



# Security Council

Sixty-ninth year

**7161**<sup>st</sup> meeting  
Monday, 28 April 2014, 10 a.m.  
New York

*Provisional*

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*President:* Mr. Wali . . . . . (Nigeria)

*Members:*

Argentina . . . . .	Mrs. Perceval
Australia . . . . .	Mr. Quinlan
Chad . . . . .	Mr. Cherif
Chile . . . . .	Mr. Barros
China . . . . .	Mr. Liu Jieyi
France . . . . .	Mr. Araud
Jordan . . . . .	Mr. Hmoud
Lithuania . . . . .	Ms. Murmokaitė
Luxembourg . . . . .	Ms. Lucas
Republic of Korea . . . . .	Mr. Oh Joon
Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Iliichev
Rwanda . . . . .	Mr. Gasana
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . . .	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
United States of America . . . . .	Ms. Power

## Agenda

### Maintenance of international peace and security

Security sector reform: challenges and opportunities

Report of the Secretary-General on Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform (S/2013/480)

Letter dated 1 April 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2014/238)

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*The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **Maintenance of international peace and security**

#### **Security sector reform: challenges and opportunities**

#### **Report of the Secretary-General on Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform (S/2013/480)**

#### **Letter dated 1 April 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2014/238)**

**The President:** I wish to warmly welcome the Secretary-General, the Ministers and other representatives present in the Security Council Chamber. Their participation is an affirmation of the importance of the subject matter under discussion.

In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Brazil, the Czech Republic, Egypt, Estonia, Guatemala, Japan, India, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Italy, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Montenegro, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Senegal, Slovakia, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland and Turkey to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite His Excellency Mr. Thomas Mayr-Harting, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to the United Nations, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2013/480, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on "Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform". I also wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2014/238, which contains a letter dated 1 April 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Nigeria addressed to the Secretary-General transmitting a concept paper on the item under consideration.

I now give the floor to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon.

**The Secretary-General:** I thank Nigeria for convening this important debate.

The purpose of security sector reform, simply put, is to make people's lives safer. Security institutions are at the core of the compact between the State and its citizens. The legitimate authority to use force comes with a corresponding responsibility to protect and respect human rights. A professional and accountable security sector under the framework of the rule of law can strengthen public confidence in the State and provide the stability necessary for peacebuilding and development.

However, security institutions that lack the right training or adequate governance and oversight mechanisms may fail to provide basic security or even violate the rights of the very people they are entrusted to protect. We have also seen institutions misused in support of narrow political and sectarian interests, with destabilizing effects.

Earlier this month, I visited the Central African Republic and saw the terrible consequences of disintegrating security institutions. I also observed the pressing need to extend State authority and ensure public safety and the rule of law. Today's discussion is especially timely, for the future of the Central African Republic and for many other situations.

Security sector reform is a core element of peacekeeping, peacebuilding and development. The United Nations has strengthened the assistance we provide to national authorities to undertake critical and complex security sector reform processes. Our support has included assisting in the development and implementation of national security strategies in Côte d'Ivoire and Mali; contributing to public financial management of the security sectors in Liberia and Somalia; and supporting defence sector reform in the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. A majority of Security Council resolutions on post-conflict contexts contain requests to address security sector reform.

We have also enhanced our ability to deliver support through the dedicated Security Sector Reform Unit in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force, which brings together 14 United Nations partners. The

United Nations has developed standards and guidance to strengthen the impact of our efforts, and we have fostered strategic partnerships, including with the African Union and the World Bank. We stand ready to work with other interested partners on that strategic track.

As we make progress, we also know that much remains to be done. In our support to national authorities, we need to ensure that security services have the adequate capacity to perform their duties. Nowhere else is this as evident today as in the Central African Republic, Mali and Somalia. It requires improved mapping of needs and gaps and facilitating a coordinated response from partners. Strengthening operational effectiveness must be combined with efforts to build a strong governance framework, robust accountability and oversight mechanisms and a culture of integrity and respect for human rights. National ownership is imperative.

There is an increasing gap between the growing expectations of what the United Nations could and should do and our resources to meet those expectations. Contexts and mandates are complex, requiring the United Nations to engage in delicate political processes such as national security dialogues, vetting, public expenditure reviews or defence sector reform. Looking ahead, I have identified four priorities.

First, we must recognize the links between security sector reform and the broader reform processes, including legal and institutional reform, national reconciliation and political dialogue. Security sector reform is not just a matter of technical support. I intend to instruct my Special Representatives to leverage their good offices functions in support of that work.

Secondly, since security sector reform takes time, host nations must do more to meet immediate security needs. In accordance with the United Nations human rights due diligence policy, the Organization is obligated to withdraw support to security actors who commit human rights violations or fail to address them.

Thirdly, all actors involved in that work should place more emphasis on sector-wide approaches that address the strategic and governance framework underpinning all security institutions.

Fourthly, we must reflect on the institutional capacities within our Organization, on links to other key areas of work such as the rule of law and human

rights and on how to ensure the flexible resources needed to meet the needs on the ground.

I am very encouraged that the Council will adopt the first thematic draft resolution on security sector reform. That will boost political momentum for such efforts.

The sight of an officer in uniform should evoke feelings of order, discipline and security. Our collective goal is to help States build professional security institutions solidly anchored in a culture of service rather than an unchecked and unaccountable exercise of power and force. Together we can make that a reality.

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

I will now deliver a statement in my national capacity as the Foreign Minister of Nigeria.

I would like to begin by thanking the Secretary-General, Mr. Ban Ki-moon, for his presence at this debate and for sharing his perspectives on security sector reform. I also wish to thank the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Montenegro, His Excellency Igor Lukšić; the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Norway, His Excellency Hans Brattskar; and the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic, His Excellency Peter Burian, whose participation in today's debate is another illustration of the strong commitment of their countries to security sector reform.

It is gratifying to note that security sector reform has become firmly established as an essential element of multidimensional peacekeeping. Effective security sector reform contributes to conflict prevention by making security institutions effective and accountable. That fosters a sense of safety and security among the population and sustains the conditions of peace.

Security sector reform (SSR) is of cardinal importance for the entire peacebuilding continuum, extending beyond post-conflict reconstruction to include conflict prevention, peacebuilding and development. In October 2011, during its presidency of the Council, Nigeria had the privilege of presiding at an open debate (see S/PV.6630) that culminated in the Council's adoption of a presidential statement on SSR (S/PRST/2011/19). That statement built on previous initiatives of the Council on the subject. It is my pleasure and honour to be here today for this important debate,

which seeks to explore further the crucial question of United Nations support for SSR as a vehicle for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The presidential statement of October 2011 requested the Secretary-General to conduct a comprehensive review of the United Nations engagement in security sector reform. We are pleased to note that the Secretary-General responded to that request by issuing his second report on security sector reform in August 2013, entitled "Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform" (S/2013/480). We welcome that report with appreciation and stand ready to work with both the Secretariat and Member States in the implementation of that important recommendation therein.

In our efforts at international and multilateral security cooperation, one major lesson that Nigeria has learned is the increasing value and, indeed, the indispensability of horizontal exchanges of experiences by countries that have undergone or are undergoing SSR. We have come to recognize that an exchange of experiences is a valuable element of security sector reform support, in addition to a traditional focus on technical and financial assistance. Nigeria reiterates its commitment to South-South exchanges and strongly encourages the Secretary-General to further explore the possibilities offered by such horizontal relationships between Member States in supporting national security sector reform processes. Nigeria is also firmly committed to engaging the General Assembly on the critical issue of the United Nations role in supporting SSR.

Nigeria would like to send a message of solidarity to other States that have shown commitment to promoting SSR on the agenda of the United Nations. Worthy of particular mention and commendation is the United Nations Group of Friends of SSR, initiated by Slovakia, and now co-chaired with South Africa. That Group has played a commendable role in expanding the perspectives of security sector reform among United Nations Member States.

At the regional level, Nigeria takes note of the progress made by the African Union (AU) in its efforts to define an African framework for SSR. One major development in that regard was the adoption by the AU Heads of State and Government, in January 2013, of the first continental policy framework on SSR. That represents a major initiative at the regional level to help define the global framework being elaborated by

the United Nations. Nigeria is committed to working closely with other members of the African Union for the effective implementation of the AU SSR policy and to ensure its integration in the African peace and security architecture.

At the subregional level, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is also in the process of drawing up a regional framework on SSR and governance. The aim of that initiative is to enable ECOWAS to fulfil its role of assisting member States to put in place early warning mechanisms and rapid response to threats to regional peace and security. In addition, ECOWAS has adopted a code of conduct for armed forces and security services and a conflict prevention framework, which contains elements of security sector governance. Those instruments seek to address transnational threats to security that are beyond the capacity of the security sectors of any one country in the subregion. Such threats include transnational organized crime, piracy, human trafficking and terrorism.

We are also seeking to expand our existing partnerships in SSR. In that regard, the partnership with the Republic of South Africa on developing African perspectives on SSR here in New York is particularly significant. That is an important forum at the level of permanent representatives, which began in May 2010 and has since become a biannual event. A second forum was held in 2012. Nigeria will have the privilege of hosting the third forum this year. We are reminded, by the nature, complexity and sources of insecurity in the world today, that security cannot mean the well-being of the State alone. Enduring security must therefore address human security in all its ramifications. That implies that the State cannot be safe while the well-being of its citizens is constantly threatened or jeopardized.

Security institutions can be alienated from the very societies they are meant to serve and protect. In such contexts, they cannot be viably reformed without a transformation of the broader relationship between the State and society. That requires addressing the social contract on which the entire governance framework is based in order to achieve greater transparency, accountability and adherence to the rule of law. I therefore wish to stress that viable reform of the security sector must extend beyond train and equip activities to include democratic governance and civilian oversight. That is the only way to guard the guardians and to

ensure that those who are charged with the provision of security do not themselves become threats to the larger society. National ownership of the process is therefore important. The United Nations should bear that in mind as it seeks to implement aspects of its mandate to support the national processes of SSR in various countries.

We now have a unique opportunity to take another important step towards consolidating the progress made in the United Nations on that important matter. A Council draft resolution on SSR will be the first of its kind, if agreed by all members of the Council. It would enable the Council to codify and operationalize the key principles of SSR. In adopting that important draft resolution, we would be demonstrating our resolve as member States to effectively address the vulnerabilities in our security environment. We would also be providing the strategic direction and leadership that is expected and required of the Council.

It is my privilege and honour to be part of such a pioneering enterprise. I thank all Council members for making that possible and, on behalf of the people and Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, I thank all other delegations for participating in this debate.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the other members of the Security Council.

**Ms. Power** (United States of America): I thank the Secretary-General for his briefing and for his constant efforts to enhance the United Nations support for security sector reform. I also want to congratulate you, Mr. President, on organizing this debate on a topic that is central to the Council's role in preserving international stability and peace. I applaud Nigeria's leadership on this issue.

My Government looks forward to the adoption this afternoon of the Council's first draft resolution on the subject, which spells out the need to strengthen our collective commitment to improve governance with an emphasis on security structures that are better designed, more capable and more fully respectful of public needs and individual rights. We all know that basic security is a fundamental civic need. Without it, families live in fear, economic investments are not made and the rules by which a society can live in harmony are not enforced. Furthermore, the lack of effective security at

the national level has harmful transnational impacts. A State without security is a State where terrorists and criminals will thrive, the smugglers of illegal arms and narcotics will base their operations, internal strife may generate a flood of refugees, corruption runs rampant and shortages of food and other resources lead to humanitarian disaster. We cannot forget that public security is a prerequisite for economic and social well-being. Freedom from fear is critical to achieve freedom from want.

