poor conditions and endangering the safety and security of Serbs who return to Kosovo.

The modalities for these returns can be a subject for discussion. The long-standing position of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and of UNMIK is that those who return should go back to their places of origin. We know that in some instances that could cause practical problems, because their houses are occupied or because the returnees would be isolated in places where it would be difficult to guarantee their safety and security. I believe we must address these issues pragmatically and

consider how to act in line with basic principles while adapting to the specific conditions of Kosovo.

Here, I note that there have been some encouraging signs. An association of displaced persons from the Pec region has requested to register for the elections; this is an encouraging sign. It shows that here too there is the expectation and the belief that progress can be made.

The third essential area that many have spoken about is, of course, security. This is still the paramount concern of UNMIK. I will not repeat what I have already said in this regard. I think I have stressed that progress is being made. We have, I believe, an approach that will be increasingly effective, as is beginning to be seen in very concrete terms.

Finally, as regards the involvement of Serbs in the electoral process, I think the basic issue is whether the Serbs want to have an influence from within on the reconciliation process and on the administration of Kosovo. I think the prospects for the November elections offer this possibility. They offer the possibility for a truly multi-ethnic Kosovo, where participation in the management of public affairs will be both the result of a reconciliation process and an instrument for such reconciliation. Bringing the communities to the same table in one Assembly to discuss together matters of common concern to them, and thus obliging them to enter into dialogue, instead of having a kind of parallel administration of their affairs, will help to create conditions that will strengthen the reconciliation process. I recognize, however, that this will take time.

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Mr. Guéhenno for the clarifications he has provided.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*