



**P R I M E  
MINISTER**

**ADDRESS BY  
HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF  
DEFENCE AND SECURITY KAY RALA XANANA GUSMÃO ON THE  
OCCASION OF THE THIRD JAKARTA INTERNATIONAL DEFENCE  
DIALOGUE**

**“DEFENCE AND DIPLOMACY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION”**

**20 March 2013  
Jakarta, Indonesia**

Your Excellency Dr Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, President of the Republic of Indonesia  
Your Excellency Mr Purnomo Yusgiantoro, Minister of Defence of Indonesia  
Your Excellency Mr Terje Rod-Larsen, President of the International Peace Institute

Your Excellencies  
Ministers of the various countries in attendance  
Distinguished Participants and Heads of Delegations

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with the same pleasure and enthusiasm that I take part in this Third Jakarta International Defence Dialogue as I did the two before it.

It is an honour for me to address the JIDD again as it plays such an important role in the promotion of peace, democracy, security and development in our region and beyond.

I would like to thank the Indonesian Government, particularly my dear friend President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, for the warmth and hospitality shown to me and to the delegation of Timor-Leste.

Mr President, I cannot overstate my gratitude to the Indonesian Government, and to the Indonesian People, for the support given to Timor-Leste. The ties of friendship and cooperation between our two countries are strong and have contributed to the growth of our small nation.

We Timorese feel very much at home in this vibrant city that is the heart of your great nation.

I would also like to thank the International Peace Institute for its tireless efforts for world peace, as well as for supporting this Dialogue.

Excellencies  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I congratulate the Government of Indonesia for being able to bring together experts from various fields and key government figures of the region to this third JIDD.

The first JIDD brought to attention the need for transparency of actions, by States and international organisations, while the second JIDD last year asked us all to consider perspectives on 'military operations other than war'.

I understood that my previous interventions were too philosophical in tone, committing the error of failing to suggest concrete actions.

The third JIDD asks us all, as those responsible for the defence of our respective countries, to consider more dynamic strategies to positively influence political decisions to ensure that they are in sufficient accord with diplomatic efforts.

There have been many debates and today we understand the spectrum of possible threats and the great array of challenges that are presented to us, both now and in the future, ranging from 'economic shocks, rapid socio-economic changes, demographic shifts, climate change, resources scarcity, environmental degradation, terrorism, transnational organised crime to piracy and the ongoing and emerging conflicts.'

Lately, we have been witnessing a huge increase in the establishment of important forums, alongside the holding of successive conferences, covering crucial themes such as 'peace, reconciliation, justice and human rights', and which demonstrate a collective concern for issues of regional and global significance.

The world, in reality, is facing unprecedented serious problems, unimaginable even in the Cold War period.

This new millennium brought with it a lot of hope based on the commitment to a rapid, appropriate and comprehensive response to reduce the misery that ravaged a large part of humanity.

The Millennium Development Goals were acclaimed, in the silence of the desperation of millions of families, across the four corners of the globe. However, today, the international community has understood that not one Millennium Development Goal will be achieved by the poor who are living and wasting away in the painful drama of poverty and isolation and enduring the pressure of violence and conflict.

To make matters worse, the world recession that has come to affect the old continent, and even the United States of America itself, almost puts the world on a path without a way out, where a rapid solution cannot be found. The irony of it all is that developing or under-developed countries are always judged by malpractices of governance and management, while developed countries commit more serious actions of irresponsibility, with highly damaging effects that are prejudicial to the lives of their own citizens and the survival of hundreds of millions of people subjugated by misery, hunger and illness and that, in many cases, are highly offensive to the integrity and sovereignty of weak and poor countries.

The Arab Spring will continue to be a complex and long process to heal wounds, and make way for a mentality of true democracy. The circumstances in Iraq and Afghanistan are proving to result from the unacceptable errors of analysis by the great centres of power, who thought that they could impose peace and establish democracy through war while helping to create disharmony in the social fabric of the people. Africa continues to be wounded on the inside, in both mind and body, and here in Asia we face all the problems that the third JIDD asks 'to be addressed'.

The Asia Pacific region is spoken of by the big and the powerful, the politicians and the economists, the diplomats and the military, and in financial and entrepreneurial circles.

Never has the future looked so promising for the Asia Pacific region, which in part is captured by an expression, too beautiful to become a reality to all - that this is to be the 'Asian Century'.

In the history of the world, civilisation began in the Middle East, which is today shaken by the demands of the global and standardised world in which we live and is being destroyed from the inside.

The Asian century will not give more value to the over thousand-year old culture of China or Japan and or even India, because it will continue to present, in a daily menu, the challenges that the JIDD organisers have so intelligently known to put to the participants.

These challenges should merit careful attention, above all from political actors, so that decisions are made respecting the interests of all and not merely the interests of the rich, the big and the powerful.

It is time that relations between States and peoples are based on the principle of equality and on the principle of honesty, a vital condition to create and deepen the ties of cooperation, founded on mutual trust and mutual respect.