It is highly appropriate, therefore, that the United Nations do all it can in partnership with Governments and other international actors to support the establishment of effective security structures. That task is especially relevant when a country is in the process of recovery from conflict. The absence of credible security sector reform (SSR) has had dramatic consequences for such societies. For example, in Liberia inadequate management of the security sector contributed to a resumption of civil conflict in the mid-1990s. The transition from weak or non-existent security institutions to ones that are viable and strong is never easy. That is why security sector reform has become a more important part of United Nations efforts in post-conflict rebuilding.

The creation of effective, accountable, rights-respecting and sustainable security structures that respond to national needs and priorities is critical to forestall a return to violence. It is also an essential ingredient for the successful exit of United Nations peacekeeping and special political missions. Last month, the United Nations was able to conclude 20 years of peacekeeping and political activities in Sierra Leone in part because improved security institutions were in place. Sierra Leone now contributes peacekeeping forces to the African Union Mission in Somalia.

Too often, approaches to SSR are limited to base training or the building up of individual security units and fail to create security institutions that can effectively manage national forces and be responsive to the complex needs of societies. Reforms to the security sector — for example, in places like Mali and the Central African Republic — have to be nested within broader political reforms aimed at national reconciliation and transitional justice. In places like the Democratic Republic of the Congo, it is imperative that security sector reform include not only training in military tactics, but also in responding to threats to civilians and guarding against sexual violence in conflict.



In that connection, my Government welcomes the development of the Integrated Technical Guidance Notes on Security Sector Reform drafted by the inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force and including guidance on such critical issues as national ownership, gender responsiveness and consistency with democratic principles. That guidance should give rise to a United Nations system-wide training regimen. We support the United Nations' work with host Governments on strategic planning, international dialogues and the sharpening of oversight capacity. We appreciate the United Nations commitment to acquire the diverse expertise needed to implement its security-sector-reform programmes in countries with specialized requirements, and we have seen the benefits of this in the rapid deployment of support to United Nations missions, such as that in Somalia.

Finally, we firmly endorse both the Secretary-General's emphasis on national ownership of the SSR process and the need for appropriate SSR capacities within United Nations missions. We will take those imperatives into account when formulating future mandates for United Nations peacekeeping and political operations. We also share his expressed desire to build stronger partnerships between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations to support security sector reform in countries recovering from conflict and undergoing transitions.

In conclusion, I want to thank you again, Mr. President, for presiding over this meeting, and the Secretary-General for his leadership and guidance. Security sector reform is one of many topics that come before the Council where the problems are easy to identify yet extremely difficult to solve. We know what a good security system looks like, but we also know that creating one involves a multitude of variables and requires a major investment of energy, resources and time. Without a strong and enduring political commitment by the State itself, international efforts cannot succeed. But where national partners truly desire progress, we must do all we can to assist them in that quest. Lasting international peace and security and reliable respect for human rights around the world will not be possible without additional meaningful progress on security sector reform.

**Mr. Hmoud** (Jordan) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, Mr. President, I would like to welcome you and to extend my thanks to the delegation of Nigeria for holding this open debate on security sector reform, as

well as for the concept note (S/2014/238, annex) that has been circulated among delegations. We would also like to thank His Excellency the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his briefing.

We hope that our debate today will contribute to putting into effect discussions on security sector reform (SSR) — from defining the United Nations concept and role therein to creating guidelines and practical mechanisms for defining the form of assistance that should be offered. Security sector reform is an important aspect of peacekeeping at large and of United Nations special political missions. It serves as an important element of the peacebuilding agenda in achieving stability in post-conflict situations.

Jordan believes that the United Nations has an important role to play in providing assistance in SSR, given its legitimacy, objectivity, neutrality and the public acceptance it enjoys among national authorities, local communities and host countries, in addition to the experience and expertise it enjoys in that area, whether at Headquarters or in the field. The efforts of the United Nations should be focused on the main goal of achieving SSR, namely, to produce a security sector that is professional, effective and efficient, can be held accountable and respects the rule of law and human rights values.

In that regard, Jordan underscores that United Nations participation in providing assistance must always be based on fundamental rules, which include host countries providing security, their having national ownership of the reform process and their coordinating assistance in line with national priorities. In addition, national authorities must bear in mind the needs of the population and their aspirations. Jordan supports the comprehensive approach adopted by the United Nations in order to support national SSR efforts. We believe that the Security Council has an important role to play in that respect, as well as in providing a strategic vision — especially given the marked increase in the number of mandates that include SSR and their increasing complexity.

At the same time, Jordan underscores that the General Assembly has a role to play that is no less important than peacekeeping operations and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Jordan appreciates the efforts exerted by the Secretariat. We call for increasing coordination and cooperation system-wide, including between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations and deepening

partnerships with them. In recent years, the United Nations has achieved much in the assistance it provides in the SSR area. However, the increase in the number of conflicts and transnational threats such as terrorism and drug trafficking, along with changes in the security environment, require us to continue exploring means to increase the United Nations capability to respond to such changes.

In that regard, Jordan calls on Member States to enhance United Nations capabilities and provide the resources that will enable it to effectively support national authorities. As a troop-contributing country, we know how essential it is that support and financing are provided to peacekeeping operations in general so that they can carry out their mandates, including security sector reform.

We support the vital role the United Nations plays in facilitating national dialogues on security sector reform, based on the Security Council's mandates. We agree that universality is crucial to security sector reform and to ensuring that a national process is embraced by host Governments. It is important that consensus be achieved between national authorities at every level, and that those authorities are in constant consultation with national human-rights institutions and civil society. We also believe it essential that the Security Council consult host countries when designing mandates that concern them. It is important that we increase understanding of security sector reform and awareness of the role of the United Nations in providing assistance in this area with concepts, for example, such as the rule of law and non-proliferation of weapons, particularly since the concept of security sector reform itself is relatively new.

In conclusion, Jordan looks forward to cooperating with other Member States in enhancing the momentum that has been created in security sector reform in order to meet the needs of our peoples and improve national Governments' capacities. A sense of safety, security and confidence among the people is essential to achieving sustainable peace and security.

**Mr. Cherif** (Chad) (*spoke in French*): I would like to welcome you to the Security Council, Mr. President, and congratulate you on presiding over today's meeting, as well as to thank Nigeria for taking the initiative in organizing this open debate on security sector reform (SSR). I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

Security sector reform consists of several elements and is an important instrument for both peacebuilding and conflict prevention. Such reform must therefore be comprehensive and include all the elements that go to make up the security sector — police, the military, intelligence and border-control services, the protection of civilians and more. It must establish effective, accountable and professional institutions in order to strengthen the security of peoples and States.

Chad welcomes the fact that SSR has become an essential component of peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations as well as United Nations-initiated development. We commend the significant achievements of the United Nations in this area, including, among others, the creation and strengthening of special inter-agency SSR teams, SSR capacity-building in missions and at Headquarters, and the establishment of SSR expert groups and of dialogues and partnerships with regional organizations, Member States and civil society. The United Nations has also provided assistance to several national processes, including through technical, legal and political advice, the assessment and analysis of needs, and technical support for developing political strategies and plans for SSR.

Successful security sector reform depends primarily on national authorities' ownership of the process and firm commitment to designing and implementing national strategies and priorities. In that regard, beyond the support forthcoming from the international community, national authorities must allocate supplementary resources in order to operationalize the process. Chad, which underwent several successive armed conflicts after its independence in 1960, has become a place of relative peace and stability, thanks to reforms in the areas of defence, policing and justice. Those reforms were implemented thanks to national dialogue and reconciliation efforts and an effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme, coupled with subregional efforts backed by agreements with its neighbours, leading to the professionalization and strengthening of the security sector. Chad is happy to share its modest experience and proud to be able to contribute today to regional and international efforts aimed at promoting and maintaining peace and stability in the subregion and the world.

In the face of the growing threats in the Sahel-Saharan region, which include terrorism, organized crime and trafficking in drugs, humans and arms, to

which we can add the challenge presented by porous borders, it is important to think more deeply about reforming the security, customs, intelligence and border-control sectors within a subregional framework and linking such reforms to regulation of small arms, light weapons and mines. Chad welcomes the increasing number and diversity of the stakeholders involved in the process of security sector reform at both the national and regional levels. Such growth can enrich the exchange of knowledge and experience between Member States on a regional and subregional scale.

In that context, we commend the complementary nature of efforts in the Sahel region, aimed at strengthening cooperation by sharing information and experience on security sector reform. Such efforts, which complement and consolidate efforts within the States concerned, should therefore receive support from the United Nations and all development partners. To that end, the African Union, as part of its strategic partnership for implementing its Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform, could help in developing guidelines for reform, based on regional perspectives and taking into account the aforementioned threats

In conclusion, in spite of the ground that has been covered since the Secretary-General's 2008 report (S/2008/39) and the many achievements I have mentioned, there is still much to do in order to tackle the many challenges linked to security sector reform.

**Mr. Araud** (France) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank Nigeria for organizing this open debate, and you, Mr. President, for your statement. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

In the context of the maintenance of international peace and security, security sector reform plays a primary role in two ways. It enables the establishment of the elements that contribute to lasting stability in post-conflict situations and prevents such situations from relapsing into violence.

In crisis situations, the implementation of transparent, effective and fair security institutions, working within a system of good governance and respecting democratic principles and human rights, is essential to restoring a sense of confidence and to providing an environment conducive to the development of a State. SSR can consist of defining a national security strategy or even a legislative strategy; it can also be a support for governance structures of security institutions or used to strengthen the competence and

professionalism of the security services, which must evolve in a judicial and penal context that respects human rights.

Among all the foregoing measures, the rehabilitation of police and gendarmerie services and relaunching justice services are priorities. Because of their visibility in everyday places, police officers and gendarmes are part of restoring the population's sense of security and trust in the State. We see that in the Central African Republic. Faced with the collapse of the State and with organized, stirred-up and manipulated intercommunal violence, everyone feels threatened and no lasting political dialogue will be established if the citizens do not see police patrolling for their safety, judges prosecuting perpetrators of crime, and criminals going to prison. All those actions help build the security system that countries need and to which we can subsequently transfer our peacekeeping responsibilities. They are therefore the basis of our exit strategies.

Of the 47 resolutions adopted by the Council in 2013, 24 make explicit reference to SSR, which is a sign that the Council will not be satisfied with a short-term response to crisis situations. For example, the SSR missions are central to the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire. The SSR unit seeks to foster the fusion of two armed forces that clashed in the past. The goal is to set up a united and cohesive army. Training is therefore being conducted in the field of human rights, and support for equipping the forces is being provided.

It is not easy. In South Sudan, we have failed. The United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan was present at the creation practically *ex nihilo* of police forces that have been committing human rights violations since December. That is unacceptable. It shows — as if that were necessary — the full importance of the Secretary-General's policies, in particular his due diligence policy on human rights. SSR missions cannot benefit from forces that are guilty of massive violations of human rights. The Council must now bear all the consequences of that.

SSR cannot give tangible results without the full support and cooperation of national authorities. The State must be prepared to commit itself to a thorough, long-term effort. Permanent and inclusive dialogue among the units in charge of SSR, civil society and authorities is essential. In addition, security sector reform must be based on close coordination between



the host country and the various actors who support the programme.

For several years, the number of actors involved in SSR has markedly grown. We are pleased to see the international community and Member States mobilize on those matters. The European Union has thus become a leading player. It is present in Somalia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo through advisory missions and training missions, and through its significant financial support .

In its national capacity, France has participated through its bilateral cooperation — conducted by the Security and Defence Cooperation Directorate — not only in Africa but also in Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Haiti. We have also created, within the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, a pool of national experts in security sector reform, which shows the importance we attach to SSR and justifies our decision to co-sponsor the draft resolution that will be adopted this afternoon. But the increased number of actors does not mean we can do without close coordination. Too often, support for SSR involves duplication of effort. The draft resolution is an opportunity to emphasize the necessary effort that is key to the success of SSR missions.

