



# Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

*Provisional*

**6603**rd meeting

Friday, 26 August 2011, 10 a.m.

New York

---

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri . . . . .	(India)
<i>Members:</i>	Bosnia and Herzegovina . . . . .	Mr. Barbalić
	Brazil . . . . .	Mrs. Dunlop
	China . . . . .	Mr. Li Baodong
	Colombia . . . . .	Mr. Osorio
	France . . . . .	Mr. Briens
	Gabon . . . . .	Mr. Messone
	Germany . . . . .	Mr. Berger
	Lebanon . . . . .	Mr. Salam
	Nigeria . . . . .	Mr. Onowu
	Portugal . . . . .	Mr. Cabral
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Zhukov
	South Africa . . . . .	Mr. Sangqu
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . . .	Mr. Parham
	United States of America . . . . .	Mr. DeLaurentis

## Agenda

### United Nations peacekeeping operations

Peacekeeping: taking stock and preparing for the future

Letter dated 5 August 2011 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2011/496)

---

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.



*The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.*

### **Bombing of the United Nations compound in Abuja, Nigeria**

**The President:** I request the members of the Security Council to observe a minute of silence in commemoration of the tragic bombing of the United Nations compound in Abuja, Nigeria.

*The members of the Security Council observed a minute of silence.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **United Nations peacekeeping operations**

#### **Peacekeeping: taking stock and preparing for the future**

#### **Letter dated 5 August 2011 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2011/496)**

**The President:** Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Croatia, Ethiopia, Fiji, Guatemala, Hungary, Indonesia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Senegal, Serbia, Slovenia, Sri Lanka, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukraine, Uruguay and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Ioannis Vrailas, Deputy Head of Delegation and Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Delegation of the European Union to the United Nations, to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite His Excellency Mr. Tête António, Permanent Observer of the African Union to the United Nations, to participate in this meeting.

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

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2011/496, which contains a letter dated 5 August 2011 from the Permanent Representative of India addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting a concept paper on the item under consideration.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, and invite him to take the floor.

**The Secretary-General:** I thank the Government of India and Ambassador Puri for their leadership and initiative in scheduling this debate on peacekeeping.

But let me begin with this morning's most immediate developments. As members of the Council know, United Nations House in the Nigerian capital, Abuja, was struck by a car bomb around 11 a.m. local time this morning. These buildings house 26 humanitarian and development agencies of the United Nations family. I met with our staff in Abuja during a visit just two months ago.

In a statement to the media, I described this terrible act as an attack on those who devote their lives to helping others. We condemn it utterly. We do not yet have precise casualty figures, but they are likely to be considerable. Many people are dead; many more are wounded. Nigerian and international search and rescue teams have mobilized and are moving the injured to hospitals and providing emergency aid.

I have asked the Deputy Secretary-General, Ms. Asha-Rose Migiro, to go Nigeria immediately, and I am mobilizing the United Nations system to respond to this emergency. The Deputy Secretary-General will be accompanied by the United Nations security chief, Under-Secretary-General Gregory Starr, and will meet with Nigerian authorities upon arrival in Abuja.

On this very sad occasion, I extend my deepest sympathies to the victims and their families. The United Nations will undertake every possible effort to assist them during this difficult time. Let me say clearly: These acts of terrorism are unacceptable. They will not deter us from our vital work for the people of Nigeria and the world. This outrageous and shocking attack is evidence that United Nations premises are increasingly being viewed as soft targets by extremist elements around the world.

Peacekeeping is one of the most visible, difficult and critical roles played by the United Nations. It is also a role that only the United Nations can play in a truly global sense. Peacekeeping is an essential tool for overcoming threats to international peace and security and supporting complex transitions from conflict to stability. It requires a variety of approaches to respond to various local needs and a wide range of political

realities. To be successful, peacekeeping operations must have a clear and achievable mandate, unified political support from the Security Council, and adequate, predictable human, material and financial resources. Where this has occurred, we have seen considerable success, such as in Liberia and Timor-Leste, or with the referendum in the Sudan. Where we have struggled, we have also learned.

