



# Security Council

Sixty-fourth year

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*Provisional*

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<i>President:</i>	Sir John Sawers . . . . .	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
<i>Members:</i>	Austria . . . . .	Mr. Mayr-Harting
	Burkina Faso . . . . .	Mr. Tiendrébéogo
	China . . . . .	Mr. Liu Zhenmin
	Costa Rica . . . . .	Mr. Urbina
	Croatia . . . . .	Mr. Vilović
	France . . . . .	Mr. Ripert
	Japan . . . . .	Mr. Okuda
	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya . . . . .	Mr. Dabbashi
	Mexico . . . . .	Mr. Heller
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Shcherbak
	Turkey . . . . .	Mr. Çorman
	Uganda . . . . .	Mr. Mugoya
	United States of America . . . . .	Ms. Rice
	Viet Nam . . . . .	Mr. Le Luong Minh

## Agenda

United Nations peacekeeping operations

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*The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **United Nations peacekeeping operations**

**The President:** I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Brazil, Canada, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Morocco, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Serbia, South Africa, Sweden, Tunisia and Uruguay, in which they request to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the consideration of the item, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, the representatives of the aforementioned countries took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.*

**The President:** In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend invitations under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Alain Le Roy, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations; Ms. Susana Malcorra, Under-Secretary-General for Field Support; and General Martin Luther Agwai, Force Commander for the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID).

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations. I will begin by making a few remarks at the outset.

I should like to start by welcoming the two Under-Secretaries-General, Alain Le Roy and Susana Malcorra. In their recent non-paper on peacekeeping, entitled "A new partnership agenda: Charting a new horizon for United Nations peacekeeping", they have

spoken about the need to set a new horizon for United Nations peacekeeping — one that will help meet the challenges of today and tomorrow. I hope that today's debate will make some contribution to achieving that objective.

I am also very pleased that we have with us today General Martin Agwai, Force Commander of UNAMID, to provide a perspective from the field. Effective delivery on the ground has to be at the centre of our efforts to review peacekeeping — in the Security Council, in the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, in the General Assembly and elsewhere in the United Nations system. I thank General Agwai for his attendance today.

I also welcome his colleagues, the commanding officers of United Nations peacekeeping operations, who between them represent and command around 100,000 United Nations peacekeepers around the world. I pay tribute to them and to the men and women they serve with — military, police and civilian — and thank them all for their contribution to peace and security around the world.

United Nations peacekeeping is a unique global partnership. Our peacekeepers help fragile nations emerge from conflict to find new stability. They are a scarce asset, demand for which continues to grow. The United Nations system has a responsibility to ensure that United Nations peacekeepers are deployed to maximum effect in the places where they are needed most.

The initiative that the United Kingdom and France launched in January sought to ensure that the Security Council could play its part to best effect. In the early stages of our work, we have focused on the strategic oversight of peacekeeping operations, seeking to ensure that mandates are credible, achievable and measurable. And we have sought ways to improve information sharing and consultation with the countries that contribute troops and police.

At the same time, the increasing scale and complexity of peacekeeping have stimulated a dialogue among Member States and the Secretariat — a dialogue that has already produced important proposals from the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support which warrant our further reflection.

This work has generated some initial progress on which we now need to build, working within the Security Council and beyond, in close cooperation with the wider United Nations system. Our objective today is to hear the views of colleagues from across the United Nations membership, record and review progress to date, and identify common elements of a way forward.

I now invite Mr. Le Roy to address the Council on this subject.

**Mr. Le Roy** (*spoke in French*): Obviously, it is an honour to be once again before the Security Council in a debate on United Nations peacekeeping operations at this important juncture in their development. I will be brief because I have had the opportunity twice in recent months to present our thoughts on the future of peacekeeping operations and since, as you said, Sir, our non-paper on the New Horizon initiative was issued on 17 July. Like you, I wish to highlight the presence today of nearly all of our commanding officers, who have been attending a seminar all this week. I welcome them here with us today.

Next year will mark a decade since the publication of the landmark report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations led by Ambassador Brahimi (S/2000/809). This is clearly an important moment for the Security Council and all Member States to take stock of progress and the challenges ahead.

Certainly, the Brahimi report and the subsequent reform efforts have served us particularly well. United Nations peacekeeping has become stronger and more effective. Without these improvements, the United Nations could not have kept up with the massive growth in demand for peacekeeping. There have been setbacks since the Brahimi report, such as in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo, but we have managed to move beyond them relatively quickly. We have built on lessons, good and bad, from the field. Much of this progress has been the result of the consistent support of the Member States, and the guidance provided by the Security Council and the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations has been the basis for strengthening United Nations peacekeeping.

Within the Secretariat, the “Peace Operations 2010” internal reform sought to further professionalize our work. The restructuring of the Department of

Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the establishment of the Department of Field Support (DFS) in 2007 aimed to strengthen the organization and management systems at Headquarters. In 2008, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations produced a document entitled “United Nations peacekeeping operations: principles and guidelines” — better known as the Capstone Doctrine — which set out the elements that DPKO considers key for the successful conduct of peacekeeping operations. It reaffirms the basic principles of United Nations peacekeeping — consent, impartiality and the non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate. It underscores the importance for peacekeeping operations of having, by definition, a peace to keep, a political process to support and an integrated approach bringing together the United Nations family on the ground.

Yet we are all aware that the current scale and complexity of United Nations peacekeeping require us to review where we stand and to reinvigorate our partnership. The British-French initiative in the Council, the work of the Security Council Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations, which is chaired by Japan, and the various initiatives of individual Member States in 2009 reflect that collective awareness. Our discussions have helped us to collectively identify some of the most urgent of these challenges.

First, it is increasingly tricky, as the Council knows, to find sufficient the personnel, equipment, senior leaders and even political leverage to meet the scale of our activity.

Secondly, we need a shared vision on the use of United Nations peacekeeping — on the conditions in which peacekeeping operations are an effective tool and the circumstances in which they are not. We face the challenge of translating that shared vision on the ground so as to protect civilians, defend against attacks on peace, and assist countries and Governments to recover from conflict.

Thirdly, we need effective transition strategies. Once we have achieved early stabilization, we must ensure that a strong and sustained collective recovery effort follows so that peacekeeping missions can transition and withdraw.

With that in mind, during the Security Council’s debate on 29 June (see S/PV.6153), Under-Secretary-General Malcorra and I called for a renewed

partnership among peacekeeping stakeholders. The President referred to this call in his earlier remarks. Each and every one of us — the Security Council, the General Assembly's Special Committee and Fifth Committee, the troop- and police-contributing countries and, of course, the Secretariat — has an essential role to play. Each is indispensable, and we are mutually responsible to one another to deliver on our respective roles.

We look forward to pursuing our dialogue with members of the Security Council and to continuing a similarly rich dialogue with bodies of the General Assembly, in particular the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Fifth Committee.

*(spoke in English)*

To help facilitate this dialogue, DPKO and DFS, as the President mentioned, issued the New Horizon non-paper on 17 July. This non-paper is part of the New Horizon process to reinvigorate the peacekeeping partnership. It outlines a wide range of peacekeeping challenges that can be met only through effective partnership. Let me very quickly draw the Council's attention to some of them.

First, the non-paper highlights the importance of effective partnership for strengthening the planning of peacekeeping operations. We need to improve the quality of assessments and we can do so only through enhanced information sharing.

The Secretariat must also present to the Council a full range of options so as to enable the Council to authorize achievable mandates. Here too, the non-paper stresses the importance of enhanced consultation and communication. Effective planning depends upon peacekeeping partners clearly indicating, early on, where and how they might be able to assist in the preparation of an operation.

Secondly, the non-paper looks at some of the ways in which a revitalized partnership can improve the management and oversight of peacekeeping operations. It highlights the need to strengthen command-and-control systems at every level, including through more robust accountability frameworks between Headquarters and mission leaders. It also proposes stronger consultation and interaction with troop-contributing countries (TCCs) at all levels to ensure a common understanding of what may be

demanding of personnel on the ground, particularly in robust peacekeeping scenarios.

Thirdly, the non-paper identifies three policy areas where the peacekeeping partnership is currently not united, which is creating very real operational dilemmas for our missions today. These are robust peacekeeping, protection of civilians and critical peacebuilding tasks for peacekeepers. We urgently need to build a common view on the role of peacekeepers in these areas, how they are translated on the ground, and what tools we need to do that.

Fourthly, we need to shift from a focus on numbers to ensuring that the necessary capability is in place. Such a capability-driven approach would have wide-ranging implications for how we source equipment and compensate Member States for it, for the standards we establish for personnel and tasks, for training support for newer TCCs and for inter-operability with regional organizations. This focus on capabilities for delivery also underpins much of the thinking behind the Support Strategy of the Department for Field Support (DFS), which Under-Secretary-General Malcorra will discuss shortly.

There is certainly a full agenda of issues which will depend on mutual vision and effort. The Secretariat, for its part, has sought through the New Horizon to identify ways that we ourselves can better deliver on our responsibilities. I would like to conclude by focusing on several commitments highlighted in the non-paper that the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and DFS intend to hold ourselves to.

With respect to the planning and monitoring of, and reporting on, United Nations peacekeeping missions, we are making several commitments.

First, we commit to provide the Security Council with thorough assessments of situations into which a new peacekeeping operation may be deployed and to present proposals for the full range of support that might be considered to assist with mission deployment.

We commit to consult with the Security Council and contributing countries in advance of the deployment of technical assessment missions and to debrief on their findings.

We are committed to enhancing meaningful dialogue with troop and police contributors in the planning for new and ongoing missions and to ensuring

that the Security Council receives, through the reports of the Secretary-General, a clear assessment of the views received by the Secretariat from those contributing countries in advance of mandate renewal.

We will review, improve and streamline our reporting procedures to ensure that priority information requirements of the Security Council and troop contributors can be met within the resources we have available, and we will explore options for mutual information-sharing in support of peacekeeping missions.

We will continue our work to produce appropriate and high-quality benchmarks for missions, driven by a comprehensive understanding of conditions on the ground, and to research best practices in benchmarking, in close cooperation with all parts of the United Nations family that contribute to building peace after conflict.

The issues that I have highlighted are only some elements of a broader dialogue we hope to develop and sustain with members of the Security Council, with troop- and police-contributing countries and with our regional and United Nations partners on the full gamut of recommendations in our recently circulated non-paper. The DPKO and DFS non-paper is, as we always say, the start of a dialogue, not the end.

We sincerely hope that the months leading to the tenth anniversary of the Brahimi report can be used to build a new vision among all stakeholders in the peacekeeping partnership on how best to build on the foundations laid for United Nations peacekeeping nearly a decade ago. I am confident that in the coming months we can arrive at a revitalized partnership that sets out a common vision for United Nations peacekeeping and a shared commitment to strengthen it in order to serve the men, women and children who depend on it today and tomorrow.

**The President:** I am very grateful to Mr. Le Roy for his briefing. I now give the floor to Ms. Malcorra.

**Ms. Malcorra:** Mr. President, allow me to start by thanking you and this Council for providing this forum for discussion of matters of significance for our work to better serve the peacekeeping and political field presences serviced by the Department of Field Support (DFS). Allow me also to welcome our force commanders to this forum, because I think their presence really adds value to our discussion.

Alain has already referred to the work done in the New Horizon document. DFS has worked closely with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) in the creation of this non-paper. As the Council knows, one of the key enablers of the New Horizon non-paper will be the Support Strategy. We started to discuss this Strategy with the Council at the Council retreat earlier this year, and we intend to maintain close consultations with Member States throughout the process. Our overarching goal is to provide improved support services with quality, speed and efficiency, and we believe that there are clear opportunities to achieve these goals.

I am absolutely convinced that DFS must improve its response to the evolving and increasing needs for support, and to do so in a holistic manner. The need to develop an agenda ambitious enough to tackle these demands and to give all parties involved the opportunity to engage in a good conversation underpins our efforts. Throughout the process, DFS will develop options, outline opportunities to improve and present sound business plans to support the decision process.

With this in mind, on Monday 3 August, we issued to all Member States a mid-point non-paper on the Support Strategy, which should be in your hands by now. This non-paper follows the release of the New Horizon document and is aimed at taking stock of our strategic thinking, while we start work on detailed proposals and business cases, including cost-benefit analyses. We anticipate that this process will culminate in a report of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly at its sixty-fourth session, next spring.

Some matters for discussion will have, in one way or the other, implications for rules, regulations and resource management, which will require review and endorsement for change by the Member States. The approval of the intergovernmental bodies will be sought in due course to achieve the support transformation envisioned.

The DFS Support Strategy non-paper reflects a high-level view and a fresh approach to supporting field missions. It also builds on the tools approved by the General Assembly to improve our operations. The development of this work takes into account the following key drivers.

The first is the need to update the regulatory framework to strike the right balance between the

demands for effective delivery and the demands to comply with rules and regulations. As it is unacceptable to excuse ourselves using the imperatives of the operational demands to justify shortcuts, it is also unacceptable to hide behind the existing framework without questioning its continued applicability and, where relevant, without seeking the appropriate empowerment to do our job better. Quite often, support operations are hindered by processes that have not been revisited for a long time or have not been adjusted to the current realities on the ground and to a fast-paced operational tempo.

Secondly, it is imperative to strike a balance between the risk to mandate delivery associated with delays in mission deployment and the risks stemming from increased operational empowerment. It is easier to measure the financial exposures than to measure the risk of not meeting the needs of the individuals we serve. We must do more to find the right balance. These proposals will have to go through an appropriate risk management analysis and will involve putting in place the necessary mitigating measures.