Finally, we believe that the United Nations must develop a more coherent approach to SSR. Indeed, SSR is a complex process that is based not only on an accurate analysis of the needs *ex ante*, but also on a regular assessment of results and improvements to be made. That recommendation is made in the latest report of the Secretary-General (S/2013/480), and the Council must do its all to ensure that this evaluation exercise is conducted in a systematic fashion. It is important that the Special Representatives and Special Envoys of the Secretary-General take full measure of the importance of SSR and give it the place it deserves in their missions. Quality support to SSR is the guarantee of the success of those processes and, ultimately, a factor that favours stability and development in the countries concerned and thus a guarantee of their efficiency for the United Nations.

**Ms. Lucas** (Luxembourg) (*spoke in French*): Luxembourg welcomes the Nigerian delegation's initiative in organizing today's public debate. The presence here today of the country's Minister for Foreign Affairs emphasizes the importance that Nigeria attaches to security sector reform. Mr. President, we welcome your leadership in the area. I also thank the Secretary-General for his report (S/2013/480) and for

his briefing, which show how central security sector reform is to the concerns of the United Nations in many conflict and post-conflict situations.

I fully associate myself with the statement to be made by the observer of the European Union.

In *The Republic*, Plato has Socrates say he should take the necessary measures, including in terms of education, to prevent the guardians of the city from becoming predators rather than benevolent protectors of their citizens, whom they surpass in power. In the real world of today, the lack of mechanisms for appropriate management and control unfortunately leads to situations in which the institutions responsible for security become predators and impose their own law, thereby threatening the populations they are supposed to protect .

Based on the excellent concept note prepared by Nigeria (S/2014/238, annex), I will focus my remarks on three aspects — country ownership, the role of the United Nations and regional organizations, and the contribution of my country to security sector reform.

The main purpose of security sector governance and reform is to create or restore trust between the State and its citizens. The legitimacy of a State arises from its ability to perform its public administrative functions, the first of which is to protect and ensure the safety of its population. It is the very essence of the social contract. It is therefore clear that if it is to succeed, security sector reform should be carried out by national authorities with the aim of making the security sector accountable, effective and responsive to the needs of the population. National ownership of the work of security sector reform is therefore the key to its success.

I would mention in that regard the example of Guinea, which I have had the honour of working with as President of the Guinea country-specific configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission. In Guinea, the President of the Republic himself is chairing the strategic committee for the reform of the security sector, including the reform of the justice system. That clearly expresses the political will at the highest level to break with a past in which the representatives of law enforcement had protected their own interests instead of providing for the safety of the population. In Guinea, national efforts are now rightly focused on the modernization and professionalization of the police and gendarmerie — key institutions to restore confidence

in everyday life between the State and all of its citizens without exception.

I now turn to the role of the United Nations. While respecting the principle of national ownership, the United Nations has a vital contribution to make to support security sector reform. As shown in 14 operations peacekeeping and special political missions that the Security Council has mandated for that purpose, United Nations support is necessary, especially in contexts where the conflict has considerably weakened State institutions.

We see a special role for the United Nations in the coordination of support for security sector reform and the implementation of a comprehensive approach to reform including the defence, police and justice sectors and aspects linked to parliamentary control. In terms of coordination, I would cite the example of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Under the mandate of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General was instructed in resolution 2098 (2013) to play a leading role in coordinating support for security sector reform, provided by international and bilateral partners and by the United Nations — a crucial area for sustainable stability.

To support the key role of the United Nations, Luxembourg has provided regular financial support to the Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations — especially its Security Sector Reform Unit. In particular, we supported the establishment of a roster of experts in SSR and rapid and flexible deployment of these experts in the field, when necessary. We have lent our support to specific United Nations SSR projects in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in Somalia.

Luxembourg is also proud to have supported the development of the policy framework on security sector reform that the African Union adopted last year. Regional organizations have indeed an indispensable role to play in guiding the efforts of their members states. Finally, through its personnel's participation missions of the European Union, my country strongly supports the reform of the Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo, the training of the Malian armed forces, and capacity-building for the internal security forces in Niger and, soon, in Mali.

In conclusion, Luxembourg can only congratulate Nigeria on having proposed the first resolution of the Security Council on security sector reform, of which my country has willingly become a sponsor. We welcome in particular the inclusion, in the extension of resolution 2143 (2014), of strong provisions to encourage Member States to take account of the need to protect children in the context of SSR and to establishment monitoring mechanisms to exclude national security forces responsible for violations and abuses against children. Security sector reform must indeed meet the needs of all citizens, including the most vulnerable.

**Mr. Iliichev** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): I welcome the participation of Foreign Minister Aminu Bashir Wali of Nigeria as President of the Security Council at this meeting, which reaffirms the importance of security sector reform to African countries.

We are considering security sector reform in the context of post-conflict peacebuilding efforts aimed at achieving lasting peace and at effectively reducing crisis-related tensions in order to prevent the recurrence of armed conflict. It is the sovereign right of national Governments to undertake reforms in that sector. International assistance, including through the United Nations, must be provided with the concurrence of the host country.

Security sector reform is a complex and multifaceted process. Even minimal success in early stages of reform can strengthen the trust of citizens in their authorities, create conditions conducive to the return of the population to normal life, and establish the preconditions for lasting peace. Moreover, broad popular support for comprehensive reforms undertaken by the authorities and their security forces can play a decisive role in national reconciliation.

Countries emerging from conflict or that have recently overcome the critical phase of a crisis often have limited resources to ensure security. That is why the assistance of the international community is so necessary. We believe that, given the great importance of and frequent lack of alternatives to such assistance to national authorities in security sector reform, we must recall the essential nature of such fundamental principles as the agreement of the recipient States and respect for national sovereignty and political independence. Governments themselves must define the priorities for carrying out such reforms,

coordinate their implementation and bear the primary responsibility for the outcome. We also must avoid excessive external pressure and the imposition on the recipient State of the essential vision for the reform process. Strong mentoring, bordering on intervention in the internal affairs of a State, can only do harm.

As we have seen from experience, it is critically important to take into account the specific country situation in providing assistance to States. Ignoring such specificities while seeking to apply a universal approach to reform in such an important area can only lead to the failure of such ready-made formulas, including in the form of recurring conflict situations, as we are seeing, for example in the Central African Republic and South Sudan.

Without a doubt, the United Nations and, first and foremost, its peacebuilding missions have a central role to play in the provision of assistance to post-conflict countries by the international community. As an objective factor, the Security Council has been assigning multidimensional mandates, including peacebuilding tasks, to peacekeeping operations on a more frequent basis. Peacekeepers play an important role in supporting security sector reform, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, the rehabilitation of law enforcement agencies, and the restoration of the rule of law as a whole.

Another body that plays an important role in post-conflict reconstruction, and security sector reform in particular, is the Peacebuilding Commission. The development of a balanced and comprehensive approach to the coordination of mutually complementary advisory and financial support in post-conflict countries significantly increases the stability, accountability and professionalism of national security structures. Moreover, we must not underestimate the potential of the Peacebuilding Fund as a flexible instrument for financing security sector reform projects.

The format of cooperation among the States of a given region, as well as with regional and subregional organizations, also demonstrates strong potential for security sector reform. Broad exchanges of best practices among them, as well as the provision of timely financial support, will enable the more effective resolution of existing and emerging issues in the reform process. A clear example of such regional cooperation is that of Africa and the activities of the African Union.

We thank the delegation of Nigeria for its coordination of work on the draft resolution on this issue, and we support its adoption.

**Mr. Barros** (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): We thank you, Mr. Minister, and the presidency of Nigeria for convening this open debate to address the challenges and opportunities of security sector reform. I also thank the Secretary-General for his briefing and the report before us (S/2013/480).

The establishment of an effective, professional and accountable security sector is central to laying the foundations of peace and sustainable development. Security sector reform ultimately plays a fundamental role in strengthening the rule of law at the national level. It is therefore a key component of the peace process, in which we highlight the role played by the Peacebuilding Commission by including security sector reform programmes for countries on its agenda. Moreover, the Peacebuilding Fund, to which Chile contributes regularly, has resources that can be used in security sector reform or police training programmes. The number of Security Council mandates that incorporate this issue increased from 14 in 2008 to 37 in 2012, confirming that security sector reform has been fully integrated into peacekeeping, conflict prevention and development.

International cooperation is particularly relevant in ensuring that security sector reform processes can effectively and efficiently achieve its goals. There are numerous examples of collaboration with the United Nations and bilateral cooperation on security sector reform processes. We note that countries that were previously recipients of cooperation are now able to share their experiences and cooperate with others facing similar challenges. With regard to bilateral cooperation, since 1996 my country has run technical assistance programmes between our police and the National Police of Haiti, through which between 30 and 60 Haitian officers are trained every year.

Nonetheless, without detracting from the role of international cooperation, it is the responsibility of each State to guarantee security on its territory, and every State has the sovereign right and responsibility to determine its own national approach and national priorities with respect to security sector reform. This requires political will on the part of all parties involved in order to make progress in the establishment or strengthening of security institutions and mechanisms,

and sufficient resources for implementation must be guaranteed.

Security sector reform processes must be consensual and inclusive, ensuring the participation of civil society, especially of women, both in policy discussion and formulation, and in the subsequent implementation. In this sense, the establishment of quotas for minority groups in security institutions promises to be a useful tool for ensuring the legitimacy of new institutions among populations. Such processes, in addition to being transparent, inclusive and participatory, should also be subject to the control and supervision of democratic institutions so as to ensure that they function in full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Security sector reform initiatives must also provide for accountability, avoid impunity and thereby promote national reconciliation processes, favouring the reconstitution of the social fabric. In this regard, we believe that all such reform processes should incorporate expedited access to national courts and the International Criminal Court, in accordance with the principle of complementarity. We underscore the central role of the General Assembly in developing the approach of the United Nations in this area.

At the same time, the importance of coherent and integrated planning and implementation, including general guidelines, civilian capacity-building and strengthened mechanisms for coordination and cooperation with regional and subregional organizations in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. In this regard, we recognize the work of the inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force and its specialized units, both in the field and at Headquarters, and of the Security Sector Reform Unit of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. In this context, we underscore the importance of the United Nations security sector reform guidelines and policies, the human rights due diligence policy, and the comprehensive technical background notes on security sector reform.

I conclude by affirming that my country agrees with the presidential statement of 12 October 2011 that

“the establishment of an effective, professional and accountable security sector is at the cornerstone peace and sustainable development”  
(S/PRST/2011/19).

**Mr. Quinlan** (Australia): I thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this debate and for your presence

here today. I also thank the Nigerian presidency of the Security Council for all of its important efforts on the potentially transformational task of security sector reform.

In May 2006, four years after Timor-Leste's independence, as the United Nations Office in Timor-Leste was preparing to withdraw, a crisis in the security sector sparked a political, security and humanitarian emergency. This was precipitated by the dismissal of nearly one-third of the Timorese armed forces, and saw the police and army fighting each other again in the streets. The unravelling of law and order left dozens dead and some 150,000 displaced. In response, at Timor-Leste's request, Australia, New Zealand and Portugal deployed an international stabilization force and, in August 2006, the Council mandated another peacekeeping mission, the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT).

We must heed the important lessons of this and other experiences of relapse regarding the centrality that security sector reform (SSR) can have to long-term stability and how SSR should be supported. There is a very positive ending with Timor-Leste, which has made great strides in reforming its security sector, strengthening not just capacities but governance and civilian oversight. In March 2011, the national police resumed primary policing responsibilities after a phased handover from UNMIT. Our understanding of SSR has evolved — an evolution helped by the experience in Timor-Leste. From a narrow conception of training and equipping institutions, we now view SSR as a process that needs to encompass the security architecture as a whole and is as much political as technical.

I will focus on three issues. The first is national ownership. National authorities need to generate and drive a strategic vision for reform, but SSR is in many ways about the contract between the security sector and population, so to be effective it must have community buy-in. The involvement of civil society, including women's groups, is vital.