There can be no more room for the benefits of advanced technology being enjoyed by the few, and worse still, for profit to be made from the weakness and inexperience of other countries, with deceptive practices being used to extract advantage and achieve domination through robbery and fraud, pushing small and under developed countries to a dependency, that is established in an immoral and unacceptable form in today's times.

The world needs a new paradigm because the laws of the market are excessively subject to speculation and the calculations of profits and the fraud of the financial industry that has pushed humanity towards the abyss of disgrace and led hundreds of millions of people to despair.

Today's world needs a new paradigm because the established system – rooted in a superficial analysis that is influencing how decisions are made to reduce the suffering of humanity and guarantee a small piece of dignity to all and any human being – has already proven, in accordance with my wretched interpretation, to be unhealthy and incapable of guaranteeing long term sustainable solutions.

Excellencies  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The common project of peaceful cooperation and development in the Asia Pacific region, however, continues to be an issue. We should recognise that peace in this region, which is associated with persistent global challenges, continues to be vulnerable.

It is absolutely necessary to act with a more effective inter-dependence, for a more viable integration of efforts by every State in the world. States must work together to protect regional and global interests, and as a result, to protect their own national interests.

The emerging global challenges in this century, in addition to those mentioned previously, including above all climate change and the emerging security challenges in the area of energy, food and humankind's most valuable resource: water.

As global environmental threats continue to increase, the legitimate interests of emerging and developing countries in controlling and utilising their national resources is put into question. And in the Pacific the very survival of some islands States is itself in question, as they run the risk of slowly sinking into the vastness of the ocean, as is the case with Kiribati, the Marshall Islands and Tuvalu.

I wish to take this opportunity to launch a message, an appeal and a challenge to the highly developed countries that are the principal causes of the tragedy of climate change. These countries should, through moral and political obligation, assume responsibility and indemnify, in compensation, the countries that are irretrievably condemned to disappear. And the decision has to be made now. We should now put aside the famous 'carbon credit' aid which is so irrelevant and which is even conditional on poor countries not producing emissions.

Despite the prevailing strength and optimism, sustainable growth in our region will be dependent on a culture of cooperation and dialogue that approaches the challenges in a serious and responsible manner and that does not leave behind the around 20 percent of humanity that live in fragile and conflict-affected nations.

Dialogue, the asset of diplomacy, is the only weapon that can respond to the problems of today.

We must safeguard a future, free of conflicts in the search for scarce resources, which would make poor countries even poorer and rich countries even needier for resources. The Pacific is enormous and I believe, rich in natural resources, which include magnificent maritime fauna and flora and reserves of petroleum and natural gas. Regrettably, this can provoke a tendency, which has become national policy in some countries, for unfairness and dishonesty in relations of cooperation.

At this precise moment when we are witnessing the shift of economic, political and military power to the Asia Pacific region, it becomes increasingly prudent, particularly within the context of regional defence, to seek understandings in relation to the sea, and to develop concerted mechanisms of cooperation that give priority not only to maritime security but, above all, to the security of people and of States that are involved or interested, regardless of how small, weak or poor they may be.

For this reason, sharing the security challenges in our region will contribute to improved strategic trust among the countries of the region. China and the United States of America are two giants that are vital to the prosperous and safe development of the

Asia Pacific region this century. Given this, a positive relationship of cooperation between these two great powers is not only in their own interests but is also a duty on behalf of the development of all nations in the region. As the former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said during her visit to Dili last year, the Asia Pacific region is big enough to receive all those who want to contribute to the development of peace, cooperation and economy.

In these strategic matters, and in order to deal with the maritime challenges in the region, peaceful coexistence and the overcoming of differences requires a shared effort of cooperation in which the defence of the interests of one party does not mean the obstruction, in the minimum, of the very legitimate development expectations of other parties. Diplomacy – along with measured defence capabilities – is vital for the preservation of peace and stability, grounded in cooperation between States defending the rightful interests of their people and not the economic interests of the countries and their rulers.

Excellencies

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Goodwill and effort should be directed so that in Asia, as the economies of countries grow, military spending and the modernisation of armed forces focuses on national defence and that it does not replace dialogue. I hope that the new leaderships in the region, including importantly China, Japan, South Korea and North Korea, may lead to a “new diplomacy” that makes way for more negotiation and more contact, especially in regard to the Korean Peninsula, while not forgetting the latent tensions in the South China Sea or disputes over small islands and maritime borders that impact other nations in the region.

It is urgent for world leaders to have the courage to change their attitudes. It is also urgent to pursue structural changes that, as I have said before, will address the root causes of problems rather than just their consequences, both within each State and at the global level.

The strengthening of dialogue and contact between nations, and between religions, on the fundamental principles that bring people of the world closer, or that may tear them apart, may also lead to common understandings on the key problems of humankind. The election of the new Pope brings new hope and new confidence for a positive dialogue between two of the world’s largest faiths – Islam and Christianity; and to promote world peace and tolerance.