Thirdly, there is a need to protect our personnel and to ensure appropriate living and working conditions in the mission, while maximizing safety and security. Concepts such as modular delivery and the delivery of support from regional service centres will achieve clear benefits in terms of effectiveness and efficiency. We expect that they will also lead to a reduction in the quantity of support staff required in difficult and unsafe locations.

Fourth is the need to recognize that missions go through a life cycle and that key investments at critical stages can have a sizeable effect on the ability of missions to show real results in shorter time spans. Again, we anticipate that this approach should result in increased efficiency and a more strategic investment of scarce resources.

Fifth and last, there is the requirement to ensure a more productive impact on the environment in which we operate by contributing to the local or regional development of industry and individuals and by ensuring that the footprint is ecologically mindful and environmentally sensitive.

The elaboration following these drivers will be framed by the views expressed by Member States a few weeks ago during the adoption of the peacekeeping budgets regarding the balance between ambitions and

the availability of resources to achieve them. We are conscious that all of this work requires that solid business cases be constructed to inform the decision-making and strategic direction.

We will seek guidance from Member States in the following key areas.

The first area is the establishment of a new support framework for service delivery in field operations, a framework based on a clear distinction between functions of a strategic and policymaking nature to be performed at Headquarters and repetitive transactional tasks that can be more effectively and efficiently delivered closer to the field operations they are designed to serve.

Second is the adoption of standardized mission support models to improve deployment timelines, achieve economies of scale and facilitate oversight and the responsible stewardship of the resources of Member States.

Third, we will seek guidance on the implementation of responsive resource management. We are striving for a model that allows improved flexibility to allow greater asset-sharing and allocation. This will also include a more effective approach to managing staff, ensuring their development and facilitating mobility across locations.

It is indeed too early for us to provide a detailed report at this juncture. We are working closely with all our implementing partners and stakeholders within the Secretariat to further develop this mission.

In conclusion, let me stress that support is not an end in itself. My Department has service delivery at its core. We must not lose sight of our ultimate purpose, which is to better serve those dedicated men and women charged with the daunting challenge of securing a fragile peace in war-torn countries. All our efforts will be dedicated to realizing this mission, and we count on the Council's support and guidance to get there.

**The President:** I thank Ms. Malcorra for her briefing and for the work that she and her Department have been doing on this very important topic.

I have the pleasure to give the floor to General Agwai, Force Commander for the United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur.

**General Agwai:** Good morning. I am deeply honoured to have been invited here to address this prestigious forum.

We have just heard from two Under-Secretaries-General about the importance of identifying a new horizon for peacekeeping. The African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) encapsulates the full range of challenges facing modern United Nations peacekeeping missions: the role of critical enablers, deployment challenges, robust peacekeeping, the protection of civilians, logistic support and all the other issues addressed, which are at the very heart of UNAMID.

I come here as a simple soldier and would like to take this opportunity to speak to the Council candidly at the end of my posting to Darfur. It has been an extraordinary two years, and it has been a privilege to end my 40-year military career with such a challenging mission.

I was first posted to Darfur in July 2007 as the Force Commander of the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), which was basically an observer mission with only eight infantry battalions and a strength of just about 7,000 sparsely deployed personnel. From those early days we have had to confront the consequences of the lack of critical strategic enablers in peacekeeping, whether in the African Union or the United Nations.

One example is the lack of military helicopters. In the attack on the AMIS camp at Haskanita in September 2007, 10 peacekeepers lost their lives on the spot and 2 more died in hospital. We could not fly many of them out until the following day because of the lack of helicopter resources. Sadly, UNAMID is now approaching its second anniversary without these vital enablers that can make such a difference to the safety and security of our personnel.

Another one of those enablers is robust communication lines. The well-executed ambush of a UNAMID patrol in July 2008 resulted in the deaths of seven more peacekeepers. One of the first rounds fired destroyed the patrol's only VHF radio, and the first information that the base camp had about the attack was when the survivors limped in some six hours later. Again, helicopters could have played a critical role in bringing the injured to safety.

The lack of specialized capabilities is critical in difficult and dangerous operating environments. Even the most experienced United Nations hands who were brought to help us after the transfer of authority on 31 December 2007 agreed that Darfur presents logistic challenges that go well beyond those that United Nations peacekeeping operations regularly face. The roads were no more than muddy tracks; the airfields were too short to allow large aircraft such as Antonov 124s to land; the railway was single-track, and the climate was brutal. The rate of deployment has been affected. The first new troops did not arrive until May 2008.

Nevertheless, we have made progress. By the end of this month, we should have 74 per cent of the total 19,555 troops on the ground. This is one of the factors behind the positive shift in attitude towards UNAMID among the local population and the significant number of civilians moving towards the UNAMID camps.

Yet, as the New Horizon non-paper makes clear, effective deployment is not just a question of total numbers of the ground. It is about the right types of capabilities arriving in the right sequence. As UNAMID's integrated deployment plan illustrated, sequencing of deployment — logisticians, engineers and medics first, as the United Nations Light and Heavy Support Packages, and new battalions thereafter — makes sense. But UNAMID also demonstrates that this is often very difficult in practice. Even now, there remain significant shortfalls to effective operating capacity of the mission.

The longer it takes to establish initial operating capacity, the more difficult it is to focus on practical mandate implementation. We are now beginning to look at this at UNAMID. Here, the New Horizon document makes an essential point as to the importance of peacekeepers with adequate pre-deployment training. In particular, we need to continue developing patrol skills if we are to extend UNAMID's area of influence.

At present, we are like 32 ink spots on a very large piece of blotting paper. Each spot must grow and be connected to the others. That means considerably longer patrols, ranging from base for several days at a stretch. Many of the troops deployed do not currently have the skills, discipline and equipment required for this type of patrolling. This, in turn, puts further strain on UNAMID to establish in-mission training units.

I attended the Conference on Robust Peacekeeping organized by the Office of Military Affairs in May 2009. Darfur typifies the kind of environments that often demand a robust response capacity. It is a complex internal dispute with many diverse players. It affects the most vulnerable — women and children. As the Brahimi report asserts, peacekeepers “must be prepared to confront the lingering forces of war and violence, with the ability and determination to defeat them” (*S/2000/809, p. viii*).

From my experience as Deputy Force Commander in Sierra Leone from 2000 to 2002, wherever the United Nations deploys, civilians have an expectation that it will provide protection. We are achieving that, but we need the tools with which to do it, including those critical enablers that I mentioned earlier. We also need well-trained troops and effective command and control. If we are to be robust, there must also be an acceptance of the risk of casualties, and we will need to redouble our efforts to protect mission and civilian personnel in the face of these risks.

I should say, however, that a robust posture is not only a matter of training, equipment or force strength, important as they are. It is first a matter of the attitude and resolve of the mission. When the Sudanese army and the forces of the Justice and Equality Movement squared off over control of Muhajeriya in late January and early February 2009, UNAMID’s small contingent there risked being caught in the crossfire and was by no means in a position to directly impact the military situation. But by refusing to leave the town and its inhabitants, it sent a potent message to both parties and thereby contributed to averting direct hostilities.

A mission such as UNAMID demonstrates the importance of partnership and interaction between all the parties involved. The tripartite mechanism between the African Union, the United Nations and the Government of the Sudan, which focuses on deployment, logistical and administrative issues, is an effective one. I am particularly grateful to Under-Secretary-General Susana Malcorra for the commitment she has made to keeping those meetings focused, and to Under-Secretary-General Alain Le Roy for pushing the process forward.

But it does not stop there. In Darfur, we have to liaise daily with the parties on the ground — the State leadership, the Walis, the *umdas*, the Government of

the Sudan police and military liaison, the sheikhs, the sheikh of sheikhs — and the list goes on. Failure to include any one of those can result in delays in deployment, stalled projects or obstructed patrols. It remains a real challenge for operational effectiveness.

This has been a remarkable two years for UNAMID. We have made significant progress on the ground and the end of the deployment is at last in sight. This is a major achievement, and I have faith that when we are fully deployed, we will make a difference to the men and women of Darfur, who have suffered so much for so long. The burden of expectation upon us is high, but we owe it to them to deliver.

On a personal note, may I thank all Council members for their unflinching support throughout my tenure. It has been an absolute privilege to be the Force Commander of such a challenging mission.

**The President:** I thank General Agwai for his briefing and his outstanding service to the United Nations over the past several years. We are very grateful to him for everything that he has done personally. We also thank the entire team at the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur.

I take this opportunity again to thank all the commanders of the peacekeeping missions who are here for their annual conference and have taken time out from that to attend our meeting this morning. I know they have to move on in 10 minutes’ time or so, but we are very glad to have them here. On behalf of the Council, I should just like to thank them all, and all the men and women of their missions, for the outstanding work they do for peace and security around the world.

I shall now give the floor to members of the Security Council. In accordance with the understanding reached among Council members, I wish to remind all speakers to limit their statements to no more than five minutes in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously. Delegations with lengthy statements are kindly requested to circulate the texts in writing and to deliver a condensed version when speaking in the Chamber.

**Mr. Ripert (France)** (*spoke in French*): Allow me at the outset to thank you, Sir, for organizing this important debate and to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I also wish to thank the delegation of Uganda for the skill

and effectiveness with which it presided over our work last month.

I welcome the broad participation in this meeting, particularly on the part of the major troop-contributing countries, and the presence of the force commanders in the field. I also thank Under-Secretaries-General Alain Le Roy and Susana Malcorra and General Agwai for their very clear briefings. I also associate myself with the statement to be made shortly by my Swedish colleague on behalf of the European Union.

Much has changed since the beginning of United Nations peacekeeping and the establishment of the earliest forces, such as United Nations Truce Supervision Organization and the First United Nations Emergency Force. The goals remain the same, however. Unfortunately, many of the structural difficulties also remain the same. Some of those difficulties have even increased due to the number and scope of United Nations operations.

The Security Council, which shoulders the primary responsibility for peace and security, must always strive to make responsible decisions that reflect the desired goals and enable their effective fulfilment as quickly as possible and in acceptable human and financial conditions.

In any crisis situation, the operations we launch — after having done our utmost to avoid doing so through preventive action — must be carefully thought out and constructed in the context of a comprehensive strategy taking into account the specific nature of each crisis and the complexities of its management, root causes and settlement. Peacekeeping operations must be structured around precise, clear and hierarchical mandates and be sustainable in the long term. To that end, they must enjoy the support of all Council members and draw on adapted and sufficient financial, human and technical resources. They must also be supported by all the other peacekeeping components of the system, be it the troop-contributing countries, the primary financers of United Nations budgets and the organs and agencies that, in the field or at Headquarters, have a key role to play in ensuring the consistency and effectiveness of our actions.

While most challenges are recurrent, many solutions are equally so. As has already been mentioned, a rereading of the Brahimi report, the “Peace Operations 2010” report (A/60/696) or statements released by the Council since 1994 shows

them to be as relevant as ever. Although no past attempt at reform has been sufficient in and of itself, all such attempts have been useful milestones in the development of peacekeeping operations. The United Nations record is impressive. Allow me to say — solemnly, humbly and with restraint — that we can be collectively proud of that record. Together, we have learned from our failures and the tragedies of the past. In short, we have assumed our responsibilities.

In that respect, I reiterate our admiration of and gratitude to all United Nations personnel, particularly all those civilian and military staff members who risk their lives in the field every day.

Along with you, Sir, in January we launched a common initiative to enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council in peacekeeping. As we engage in our first stocktaking, I would underscore two sources of satisfaction.

First, we feel that the French-British initiative has led to intense activity that we believe to have proven extremely fruitful already. Reports, debates, seminars and statements have abounded in recent months. The unalloyed enthusiasm and earnest that have been expressed have been commensurate with the stakes. We must draw on the initial conclusions of this work so that we can transcend rhetoric and change our working methods as soon as possible.

The second source of satisfaction in recent months is the fact that we have begun to change our practices in a concrete way. We have set up quarterly meetings with the Secretariat to take stock of the overall difficulties encountered in peacekeeping. We have enhanced our dialogue with the troop-contributing countries, thanks in particular to the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations chaired by Japan. We have begun to extend the so-called political/military meetings operation by operation, and we have launched the slow process of updating planning documents and of extending the establishment of the benchmarks necessary to ensure genuine follow-up for operations.

Many of these elements can be put in place with ease; others with more difficulty. But changes are occurring, and for that I would like to congratulate and thank all our counterparts in the Secretariat, particularly the Departments of Peacekeeping Operations and Field Support, which have been able to adapt to the new way of working, which we consider to be the most effective, and to the new relationships that

the Security Council seeks to establish with all actors in the system.

Much remains to be done, however. We are preparing to adopt a statement that underscores the challenges we face, of which I would like to highlight a few. We need to further strengthen our strategic follow-up of operations, while considering, inter alia, specific ways of increasing the Council's military expertise. We also need to ensure that the Secretariat can plan and undertake operations in an increasingly effective manner, particularly through adapted rules of engagement.

We also need to deepen our thinking, particularly through an open dialogue with troop-contributing countries, non-governmental organizations and United Nations specialized agencies on such sensitive issues as the protection of civilians, combating violence against women, especially sexual abuse, and preventing the recruitment of child soldiers. We recognize that if Blue Helmets are to be effective, they must be able to take robust action, while taking into account the risks to which such actions may sometimes expose civilians.