How do we better foster such ownership and leadership? Second-generation SSR in Timor-Leste is a good example. The Government took strong leadership, with UNMIT and international partners — with their relatively small footprint — in support. There was significant community outreach. UNMIT's final stages were guided by a best-practice, jointly agreed transition plan, including a framework for the final assumption of functions by Timorese security institutions and the



continuation of support by other partners. Separately, Australia has signed an innovative New Deal agreement with the Timorese Government, including a commitment to supporting Timor-Leste's goals for security sector reconstruction and reform across crime prevention and investigation, public safety and border control.

My second point concerns measuring impact. We need to find new ways to evaluate the real impact of SSR, including public confidence in security services. In Solomon Islands, an innovative tool — the annual people's survey — covers perceptions of the police force. This informs planning by the Government and the Australian-led Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands on police reform and law and order.

My third point concerns the role of the United Nations. Many SSR initiatives fail because of a narrow technical focus, but the United Nations can be uniquely placed to support a holistic perspective across the sector. UNMIT, for example, supported Timor-Leste's comprehensive security sector review, which led to new legislation for the security and defence sectors.

Security sector reform is most effective when complemented by the development of strong democratic institutions. Those are inherently political processes, and today's draft resolution rightly encourages Special Representatives and Envoys of the Secretary-General to focus on security sector reform in their good offices roles.

Finally, I would like to mention two particular areas of United Nations engagement on security sector reform.

First, on sanctions, the Côte d'Ivoire regime, where lethal equipment importation is linked directly to the Government's security sector reform process, is one of the most striking examples of the nexus between arms embargoes and security sector reform. Embargoes can assist in stopping flows of weapons that could reignite violence and in creating the conditions for the development of stronger security institutions. Groups of experts can provide invaluable support — for example, providing information on threats and illicit flows, which can help security sector reform design. We call for deeper cooperation among United Nations missions, Sanctions Committees and groups of experts on these issues.

Secondly, on policing reform, the Council has just authorized one of the largest police components

in any peacekeeping operation, in the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic. In that country, rebuilding the shattered security sector is absolutely vital.

When thinking of United Nations police, our minds often jump to images of formed police units patrolling. But let me emphasize the important part police and civilians in United Nations missions can play in supporting rebuilding and reform of host-State policing.

Policing reform is often overshadowed by the higher-profile reform of militaries. Yet police are the public face of the security sector, the ones the population should turn to for protection, and the guardians, as the representative of Luxemburg reminded us this morning. Building professional, accountable policing and law enforcement agencies focused on serving the community — and UNMIT supported such efforts well in its later years — can be central to restoring the rule of law and building trust in the authorities. We urge more Council focus on that, including in mandates.

The United Nations can be uniquely placed to coordinate international support, but it needs to get better at coordinating its own policing assistance, including by harmonizing the various approaches adopted by different contributors to missions. The Police Division's new strategic guidance framework will contribute significantly to standardizing United Nations policing activities, including capacity-building.

In conclusion, at its core, security sector reform is about ensuring that a State's institutions serve and protect its population. Support to security sector reform is increasingly and rightly an integral part of the mandates the Council authorizes. It is, effectively, our exit strategy. When done well, security sector reform's legacy is the stable and potentially transformational foundation it provides for long-term peace, security and development.

**Mr. Gasana** (Rwanda): I thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this important thematic debate on security sector reform, which is critical to ensuring sustainable peace and stability in post-conflict countries. I also thank His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, for his statement. Your presence here today, Mr. President, is an indication of your country's continued commitment to post-conflict peacebuilding activities in which security sector reform has been an integral part.

We are always saying, without pride, that more than two thirds of the agenda of the Security Council is concerned with African conflicts. What we need to add is that, in all those conflicts, there has been a failure of the security forces to protect the national institutions, the territorial integrity of the country and, worst of all, civilians. Over the past few years, we have witnessed situations where the weakness of national armies has enabled armed groups to make progress and even overthrow Governments. In other situations, national armies were used to commit mass atrocities against the very civilians they were mandated to protect. That was the case in Libya and Rwanda, where the Forces armées rwandaises, which had been ethnicized and regionalized since independence in 1963, were the main perpetrators of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, together with the infamous Interahamwe militias.

Allow me to share with you, Sir, and our colleagues here our humble experience. Rwanda has learned from its dark past. After the end of the genocide in July 1994, which was stopped by the Rwandan Patriotic Front, the country embarked on an unprecedented security sector reform, starting with the integration in the new security forces of members of the defeated army. One of them even became a Minister of Defence. Given the nearly failed state of Rwanda, the first thing was to ensure security by integrating and forming a coherent national defence force. The policy of integrating the military and the militia into a coherent force — what would become the Rwanda Defence Force — served as a role model for the greater society, which had been polarized and divided. With security in place, it was easier to start building capacity in all the other sectors. It is in that context that Rwanda, under the Rwandan Patriotic Front, found its defining mission: to integrate and reintegrate its people, beginning with the military.

The move towards security sector reform has been described as a process for developing professional and effective security structures that allow citizens to live their lives in safety. As is the case for other heads of public institutions, the main military and police commanders in Rwanda have committed themselves to achieving clear and measurable targets through an annual performance contract, which is assessed every year before the President of the Republic.

Over recent years, research has shown that most Rwandans have confidence and trust in their police and army. With its rapid achievements in institution-building, including in the security sector,

Rwanda decided to actively contribute troops to African and United Nations peacekeeping missions.

Having said that, this shows that security sector reform should be a priority endeavour in order for the security sector to gain credibility and trust and for the population to identify with it. That is possible with the delivery of effective and efficient security and justice services by security sector institutions that are accountable to the Government and the people and operate without discrimination and with full respect for the rule of law.

We believe that re-establishing the Government's authority and control in all sectors in the aftermath of conflict is a prerequisite for sustainable peace and stability. State-building at all levels is therefore a key policy objective in the international community's post-conflict intervention.

We also recognize security sector reform as an essential but not sufficient condition for lasting peace and security. It needs to be part of broader democratization and reform processes in any post-conflict setting. That is why we are of the view that security sector reform should be integrated as early as possible in peace processes as one of the essential elements of conflict prevention, early recovery, peacebuilding and sustainable development.

On the SSR process itself, there is a need to focus on three issues that we believe are crucial to the successful implementation of SSR and that the Council should encourage in this record. They are national ownership, coordination, and capacity-building.

Once initiated, it is vital that the SSR process be based on national ownership and be aligned to national security needs, as defined by the Government. We are aware that national ownership also entails national responsibility and commitment. This responsibility includes the effective use of donor support, as well as the planning and implementation of the process with long-term security outcomes. Furthermore, national ownership cannot be viable or realistic if the financial burden for reform is borne exclusively by external actors and partners. Member States implementing SSR should also commit some national resources to the process. Given the multiplicity of actors involved, coordination between national Governments, regional and subregional organizations, the United Nations and other international organizations is very critical. Such coordination should be streamlined in a way that

prioritizes building national capacities for the Member States to eventually take over.

The United Nations must do more to help build up expertise outside the United Nations system, particularly those of regional and subregional organizations working to address the challenges around them. We appreciate the efforts and work of the United Nations inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force and the SSR Unit in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in advancing those endeavours, and we call on the Secretary-General to strengthen both entities. We also call upon the Council to ensure that issues of peace agreements, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, and other SSR components are considered when it authorizes peacekeeping operations so to ensure that they contribute to the restoration of sustainable security. The Council should take SSR as one of the cornerstones of sustainable peace.

The Peacebuilding Commission should encourage the coordination and coherence of SSR efforts in countries emerging from conflict and advise the Council, where appropriate of important steps to be taken when it is considering initiating SSR processes. That will ensure that the involvement of the Council in security sector reform remains country-specific and is derived from a comprehensive United Nations SSR strategy for the establishment of peace and stability, while at the same time ensuring that the United Nations delivers as one.

**Mrs. Perceval** (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank His Excellency Mr. Aminu Wali, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, for organizing this open debate on a topic concerning which Argentina has been very active since the organization in 2009 of the seminar of Latin America and the Caribbean on regional perspectives on the United Nations approach to security sector reform and, since December 2012, through our participation in the Group of Friends of Security Sector Reform, co-chaired by the Permanent Representatives of Slovakia and South Africa. Your presence here today, Mr. Minister, and that of Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon are a testament to your country's leadership on this issue, which Argentina recognizes and values.

Argentina attaches great importance to recent developments on the issue of security sector reform in the framework of the United Nations. We recognize that the close relationship between security sector reform and the strengthening of the rule of law contributes

to the prevention of conflicts. As the Secretary-General's report (S/2013/480) states, reforming the security sector depends on the political climate in which it is carried out, and therefore such reforms are not only related, but are part of broader transformation processes, in particular in conflict and post-conflict societies. In that regard, security sector reform involves a broad range of public policies aimed at promoting effective, democratic and accountable security policy of the State, leading to greater economic and social development and promoting the trust and participation of the community. It is therefore a question of ensuring that security institutions carry out their functions effectively in a framework consistent with democracy and strict respect for human rights.

Security sector reform is increasingly one of the key elements in the multidimensional mandates of peacekeeping missions, which have become more complex and comprehensive, and of special political missions, when circumstances require, in support of national authorities in conflict and post-conflict situations. Such support requires not only the proper implementation of protection measures for the civilian population, in particular those at imminent risk of physical violence, but also the coordinated inclusion of security sector reform with other aspects related to the rule of law, such as cooperation in institution-building in general; the holding of free and transparent elections; the implementation of inclusive political processes; the design and implementation of effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration plans; and the effective implementation of gender-based guidelines, and sometimes even leading to the adoption of a new constitution. However, it is clear that only dialogue and the political commitment and involvement of rule of law institutions on a sustained basis can lead to long-term reforms that contribute to conflict prevention. In that regard, in order for such reform to be sustainable, the education and training of civil servants and members of the security forces are needed.

Effective and coordinated security sector reform can only benefit the national Governments of the countries concerned, as well as local human rights groups and institutions, in their efforts to promote and protect the human rights of vulnerable populations, particularly women and children, contribute to the eradication of impunity, and ensure that those responsible for human rights violations and violations of international humanitarian law will be held accountable before the law. They also provide advice and assistance to national

Governments in the investigation of such atrocities. For that reason, security sector reform is also closely related to the reform of the legal system.

Thus, the reform process cannot be perceived as an imposition, as we have often said. We must ensure national ownership of the reform process by taking into account the real and effective particular needs and circumstances of those countries and structure it according to national decisions. The United Nations must not impose solutions, but instead it must help the societies that so require to rebuild, based on their own experiences, cultures, needs, desires and expectations, and to establish the institutional foundation for achieving a just and peaceful development.

In developing that endeavour, we believe that there should be greater coordination between the entities of the Organization entrusted with reform, and we therefore encourage the Secretary-General to establish concrete operational ties between the inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force, the Rule of Law Unit and the "Rights up front" initiative. It is also important to implement the instruments developed by the Organization, such as the Secretary-General's principles to guide activities in support of security sector reform and human rights due diligence policy in the context of the United Nations support of security forces outside the Organization. We agree with the Secretary-General's reports on the issue when it comes to the importance of focusing on regional arrangements in this area as well as on the primary task to be played by the various regional and subregional organizations in supporting security sector reform processes carried out at the national level by individual countries.

Finally, the work of the Organization also requires that, in order to implement new, complex multidimensional mandates when appropriate, peacekeeping missions increasingly depend upon the possibility of deploying specialized personnel, in particular related to police and civilian tasks of varying types, such as experts in human rights, gender, comprehensive treatment of victims of sexual and gender-based violence, security sector reform and institution-building for the rule of law. We have seen positive developments in that regard with the important potential for innovation in technical cooperation and in strengthening South-South cooperation. We should also underscore the importance of security sector reform in peacebuilding processes, preventing a relapse into conflict, and the role of the Peacebuilding Commission

and the Peacebuilding Fund in defining an inclusive national approach to security sector reform.