The strategic partnerships for promoting peace and stability can, and should, go beyond States. We must try to break the reactive attitude of only being prepared to intervene in places and regions of conflict with expensive apparatus of war and to give way to consensus and pragmatic understandings, without offending the dignity of the people and national sovereignty.

A new concept of global defence that favours the promotion of peace should be instilled with a spirit of diplomacy that covers both the leaders and every person active in

representing the interests of the peoples of the world and able to contribute to dialogue and to the strengthening of inclusive cooperation.

In today's world, building trust between countries is a more important and safer investment than preparing for war. This should be the cornerstone for new strategic alliances, especially as we know from experience that wars do not build peace!

Excellencies

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Before I conclude, I would like to speak briefly about the role that Timor-Leste wants to play in ASEAN, as this year I plan to visit a majority of these nations.

In this geo-strategic chessboard that is the South East Asian region, every piece counts. This includes even the smallest pieces, with small economies and populations. They count not because of their military power, or their defensive capabilities, but rather because of the stability that they can provide to the region. Indeed, as we know, the primary agents of non-conventional threats today are non-State actors from countries where poverty and inequalities prevail.

Within this broad framework of security, development and democracy, having Timor-Leste join ASEAN will enable our country to benefit from the regional stability provided by this organisation, as well as allow us to make an active contribution.

Regional stability would not have been possible without the formation of economic partnerships as well as partnerships in defence and security, in which diplomacy was used as an art towards supporting shared development. Although fragile, regional stability has allowed for a common vision of peace and security that has fuelled unprecedented growth in these last decades.

Several regional organisations and forums of discussion, in which dialogue is the common denominator, have become increasingly strong and institutionalised. They are now not only reflecting on the future but are shaping the future. ASEAN, APEC, the ARF, and more recently the Bali Democracy Forum and the JIDD are good examples of this.

Timor-Leste is following this progress closely and whilst we are the youngest nation in the region, we already feel a strong sense of regional identity and have been adopting public policies that fit this local development framework, starting firstly by giving priority to policies of reconciliation and the promotion of internal security and national stability.

At the same time, we have been consolidating our democratic processes as we know this is necessary to achieve our goal of integrated and inclusive development. We believe that consolidating democracy must be an internal process for every country, undertaken consciously by the people of each country, under a process that must be continuous and that respects the timings and pace dictated by local context.

The progress we have made within this last decade is not spectacular because of its size or scope, but rather because of the short amount of time in which it was achieved. This is particularly impressive for a country where most people are poor and that has only recently emerged from a post-conflict situation.

We have reason to celebrate our achievements, which include one of the highest economic growth rates in the world, and progress in terms of human development, as well as the consolidation of peace, stability and friendly relations with virtually every country in the world, under our foreign policy of zero enemies. Our relations with our giant neighbours are excellent. Through the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries we also have special ties of friendship with countries in Africa, Europe and Latin America, as well as a strong relationship with the European Union.

With the 2013 Human Development Report released by the United Nations Development Programme last Thursday, Timor-Leste has now moved up five places in the Human Development Index since 2007. In fact, Timor-Leste has had the largest annual average index growth of all East Asian and Pacific Countries from 2000 to 2012.

Over the last three years we have also been committed to leading a new cause to give voice to fragile and post-conflict States throughout the world, and sharing the experiences and challenges of peace building and State building, so as to develop a secure roadmap for countries having difficulty overcoming the inertia in which they find themselves. We also wanted to rewrite our own development story, rather than continue to have it written by others that did not actually live or experience the problems we face.

The Agencies for International Support and the United Nations continue to hold on to the idea that they should dictate the destiny of peoples and do not accept our assertions when we tell them that they are wrong in the 'assumptions' they make of our countries. We continue to have difficulties in reaching a common understanding with those experts on the poverty of others, who have yet to prove that the large amount of money they have expended has reduced misery in even some part of the world.

This cause includes the process of changing the poor practices of development assistance and is led by a group of 18 nations called the g7+. This group is also proud to have a Timorese woman on the UN High Level Panel contributing to the post-2015 Development Agenda. Further, last month we held a meeting in Díli with the theme "Development for All", where 48 nations participated, including the g7+ countries, the Portuguese-speaking African countries, around 13 Pacific countries and our development partners.

Finally, in 2013, we will be supporting the holding of a Conference in Díli, to be organised by the Asian Peace and Reconciliation Council. The APRC was established in September 2012 in Bangkok, and its founding members are distinguished states people from Asia, including my friend José de Venecia, the former Vice President of Indonesia, Jusuf Kalla, and our former President of the Republic, Dr José Ramos-Horta, who is currently the SRSG in Guinea-Bissau.



Cooperation towards peace and development, mutual understanding and negotiation by way of dialogue and diplomacy are the best strategies of defence for the nations of the world.

Thank you.

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão  
20 March 2013