We also need to enhance our work on resources and budget performance, while ensuring that, when the Council takes its decisions, it has a clear understanding of their operational and financial impact. We must continue to work to expand available capacities and regularly review the strategy, balance, composition and size of ongoing operations.

Lastly, we must enhance our capacity to implement complex mandates. It is essential to strengthen the interaction of the Security Council and the Secretariat on questions concerning the police, judicial and rule of law components of operations. That will require us to prepare exit strategies as soon as we begin to draft mandates, in particular with respect to the economic, social and political recovery and reconstruction of societies, which have often been devastated by conflict. We know well that, if we wish to establish lasting economic development, only the rule of law and the protection of human rights and fundamental freedom can ensure a permanent return to peace.

We must work to ensure better integration of these various components in New York, Geneva and the field. From that standpoint, the implementation of the conclusions on system-wide coherence is

fundamental. To accomplish all this, it is clear that the Council should rely more on the Peacebuilding Commission in its central component and its country-specific configurations, with the specific aim of serving as a focal point and venue for discussion among all actors involved — the authorities of the countries in conflict, members of the Council and the General Assembly, troop-contributing and donor States, senior officials of funds and programmes, and agency representatives.

The momentum is under way. Our next meeting is set for the end of 2009. Until then, the Council may rest assured that France will spare no effort to ensure that we make progress in the implementation of our road map.

**Ms. Rice** (United States of America): I thank you, Mr. President, for convening this important meeting. I would also like to thank Under-Secretaries-General Le Roy and Malcorra and General Agwai for their very helpful briefings. I want to join you in expressing how honoured we are by the presence of so many United Nations force commanders and chief military observers. We are deeply grateful for their leadership and sacrifice. We would also like to take this opportunity to thank again all the troop- and police-contributing countries for their invaluable contributions.

As the Council may recall, the United States outlined its overall approach to the challenges of United Nations peacekeeping on 29 June at this Council's thematic debate on peacekeeping, convened by Turkey (see S/PV.6153). Therefore, today I would like to restrict myself to five brief points.

First, my Government greatly appreciates the efforts that the United Kingdom and all fellow Council members have made on today's presidential statement. It is the product of several months of increased attention to United Nations peacekeeping, which the United Kingdom and France helped generate early this year. Important discussions have also been held in the Security Council's Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations and in the General Assembly's Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, chaired by Japan and Nigeria, respectively. Turkey and Canada have helped to advance the debate through initiatives and efforts of their own. We thank these Member States and, again, the troop, police and financial contributors, who have all been involved in formulating the presidential statement.

In adopting today's presidential statement, we will increase the chances of success of peacekeeping operations both now and in the future. In that statement, we have committed ourselves to providing missions with clear, credible and achievable mandates. We have pledged to think carefully before establishing new missions that may lack the resources needed to get the job done or may have to operate in conditions ill-suited to success. We have resolved to resist the temptation to simply roll over mandates when they expire.

These are important steps. We have agreed to reflect seriously on the progress that has been made and the obstacles that remain to ensure that we can make any necessary adjustments. But, as we have noted before, the United States will not support the arbitrary or abrupt downsizing or termination of missions.

Secondly, the presidential statement acknowledges that both the Security Council and the Secretariat must do a better job of consulting with troop- and police-contributing countries, especially when adopting new mandates or renewing old ones. The troop and police contributors bring a wealth of experience to these discussions, and they deserve to have their concerns heard and heeded. This is one of the most important messages we have taken away from discussions in the Council's previous thematic debates, its Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations, and the General Assembly's Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations.

Thirdly, the United States appreciates the efforts that the Departments of Peacekeeping Operations and Field Support have made to advance the debate on the future of United Nations peacekeeping. The recently issued non-paper, "A new partnership agenda", rightly reminds us that we are all in this together. While the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretariat and individual Member States each have distinct roles and responsibilities, success in peacekeeping depends on our collective unity of purpose and effort.

In the non-paper, one key partner, the Secretariat, is appealing for help in energizing faltering peace processes, rallying missing capabilities, meeting local capacity-building and peacebuilding needs, considering new business models for mission planning and support, and clarifying such key concepts as robust peacekeeping and the protection of civilians.

As I have said before, the United States remains ready to do its part, and we will receive new ideas with an open mind. We look forward to in-depth discussions over the coming months on the proposals in the New Horizon non-paper and in the companion draft field support strategy that was circulated this week. We are reviewing both documents with great interest, and we are ready to work closely with all involved to further develop these proposals.

At the same time, we look to the Secretariat to do all it can to improve mission leadership and management, strengthen personnel and procurement systems, achieve economies and savings, prevent waste, fraud and abuse and clarify the roles and responsibilities of United Nations actors at Headquarters and in the field.

Fourthly, the United States is ready to act on both the spirit and the letter of the presidential statement and the New Horizon non-paper. The mandates of United Nations missions in Liberia, Haiti and the Democratic Republic of the Congo will come up for renewal over the next few months. We welcome early dialogue with troop and police contributors on these missions. We also welcome early recommendations from the Secretariat on actions that the Security Council and Member States can take to increase the chances that mandates will be successfully implemented and that missions can be drawn down responsibly at the appropriate time.

Finally, while the United States will be appealing to all Member States to do more for United Nations peacekeeping, we are also asking more of ourselves. That includes, importantly, meeting our financial obligations. On that note, I was pleased to make the case for United Nations peacekeeping on Capitol Hill last week, while acknowledging its shortcomings and underscoring the United States' commitment to strengthening United Nations peacekeeping capacities.

I was also honoured to be able to thank the United States Congress for the funding it has recently appropriated. The United States is now in a position to clear all its peacekeeping arrears accumulated from 2005 to 2008 and to meet our obligations in full for 2009, which are currently estimated at approximately \$2.2 billion.

We remain ready to invest in United Nations peacekeeping, even in a time of economic crisis, because this truly global enterprise serves a shared

interest and offers millions of people the prospect of a more secure, prosperous and dignified future. We look forward to working closely with our fellow Council members and with all interested parties to forge an even stronger partnership, and we look forward to working together to make United Nations peacekeeping more effective in the twenty-first century.

**The President:** I believe that General Obiakor and his fellow commanders now need to leave. I thank them again for their presence here for the past hour and for all their work. I ask them to convey our thanks to all the men and women of their missions.

**Mr. Dabbashi** (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*spoke in Arabic*): I would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council this month. We are confident that your wisdom will make it possible for us to achieve the best results. I would also like to thank you for having organized this important debate on peacekeeping operations and congratulate Ambassador Rugunda and the delegation of Uganda for the excellent way in which they conducted the Council's work last month. I would also like to thank Under-Secretaries-General Le Roy and Susana Malcorra for their excellent briefings.

My delegation supports the statement to be made by the representative of Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement. I will therefore simply raise a few points here. I will be brief.

Major efforts have been made to reform the planning and management of peacekeeping operations. This began with the Brahimi report (S/2000/809), which was followed by the "Peace Operations 2010" report, the restructuring of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the establishment of the Department of Field Support. The work of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations has guaranteed the follow-up to and assessment of that report.

We hope that today's debate will enable us to achieve concrete results by establishing a broad partnership that includes all actors. That partnership should benefit from the expertise and experience of troop- and police-contributing countries in improving the planning of peacekeeping operations and from our consideration of how we can strengthen their effectiveness within the framework of clear, achievable and consensual mandates.

We believe it is high time to broaden the participation of troop-contributing countries in peacekeeping operations so that more developed countries can contribute troops, financial resources and materiel, and peacekeeping operations can have the weapons and equipment they need to function.

We reiterate that the establishment or renewal of a mandate must be in line with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and based on the guidelines agreed between the various parties.

The growing demand for peacekeeping requires us to consider enhancing cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations so that the latter are encouraged to play a greater role in peacebuilding and in preserving peace. There is no doubt, in this connection, that the African Union, with Libya as its Chairman, is at the forefront of these regional organizations, first because most current armed conflicts are in Africa and, secondly, it has its own peacekeeping mechanisms. Indeed, the African Union created the Peace and Security Council, is playing a growing role in the area of peacekeeping and has launched numerous initiatives that deserve support and encouragement. We therefore reaffirm the need to continue to implement the joint action plan between the African Union and the United Nations for short- and midterm peacekeeping capacity-building. We would also like to strengthen direct cooperation on capacity-building for the African Union Mission in Somalia.

Finally, we reaffirm that successful peacekeeping is based on a given mission's full deployment and on a parallel active political process involving all parties to a conflict, in which they express their willingness to reject violence and their commitment to dialogue in order to resolve their differences. We believe that the draft presidential statement before us will contribute enormously to peacekeeping operations.

**Mr. Okuda** (Japan): Allow me to begin my statement, Mr. President, by congratulating you on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. I also express my appreciation to Ambassador Rugunda and his staff from the Ugandan mission for the excellent manner in which they conducted the work of the Security Council for the month of July.

I would like to thank Mr. Le Roy, Ms. Malcorra and General Martin Luther Agwai for their very extensive briefings on peacekeeping operations.

As they mentioned, United Nations peacekeeping operations have been among the most important tools for the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security. In spite of the harsh operational environments in which they are deployed, United Nations peacekeeping missions are making a difference by improving the lives of people in countries emerging from conflict.

Their success notwithstanding, the entire system of peacekeeping operations is faced with various challenges, which must be addressed through a holistic approach. We welcome the ongoing efforts in this regard in various forums within the United Nations, including the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretariat, as well as those under way outside the United Nations system. We consider it imperative to formulate practical and concrete steps to address issues pertaining to peacekeeping as a whole. We need to have an open mind in this discussion in order to achieve an outcome leading to more effective peacekeeping operations in the future.

For this timely debate today, we would like to touch upon three areas in which enhancement is required: policy review of peacekeeping operations; cooperation with troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries (PCCs); and troop capacity and assets.

Regarding policy review by the Council, we would like to raise two points. First, it is important for the Council to have a comprehensive understanding of United Nations peacekeeping operations and to review them in a holistic manner. To that end, we consider it useful to establish the practice whereby the Council would periodically review, in an interactive manner, its policy on peacekeeping operations, based on briefings by the Under-Secretaries-General for Peacekeeping Operations and Field Support.

Secondly, as my delegation pointed out in the recent open debate on post-conflict peacebuilding (see S/PV.6165), the Council needs to explore more precisely the extent to which the mandates of peacekeeping missions could be expanded to include such peacebuilding activities as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, the establishment of democratic governance and the rule of law, and capacity-building. If some of those peacebuilding activities are to be carried out by other entities, we

need to consider how peacekeeping missions can coordinate effectively with those activities.

The further enhancement of the interaction between the Security Council and troop- and police-contributing countries is required to achieve more effective mission operations in the field. The Council's Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations was established to serve as a forum to strengthen cooperation with troop- and police-contributing countries and other stakeholders. As Chair of the Working Group, we have invited troop- and police-contributing countries and other stakeholders to three meetings this year to address gaps between mandates and their implementation.

In the meetings, the Working Group was briefed by the Secretariat and sought first-hand feedback from the TCCs and PCCs on conditions on the ground. We take this opportunity to thank those countries that have shared their valuable experience and ideas with the Working Group. We reported the outcome of the meetings in the interim report of the Working Group that was submitted to the President of the Security Council at the end of last month. We plan to continue the discussion in the Working Group in order to begin efforts for the enhancement of cooperation with troop- and police-contributing countries and other stakeholders.

In that regard, I would like to take this opportunity to touch upon the following two points. First, as suggested in the New Horizon non-paper, we would consider it useful to create a so-called coalition group to support each peacekeeping mission. Our confidence in the utility of that approach is based on Japan's experience as a member of the core group on Timor-Leste. Garnering broad support among the countries concerned, including regional partners and donors, contributes greatly both to the actual operation of a mission and to supporting the political process. Such practices could be applied to other peacekeeping missions.

Secondly, in May, the Council held a meeting with the troop- and police-contributing countries of the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste on beginning the transfer of police authority. That is a good example of an occasion for the Council to hold meetings with troop- and police-contributing countries not only at the time of mandate renewal, but also when there are new developments in the field. Such interaction is particularly important for the early

engagement of the TCCs and PCCs. We believe that this precedent should also be applied to the operation of other missions.

Finally, the enhancement of troop capacity and assets and logistical support is indispensable in order for a complex mandate to be implemented successfully. Although we have seen positive progress in that area, such as the enhancement of information gathering for the protection of civilians in the United Nations Observer Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the activities of peacekeeping training centres in Africa, many participants in the Working Group have pointed out the need to address the inadequacy of troop mobility, including the need for aerial assets, as well as the enhancement of communications. Those issues are also touched upon in the New Horizon non-paper. We would like to follow up those issues from various perspectives, including through the work of the Working Group, in conjunction with the efforts of the Secretariat.

We hope that those political and operational issues will continue to be addressed in the Council towards the formulation of an enhanced strategy on peacekeeping operations. As Chair of the Working Group, Japan will continue its efforts to reinforce the work of the Council through in-depth consideration of those operational issues. We intend to resume the work of the Working Group this autumn, with a focus on the enhancement of cooperation with troop- and police-contributing countries, while also taking up other priority issues.

Japan highly appreciates the efforts of the United Kingdom in the preparation of the draft presidential statement of the Security Council. We will actively engage in the follow-up of that presidential statement.

**The President:** I thank the Ambassador of Japan for his delegation's leadership of the Council Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations.

**Mr. Le Luong Minh** (Viet Nam): At the outset, I would like to extend to you, Mr. President, and the United Kingdom delegation our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I would like to thank Ambassador Rugunda and the Ugandan delegation for their effective leadership of the work of the Council in July.