In conclusion, we must move from societies living in fear of instability towards societies free of fear. The recent historical experience of countries in Latin America, as well as in Africa, tells us that they have much to offer to the international approach of the United Nations on this issue. Important lessons have been learned on security sector reform: from strengthening political governance over the security sector and ensuring effective security for people, to the professionalization of personnel and strict compliance with human rights as a priority. In the particular case of Argentina, since democracy was restored, and since 2010, with the establishment of the Ministry of Security, security is based on the principles, values and public policies that underpin strict compliance with the rule of law.

I would like to conclude by recognizing the remarkable work done by Nigeria as President of the Council in the month of April. We are pleased that we will be adopting a draft resolution on the issue this afternoon. We would have liked for that process to have been more clearly inclusive, as we see security as part of an overall set of reforms. In any event, we convey our congratulations and support as well as our conviction that we must continue to work in this area.

**Sir Mark Lyall Grant** (United Kingdom): I thank you, Mr. President, for initiating and presiding over this important debate. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his informative briefing earlier today.

When people are asked to rank what is most important to them, they respond that personal safety and security and trust in those providing that security are the highest priorities. Today we will recognize that fact with the adoption of the first-ever Security Council draft resolution on security sector reform. The United Kingdom is pleased to sponsor the draft resolution.

When citizens are safe, countries are able to recover from conflict and to grow their economies. Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste are successful examples of how the patient work of reforming a country's security sector as part of a broader effort to strengthen the rule of law is fundamental to countries' growth. Conversely, in many of the countries in which we have seen a relapse into conflict, such as the Central African Republic and South Sudan, the collapse or mismanagement of



the security sector is often a major contributor to the violence.

One of the most acute challenges facing the United Nations on security sector reform is how to take forward such reform when there has been a complete collapse in State authority, where political legitimacy remains contested and where serious violence persists. In places such as Libya, Somalia and the Central African Republic, United Nations missions are grappling with security sector reform challenges in extremely fragile contexts.

Our end goal should be to build capable, accountable and responsible security sectors with full national ownership. But in the early stages of a reform process, we need to be realistic about what is achievable and to prioritize and sequence interventions accordingly. In violent and unstable contexts, security cannot wait for security sector reform. The immediate focus must be on reducing violence and protecting civilians. We must seek to stabilize the situation in the short term while working to create the conditions for sustainable political settlement and the longer-term reform of the security sector.

Too often, we embark on wholesale reform of the security sector when the requisite political preconditions do not exist. We train, man and equip security forces without considering how that will impact the fragile political balance in the country or how those security forces are perceived by the citizens they are entrusted to protect. At times, our eagerness to get something done means that we do more harm than good and contribute to further instability. We can avoid those mistakes.

First, as a Council we have a responsibility to provide missions with clearer, more credible mandates that are better sequenced and prioritized by the most urgent security-related needs. In the early phases of a mission's deployment, we should not aim for expansive security sector reform activities. We must focus on the most urgent issues to stabilize the situation.

Secondly, missions cannot afford to de-link their good offices and political functions from their security sector reform tasks. The two are intimately linked. The Secretary-General's Special Representatives should work to generate the political space for security sector reform and gain commitments from leaders to drive forward that reform. Similarly, swift action in the security sector to reduce violence, protect citizens and build trust between citizens and State authorities

can help reinforce ongoing political processes and national dialogues. If managed well, those efforts can be mutually reinforcing.

Thirdly, United Nations missions cannot successfully take forward security sector reform alone. Effective interventions in the security sector must employ the full United Nations toolbox — political, security, peacebuilding and development. To do that, we must strengthen the internal mechanisms within the United Nations, both in the field and at Headquarters, to coordinate security sector reform activities. In addition, the United Nations needs to deepen its partnerships with regional organizations, such as the African Union and European Union, which can play an important role in delivering key security sector reform tasks.

The United Kingdom will continue to support security sector reform around the world. We have kept our promise to spend 0.7 per cent of our gross national income on overseas aid. We are the only Group of 20 country to do so. At least 30 per cent of that aid will be spent in conflict-affected States. Over the past decade, we committed \$278 million to support security and justice programmes in 25 countries across various regions of the world. For example, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a United Kingdom programme has helped to improve the capacity and accountability of the Congolese national Police and of the internal security sector with a particular focus on the needs of women and girls.

The United Kingdom treats security and access to justice as a basic service on a par with health and education and a fundamental right as recognized in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. In all of the United Kingdom's security and justice activities, we take a people-centred approach, focusing not only on State security but also on how individuals experience insecurity and access justice.

I thank you again, Mr. President, for convening this debate and for submitting the important draft resolution to be adopted this afternoon. Building accountable and responsive security services in countries recovering from conflict should remain a priority for the Council so that everyone everywhere can live safely and free from violence.

**Mr. Oh Joon** (Republic of Korea): The Republic of Korea appreciates Nigeria's initiative in convening this open debate, and we are grateful for your personal participation in the meeting, Mr. President. I would

also like to thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive briefing on security sector reform (SSR).

Security sector reform is a crucial tool for conflict prevention and post-conflict peacebuilding activities whose importance when the Security Council considers peacekeeping and special political missions is growing. In reality, however, the normative operations for SSR are often blurred during the operational process. In order to narrow the differences among the relevant stakeholders and support SSR more effectively, a review of SSR strategy should focus on various aspects.

First, the importance of national ownership cannot be overemphasized. National ownership, however, presupposes a certain degree of national unity. In situations where grievances and animosity are not adequately addressed through reconciliation and traditional justice mechanisms, security sector reform cannot be expected to produce its desired effects. It can hardly be successful if it lacks broad support. Host Governments must therefore prioritize national reconciliation with a view to creating an environment conducive to sustainable security sector reform.

Secondly, security sector reform should be pursued within the context of the rule of law and good governance. It is not supposed to be designed to support specific regimes, but rather to strengthen the security and judicial systems of societies as a whole. In that regard, we hope the United Nations and host countries will seek to maximize their common understanding of the rationales, goals and strategies for SSR in a country-specific context.

Thirdly, the concept and scope of SSR continue to evolve. We should therefore strike a balance between expansion and concentration from a results-oriented perspective. In the broader context, SSR is a coherent element that runs throughout the sequence of conflict prevention, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and development. Given its multifaceted character, the United Nations is best placed to coordinate both comprehensive and streamlined responses. The modalities of the system-wide approach of the United Nations, including the inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force, should be further developed. Regional and subregional organizations, as well as donor communities, should also strengthen their partnerships in order to achieve optimal outcomes.

Finally, I would once again like to thank the Nigerian presidency for leading the Council towards the adoption to come of its first-ever draft resolution on security sector reform, in the wake of the 2011 presidential statement on SSR (S/PRST/2011/19), also the work of the Nigerian presidency. We believe the Security Council should continue to develop the concept of SSR as a key element in the maintenance of international peace and security.

**Mr. Liu Jieyi (China)** (*spoke in Chinese*): China commends Nigeria's initiative in convening this open debate on security sector reform (SSR), and welcomes you, Mr. President, as you preside over today's meeting. I am also grateful to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for his briefing.

The maintenance of international peace and security is one of the purposes of the United Nations as laid down in its Charter. As such, it is a cornerstone of the work of the Organization. The establishment of stable, sustainable and secure environments is a basic premise and foundation for achieving general security, promoting economic and social development and advancing progress in various areas in post-conflict countries. United Nations assistance to the SSR efforts of countries emerging from conflict and restoring an effective and professionalized security sector is not only critically important to those countries, it can also help the Organization and the Security Council to better carry out their sacred duties, as enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

Through its peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities in recent years in places such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia and Sierra Leone, the United Nations has provided strong support to SSR efforts in the countries concerned and has mobilized the international community to step up assistance to them. It has also continued to cooperate closely with regional organizations. All of this has produced positive and results. A shared understanding of the importance of SSR has grown among Member States. All parties have participated actively in discussions on SSR through such platforms as the Peacebuilding Commission, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Group of Friends of Security Sector Reform, where proposals and recommendations on improving the related work of the United Nations have been exchanged. The Secretariat has also worked hard to take stock of its experience, improve its working methods and strengthen inter-agency coordination

through mechanisms such as the Security Sector Reform Task Force and the Security Sector Reform Unit, with effective results.

In the meantime, as the situation has evolved, the United Nations has encountered various new problems and challenges that arise in offering assistance with SSR. I would like to make the following four points on how to better support SSR efforts for countries emerging from conflict.

First, the United Nations must respect the wishes and ownership of the countries concerned. The maintenance of national security comes under the rubric of national sovereignty. When offering support for SSR efforts in countries emerging from conflict, the United Nations and the international community should always respect the principle of national ownership, and, on the basis of full respect for the wishes of the countries concerned, provide constructive capacity-building training and advisory assistance. There are no universally applicable best practices for SSR; there can only be the formula that best fits the specific situation of an individual country. In offering assistance, therefore, the international community should take into full consideration the specific requirements and situation of each country concerned.

Secondly, the United Nations should strengthen its overall planning in assisting the SSR process in countries emerging from conflict. There can be no doubt about the importance of SSR, but it is not a panacea, and it cannot turn a country's security situation around alone. The United Nations should help the countries concerned to incorporate SSR into their integrated development strategy, so that it can be promoted in a comprehensive and complementary fashion along with the political process, national reconciliation, the promotion of the rule of law, the elimination of poverty and the pursuit of economic development. Only in this way can the United Nations help countries attain lasting peace and sustainable development.

Thirdly, the United Nations should leverage its advantages by coordinating the efforts of all parties concerned. There is a multitude of actors and stakeholders in the SSR process at the moment. On the one hand, the United Nations should be a coordinator among the countries concerned and the potential assistance providers. On the other hand, the United Nations should encourage Member States to be actively engaged in the discussions on SSR through such platforms as the Peacebuilding Commission,

the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Group of Friends of Security Sector Reform. In the meantime, the role of such mechanisms as the inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force should be brought into full play, and coordination and division of labour among various departments of the Secretariat should also be strengthened so as to foster synergy.

Fourthly, the United Nations should give priority attention to its coordination and cooperation efforts with regional and subregional organizations. Over the years, regional and subregional organizations — and the African Union in particular — have conducted a tremendous amount of work in assisting countries emerging from conflict. They possess a unique appreciation of the situation and a wealth of experience. The United Nations should strengthen its cooperation with regional and subregional organizations in SSR through workshops, training courses and personal exchange. The United Nations should also build upon its successes and beneficial practices and increase its support for and further motivate those organizations to participate in the relevant work.

**Ms. Murmokaitė** (Lithuania): I would like to begin by thanking the delegation of Nigeria for organizing today's open debate and for preparing its comprehensive concept note (S/2014/238, annex). I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his briefing earlier today.

My delegation welcomes the adoption later today of the first-ever Security Council resolution on security sector reform (SSR), which proves the increasing recognition of the importance of the subject by the Council's membership.

My delegation aligns itself with the statement to be made by the observer of the European Union.

Security sector reform may sound technical, yet its direct impact on both security and millions of lives is obvious. Its need becomes particularly urgent and real when a soldier or a police officer whose only calling should be to serve his country and people with integrity and honour, acts as a thug, using his uniform and weapon to spread fear and extort what few possessions battered civilian populations might have, when security institutions created to ensure safety and security turn into machines of torture, forced disappearances or oppression.

Security sector reform strategies, while often detailed and complex, seek to respond to some very real

questions and situations. How does one restore trust in men in uniform who have just recently spread fear and imposed their will on local communities by raping and sexually abusing women, girls, boys and men? How does one give back a childhood to a child soldier, whose life has so far taught him that killing and maiming others is the way to ensure his own survival? How does one convince a Government propped up by armed militias used to turning a blind eye to graft and other abuses that investing in accountable security sector will bring greater dividends through stability, security, and eventually through the ballot box? Building sustainable peace requires sustainable answers to those and many other questions related to security sector reform.

While originally perceived as an element of peacekeeping exit strategies, security sector reform is now widely accepted as an integral part of conflict prevention, peacebuilding and efforts to avoid relapse into conflict. Security sector reform is also a vital element of the rule of law, which can hardly be achieved without a security sector that is accountable, effective and responsive to the needs of the population.

As noted in the concept paper, linkages between SSR and other related areas, such as countering illicit flows and destabilizing accumulations of small arms, should also be kept in mind. In particular, close links must be established between SSR and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes, and former combatants must be offered alternative livelihoods, as for example in the case of the Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Programme supported by the United Nations Development Programme, which provides anti-Government militants with an opportunity to give up their arms and become reintegrated into their communities.

While the United Nations has developed an impressive toolbox for assisting Member States, long-term national ownership remains key for the legitimacy and sustainability of any SSR effort. National Governments should undertake both sector-wide initiatives and reform of individual components, such as armed forces, police, law enforcement, judiciary and corrections, complemented by horizontal measures aimed at fighting corruption, strengthening governance and accountability and ensuring the protection of human rights.

As the report of the Secretary-General (S/2013/480) rightly notes, the United Nations must make sure it supports inclusive and accountable SSR that enhances

the social contract between the State and society. In order to achieve that goal, it is key to ensure that all parties to a conflict and all segments of society, including women, youth and vulnerable groups, are involved in the SSR process.

As noted in the report of the Secretary-General, success or failure of SSR efforts depends on the broader context of transformative processes in a society, such as national dialogue, reconciliation efforts or transitional justice initiatives, all of which require genuine inclusivity. Time and again, we have seen how exclusion of certain armed groups from SSR leads to continued threats to communities, undermining overall peace efforts.

All national stakeholders must be genuinely involved in the reform process, since the trust between security institutions and the society at large can be reinstated only if past abuses do not go untold and if proper accountability is ensured. In that respect, the link between an effective, transparent SSR process and ensuring justice and accountability for past crimes is key.

Also key is the need for the most stringent vetting for those who are reintegrated into security structures during the course of SSR. As my delegation has noted on other occasions, blanket amnesties can undercut the success of SSR and heighten perceived insecurities among local populations if perpetrators of major crimes, including crimes against humanity or mass rape, are included in new security and law and order structures.

In order to maximize the effectiveness of United Nations involvement and tailor international efforts to the exact needs of each country, it is important to know how useful particular measures have been so far, which measures proved to be effective and why in any given situation they have proved to be effective. As the concept paper rightly points out, measuring only the quantitative elements of reform may not be enough, and we may need to find ways to assess and measure deeper change. The complexity of measuring impact should not deter us from trying to do so. We therefore welcome efforts in Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia to develop a set of indicators and benchmarks to monitor implementation of national SSR strategies.

The United Nations system should also be constantly reviewing the effectiveness and coherence of its own assistance to Member States and building on lessons learned. In that regard, we are pleased that the draft



resolution we will be adopting later today recognizes the need for the inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force and United Nations operations to further strengthen the monitoring and evaluation of SSR initiatives, with the aim of ensuring the effectiveness of the support provided to Governments.

To conclude, I wish to commend the United Nations Group of Friends of Security Sector Reform, co-chaired by Slovakia and South Africa, for being a driving force in giving the issue the visibility it deserves. We also acknowledge an important contribution of the inter-agency Security Sector Task Force, now comprising 14 United Nations entities and the United Nations Inter-Agency SSR Support Unit, all of which are working towards an integrated, holistic and coherent United Nations approach to SSR issues. The Council can count on my delegation's support in its further efforts to advance that important issue.

**The President:** I wish to remind all speakers to limit their statements to no more than four minutes in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously. Delegations with lengthy statements are kindly requested to circulate their texts in writing and deliver a condensed version when speaking in the Chamber.

I now give the floor to the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Montenegro.

**Mr. Lukšić (Montenegro):** Allow me at the outset to congratulate the delegation of Nigeria on its successful conduct of the presidency of the Security Council this month. We thank the Secretary-General for his briefing and for his second report and recommendations on security sector reform (S/2013/480). Montenegro particularly welcomes this afternoon's adoption of a draft resolution that I am sure will provide for a strengthened United Nations role in support of the security sector reform (SSR) agenda.

Montenegro fully aligns itself with the statement to be delivered by the observer of the European Union. I would like, however, to add some remarks in my national capacity.

Seven years after the first Security Council presidential statement on this topic (S/PRST/2007/3), our understanding of security sector reform (SSR) has significantly evolved. We realize that SSR is not only about activities directed towards the professionalization of individual security pillars, such as police, defence,

border management and civil emergency, inter alia. It is indeed much more. If we truly want to have an effective, legitimate and accountable security sector, we need to consider SSR within a broader, more comprehensive approach that should be consistent with the values and principles of democracy, the rule of law, good governance and respect for human rights.

The main objective of SSR is to help ensure that people feel safer. But if we wish to have safe and stable societies, because of their closely interconnected nature, we have to look at SSR through the prism of security and development. In that context, security threats must be tackled through joint efforts and in an integrated manner across the entire nexus of development, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, the rule of law and human rights. That will allow us to have societies with durable peace and in a position to gain from SSR efforts.

Taking into account its vast accumulation of expertise and knowledge, the United Nations, through its inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force, is well positioned to provide such holistic and customized support to nationally led undertakings of member States. Moreover, as stated in the Secretary-General's latest report,

“partnerships must be deepened and expanded given the increase in the number and type of actors providing support to security sector reform” (S/2013/480, p. 2).

I would like to echo the message from today's draft resolution that security sector reform is critical to addressing impunity for grave violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, as that is a vital enabling factor for the success of SSR.

We could not agree more with the Secretary-General's assessment that

“experience has shown that the viability of security sector reform efforts depends on the political environment in which reform is carried out” (*ibid.*).

It is in that sense that inclusivity is one of the instrumental factors for the success of SSR. To be transformative and sustainable, SSR processes, with host Governments playing a primary role, need to promote inclusiveness, including in institution-building. That assumes the active engagement of national and local authorities, along with parliaments, communities, civil society, academia and women's groups. Only in that way will

the political reforms be allowed to take root and open a space for national dialogue, reconciliation efforts and other initiatives to develop. Focus also needs to be equally placed on transparency, accountability and effective management and oversight, with a view to strengthening the legitimacy and integrity of security institutions.

Fully cognizant of this dynamic, Montenegro has been diligently working to improve the overall functioning of its security sector in order to be able to respond successfully to the threats of our age. Along with an intensive campaign and activities in the area of the rule of law as our national priority, we have undertaken further security and intelligence sector reforms. As a result, new legislation has recently been passed to ensure that the national security agency and military intelligence service operate in accordance with international standards and best practices.

Aware of contemporary challenges in the area of cyberterrorism, we are implementing a cybersecurity strategy for the period 2013-2017 and other cybersecurity-related regulations. The implementation of a law on parliamentary oversight of the security and defence sectors will further strengthen the legislative and oversight role of the Montenegrin Parliament. We also participate in the Building Integrity programme, which seeks to increase capacity to combat corruption in the security sector. Montenegro is also committed to the implementation of measures related to gender equality, with special emphasis on resolution 1325 (2000) as well as to training concerning gender-based violence.

Let me conclude by expressing our firm support for the full implementation of the first ever stand-alone resolution on SSR and to all efforts of the United Nations system, complemented by the activities of the Group of Friends of SSR, that aim to contribute to further advancing the concept of SSR within the United Nations and beyond.

**The President:** I give the floor to the representative of Norway.

**Mr. Brattskar** (Norway): I speak on behalf of the Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden, and Norway.

There can be no doubt that security sector reform (SSR) is fundamental for conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Its importance is growing. The absence of professional, sustainable and

capable security and justice institutions is a major cause of conflict and relapse into conflict. It is also hampers conflict resolution, stabilization, and longer-term peacebuilding. Lack of security and justice affects individuals in a profound way. It limits their aspirations and potential, and restrains their ability to lift themselves out of poverty. A well-functioning security and justice system is a precondition for development.

The effective delivery of service within a framework of the rule of law, good governance and accountability is essential in moving the SSR agenda forward. Human security must be at the core of those efforts. We attach great importance to the gender dimension of SSR and in combatting sexual violence. The United Nations plays a role in promoting SSR. We have long supported its normative work on SSR, as well as United Nations assistance to member States, particularly in countries affected by violent conflict. We welcome the report of the Secretary-General on SSR of August 2013 (S/2013/480).

The United Nations has made significant progress in strengthening its coherence and effectiveness in support of SSR. We welcome initiatives to strengthen the cooperation between the United Nations Development Programme and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in that respect, such as the global focal point. The Nordic countries congratulate the United Nations on its new policy on policing in peace operations. We will continue to support that effort, including in the African setting.

Integrating SSR principles into broader mechanisms for engagement, such as civil service reforms, poverty reduction strategies, mediation, peace agreements and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration design and implementation is necessary to ensure both the required political support for SSR and the right type of platform for medium- to long-term initiatives. We need to enhance the SSR capacities of United Nations field missions. The Security Council is responsible for matching mandates and expectations with the necessary resources.

Security sector reform is not just purely a technical activity. It is essentially about building confidence between the people and those entrusted to protect them. Support for security sector reform therefore needs to be better linked to broader transformative processes such as reconciliation, political dialogue and mediation. We therefore encourage elevating the importance of security sector reform as a strategic priority in United

Nations mission structures and operations, including through the good offices of senior United Nations officials

There can be no sustainable SSR without national ownership. Furthermore, we fully agree on the importance of strengthening regional ownership of SSR processes. We encourage the United Nations to develop further its partnerships with regional organizations, such as the African Union. I take this opportunity to commend the African Union and the Economic Community of Western African States for their engagement in SSR, and we look forward to continued cooperation. We furthermore appreciate the work of the United Nations Group of Friends of SSR, which contributes to inclusive dialogue and coherence. It is important to ensure that the right sets of skills are available in all parts of a Government to support SSR activities. The Nordic countries are considering how they can contribute to that end.

Lastly, I would like to stress the fact that SSR does not affect only countries emerging from conflict. SSR is in fact relevant to any country. Review and reform of security and justice services should be an integral part of public policy and good governance in all countries.

**The President:** I give the floor to the representative of Slovakia.

**Mr. Burian** (Slovakia): I would like first and foremost to applaud Nigeria for initiating this important open debate on security sector reform (SSR) with a view to achieving the first-ever resolution on SSR, which Slovakia strongly supports and plans to co-sponsor. I take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General for his inspiring statement as well as for his report on SSR (S/2013/480), issued last year, which gives a clear vision for the way forward.

Slovakia fully aligns itself with the statement to be delivered by Mr. Thomas Mayr-Harting on behalf of the European Union and its member States. In addition, I would like to make few remarks in my national capacity.

Slovakia has been a proud sponsor of the issue of security sector reform within the United Nations system. In that regard, I am proud to note that the first Security Council open debate on this subject took place under our presidency in February 2007 (see S/PV.5632). In the seven years that have passed since, the Organization has achieved significant accomplishments. That progress is required given the growing number of cases the Security Council is dealing with. We are pleased

to note that the draft resolution to be adopted today seeks concrete approaches to implementing the many important recommendations of the Secretary-General's report on SSR.

Slovakia is committed to building such partnerships, as suggested in the report of the Secretary-General, in support of the comprehensive and sustainable implementation of the recommendations made therein. We seek to enhance three types of partnerships: among Member States, between the United Nations and regional organizations and among the United Nations, Member States and civil society.