I thank Mr. Alain Le Roy, Ms. Susana Malcorra and General Martin Luther Agwai for their detailed briefings, and the force commanders who have left the Chamber for their presence. Viet Nam supports the statement of the Non-Aligned Movement, to be delivered by the Ambassador of Morocco.

Through more than six decades that witnessed radical transformations in the international security environment, United Nations peacekeeping operations have evolved into a versatile tool and a credible response of the Organization to deterring or reversing protracted conflicts and to helping the affected countries move towards a steady state of stability. Today, with 116,000 personnel deployed in 15 missions, peacekeeping is shouldering a unique spectrum of integrated, multisectoral and multifaceted mandates that extend far beyond the traditional task of ceasefire monitoring and involve a wider partnership of international and national stakeholders.

Since the beginning of the new millennium, however, the exponential growth in the number, scope, size and cost of peacekeeping operations has overstretched the United Nations capacity to deliver on all tasks. The prolongation of intra-State conflicts and their transboundary dimensions have brought about challenges associated with personnel management, logistical support, quality assurance, oversight and political engagement, while there is little sign that the demand for complex, multidimensional missions is decreasing. Against the backdrop of the global financial crisis, the mismatch between costs and capacities, which vary across operations, and the disconnect among those who take decisions on peacekeeping operations, those who implement them, those who allocate resources, those who have to implement decisions on the ground and recipient countries are factors that, in varying degrees, add to the complexity of the problems faced.

For the shared objective of making United Nations peacekeeping work better, over the past couple of years Member States have come up with several important initiatives on policy issues and capacity-building, including the Brahimi report (S/2000/809), the 2010 reform agenda, the restructuring of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the establishment of the Department of Field Support. Efforts are also being undertaken by the Fifth Committee, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, the Peacebuilding Commission, United

Nations agencies and programmes, and the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations. As an internal review to help configure United Nations peacekeeping to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow, the New Horizon non-paper calls for a global partnership in purpose and action for the future and proposes recommendations that cut across the entire life cycle of a mission.

In the context of the multiplication of proposals already available, we consider that the merit of any new initiative or process should be carefully gauged in the context of the ongoing reforms and discussed in an open and transparent manner. Thus, we can ensure coherence and the best possible results and, in particular, gain a correct understanding of and appropriately carry out such cross-cutting tasks as the protection of civilians, robust operations and peacebuilding activities.

We underline the importance of ensuring the best possible unity of command, lines of accountability, integration of efforts, and the safety and security of United Nations peacekeepers through every phase of the relevant reforms. In that process, the establishment and performance of mandates should always be carried out in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and such universally recognized principles as the consent of the parties, the non-use of force except in self-defence, total impartiality, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, and non-interference in their internal affairs.

The wider United Nations membership and international partners can also have a role to play in such endeavours. Troop- and police-contributing countries, most of which are non-aligned and developing nations, should be involved early and fully in all aspects and stages of peacekeeping so as to contribute their expertise and experience to the decision-making process both at Headquarters and in the field. The comparative advantages and inputs of regional organizations could be further exploited within the framework of Chapter VIII in order to reinforce the effectiveness and synergies for peacekeeping.

As part of a comprehensive approach to latent conflicts, peacekeeping can be neither a panacea for the problems related to international peace and security nor a substitute for the local political process, which should be strengthened by national reconciliation

efforts and the full realization of peoples' potential. That in turn would alleviate the situations of already overburdened missions.

Peacekeeping operations are not intended primarily to engage in reconstruction or to rebuild the countries in which they are deployed, as other specialized organizations and institutions can carry out such activities more efficiently. In order to achieve sustainable peace, the root causes of conflicts must be resolved by engaging all involved parties on the basis of dialogue and peaceful dispute settlement and by finding long-term solutions to the comprehensive political, security, economic and humanitarian dimensions of the problems in question.

Depending on the specific circumstances and context, preventive diplomacy, conflict prevention and resolution, and peacebuilding, if used appropriately, can have more desired effects and less-costly solutions. Accomplishing that will mean integrating the New Horizon initiative with the recently issued reports of the Secretary-General on mediation and early recovery, strengthening the relationship between peacebuilding and peacekeeping, and enhancing the critical role of the Peacebuilding Commission.

Finally, we thank you, Mr. President, and your delegation for the draft presidential statement, which we support.

**Mr. Shcherbak** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The Russian delegation is grateful to you, Mr. President, and to the delegation of the United Kingdom for convening today's Security Council meeting on the critical issue of United Nations peacekeeping. We listened very closely to the briefings by Under-Secretaries-General Le Roy and Malcorra, who introduced the New Horizon non-paper prepared by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support. We thank General Agwai for his valuable comments, which were based on his practical experience in one of the most complex peacekeeping operations. We intend to carefully study the proposals and recommendations set out in the non-paper, particularly since many of them require further analysis.

A preliminary look at the New Horizon non-paper shows that, in general, it contains an adequate assessment of United Nations peacekeeping. It can serve in principle as a good basis for the formulation of practical recommendations to enhance the effectiveness

of peacekeeping activities. All peacekeeping reform measures must be aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Improving United Nations peacekeeping is a fundamental challenge. It involves improving the quality of peacekeeping operation management, more effectively utilizing the resources of regional organizations and building the capacities of the United Nations itself with regard to all key dimensions of peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

We should update the practice of conducting operational consultations among Security Council members, troop-contributing countries and the Secretariat on all aspects of peacekeeping operation activities. In that regard, we wish to draw attention to the need to implement existing cooperation mechanisms, as referred to in the note by the President of the Security Council dated 14 January 2002 (S/2002/56).

Many of the ideas set forth in the New Horizon document appear to be timely. Undoubtedly, the Security Council must develop clear and feasible mandates for its operations. In that regard, it is important that mechanisms be established for adjusting them in accordance with developments in the situation on the ground. We support the idea of formulating criteria for the alteration of mandates and benchmarks for the drawdown of peacekeeping operations.

The report rightly highlights the need to expand the number of United Nations peacekeeping partners through enhanced dialogue with regional organizations. Experience has shown that active utilization of the capacities of regional mechanisms is effective if their activities are carried out in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and if their relationship with the Organization, including the Security Council, is guided by the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter. There is no doubt that strict respect for the Council's primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is essential.

The United Nations should increase its interaction with other regional structures as well. We believe that good opportunities in that area lie in improving the cooperation between the United Nations and such traditional partners as the African Union and the European Union, as well as organizations that are actively gaining experience, such as the Shanghai

Cooperation Organization and the Collective Security Treaty Organization.

Particular attention should be accorded to the problem of ensuring the level of military expertise necessary for the implementation of Security Council decisions. Although the New Horizon non-paper unfortunately overlooks that issue, there is still room for further work in this area. We support the idea of involving military experts from members of the Council in reviewing and agreeing the mandates of peacekeeping operations.

At the same time, it is our view that the work of the Security Council on the military aspects of peacekeeping should be further systematized. In that context, we believe that the Russian proposal that the composition of the Military Staff Committee be expanded to all 15 Security Council members remains fully relevant and essential.

We welcome the Secretariat's intention to more systematically implement the provisions of Security Council resolutions 1327 (2000) and 1353 (2001), which concern measures to increase the interaction among the Security Council, troop-contributing countries and the Secretariat.

Further study should be devoted to the strategic vision for United Nations peacekeeping. It is not clear how, in practice, United Nations partnerships will be formed; how the division of labour and coordination will be undertaken; or how the number of troop-contributing countries and the resource base will be expanded. The ideas of increasing the staffs of Secretariat structures and establishing standby and permanent units have already been discussed repeatedly but, unfortunately, have yet to be implemented.

The idea of establishing informal coalitions of interested actors in support of specific country missions, referred to today by a number of delegations, needs further clarification. How will the informal status of such coalitions relate to their involvement in addressing the issues of mission budgets and resource support?

Another issue concerns the designation of technical assessment missions when planning specialists are already present on the ground. Further study should be devoted to the parameters for the new strategy of field support.

We also need to determine the feasibility of the concept of robust peacekeeping. That will require the expansion of peacekeeping mandates, which is not always warranted, and an even further increase in the peacekeeping budget, rather than its optimization.

We do not believe that the initiative aimed at greater flexibility in financial resource management is fully justified, as we understand that it would involve the consolidation of peacekeeping operation accounts. That could lead to an overallocation of funds, which in turn would undermine the already established financing system for each specific mission.

We await more detailed information on the Secretariat's ideas to optimize the system of field support, specifically with regard to procurement mechanisms. We would like to emphasize the responsibilities of the Secretariat in terms of improving the comprehensive planning of operations and coordination between Headquarters and the field.

Russia attaches great importance to the role of United Nations peacekeeping in the maintenance of international peace and security and is moving to increase its participation in peacekeeping operations. Russian peacekeepers are taking part in operations in the Middle East, several regions of Africa, Haiti and Kosovo. A Russian helicopter unit is operating in the United Nations Mission in the Sudan. Another Russian air group is deployed in the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad. The training of African specialists in Russian specialized training institutes has proved to be of great utility.

We are grateful to the delegation of the United Kingdom for preparing the draft presidential statement on peacekeeping, which we support. At the same time, we would draw attention to the fact that the draft focuses insufficient attention on the role of the General Assembly's Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and on the need to intensify the activities of the Military Staff Committee and implement the mechanisms of cooperation with the troop-contributing countries, as provided for in the note of the President of the Security Council dated 14 January 2002.

**Mr. Urbina** (Costa Rica) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me to begin by expressing our thanks for the briefings of the Under-Secretaries-General Malcorra and Le Roy. We also welcome the presence of General Agwai, Force Commander of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur and thank him for

his briefing, which stressed the need for the Security Council to improve its interactions with force commanders in the future.

I would also like to thank your delegation, Sir, for having organized this debate. I acknowledge your joint initiative with the French delegation this year to promote the discussion within the Council on how to improve its ability to plan, mandate, manage and assess peacekeeping operations.

The concept paper circulated by the delegation of the United Kingdom allows us to take stock of the progress made by the Council since January, including the intensified effort to interact with the troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries (PCCs), especially through the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations chaired by Japan. In many cases, we have seen improvement in the interaction at the technical level between Council members and the Secretariat, especially through the meetings of political and military experts. We also welcome the more consistent use of benchmarks, which are valuable tools for assessing progress in missions. Lastly, this open debate and those held under the French and Turkish presidencies have given the Council an opportunity to review the general challenges of peacekeeping operations in conjunction with the TCCs and PCCs, whose participation in these debates is crucial.

The debate of 29 June (see S/PV.6153) made it clear that there is a consensus on the need to broaden and deepen interaction between the Council, the TCCs and PCCs, and the Secretariat. Having determined that this is a common objective, we must now discuss and welcome practical proposals to improve consultation among all actors and commit the Council, the troop- and police-contributing countries, and the Secretariat to making better and more consistent use of existing mechanisms. We must continue the practice of holding private meetings established in accordance with resolution 1327 (2000) well in advance of mandate renewals. We also must participate more actively in these meetings on the basis of more operational and timely information provided by the Secretariat. In that respect, we support the proposals contained in the New Horizon document for improving the quantity and quality of communication and reports from the Secretariat. We are grateful to Mr. Le Roy for his commitment to these measures.

This year, we have observed that the level of interaction and participation of the troop- and police-contributing countries has been greater and more substantial in the meetings of the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations than in the private meetings of the Council with the troop-contributing countries. This experience leads us to suggest that the Council make greater use of the consultation mechanism identified in the note of the President of the Security Council dated 14 January 2002 (S/2002/56) or of the meetings between the Working Group and the troop- and police-contributing countries on specific operations.

My country also supports the emerging practice of holding meetings between the political and military experts of the members of the Council and the Secretariat, particularly the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Department of Field Support. Such meetings should also be planned in advance of negotiating mandates in order to give the opportunity to members of the Council to interact with the Secretariat and receive inputs so as to ensure that the mandates respond to operational, logistical and political realities on the ground.

In recent weeks, we have worked alongside other members of the Council to draft a presidential statement that brings together many of the elements that I have pointed out and proposes a series of steps and commitments. As with other Council resolutions and statements, the most important thing will be to translate words into deeds. Costa Rica will work with other delegations in order to make sure that these commitments are fulfilled.

Costa Rica values the flexibility with which the Council can operate and the many instruments it has at its disposal. However, we would like to stress the need to use more inclusive tools. The Council must be more creative and seek tools that promote inclusiveness, transparency and interaction. We believe that we must consider how we can promote interaction with host countries and increase communication with the force commanders, as we have done today with General Agwai. We must also use tools whose general purpose would be greater interaction with other actors, which would allow the Council to take more informed decisions and ensure more effective implementation of its decisions.

I would like to thank Mr. Le Roy and Ms. Malcorra for their briefings on the New Horizon

document and the support strategy. Costa Rica believes that the document is a solid basis for seeking a new consensus on United Nations peacekeeping.

My delegation generally supports the valuable and relevant recommendations outlined in the New Horizon document, and we hope to discuss them in greater depth in the future. In particular, we support the recommendations aimed at defining a clear and comprehensive vision for the responsible transition from peacekeeping to peacebuilding. From the initial stages of the life cycle of a mission, the Council must incorporate elements necessary to building sustainable peace, such as the promotion of social and economic development, security sector reform and strengthening the rule of law, while it seeks to build and strengthen national capacities. In this respect, we support greater interaction between the Council and the Peacebuilding Commission.