First, in its capacity as founder and co-Chair of the Group of Friends of SSR, Slovakia, based on its own experience of transformation, has made significant efforts to raise awareness and knowledge regarding SSR and related United Nations processes among Member States. Through regular meetings and events, we have sought to forge consensus around the United Nations SSR agenda. As an example, the launch of the Integrated Technical Guidance Notes in New York in December 2012 and in Geneva in March 2013, and the high-level meeting on the Secretary-General's second report on SSR in November 2013 in New York, served to consult Member States on priorities for further developing the United Nations approach to SSR.

Secondly, Slovakia endeavours to support the forging of partnerships between the United Nations and regional organizations. It is only natural to seek ways for fostering cooperation in the domain of SSR between the United Nations and the African Union, as well as the European Union, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Slovakia has already co-organized a couple of events in Africa in order to encourage stronger partnership between the United Nations and the African Union in the field of SSR, and we plan to continue with that effort in the near future. Likewise, Slovakia aims to enhance cooperation between the United Nations and the OSCE. In July of this year, Slovakia will be co-host a joint United Nations-OSCE event on SSR, in partnership with Switzerland as the current chair of the OSCE.

Thirdly, Slovakia also seeks to further strengthen working partnerships among the United Nations, Member States and civil society. Civil society should be integrated at every stage, from the development of a common national security vision, to the implementation of reform processes, and the review of progress. Most

recently, we have addressed these issues in international conferences and seminars, including an event organized in New York together with the Japanese and Tanzanian Governments on inclusivity in SSR. I would like to highlight the instrumental expertise and support that has been provided by non-governmental organizations. In particular, Slovakia maintains a long-standing partnership with the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces and its international security sector advisory team. They, I note, provided their valuable support to many SSR events as well as assistance to individual countries in supporting SSR. They have also greatly contributed to the development of the United Nations Integrated Technical Guidance Notes with their expert inputs.

I would like to highlight three areas that I believe merit particular attention when reflecting on the way ahead. They relate to the need to strengthen core capacities for the United Nations to deliver support, to coordinate its support and to review the progress of its delivery on the ground.

First, there is a need to strengthen its internal capacities. The significant increase of SSR structures in peacekeeping operations and special political missions, as well as the rise in mandates of missions to support SSR-related tasks, underline the real demand for strengthened resources. I encourage further reinforcement of United Nations capability to deliver coherent support, including the strengthening of the Department of Peacekeeping Operation's SSR Unit, as that will translate, in our view, into more advanced collaboration in the field and an enhanced ability to provide adequate guidance and assistance to Member States.

Secondly, the United Nations should continue to enhance its coordination capacity to deliver SSR support as one. Significant progress has already been achieved in that regard. Besides the efforts of the inter-agency SSR Task Force and the Department of Peacekeeping Operation's SSR Unit as its secretariat, I would like in particular to emphasize the Integrated Technical Guidance Notes, which are a landmark in fostering a "Delivering as one" approach to supporting the nationally led SSR efforts of Member States. Finally, we fully support request of the Security Council to make SSR an integral part of the good offices role of the Secretary-General's Special Representatives.

Thirdly, by enhancing its capacities in carefully reviewing the progress on SSR through systematic

monitoring and evaluation processes, the United Nations could not only improve its endeavours with lessons learned, it could also ensure that its resources are allocated in the most effective, efficient and sustainable manner possible. In that regard, I welcome the ongoing efforts of the United Nations inter-agency SSR Task Force to develop a specific integrated technical guidance note on monitoring and evaluation.

In conclusion, I would like to assure you, Sir, that Slovakia will continue to be engaged in supporting the Secretary-General's efforts to build a comprehensive approach within the United Nations to SSR as an important element contributing to the maintenance of sustainable international peace and security.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of South Africa.

**Ms. Mxakatop-Diseko** (South Africa): My delegation wishes to congratulate the Federal Republic of Nigeria on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are grateful to Nigeria for its foresight in choosing to focus on security sector reform (SSR) as a key topic for this month. We thank Nigeria for sponsoring the first draft resolution on this topic, and pledge South Africa's support for it.

We wish to thank the Secretary-General for his statement, welcome his second report on SSR (S/2013/480) and look forward to playing an active role in implementing its recommendations.

South Africa attaches great importance to SSR. Nigeria, together with South Africa, co-hosted a high-level forum on African perspectives on security sector reform in May 2010. Building on the outcomes, a follow-up high-level forum was held in October 2012 on building partnerships for security sector reform in Africa. Both outcomes were submitted to the Secretary-General.

Furthermore, in November 2013, South Africa and Slovakia co-hosted a high-level meeting of the United Nations Group of Friends of SSR to launch the latest report of the Secretary-General on SSR and to discuss the way forward in implementing the second report of the Secretary-General.

We have noted several achievements in the report, such as the provision of support to countries in the development of national security policies, strategies and plans, facilitating national dialogue on issues related to security sector reform, assisting national authorities



with the development of executive and oversight mechanisms and supporting countries in coordination and resource mobilization, which is a step welcomed by my delegation. While we welcome those positive developments, we believe that more can still be done, especially in the light of the noteworthy setbacks that have been experienced in countries such as the Central African Republic, South Sudan and Somalia.

Drawing on the lessons learned on the African continent and South Africa's own homegrown experience undergoing SSR, we can attest to the fact that each country faces its own unique challenges, and therefore, whatever approach is adopted, it has to be context-specific.

A key political and practical challenge in supporting SRR is facilitating national ownership. We welcome the development of the Integrated Technical Guidance Notes on that important issue by the inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force, which recognizes that national ownership requires countries to develop their own national vision for their security sectors that is informed by their own circumstances, to commit sufficient resources to ensure the long-term sustainability and viability of reforms and to review the progress in their implementation.

SSR challenges and opportunities are regional in nature. Cooperation with regional and subregional organizations is therefore important. We appreciate the cooperation between the African Union (AU) and the United Nations. The strategic partnership developed between the United Nations and the African Union on SSR is an expression of the important role that the United Nations could play in advancing security sector reform on the African continent.

Therefore, we welcome the African Union policy framework recently adopted by the African Union Heads of State and Government and the ongoing capacity-building programme by the AU, United Nations and European Union. South Africa is committed to the implementation of that framework.

We also recognize the important role United Nations peacekeeping missions play in security sector reform, where they have become increasingly multidimensional. The importance of SSR and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes are essential elements for peacebuilding, and we welcome the increasing involvement of the Peacebuilding Commission in that regard. The Peacebuilding Commission should continue

to intensify its efforts to mobilize resources, including by supporting national aid coordination and resource mobilization efforts by countries under its purview.

The inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force and the Security Sector Reform Unit have emerged as important sources of expertise on SSR. The 2013 report of the Secretary-General outlines the increasing complexity of mandates and activities in support of national SSR processes. It also concludes that a number of steps need to be taken in order to strengthen the United Nations delivery on the ground. We must support that.

In conclusion, the legitimacy and global character of the United Nations gives it a particular responsibility in facilitating a coordinated approach to security sector reform based on the principle of national ownership and inclusivity. That all-inclusive process must always have a capacity to address the needs of the people, including in particular the role that women and youth can play. We are optimistic that the debate today will move us a step closer to further enhancing and coordinating our approach to SSR.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of India.

**Mr. Mukerji (India):** I thank you, Sir, for giving me the floor and for the concept note prepared by your delegation (S/2014/238, annex). It is a sign of the importance you attach to this issue, Sir, that we are discussing it once again under Nigeria's presidency. We would recall that we participated in the meeting presided over by Nigeria on 12 October 2011 (see S/PV.6630). I also thank the Secretary-General for his contribution to this discussion.

India has experience relevant to the subject we are discussing today, having participated in 43 United Nations peacekeeping missions, in which almost 170,000 Indian peacekeepers have served. Security sector reform (SSR) is mentioned in several Security Council resolutions. We note that as many as 24 of the 47 resolutions adopted by the Council in 2013 include an explicit reference to SSR. Also, six peacekeeping operations and eight special political missions have been mandated to carry out SSR. In many of those peacekeeping operations, troops from my country are directly involved.

It was only a few days ago that two Indian peacekeepers wearing the Blue Helmet were injured

while protecting civilians at the United Nations Mission in South Sudan base in Bor, South Sudan. That attack is another example of the unresolved political issues in South Sudan and reflects the importance of understanding the complex political environment of peacekeeping missions, where SSR has to take root as part of the internal political process of the Member State concerned.

SSR is an important element of post-conflict peacebuilding. Our Heads of State and Government in 2005 agreed that that issue would be best considered by a specialized body created for that very purpose, that is, the Peacebuilding Commission. The fact that, despite the work of the Peacebuilding Commission, the Council still feels it necessary to discuss this issue today shows the complexity of the subject. It is therefore for reasons of pragmatism that we will use this opportunity to outline three basic principles that, in our view, must guide SSR.

First, it is important to keep in mind that the most sustainable way to achieve effective SSR is by ensuring national ownership of the process. It is because of this that General Assembly resolution 60/180, which established the Peacebuilding Commission, affirms the primary responsibility of the national Governments of countries emerging from conflict to identify priorities and strategies for peacebuilding in order to ensure national ownership. We have, in the past, also emphasized that the footprint of external elements, including the United Nations, should be light in order to avoid any possible overtones of neocolonialism.

Secondly, the establishment and maintenance of public order is important. A security vacuum after a peace agreement is dangerous. The late Sergio Vieira de Mello noted:

“Unlike other nation-building tasks, the maintenance of law and order cannot wait. If there is no law from day one, criminal activity thrives.”

Although vitally important, the focus has to be on what is doable, and not on an agenda driven by the priorities of donor countries. We hear, at times, references to the importance of cultural change in police reform. The concept note itself decries what it refers to as an excessive focus on issues of training and equipment at the cost of democratic governance and management. That is a prescription that we find difficult to agree with. Given the importance of national ownership and the scarcity of resources, priority, in our view, should

be given to issues such as ensuring impartiality in recruitment, vetting new recruits and training. A focus on the political dimension of police reform will only be controversial and perhaps counter-productive.

Thirdly, we would also like to take this opportunity to caution against an over-reliance on what are often termed “innovative” approaches, particularly when there is a need to cut costs. There is, somehow, a belief that United Nations missions can be asked to do more with less. We can understand that, at some level, such logic will appeal to some people. The truth, however, is that costs cannot be cut without also cutting corners. We would therefore urge Member States to recognize that and to be pragmatic by including only mandates that are deliverable and for which resources are available.

I would, in conclusion, like to underline our view that SSR capacity-building needs to necessarily occupy centre stage in the entire process of security sector reform. Such an approach would be both cost-effective and sustainable.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Japan.

**Mr. Umemoto (Japan):** At the outset, I would like to express my appreciation to the Nigerian presidency for its leadership in convening today’s open debate on an issue that is important for all of us.

As other colleagues have mentioned, there is no doubt that security sector reform (SSR) is one of the most significant elements in peacekeeping, peacebuilding and conflict prevention. Japan fully recognizes its importance and has implemented programmes in the field, such as those in Afghanistan. Let me point out one challenge in dealing with security sector reform. The concept note prepared for this debate prepared by the presidency (S/2014/238, annex) emphasizes that there is an excessive focus on “hardware” issues relating to training and equipping the security sector, compared to efforts to enhance the delivery of “software”-related support. With regards to this software-related support, I believe that enhancing inclusivity in the security sector, especially in the context of rebuilding post-conflict States, is critical.

The reason is simple. If components and members of the military and police are not inclusive enough in the eyes of local people in post-conflict States, those security institutions may be perceived as either biased or serving only specific political groups. This mistrust between local people and the security sector can easily

lead to a relapse of violent conflict as we have often witnessed in the past.

Recognizing these challenges of inclusivity in SSR, last week, along with the Tanzanian and Slovak Missions, the Japanese Mission co-hosted a seminar entitled “Inclusivity in rebuilding States: focusing on the inclusivity in SSR”. It was part of a series of seminars on inclusivity in rebuilding States that Japan has co-hosted since last year with Tanzania. In the seminar, prominent panelists consistently emphasized that it was crucial for post-conflict States to invite different political, social and ethnic groups, including traditional leaders and women’s groups, into the decision-making and implementation process of building the new security sector. By doing so, these institutions can enjoy legitimacy and impartiality in the local community.

The discussions at the seminar clearly suggest that this dimension of inclusivity should receive more attention and focus in the context of United Nations assistance in SSR. Rather than putting too much focus on the number and equipment of officers in military and police sections, the international community and the United Nations must pay more attention to and show commitment in supporting an inclusive and nationally led process in designing, planning and developing the security sector so that a wider range of local people may participate in the process of creating new security sectors. This inclusive and participatory process will help local people perceive those institutions as their own military and police, functioning based on the rule of law and not on their affiliations to political leaders. I believe that the United Nations, perhaps through its good offices functions, should and can help and facilitate more such inclusive and participatory process among all stakeholders.

In closing, let me reiterate that Japan is ready to continue to provide assistance for Security Sector Reform in post-conflict situations.

**The President:** I give the floor to the representative of Brazil.

**Mr. Patriota (Brazil):** Let me express my delegation’s satisfaction, Sir, at having you preside over our proceedings today. I thank you for organizing this debate on an issue of such crucial importance to a number of situations on the Council’s agenda. I also thank the Secretary-General for his briefing.

As recognized in the draft resolution to be adopted today, the security sector is a fundamental element of sustainable peace. If a national security sector fails in its obligations to ensure protection to all citizens, even for a hard realist as Hobbes the very legitimacy of the State as a whole will be at stake. Therefore, unmet tasks related to the establishment of a democratic, accountable and stable security apparatus in post-conflict situations are rightfully pointed out as a threat to durable peace and stability.

Here at the United Nations, there is already a well-established consensus on the importance of security sector reform (SSR) for peace and development. We commend all efforts to ensure that SSR-related challenges are given due consideration in peacekeeping and peacebuilding mandates, and that the United Nations is well equipped to provide assistance in this area. There is enough experience to show that the development of a democratic security sector goes well beyond strengthening its individual components. As we focus on the challenges of implementation, however, it is essential to recall some fundamental realities. I would like to make five brief observations in that regard.

First, we must again recognize that SSR is both a process in itself and a moment in a political continuum that begins with peace processes, runs through efforts related to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), and should continue in tandem with peacebuilding strategies into sustainable and democratic development and the promotion of human rights. In this context, the DDR-SSR link is a critical one. It is essential to integrate SSR considerations early into the peacemaking and reintegration efforts. We fully concur with the recommendation of the Secretary-General that “security sector reform needs to be better linked to other critical practice areas” (*S/2013/480, para.61 (h)*). As important and interconnected as those areas may be, the fundamental nexus between SSR and DDR deserves special attention.

Secondly, being a fundamentally political process, SSR implementation also requires a deep understanding of the underlying sociological components of conflict, which are likely to shape realities and different visions on security. The United Nations needs to be equipped to take those factors into account and to sharpen its analytical tools so as to adequately inform the policy-setting and decision-making processes. Again as stressed by the Secretary-General, the Council can play a key role in ensuring the practical application of the

central principle of national ownership by, inter alia, taking additional steps to ensure that its mandates incorporate the perspectives and needs of the countries under consideration.

Thirdly, as we approach the turbulent political environment surrounding SSR, we cannot simplify notions such as political will. SSR entails complex, difficult and sometimes very risky decisions. Painful decisions on financing, on recruiting, on transitional justice, and even on how to shape historical narratives are intrinsic to SSR processes. An encompassing strategy to bolster SSR implementation will benefit from being fully informed by such political realities and devise the best mechanisms to mitigate risks.

Furthermore, the importance of regional and subregional contexts comes to the fore not only because the regional and subregional components of conflict continue to be determinant for peace, but also because regional and subregional organizations can be effective operative partners in articulating international support into viable political strategies. For that to happen, of course, strong coordination at those levels is essential. We welcome in this regard the African Union resolve to strengthen its capacities in SSR.

Finally, it is also crucial to think of SSR as a process that should contribute to meaningful transformation and stability through representative and inclusive recruitment. In many societies, the authority and power associated with weapons is viewed as an end in itself and, in some circumstances, as a path to economic gains. In such contexts, it is also critical to ensure that SSR does not give rise to new classes of privilege to replace old ones, but instead builds institutions that serve the interests of all. This highlights the need for SSR to go hand in hand with the promotion of equality before the law, and with the exercise and protection of social and economic rights through job creation, social inclusion programmes, capacity-building and enhanced opportunities for social mobility.

Let me conclude by stressing the important contribution the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) can give to our reflections on SSR. The PBC is deeply involved in the daily challenges of SSR. The experience of country-specific configurations, combined with the policy-setting platform of the Organizational Committee, can provide a very adequate locus for a discussion of those fundamental political dimensions of SSR, attuned to the realities of its implementation on the ground and understood as a process of democratic

development of the security sector. I invite the Security Council to make further use of this resource, in line with the draft resolution to be adopted later today.

**The President:** I give the floor to the representative of Guatemala.

**Mr. Rosenthal** (Guatemala) (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the Nigerian presidency for having organized this open debate and its concept note (S/2014/238, annex) and for your personal participation, Mr. Minister. We also thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for his briefing and for his second report on security sector reform (S/2013/480).

We wish to highlight four points that relate to the challenges and opportunities related to security sector reform (SSR).

First, we believe that such reform is the primary responsibility of States and must be a process driven by national needs and priorities. We recognize that there is no single model of SSR, since the approach depends on the culture, the level of development and the historical relationship between the people and State institutions, among others. Achieving mutual trust between citizens and their security institutions — the police and/or army, for example — remains a challenge for States.

Secondly, the United Nations and the international community have played an important complementary role in assisting States to build and strengthen effective security systems. We consider it important to continue to promote coherence and coordination in the efforts and activities of all relevant stakeholders. The Organization has accumulated a wealth of experience, especially since the establishment in 2008 of the inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force, which has created the ability to provide support in the field and at Headquarters. We consider it important to continue developing guidelines in all relevant respects, in close consultation with Member States.

Thirdly, we believe that the role of the United Nations, in cooperation with bilateral, regional and subregional partners, can provide technical assistance for security sector reform through peacekeeping operations when a country so requests and according to its specific needs. For example, we recognize the important role that the African Union plays in ensuring regional stability. The crises in Mali and the Sahel region show that international threats often transcend the borders of a single country and that more interaction



with regional and subregional mechanisms is therefore necessary.

Finally, we believe in the promotion of comprehensive security sector reform that recognizes its link to development. The World Bank has indicated that no low-income, fragile or conflict-affected State has so far achieved the Millennium Development Goals, which suggests that stability and security are important prerequisites for establishing an environment conducive to development. In our region and in our own country, insecurity and violence have had an adverse impact on economic growth, the quality of life of our people and the sustainable management of natural resources.

The establishment of an effective, accountable and professional security sector is a critical element to laying the foundations for lasting peace and sustainable development. We hope that the draft resolution to be adopted today will assist in achieving those goals.

**The President:** I give the floor to the observer of the European Union.

**Mr. Mayr-Harting** (European Union): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU) and its member States. The candidate countries Turkey, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia; the countries of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential candidates Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina; as well as Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia, align themselves with this statement.

At the outset, let me thank you, Mr. President, for the priority Nigeria attaches to this subject and for your having come to make your important statement and presiding over this very important meeting. It is a pleasure and a privilege for us to participate in this debate on security sector reform, and we also thank Nigeria for providing a very useful concept note (S/2014/238, annex) to that end.

We have taken note of the Secretary-General's briefing and the recommendations put forward in his report (S/2013/480). The European Union welcomes the Secretary-General's report, which makes a strong case for a strengthened United Nations role in support of nationally owned security sector reform efforts. We look forward to the adoption of the draft resolution this afternoon.

The European Union has long-standing experience of supporting security sector reform (SSR) programmes

in response to the needs of conflict and post-conflict countries, of those in a transition stage or of developing countries at large. In doing so, we have at our disposal a wide range of instruments: diplomacy, crisis response, development and security policies. Allow me to make a brief review our engagement on security sector reform activities.

Most of the EU civilian and military crisis-management missions and operations deployed worldwide have an SSR component. The European Union trains, monitors and advises police, justice and military institutions and their personnel in countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mali and Somalia. From a development cooperation angle, over the period 2001-2009 the EU disbursed approximately €1 billion, targeting justice and security sector reform worldwide. That number multiplies if we consider the overall interventions through the crisis response and Common Security and Defence Policy missions mentioned earlier.

In addition, the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace, and more specifically its crisis-response measures, have become a key instrument in operating in the security-development nexus and to enable a more timely response by the European Union. Under the Instrument, the European Union is providing SSR-related support, inter alia, in the Central African Republic, Chad, Guinea-Conakry, Libya, the Niger, Mali and Myanmar, to name just a few countries.

The European Union's main approach to security sector reform is to assist partner Governments in their efforts to provide effective, legitimate and accountable security and justice services to their citizens in a manner that is consistent with democratic norms, principles of the rule of law, good governance and its respect for human rights. The EU shares the view that SSR should be part of a comprehensive approach. Such an approach should not only cover the wide-ranging conflict prevention, peacebuilding, peacekeeping and State-building agendas, but also take a whole-of-society approach, recognizing interconnections with economic revenue management, youth employment, access and quality of public services, and effective oversight and governance.

Furthermore, the 2007 Council conclusions on security and development underlined the great importance of building SSR capacity in regional

organizations as a means to promote ownership. Our support for building African Union capacities in security sector reform is a case in point. Our regional focus is, moreover, strengthened through the development of targeted regional strategies, for example in the Sahel or the Horn of Africa, where the European Union tries to support the tackling of security-related challenges in a comprehensive manner, committing all relevant instruments at its disposal.

The European Union has worked in the area of security sector reform for nearly 10 years. Among the lessons we have learned are the need for a more strategic, comprehensive and coordinated approach, a better knowledge of the local context, clear objectives, concrete and measurable benchmarks for assessing progress and a better balance between ensuring service delivery outcomes and building state capacity. Security sector reform is politically and institutionally a complex process that may take a generation or more to fully take root. In that regard, we would like to underline the need for preserving the results achieved through appropriate follow up and for ensuring a smooth transition. Thereby, we try to ensure that our short-term engagement as part of the Common Security and Defence Policy is accompanied by long-term measures.

We therefore support the Secretary-General in his approach to underline the need for a better balance between service delivery — ensuring people's security and safety — and long-term institution and capacity building. Engagement with local non-state actors, the need for dialogue among national authorities, communities and civil society on security-related challenges, as well as effective monitoring by democratic oversight institutions, are also important elements that

the report of the Secretary-General also highlights. Special attention should be paid to the participation of women and marginalized groups, including persons with disabilities, minorities and migrants, in planning, leading and implementing security sector reforms.

The value of local ownership and the need for coordinated support of different actors and instruments is key. We fully agree with all of those who have already made that point in the course of today's debate. We also support the activities of the United Nations Group of Friends of SSR, which serves as a very valuable vehicle to facilitate inclusive dialogue, to foster further progress in developing the United Nations comprehensive approach to SSR within the United Nations system and to build synergies among the United Nations, the European Union and other international organizations, regional actors and stakeholders, including in particular the African Union.

Aside from the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Peacebuilding Commission, SSR should also be regularly placed on the agenda of the Council and be given appropriate consideration in the mandates of peacekeeping operations. We thank you personally, Mr. President, as well as Nigeria, for your leadership in doing so. The issue is highly relevant to the business of this body, especially when it comes to a successful transition and exit for peacekeeping operations and to building and sustaining peace.

**The President:** There are still a number of speakers remaining on my list for this meeting. Given the lateness of the hour, I intend, with the concurrence of the members of the Council, to suspend the meeting until 3 p.m.

*The meeting was suspended at 1.05 p.m.*