Costa Rica is working on and remains committed to the need to strengthen consensus on policies that define the implementation of mandates, such as the protection of civilians. We intend to have substantive discussions on this matter within the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, as well as within the Council under the Austrian presidency in November. We hope that we can review the recommendations and conclusions of the joint study that has been commissioned by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and DPKO on the implementation of mandates for the protection of civilians.

I conclude by highlighting the approach contained in the New Horizon document with respect to the idea of partnership. It is on the basis of this partnership that the success and legitimacy of peacekeeping operations can be better prepared.

**Mr. Heller** (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): We would like to thank the Under-Secretaries-General, Mr. Alain Le Roy and Ms. Susana Malcorra, for their presentations. We also wish to thank General Agwai, Force Commander of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID).

We welcome the United Kingdom initiative to hold this debate, which gives us the opportunity to continue our collective consideration within the Organization, in various formats, on how to enhance the effectiveness and fulfilment of the objectives

involved in peacekeeping operations, as well as on efforts directed toward the future.

We welcome the document that serves as a basis on which to shape a new horizon for peacekeeping operations. We believe that particular attention should be given to the proposal to establish a new partnership agenda that would incorporate three elements: first, strengthening the unity and cohesion of the actors involved in the management, planning and administration of peacekeeping operations; secondly, giving greater credibility to operations; and thirdly, strengthening their capacity so that they can continue to be an instrument that would guarantee global peace and security. We will continue to carefully study the recommendations, which are based on strengthened conversions of partnerships around the purpose, action and future of United Nations peace operations.

During the debate last January under the French presidency (see S/PV.6075), my delegation underscored the need to identify the areas where we need greater action, as well as the good practices that could be implemented in future, given the growing complexity of the international situations that face peace operations today.

In that connection we reiterate five aspects that we believe are crucial and that we wish to raise today. These are, first, the centrality of the decision-making process for the establishment of a peacekeeping operation; secondly, specific political guidelines in the mandates that help define the conditions that will determine the success of a mission; thirdly, the multidimensional character of the operations and the nature of conflicts, in order to seek collective approaches founded on different types of cooperation based on greater coordination at the level of programmes and strategies; fourthly, the importance of protecting the civilian population as an essential element in the effort to strengthen peace operations; and lastly, the need to establish an effective planning and coordination mechanism.

The complexity of peacekeeping operations reflects the need to seek greater and more flexible mechanisms for complementarity and coordination among the different bodies and with other entities in the area of peacekeeping. We need to intensify the Council's interaction with the Secretariat during the initial stage of designing the different mandates and during the deployment of a mission, including the

military, police, rule of law and peacebuilding aspects of an operation, among other things.

As we pointed out during the debate that took place under the Turkish presidency of the Council in June (see S/PV.6153), it is also important to keep the contributing countries informed in the process of planning and analyzing peacekeeping operations, as that would broaden and enrich the vision of those operations and enhance their viability by incorporating those countries' knowledge, experience and good practices. Likewise, we feel it is a priority to promote the Council's strategic partnerships with regional organizations and other organizations in the field.

Mexico has been stressing the importance of the fact that in order to ensure the credibility and legitimacy of the United Nations, it is necessary to establish peace operations that enjoy the military, financial and political resources that enable them to comply with their mandates in the terms that we have described. Likewise, it is also important to have updated information on the development of the activities set out in the mandates and on the assessment and viability of the operation in the circumstances that it confronts.

We feel that the briefing sessions that we have had with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support since the start of the year have been very valuable, as have the meetings with the main troop-contributing countries in the framework of the working group chaired by Japan.

Along these lines, we support the holding of frequent interactive sessions with the different actors, primarily at the expert level, during the analysis that is carried out for every mandate prior to its renewal or modification. That would not only contribute to achieving a greater sensitivity to field implications but would also help the Council to take decisions that are more in line with the challenges and opportunities prevailing in every situation.

Similarly, my delegation is convinced that a new vision of peacekeeping operations must have a very clear strategy in order to use the resources devoted to such operations more effectively and more efficiently. That is why we are grateful for the working document on a field support strategy, which Under-Secretary-General Susana Malcorra has shared with the Member States and which the General Assembly will consider in the near future.

At the same time, another of the main aspects within the different mandates of the peacekeeping operations is that of protecting civilians in armed conflicts, particularly women and children, and following up on its implementation. In that respect, we underscore the need to be more clear with respect to the elements that make up the mandates, the responsibilities that stem from them and the development of monitoring mechanisms for proper implementation.

With regard to peacebuilding, as we said in the debate on 22 July under the Ugandan presidency (see S/PV.6165), the initial stage immediately following the cessation of hostilities is a vital time for laying the bases for true peacebuilding.

The development of the political effort to promote reconciliation is particularly important. Confidence and national reconciliation are crucial aspects for outlining a framework that would incorporate the priorities that the local actors themselves would establish and that would enjoy the support of international teams. It would include a comprehensive vision of the role of the United Nations in political, humanitarian, security and development aspects.

We underscore the need for peacekeeping efforts to be accompanied by a political process aimed at strengthening the State apparatus and local human resources. Coherence and integration between peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding should be borne in mind from the point at which the Organization first approaches a conflict situation. Likewise, we must design proper transition strategies, including the responsible transfer of authority to national institutions and the gradual withdrawal of a peacekeeping operation after a stable climate has been established.

Lastly, Mr. President, we congratulate you and your delegation on preparing the draft presidential statement and we fully support its adoption.

**Mr. Mugoya** (Uganda): Uganda congratulates you, Mr. President, and the United Kingdom delegation on your assumption of the office of the President of the Security Council for the month of August. We also thank you for organizing this important debate and welcome the participation of United Nations force commanders. The timing could not have been better.

I wish to thank Under-Secretaries-General Le Roy and Malcorra for their very informative briefings to the Council. I also thank General Agwai, Force Commander of the United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur, for sharing his experiences with the Council.

Since the year began, we have witnessed a number of initiatives undertaken to improve United Nations peacekeeping operations. We commend all these efforts because they have facilitated greater interaction between the various stakeholders at different levels, which will further enhance practical progress in United Nations peacekeeping. It is necessary that we sustain these efforts.

This debate comes at a time when United Nations efforts to resolve conflicts by peaceful means are being put to the test by new threats to global peace and security. Impunity, terrorism, piracy and other forms of social injustices meted out by non-State actors are on the rise in the theatres of peacekeeping operations. The humanitarian consequences of these actions on innocent civilians, including women and children, are alarming.

Therefore, Uganda considers the following points to be key. First, it is important to recognize that an ineffective United Nations peacekeeping capability anywhere around the world greatly undermines the credibility of the United Nations in the eyes of the public. It is imperative that United Nations peacekeeping be adaptable to emerging challenges, such as we have seen in Somalia. A shift to more robust and comprehensive United Nations peacekeeping, such as we have seen in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, can yield positive results.

Robust peacekeeping is what the United Nations requires to ensure the protection of civilians, United Nations personnel and humanitarian aid workers in the field today. However, to that end a clear understanding of the situation on the ground is required, and the missions must be provided with the necessary capabilities to effectively implement their various mandates.

Secondly, the relationship between the Security Council and troop-contributing countries is crucial, and there is a need to strengthen the existing mechanisms for engagement. It is crucial because it is they that implement the mandates on the ground, where they often face considerable risk.

It is fundamental that political objectives and peacekeeping mandates for missions be clear and credible. A stronger understanding among troop and police contributors, donor countries and the Security Council as to what is expected of peacekeepers in fulfilling these objectives can greatly facilitate the achievement of mission objectives. Uganda therefore supports Security Council efforts to strengthen cooperation and interaction amongst stakeholders in peacekeeping operations.

Thirdly, the challenges of modern peacekeeping, as we have seen in recent times, clearly indicate that not even the United Nations is capable of tackling the challenges on its own. The United Nations should fast-track its efforts to broaden the contributor base by working with partners at the regional and subregional levels. It should take advantages of these capacities and build on the efforts so far taken in this regard.

The United Nations should take maximum advantage of the strengths of regional organizations, such as the African Union, and of subregional organizations, such as the Southern Africa Development Community, the Economic Community of West African States and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, and of the roles they can play. However, this requires a deliberate and conscious effort to establish strategic relationships with these organizations in order to strengthen their capacity to contribute to United Nations efforts in the maintenance of international peace and security.

Fourthly, early consideration of peacebuilding activities during the peacekeeping stage is critical to the success of peacekeeping missions. Without tangible peace dividends, such as the provision of basic services like health care, education, shelter, and the improvement of the standards of living of populations affected by conflict, the chances of peace are very slim. There is therefore an urgent need for the United Nations system to ensure greater coherence in peacekeeping, peacemaking, peacebuilding and development activities. Uganda therefore supports efforts aimed at more comprehensive United Nations peacekeeping.

Uganda pays tribute to the men and women of the United Nations for their tireless sacrifice. They serve in some of the most dangerous and hostile places in the world but continue to keep many people safe and give them hope. We especially remember and honour those

who have paid the ultimate sacrifice in the service of peace.

Finally, we thank the delegation of the United Kingdom for the draft presidential statement, which my delegation fully supports.

**Mr. Tiendrébéogo** (Burkina Faso) (*spoke in French*): Allow me, on behalf of the delegation of Burkina Faso, to congratulate you, Mr. President, on assuming the presidency of the Council for this month, and to pay a well-deserved tribute to the delegation of Uganda for the effectiveness with which it steered the work of the Council in July.

I would also like to thank you and your delegation for having organized this debate and for having submitted the New Horizon non-paper, which has been extremely useful in preparing for this debate. We have an opportunity to pursue our consideration of the important issue of peacekeeping operations and the ways and means to ensure that they are better managed.

We thank Mr. Le Roy, Ms. Malcorra and General Agwai for their very enriching briefings and their contributions to the ongoing reflection process.

My delegation endorses the statement to be made by the representative of the Kingdom of Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

As a troop-contributing country, Burkina Faso is closely following the reflection under way on how to improve peacekeeping operations performance in the context of new and pressing requirements, for which, unfortunately, resources are lacking.

The effectiveness and potential success of operations require above all clear, feasible mandates adapted to the realities on the ground. To that end, United Nations forces must be equipped with broad deterrence capacities and pay greater attention to the rules of engagement, logistics and mission planning. That cannot be done without the support of all stakeholders — donor countries, troop-contributing countries, the Security Council, the Secretariat and host countries.

Similarly, the specific issue of financing remains critical. Nevertheless, no decision on deploying a new mission or adjusting the mandate of an existing mission should be subordinate exclusively to its estimated budget. Decisions need to be guided by the

sole concern of preserving international peace and security.

The Security Council and the General Assembly, specifically via the Fifth Committee, each need to exercise their authorities in accordance with the Charter. Along these lines, and like others, we believe that the response to the financial challenges of peacekeeping operations should not be the automatic closing of certain missions that remain necessary to restoring peace. This means that only an objective evaluation should guide our decisions in this area.

Related to the drafting of mandates and the success of peacekeeping operations is the question of strengthening triangular cooperation among troop-contributing countries, the Security Council and the Secretariat.

We note and welcome the dynamic nature of that cooperation, which has led, *inter alia*, to a variety of initiatives in the Security Council, the Secretariat and the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations that allow the three entities regularly to exchange views on the various aspects of peacekeeping operations. While we hope that this strengthening will continue, the United Nations needs better and more deeply to engage and involve regional and subregional organizations, which also have a role to play in the success of operations.

We need hardly recall that the African Union and the African subregional organizations should be special partners of the United Nations because, unfortunately, Africa is host to a number of peacekeeping operations. General Agwai's testimony on the challenges facing the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur deserves the greatest attention and should inspire the work of the Council and all players involved in the process of strengthening the operationalization of peacekeeping operations.

Another issue of note is the support of peacekeeping operations for the political process. Peacekeeping operations should not be alternatives to the peace process. If their support role is to be more effective, we must strive to ensure effective cooperation among all key players, particularly mediators, special representatives and heads of mission. Moreover, troops must be better informed of agreements to resolve conflicts and commitments made by the different parties. That would be a decisive factor in the conduct of a mission and clearly help to ensure a

more flexible transition to peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction.

The protection of civilians in armed conflict has always been a major challenge to the United Nations. Because it remains critical, it requires greater attention. In that context, yesterday's adoption by the Security Council of resolution 1882 (2009) is to be commended.

With respect to the ongoing brainstorming process, my delegation believes that it remains possible to benefit from all the recommendations contained in the Brahimi report (S/2000/809), other reports and resolutions of the Security Council, despite the fact that circumstances have changed over time and certain realities on the ground have required us to adapt. At the same time, if the most recent initiatives are to be true agents of change, they must enjoy the broadest possible support of Member States. In that regard, the ongoing and inclusive communications between the members of the Security Council, the Secretariat, the troop-contributing countries and all bodies relevant to peacekeeping operations, as established by the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations chaired by Japan, can be excellent sources of inspiration. We believe that with such an approach and within the most appropriate frameworks, all current initiatives on peacekeeping operations, including the Secretariat's New Horizon initiative, could be considered more fruitfully and enjoy consensus in the future.

We therefore encourage all players to continue to follow the path of ongoing coordination, which is the only way to strengthen trust and ensure the greater effectiveness of United Nations involvement in the field.

**Mr. Liu Zhenmin (China)** (*spoke in Chinese*): The Chinese delegation thanks you, Sir, for convening today's open debate. We also thank the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support for their joint report on charting a New Horizon for United Nations peacekeeping. I further thank Under-Secretaries-General Le Roy and Malcorra and General Agwai for their briefings.

Since its inception 60 years ago, United Nations peacekeeping has made a positive contribution to maintaining world peace and security and has won the confidence and support of Member States. Over the past six decades, ongoing efforts have been made to reform and adapt United Nations peacekeeping operations to changing circumstances. Multifunctional

integrated missions have become the prevailing trend in the development of peacekeeping operations. The expanded scope, mandates and funding requirements of relevant peacekeeping missions have also given rise to new problems. United Nations peacekeeping operations face new difficulties and challenges in the areas of policy parity, financial support, planning and management.

China supports wide-ranging consultations between Member States and relevant parties in order to reach consensus and advance peacekeeping reform. We welcome the views and proposals of Member States and the Secretariat on enhancing the efficiency of peacekeeping operations and strengthening international cooperation in peacekeeping.

With respect to the issues addressed in the New Horizon non-paper, I should like to make the following five points regarding the ongoing reform of peacekeeping operations.

First, the United Nations should focus particular attention on formulating an integrated conflict prevention and resolution strategy. Equal attention should be paid to the deployment of peacekeeping operations and the promotion of political negotiations. With respect to potential conflict situations, the United Nations should make greater efforts in the area of preventive diplomacy, launch early interventions and do its utmost to defuse tensions. Efforts must also be made to bring the good offices of the Secretary-General and his special envoys into full play, and to support the peace initiatives of regional and subregional organizations. If we reverse the trend of favouring conflict resolution over prevention, and engage earnestly in conflict prevention, we could make it less necessary to deploy peacekeeping operations. In deploying such operations, the Organization should also focus more on promoting political dialogue and reconciliation so that there is a peace to keep.

Secondly, peacekeeping reform requires innovation and adherence to basic principles. Experience has shown that the Hammarskjöld principles are important guarantees of the success of peacekeeping operations and remain effective in practice. The tripartite mechanism of the Sudan, the United Nations and the African Union has played an active role in the deployment of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur, clearly demonstrating the importance of enhanced communications and new

partnerships with host countries. Peacekeeping operations must exercise caution in the use of force and avoid excessive emphasis on military options. Given the ongoing divergence of views on mandating peacekeeping operations to protect civilians, further in-depth discussions on that issue will be necessary.

Thirdly, the Security Council should improve the authorization, planning and management of peacekeeping operations. There is broad consensus that the mandates of peacekeeping operations should be clearly defined and achievable. In considering the deployment of such operations, the Security Council should take into full account the political environment, the security situation, economic and social conditions and other relevant factors in the country concerned, as well as the resources available to the relevant peacekeeping operation. In that way, mandates and clear priorities can be formulated in the light of specific conditions. The Security Council should also closely monitor the implementation of mandates and, in due time, develop exit strategies for peacekeeping operations. Close interaction between the Security Council and the Secretariat is of critical importance during the deployment or extension of peacekeeping operations.

Fourthly, Member States are duty-bound to endow peacekeeping operations with adequate resources, while operations should use their resources more efficiently. China believes that Member States should pay their assessed contributions in full and on time so as to ensure the smooth functioning of peacekeeping operations. In order to meet the ever-growing demand for peacekeeping, serious consideration must be given to the idea of exploring innovative financing channels. We support the Secretariat's ongoing effort to improve its logistics support system, optimize the operational procedures of peacekeeping operations, and expedite their deployment. At present, most troop contributors are developing countries. We call on more countries to contribute troops to peacekeeping operations.

Fifthly, the United Nations should continue to attach great importance to enhancing cooperation with regional organizations in the field of peacekeeping activities. Africa's special needs especially deserve our attention. Currently, about 75 per cent of United Nations peacekeeping personnel are deployed in Africa, and about 70 per cent of peacekeeping assessments are spent there.

The African Union is playing an increasingly important role in preventing and resolving conflicts on the continent. The United Nations should continue to strengthen its peacekeeping partnership with the African Union and to help Africa improve its peacekeeping capacity-building. China looks forward to receiving the Secretary-General's report on practical ways to effectively support the African Union.

**Mr. Mayr-Harting** (Austria): I would first like to thank the United Kingdom presidency for organizing this debate, giving the Council the opportunity to take stock after six months of reform discussions. Let me also thank Under-Secretaries-General Alain Le Roy and Susana Malcorra for their presentations.

Austria aligns itself with the statement to be delivered by the representative of Sweden on behalf of the European Union.

We were particularly pleased to see General Martin Luther Agwai and his colleagues in the Council today. Austria hopes that the presence of force commanders in Council meetings dealing with peacekeeping issues will become a regular practice. Briefings by military experts provide accurate information on the real-life challenges peacekeeping missions face and are thus indispensable to the Council's decision-making.

The past few months have seen a great increase in the dialogue on peacekeeping. We need to pursue this effort systematically when dealing with specific missions as well. A more systematic dialogue between Council members and troop-contributing countries, as well as with the Secretariat, is the best way to close the gap that often still exists between the Council as a mandating body and the Member States whose forces are supposed to implement Council mandates.

The draft presidential statement before us today rightly identifies the implementation of protection mandates in peacekeeping operations as one of the areas requiring further debate within the Council and among Member States, and I certainly agree with the representative of China that this topic demands further in-depth discussion. From our point of view, some of the questions that we ought to reflect on during the coming months are the following.

How can we match the challenges of a particular protection task with a realistic assessment of the available resources? How can we best avoid disparities

between a mission's protection mandate, its composition and the resources required? How can the various parties involved — the Security Council, the Secretariat, troop contributors and host countries — help define realistic protection scenarios that provide a clear framework of action for peacekeepers on the ground? And how can we improve the Council's monitoring and oversight with a view to enhancing the effective implementation of such mandates?

We hope that the independent study commissioned by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs will provide answers to these questions. We also hope to make further progress on these issues in the framework of the debate on the protection of civilians that Austria plans to organize during its presidency of the Council in November.

Our peacekeeping efforts will meet with success only if we are able to respond to crisis situations in a timely and effective manner. We therefore support a capability-driven approach that concentrates on skills, capacity and equipment, with a special focus on potential resource gaps. Not only is this in the interest of the effectiveness of our missions, but it is also essential to the security of our peacekeepers.

While recognizing the need to increase the pool of troop and police contributors, we have to be aware that Member States have only one set of forces that they deploy in various frameworks. We must therefore increase our emphasis on pooling resources and enhancing force integration training, be it at the level of the United Nations or of regional organizations. In this regard, we believe the United Nations could draw on existing experience and knowledge within regional organizations.

We are, of course, aware that the United Nations operates in a unique global setting. Lessons learned at the regional level are not automatically applicable in the global context of the Organization. We nonetheless believe that we should study whether such concepts as that of the framework nation, developed at the regional level for particularly demanding multinational peace operations, might not also be relevant to some United Nations peacekeeping situations.

We also have to take into consideration that the United Nations and regional organizations increasingly cooperate in peacekeeping by acting together or sequentially. It is in the interests of all parties involved

to base this cooperation on standardized framework arrangements. At the same time, United Nations mandates are and will remain essential, both in view of the provisions of the Charter and to achieve a clear and efficient division of labour between all international actors involved in specific peacekeeping efforts. In this context, we also look forward to the forthcoming report of the Secretary-General on how to provide effective support for African Union peacekeeping operations. We support a substantial and open-minded debate of all the proposals in the Prodi report (S/2008/813).

We welcome the clear connection made in the draft presidential statement between peacekeeping, peacebuilding and development. For this reason, we also think that the Council should further deepen its cooperation with the Peacebuilding Commission. Let me also add that Austria sees the need for a new field support strategy that takes into account the important contributions peace operations can make to the sustainable socio-economic development of the region in which they are deployed, and I heartily agree with what Under-Secretary-General Malcorra said on this subject.

In conclusion, let me express my country's full support for the draft presidential statement to be adopted later today. We would like to thank you, Sir, and your delegation for all your efforts in preparing this comprehensive and well-balanced text. It shows how far this debate has moved forward since the beginning of the year, when France and the United Kingdom started this discussion. It also demonstrates how much still needs to be done.

**Mr. Çorman** (Turkey): Mr. President, first let me thank you for organizing today's open debate, which is indeed a very timely one. I would also like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for August.

I wish to express our thanks and appreciation to the Ugandan mission for its efficient work during its presidency in July. I also wish to thank Under-Secretaries-General Le Roy and Malcorra, as well as General Martin Luther Agwai, for their useful and thought-provoking briefings. General Agwai's first-hand experience on the ground was particularly enlightening and helpful.

I would also like to take this opportunity to salute all the United Nations force commanders who were with us this morning, and through them convey our

heartfelt gratitude to all the men and women who serve peace under their blue berets in some of the most dangerous parts of the world. Our hearts and prayers are always with them, but I know they want more than that, and rightly so. They need a more efficient peacekeeping system that provides them with the necessary mandate, guidance and resources and that duly honours the heroism of the United Nations peacekeepers who risk their lives in the line of duty day in and night out.

That is indeed why we are here. For the eight months since the launch of the joint France-United Kingdom initiative, we have extensively discussed several aspects of peacekeeping reform in various forums. We believe it is now time to take stock of what has been said and done so far with a view to charting a practical way forward.

To date, what has come out of our discussions in no ambiguous terms is a broad consensus on the need to reform the way we run our peacekeeping operations in the United Nations. There is explicit agreement that the entire United Nations peacekeeping system is plagued by serious problems and stretched to the point where the risk of failure has become intolerable.

It is also unmistakably clear that peacekeeping operations are seen as the showcase of United Nations efforts to advance the ideals and principles enshrined in its Charter. Thus, what is at stake is the credibility of the United Nations itself, with enormous implications for whether we will or will not be able to deliver on the promises of the Organization in the future.

What has been even more striking throughout this review process is that there is also broad agreement on what needs to be done. The previous open debate (see S/PV.6153) organized in June under our own presidency of the Council, for instance, brought out those points of convergence in a most lucid manner.

In principle, everyone concurred that we need earlier and more meaningful consultations with troop- and police-contributing countries; that we should engage and encourage regional organizations, notably the African Union, to assume a greater role in peacekeeping and help them strengthen their capacities; that we have to come up with clear and achievable mandates, matched by the necessary resources and driven by existing capabilities; that we ought to improve the level of information and analysis available to us about the operational environment, in

particular military advice; that we must make better use of benchmarks to monitor progress and to make the necessary adjustments along the way; that we should always have a political strategy that will guide all the efforts of the international community, including peacekeeping operations; that we must have a holistic and robust approach to peace, integrating peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding into one single strategy, including the protection of civilians; and that we need to invest more in preventive measures, including mediation, so as to settle conflicts through peaceful means.

Yet, what was and is still missing are the practical steps that will help translate this collective understanding and commitment into a renewed and more effective partnership, drawing together the strengths of all stakeholders.

This is why we greatly welcome the non-paper prepared by the Secretariat, which proposes a new partnership agenda with a view to charting a new horizon for United Nations peacekeeping. Frankly speaking, we are still examining the paper and its recommendations, but what we like about it is its practical and action-oriented nature. Thus, we are confident that it will provide us with the necessary momentum and framework to build upon our next steps.

To that end, however, we Member States need immediately to start taking up each and every recommendation of the non-paper and see how we can put them into practice or why we cannot. In other words, the Secretariat gave us a rich menu of options and practical suggestions. It is now up to us to take them to the operational level.

This exercise should be an all-inclusive one. Every major stakeholder, including the Security Council and its Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly, the Peacebuilding Commission and of course the Secretariat itself, all have a role to play, or better, a responsibility to deliver.

As to the time frame of this endeavour, on the other hand, we believe that we can and should aim at a deadline of early next year to put in place at least the initial and most essential elements of this new undertaking. Indeed, 2010 will mark the tenth anniversary of the Brahimi report (S/2000/809) and the

culmination of the “Peace Operations 2010” reform process. There is now a chance for us to make the year 2010 a milestone for United Nations peacekeeping operations. We should not lose this window of opportunity.

Turkey is ready and willing to take an active part in this important enterprise. As a traditional troop- and police-contributing country to the United Nations and other international peace operations, we know by heart the difficulties encountered in the United Nations peacekeeping system, and will do our best to help bring about a new and results-oriented consensus on United Nations peacekeeping.

Finally, we thank the delegation of the United Kingdom for preparing a draft presidential statement for this meeting, which we fully support.

**Mr. Viločić** (Croatia): First of all, allow me to thank the United Kingdom presidency for convening this important debate on one of the most important issues for the United Nations and this Council — the question of United Nations peacekeeping. Allow me to also use this opportunity to thank Under-Secretaries-General Le Roy and Malcorra for their interventions, as well as Force Commander General Martin Luther Agwai of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur for his candid overview from the perspective of peacekeeping force commanders working in the field.

Croatia aligns itself with the statement to be delivered later by the representative of Sweden, so allow me to just raise several points of interest.

While it is true that the traditional peacekeeping of past decades has slowly given way to the more robust, multidimensional and integrative peacekeeping of today, when addressing the question of peacekeeping we must not lose sight of the fact that it is probably one of the most important tools available to the United Nations in general, and to the Security Council in particular — a symbiotic relationship that has existed from the time of the establishment of this Organization.

The question before us, however, is not about the worth of peacekeeping operations as a concept, but instead is a deliberation on the possible measures or recommendations before us for streamlining the work of peacekeepers in the field and on how to improve cooperation, not only within the United Nations system

itself, but also between the Secretariat and the Security Council and, inversely, between the United Nations, the Security Council and the general membership, including troop-contributing countries and especially affected States. In short, what are we doing to improve the quality and effectiveness of United Nations peacekeeping and cooperation between and within all its constituent parts?

The Brahimi report (S/2000/809), the New Horizon non-paper and the United Kingdom/France initiative give us numerous good ideas. We also note with great interest the strategic paper of the new Department of Field Support. We commend the work of the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations, and support many of the suggested guidelines provided in those documents for one primary reason — they stress that the United Nations acts under the premise that conflict cannot and should be resolved not first and foremost by military means, but rather by addressing problems at their root causes. Time and again in our debates, we have heard a call to the parties to a conflict to resolve their differences through political dialogue, with the United Nations, including its peacekeeping missions, acting as an intermediary in achieving this goal.

These reports also stress that each United Nations peacekeeping mission needs to be tailored according to concrete conditions on the ground and the political realities prevailing at the time of their establishment. A clear political strategy and integrated mission planning are, to this end, extremely important and should include the provision of a precisely defined mandate with clear and achievable benchmarks and goals and a clear exit strategy. In refining ideas on how best to go about this, we agree that the Council can improve peacekeeping effectiveness through stricter monitoring and oversight of its mandated tasks, including through the establishment of and reporting on benchmarks.

That being said, we would like to stress that, in multidimensional peacekeeping, reporting on benchmarks should address not only issues of immediate security or military concern, but also long-term issues such as the protection of civilians, the strengthening of civil society, security sector reform, including the strengthening of police and judicial forces, and economic revitalization and development. Development is especially important since, unless a host country is assisted in returning to self-sustainability, recourse to violence can and quite often

does happen, as has been demonstrated by returning peacekeeping operations to countries in West Africa, for example.

The new robust way of approaching peacekeeping also brings together a plethora of United Nations and other international or regional actors, often with similar or overlapping goals. I believe that no one questions the benefit of burden-sharing when it comes to peacekeeping, with strengthened cooperation with regional and subregional organizations or among various United Nations and international agencies operating in-country, with the United Nations and the Security Council taking on the primary role. Streamlining their operations in-country is the overriding goal, essentially so as not to waste or duplicate much needed resources — a task that can most effectively be provided by the United Nations and its peacekeepers.

Croatia particularly supports all proposals aimed at greater coordination and strengthening of relations among the Secretariat, the Security Council and troop- and police-contributing countries. As mentioned in the New Horizon non-paper, the Secretariat alone cannot structure missions without intense cooperation with Member States, while Member States similarly draw upon the experience of the United Nations in strengthening their national capacities. We reiterate that it is clearly counterproductive to plan a peacekeeping operation without the unambiguous support of a core number of nations willing to provide troops for a proposed mission. For that reason, we believe that outreach to potential and actual troop-contributing countries must be a high priority.

Before I finish, allow me to highlight once again an issue that we deem exceptionally important, especially in the light of the ever-increasing burden, both financial and logistical, being placed on United Nations peacekeeping and its troop contributors. Croatia firmly believes that, in weighing the full range of responses to threats to international peace and security, the Security Council can and should pose itself the question of whether the preventative deployment of a small number of peacekeeping troops can stem the outbreak of wider conflict at its genesis. Such a decision not only has the potential to save scores of lives, but can also lessen later financial and logistical burdens on the United Nations and its Member States. For us, the value of such a response is self-evident.

In conclusion, let me express our gratitude to you personally, Mr. President, and your delegation for preparing the draft presidential statement, which we fully support.

**The President:** I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the United Kingdom.

In my introduction to this debate, I referred to United Nations peacekeeping as a unique global partnership and, over the past six months, I have been struck by the extent to which we have a shared understanding of the challenges that we face and how we can overcome them. That substantial common ground has been made clear again today.

I think that we all agree on the central principle that peacekeeping can only support a political strategy; it cannot replace it. We all agree on the importance of having mission mandates that clearly reflect achievable objectives and in which tasks are prioritized. We also agree on the need to enhance consultations with those countries that contribute troops, police and other units to peacekeeping operations.

I think that there are three things on which we now need to focus, and those are captured in the draft presidential statement that we look forward to adopting later today.

First is a commitment to building on the work that we have done in recent months, paying greater attention to the monitoring and evaluation of missions, more realistic mandates; greater involvement of the troop- and police-contributing countries, and better information-sharing between the Secretariat and political and military experts of the countries concerned. We have made some progress. We have much more still to do, as many colleagues have said.

Secondly, we need to take advantage of opportunities, such as under the forthcoming Austrian presidency in November, to develop a wider consensus on the critical tasks that we expect modern peacekeepers to perform. We know that today's conflicts require a complex range of responses from peacekeepers. They must help to protect civilian populations, monitor and protect human rights, work to build fledgling police forces and judiciaries in support of national authorities, and support electoral processes. Those activities are all essential to the wider peacebuilding process.

To deliver success in peacekeeping, we must ensure that it is part of a longer-term effort to build a sustainable peace. That requires coordination with a wide range of partners with specialist skills from within the United Nations, funds and programmes, international financial institutions, and regional and subregional organizations. It is that approach that represents the transition from peacekeeping to peacebuilding and the greater integration and coordination of effort of which we often speak.

Thirdly, we should support the call from our colleagues in the Secretariat — the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support — to establish a new horizon for United Nations peacekeeping. We have heard much support for the recommendations made in their recent non-paper in statements today.

Those are not issues that can be tackled by the Security Council alone; nor should they be. During the rest of today's debate, I look forward to hearing ideas, perspectives and views from across the peacekeeping partnership, including from Member States that contribute personnel to operations and money to finance them.

The Council should continue to support the work of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Secretariat as we take forward what is a very challenging agenda, set out in the draft presidential statement that we will adopt this afternoon.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the representative of Sweden.

**Mr. Lidén** (Sweden): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. In addition, Turkey, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Albania, Montenegro, Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova and Armenia align themselves with this statement.

Let me begin by expressing the European Union's appreciation for the way that the United Nations has managed the unprecedented expansion of its peacekeeping activities. United Nations peacekeepers serve in conflict zones on a scale that few could have foreseen 10 years ago.

Next year will mark the tenth anniversary of the landmark Brahimi process, which paved the way for

ambitious reforms and a new era for United Nations peacekeeping. Today, United Nations peacekeeping is again at a critical juncture. As noted by Under-Secretaries-General Le Roy and Malcorra, the system is stretched to the point at which some missions face the risk of failure. That would have serious consequences not only for international peace and security, but also for international cooperation.

We commend the Secretariat for its non-paper on charting a new horizon for United Nations peacekeeping, and the Security Council for the review that it has undertaken over the past months on the basis of the French-British initiative. Those activities, together with other initiatives, such as the Challenges Forum, have generated a set of ideas and recommendations that would better position United Nations peacekeeping to respond to current and future challenges.

Today's debate is very timely. It provides an opportunity to take stock of progress made in adapting United Nations peacekeeping to new demands and to set a course for work in the years to come.

After the catastrophic events in Bosnia and Rwanda in the 1990s, the United Nations went through a period of soul-searching. It proved that the Organization was capable of learning from setbacks and adapting to the changing demands of global peacekeeping. It is encouraging that the surge of United Nations peacekeeping, while putting difficult strains on the Organization, has been marked by a similar determination. The Secretariat's reform agenda "Peace Operations 2010" has been an important step towards a more professional and effective approach to United Nations peacekeeping.

That agenda should now be taken a step further. We need to build a new political consensus on the strategic context of peacekeeping and on the role of the United Nations membership and regional partners in providing collective support to peacekeeping. The challenge is to ensure that gaps between needs, expectations and performance are minimized.

Since the issuance of the Brahimi report (S/2000/809), decisive improvements have been achieved, but many of the challenges identified in the report remain and there are new demands that need to be addressed. The financial crisis puts additional pressure on United Nations peacekeeping, as does the

current overstretch of military, police and civilian resources faced by many Member States.

The New Horizon paper is an excellent basis for seeking a new consensus on United Nations peacekeeping. Its recommendations provide us with a coherent and realistic framework for future improvements. They should guide our work in the period ahead.

While the European Union believes that it is necessary to consider all of the recommendations in a positive spirit, at this stage we would like to draw attention to a few points of strategic importance to developing the partnerships called for in the New Horizon non-paper.

First, with regard to burden-sharing, countries make varying contributions to peacekeeping, and regional organizations are taking on an increasing share of the burden. A dialogue should be initiated between the United Nations and its partners on what various stakeholders can bring to the table, how we can improve cooperation and enhance our interoperability, and whether missions are carried out under the auspices of the United Nations or those of other organizations.

My second point concerns consultations. There is a need to develop closer mechanisms for consultation among the various actors involved in peacekeeping. The report outlines a number of concrete recommendations on how that could be done. We must seek mechanisms that bring various stakeholders on board at an early stage, while ensuring a proper balance between effectiveness and inclusiveness and without creating unnecessary bureaucracy. The implementation of the 2003 and 2007 joint statements on United Nations-European Union Cooperation in Crisis Management are important contributions in that respect.

Thirdly, concerning mission management, the "Peace Operations 2010" agenda should be carried through and steps taken to continue to enhance professionalism and the management of missions to ensure that they have the resources and support necessary to carry out their mandates effectively. As recognized in the report, peacekeeping missions cannot be planned or carried out in isolation from the political context in which they are to operate. Devising a political strategy is a fundamental task that should include exit perspectives.

The European Union welcomes the Secretary-General's recent report on peacebuilding (S/2009/304), which highlights some of the challenges in that respect and demonstrates the close links between peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

In December, 10 years will have passed since the launching of the European Security and Defence Policy, which is the basis for the European Union's peacekeeping efforts. Some 20 European Union civilian and military peacekeeping missions have been carried out so far, several of them in close cooperation with the United Nations. The experiences of the European Union over the past decade in this area have ranged from those of small observer missions to those of complex undertakings including both civilian and military components. Cooperation between the European Union and the United Nations has been enhanced along the way — most recently, through the transfer of responsibilities between the two organizations in Chad and Kosovo. The European Union has also developed close collaboration with important regional actors, in particular through its strategic partnership with the African Union.

It has rightly been stated that, in peacekeeping, no one size fits all. The process of forming partnerships and sharing the burden must continue with a view to finding the best collective response to global and regional conflicts on the basis of our various perspectives, experiences and capabilities. The New Horizon non-paper should be the starting point for new political momentum in that regard. The European Union intends to be an active partner in that process.

**The President:** I now call on the representative of Norway.

**Mr. Wetland** (Norway): I thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity to address this important issue. We also thank Under-Secretaries-General Le Roy and Malcorra and General Agwai for their important briefings. The challenges to United Nations peacekeeping must continue to be a top priority on our agenda, and we appreciate the efforts of the Security Council to intensify dialogue with Member States on that issue.

Let me begin by reiterating a point made by our French colleague in the Security Council debate on 29 June (see S/PV.6153). He said that our ability to protect civilians is the standard by which United Nations peacekeeping will be judged. The renewed

fighting in eastern Congo last week reminded us of how much that ability is needed. Thousands of civilians have been forced to flee their homes, and we know only too well the suffering that follows in the wake of such incidents. Girls and women face the additional horrors of sexual violence, and we must put forces in place that can effectively deter such crimes. We look forward to discussing this further on Friday.

My second point concerns the need to meet the ever-increasing demand for peacekeepers and to secure the necessary resources. While we need to solicit more contributions from present contributors, we also need greater commitment from countries not yet contributing to their full potential. Peacekeeping is a global responsibility and calls for the widest possible engagement of the international community.

My third point concerns the need for mandates to be accompanied by sufficient resources. Committing men and women in uniform to potentially life-threatening assignments in foreign countries is one of the most difficult decisions a country can take. But when such decisions are made, Governments and their people must be certain that missions have the resources to fulfil their mandates, with the lowest possible level of risk for personnel in the field. That means proper training, proper equipment and full capacity in line with the demands made.

We need to move from a somewhat obsessive focus on troop numbers to a focus on quality and total capability. That means that we have to develop standards and link them to training, equipping and delivery on the ground. We are pleased to see that this is another key point made in the New Horizon non-paper. In addition, let me emphasize the need to develop common standards with key partners, such as NATO, the African Union and the European Union. That will facilitate cooperation, whether it is a joint effort, as in Kosovo, or a sequential arrangement, as in Chad.

My fourth and final point relates to the relationship among peacemaking, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and development. Peacekeeping is part of a wider United Nations and global peace, security and development effort. Mandates must be aligned with other, complementing initiatives and supported politically and financially.

Norway supports the Secretariat's recommendation that missions be requested to include

information on progress in peacebuilding in their assessment of mandated tasks. Missions should also report on related actions of United Nations agencies, funds and programmes and other partners, and all partners must be called upon to draw attention to critical gaps.

In conclusion, let me underline the fact that the most important partner in the United Nations peacekeeping partnership is the host country. That needs to be foremost in our minds when we continue this discussion in the coming months. The international community can and should assist, but it is the host country that bears the responsibility for finding solutions that will last. We need an open and honest discussion on how we in the international community can work together to better keep the promises we make to those in need, and how we can make peacekeeping deliver more at a time when so much is called for. Norway looks forward to being an active participant in that process and to continuing the dialogue.

**The President:** I now call on the representative of New Zealand.

**Mr. McLay (New Zealand):** I join preceding speakers in congratulating you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Security Council and in thanking you for convening this debate. I also thank Under-Secretaries-General Le Roy and Malcorra and General Agwai for their comprehensive briefings and their work.

Peacekeeping is one of the primary instruments that we, the Members of the United Nations, have created to fulfil our Charter aspiration to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. Peacekeeping is the Organization's most difficult and highest-profile activity, and it is the one by which we are most critically judged. That is as it should be, for our peacekeeping successes and failures are matters of life and death for those whom we are entrusted to protect.

New Zealand has long supported the United Nations peacekeeping cause. We join those who gratefully salute our peacekeepers. Theirs is an activity that has undergone a dramatic transition from traditional ceasefire monitoring to today's complex, multidimensional, robust and non-conventional missions in a significantly expanded number of conflict zones. All that has imposed an unsustainable burden on United Nations resources and led to serious challenges

in respect of mandate implementation, sustained political support, supply of personnel, management, leadership and financing.

Against that background, if we are to achieve our shared goals, we — the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretariat, contributing countries and host States — need an open and honest discussion and must accept a shared responsibility for addressing those challenges and shortcomings. We cannot allow United Nations peacekeeping to be discredited by our failure to respond to and address today's peacekeeping reality.

Many of the ideas before us today are not new. The recommendations of the Brahimi report (S/2000/809), made nearly 10 years ago, are still valid, but many have not been implemented and some have not even been addressed. New Zealand believes that, in 10 years time, we should not find ourselves still lamenting over recommendations that have not been the subject of concerted and timely action. To ensure that that does not happen, we must take a structured, focused and practical approach to working through the issues.

We take this opportunity to comment on six issues which warrant further attention.

First, effective logistical support is critical to the success of every mission. The deployment of larger missions into areas with long supply chains and the need for partnership with private-sector providers obliges the United Nations to take a fresh look at the whole issue of mission support, which we anticipate will be addressed by the forthcoming field support strategy.

Secondly, significant benefit can be gained from a partnership of States and regional organizations to provide sustained political and practical support for a mission. We know this from our own practical experience. New Zealand is fortunate to work closely with Timor-Leste, Australia, Portugal and others in promoting United Nations peace efforts in Timor-Leste. But we also know that, to ensure success, such support must continue well beyond the creation of a mandate.

Thirdly, we reiterate the ongoing importance of conflict prevention. Obviously, preventing conflict eases demand for future deployments, but to avoid a relapse into conflict, conflict prevention must also be

undertaken within and during peacekeeping missions. The United Nations can now focus its peacebuilding efforts through the standby team of mediation experts and the Mediation Support Unit. The team has already achieved encouraging results, but it is still underutilized, and we should encourage the special representatives of the Secretary-General and others to access this important resource.

Fourthly, New Zealand supports the ongoing work on robust peacekeeping and protection of civilians, and acknowledges the inevitability that, at times, peacekeepers will have to undertake both activities.

Fifth, the Brahimi report called for a major shift toward rule of law teams, with combined police, judicial, legal and human rights experts and with a rapid deployment capacity similar to that of military and police missions. We support the development of such a capacity by the Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), but it must be focused in scope and duration to avoid duplicating the efforts of others.

Finally, New Zealand believes that the Office of Human Resources Management and DPKO need more capacity to deal with recruitment for peacekeeping missions. "People" is one of five key elements of the "Peace Operations 2010" reform agenda. Efficient recruitment and retention of quality people are crucial to the future of United Nations peacekeeping. We are hopeful that that will be improved and streamlined by the human resources system for United Nations peacekeepers. This issue is not addressed in depth in the New Horizon paper, but it is integral to the success of peacekeeping and deserves a renewed focus.

Two weeks ago, addressing this Council on peacebuilding, I observed that the image of the Blue Beret interposed between previously warring parties has become one of this Organization's successes. But we know that that is a fragile image that is challenged by imperfect logistics and chains of supply, by lack of coordination, by underutilization of mediation resources, by the ongoing vulnerability of civilians, by limited local legal frameworks, and by inadequate recruitment and retention. Any one of those shortcomings or any of those identified by others in this debate puts a peacekeeping mission at risk. Taken collectively, they could put the whole peacekeeping

framework at risk. Therefore, all of them must be addressed.

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

**Ms. Dunlop (Brazil):** At the outset, let me congratulate you, Mr. President, on assuming the presidency of the Council for the month of August, and thank Ambassador Rugunda for ably steering the Council in July. I thank you for organizing this open debate. The fact that the Security Council is holding two debates on the future of peacekeeping in a span of a few weeks shows its commitment to a strengthened dialogue with the membership and the Secretariat on an extremely crucial issue.

I also thank Under-Secretary-Generals Alain Le Roy and Susana Malcorra for their informative briefings and the considerable efforts their Departments have made in producing the non-paper entitled "A new partnership agenda: charting a new horizon for United Nations peacekeeping". Furthermore, I want to thank General Martin Luther Agwai, Force Commander of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur, for his valuable comments from the perspective of realities on the ground. I note with satisfaction the presence at this meeting of almost all of the commanding officers of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

The Secretariat's non-paper highlights the challenging gap between the magnitude and complexity of modern United Nations peacekeeping and the resources — human, institutional and material — available to it. Addressing this gap is vital not only for international peace and security, but also for the Organization. Its long-term legitimacy and prestige will be influenced by how effectively we manage peacekeeping in the coming years.

That is why we need a true partnership among the Security Council, the wider membership, in particular troop-contributing countries, and the Secretariat. In order to be fully productive, our cooperation must be all-encompassing in making strategic decisions on the future of peacekeeping as such; in assessing, in concrete cases, whether there is a peace to keep or whether peacekeeping is appropriate; and in defining sustainable drawdown and exit strategies.

As noted in the non-paper, our success will ultimately depend on the commitment and political will

of Member States, which will be easier to obtain if the decision-making process is — and is perceived to be — as fair, objective and inclusive as possible.

Today, my delegation wishes to comment on but one substantive issue discussed in the Secretariat non-paper, namely, the relationship between peacekeeping and peacebuilding. As an increasing number of missions have been sent to developing countries, where conflict is often related to one form of deprivation or another, we have started to better understand the linkages between peace and development. Many of us believe that, just as peacekeeping becomes a mere crutch in situations where political actors do not commit to reconciliation, peacekeeping cannot fully succeed when the socio-economic roots of many conflicts are not successfully addressed.

That does not mean that peacekeeping missions should replace United Nations funds, agencies and programmes in development assistance, or that the Security Council should act in matters beyond its competence under the Charter. Rather, it means that peacekeeping and peacebuilding, although distinct, have synergies that must not be overlooked or denied. On the contrary, without prejudice to the functions proper to peacekeeping missions, we must actively look for such synergies and, in each case, pragmatically choose the best available response to the concrete needs of a given conflict or post-conflict situation.

Quite often, especially in early recovery scenarios, some tasks are crucial to the short- and medium-term sustainability of fragile peace: rebuilding indispensable infrastructure, including that associated with or enabling law and order functions; resuming basic services and generating peace dividends that will ensure the support of the population for the difficult political decisions usually required for making and keeping agreements.

When confronted with such situations and others with similar needs, we must ask ourselves whether peacekeepers might not be part of our response. Sometimes they are the only or main United Nations presence on the ground and directly face a population reeling from the effects of conflict. They often have the institutional, logistical and human capabilities needed to perform some of those tasks, at least on an emergency basis.

Why should we not tap those resources, at least while other parts of the system and its partners get ready to make a meaningful contribution on the ground? Even when they are present or in later-stage post-conflict scenarios, peacekeeping missions may, in some cases, be in a position to help close critical gaps.

In addition to assisting the host country, an active contribution by peacekeeping operations to peacebuilding is advantageous to the missions themselves and the United Nations at large. The first sees public support for them consolidated; the latter sees its name associated with concrete gains in the living standards of many people.

Exploring synergies between peacekeeping and peacebuilding may also have systemic benefits to the Organization and its Member States. It may help to expedite an early transition from one to the other and thereby reduce the demand for peacekeeping, with gains for the efficiency of the system as a whole.

In sum, in pursuing international peace and security, we should be pragmatic and flexible, while maintaining full conformity with the Charter. Clarity of functions and priorities should not give way to compartmentalized thinking that does not maximize scarce resources and prevents the United Nations from delivering as effectively as possible.

As to the other important issues discussed in the Secretariat's non-paper, Brazil stands ready to give them full consideration in the coming months both in the General Assembly, especially its Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, and, to the extent possible, in the Council. A series of thematic discussions in the Special Committee in the fall might be a productive way to address the many crucial aspects raised by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support. The Council can count on Brazil's active participation.

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

**Mr. Gutiérrez (Peru)** (*spoke in Spanish*): I welcome your initiative, Mr. President, to convene this open debate, which is helping to generate a rich exchange of ideas and viewpoints on peacekeeping operations in the light of the challenge facing the Organization in meeting increased demands for more operations with fewer resources.

My delegation also welcomes the valuable briefings of Under-Secretary-General for Field Support, Ms. Susana Malcorra, and Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Mr. Alain Le Roy, as well as that of General Martin Luther Agwai, Force Commander of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur.

Peru is firmly committed to the efforts of the Organization to ensure peacekeeping in the different regions of the world. Peru is present with military observers and officials in four peacekeeping operations in Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Darfur. We also contribute a company in Haiti and an official of our armed forces as the current Force Commander of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus.

We welcome the fact that the Departments of Peacekeeping Operations and Field Support have submitted a document that provides concepts and ideas for the establishment of a new agenda for peacekeeping operations.

We also acknowledge the efforts and interest of the delegations of France and the United Kingdom, as reflected in the document on peacekeeping operations that they submitted to the Security Council in February. That document sets out interesting approaches to addressing the challenges that the Organization faces in the area of peacekeeping operations.

Almost 10 years after the Brahimi report (S/2000/809) was issued, we have no choice but to begin a process that, following a thorough assessment, would allow us to rethink peacekeeping operations in order to make them more effective and capable of effectively ensuring the transition to peacebuilding, which, after all, is the desired goal.

Peru believes that the objective that must be pursued by peacekeeping operations is the commitment to and ownership of the peacekeeping process itself on the part of the country or countries involved. Operations must gear all their efforts to strengthening the institutions of those States, their capacities to resolve conflicts, and national sovereignty. The required international cooperation must also fit in with the framework established by Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, maintaining the universal nature and maintaining the standards and principles of peacekeeping operations.

In connection with this point, my delegation agrees with the document presented by the delegations of France and the United Kingdom in the sense that we are all responsible for promoting and ensuring peacekeeping. That is why it is important that we establish in the short term mechanisms to provide greater coordination between the Security Council, the Secretary-General, the Secretariat, the troop-contributing countries and the Member States that host peacekeeping operations.

Similarly, this dialogue must be intensified and include other bodies that have some influence in the areas where peacekeeping operations are taking place, such as the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Peacebuilding Commission, among others.

Peacekeeping operations are a part of the set of instruments with which the Organization and the Member States respond to the demands of peacekeeping and regional and international security. They coexist with conflict prevention, the protection of civilians, the mediation and good offices of the Secretary-General, as well as the activities of the Peacebuilding Commission.

Peru acknowledges the growing and valuable role that is played by regional and international organizations. The evolution of each of these elements and its impact on every peacekeeping operation require us to be flexible and to approach every case differently, with firm adherence to the Charter's principles.

We believe that it is important to generate a peace dividend or a stability dividend as a result of peacekeeping operations. Short-term activities, including quick impact projects, contribute to the success of our efforts. We also believe that we must explore different ways to better exploit the potential of peacekeeping forces in order to create synergies between mission mandates and the developing needs of countries where the missions are deployed.

As we have said in other open debates concerning issues that are directly related to peacekeeping operations, conflicts are multidimensional and, as a result, matters such as peace, security, development and human rights are all interrelated. Peacekeeping operations need to evolve towards a more comprehensive approach to the peace and security problems that they face. Such an approach must not only address the immediate causes of the conflicts but,

as previous speakers have noted, contribute effectively to developing coherent and consistent action on the part of international community that, in turn, make it possible to establish conditions conducive to sustainable peace and security — in other words, an effective peacebuilding process. Strengthening military adviser teams would promote strategic planning that takes all the elements involved in implementing a peacekeeping operation into account and ensures that they will achieve the desired results.

In this regard, my delegation notes that the new architecture of peacekeeping operations we seek to define, and the resulting changes in operational mandates, will require us to take a comprehensive, consistent approach in each of the corresponding purviews of the Organization. Today, the Security Council enjoys the valuable support of the Peacebuilding Commission and is developing contacts and coordination with troop-contributing countries. It also relies in its work on the ad hoc mechanisms of the Economic and Social Council and on the activities of the funds and programmes. We must strengthen these mechanisms and promote greater coordination and interaction among these bodies in order to make peacekeeping operations more effective and efficient.

An excellent example of this comprehensive vision is the case of the United Nations Stabilization

Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), to which Peru is fully committed. The Mission has adapted to the changing situation on the ground, and established indicators and benchmarks in the areas of security, development and institutions. I take this opportunity to reiterate Peru's firm support for Haiti through its participation in MINUSTAH.

In order to bring about this positive change in peacekeeping mandates and for the United Nations to maintain its credibility in international public opinion, it is essential that the political and strategic visions of the main actors — the Security Council, the regions concerned and the parties involved in individual conflicts in particular countries — all converge. That vision should be complemented by rapid action by the forces available to the United Nations, without conditions and with a pre-established mandate.

In conclusion, I stress our interest in continued cooperation in developing the conceptual exercise of shaping a new alliance within the Organization in order to create a more flexible, workable and effective framework for peacekeeping operations.

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

*The meeting was suspended at 1.15 p.m.*