Since 2001, the number of uniformed personnel has doubled, reaching a high point of more than 101,000 early last year. Although the rate of growth slowed in 2010, the complexity of missions remains high, requiring ever more flexible and adaptable uniformed and civilian personnel. Indeed, we may be entering a new phase, with diverse and multifaceted situations where peacekeeping may play a role. Peacekeeping will need to evolve to meet specific demands in a variety of environments and to flexibly and nimbly bring together multiple capabilities in a coherent and effective manner.

Notwithstanding the responsibility of host Governments, peacekeepers are increasingly tasked to take on the protection of civilians — placing higher demands on their work, greater scrutiny on their performance, and a growing need for sufficient resources to properly carry out such mandates. With these shifts in mind, the New Horizon initiative of 2009 set out an agenda for strengthening peacekeeping. This has served to build a common vision and stronger partnership linking the resources of the Secretariat, the Security Council, troop- and police-contributing countries and the wider membership of the Organization. Unfortunately, some aspects of this partnership are under increasing pressure. The current financial climate, differing perspectives on mandated tasks, and, in some instances, the loss of host Government consent have all created tensions in our relationships.

Achieving a collective response is also complicated when key stakeholders — such as those who mandate missions, those who contribute uniformed personnel and those who are major funders — are separate groups. If these groups remain distinct even as mandates become more demanding, tensions and divisions are inevitable, with potentially negative impacts on our operations. We must continue to improve the peacekeeping partnership. We have a common responsibility to make sure that our

peacekeepers are up to the task, which means ensuring both adequate support and equipment.

One way forward is outlined in the draft presidential statement to be adopted today, in which the Council requests that the Secretariat ensure that troop and police contributors are engaged early, with appropriate information, to enable effective consultations between the Council and the Secretariat. I agree with this approach and look forward to working with the Council to implement it.

We also recognize the restrictive context in which we operate, such as that presented by the global financial situation. The impact on Member States is well understood. The Secretariat will continue to seek ways to yield efficiencies. The global field support strategy is a central part of this picture. The strategy is designed to optimize efficiencies in the management of resources entrusted to the Organization by Member States through a global approach. This is a comprehensive response to key logistical and administrative challenges, and is aimed at enabling timely mission start-up and drawdown, improved provision of support, and increased transparency and accountability for resources.

The enormous role of civilian peacekeepers is also critical. Close to 20,000 civilians within peacekeeping operations are currently implementing activities in support of peace processes, encompassing security sector reform, rule of law and local governance development, human rights monitoring, disarmament, demining and the provision of complex mission support. The implementation of the findings of the recent civilian capacity review will increase our capabilities in this regard, and we look forward to the Council's support for this effort. Early peacebuilding tasks have also become an integral part of many operations and should be implemented in an integrated manner.

Partnership is the cornerstone of peacekeeping. Let us build on the relationships that now exist, and overcome potential frictions that could hinder our work. Through increased engagement, extensive dialogue and a shared understanding of our common goals, we can uphold the aims of the Charter and live up to the expectations of the people who look to us in their time of need.

In closing, I would like to acknowledge the sacrifice of the thousands of colleagues and friends

who have given their lives in the line of duty, and to pay tribute to all those working in peacekeeping today for their commitment to this noble cause.

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

I now give the floor to the members of the Council.

**Mr. Onowu (Nigeria):** I thank you, Sir, for the initiative of convening this open debate and the excellent concept paper (S/2011/496, annex) that provides the basis of our discussions today. I also thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive briefing.

Peacekeeping, a rather recent concept that is not reflected in the Charter, has evolved as the United Nations flagship endeavour. As a nation from the continent with the highest concentration of current United Nations peacekeeping operations, Nigeria places a special premium on this subject. Informed by our national experiences, my contribution this morning will focus on the outlook for United Nations peacekeeping operations from three perspectives.

The first is the issue of mismatch between resources and mandates. Meeting the demands of modern peacekeeping operations has stretched the United Nations capacity to its limits and put a strain on the effectiveness of peacekeeping. In this context, it is not surprising that several peacekeeping missions cannot deliver the results expected of them. There is a need to strike a balance between the expectations of the Council and the resources given to enable peacekeeping missions to implement their mandates.

Our mandates must not only be clear but also adequately resourced, in terms of both personnel and of international outlay. Hence, there is a need for accurate assessment of mission requirements, the optimal use of available resources across our missions, and the firm commitment of Member States to United Nations peacekeeping.

The second issue relates to partnerships and capacity-building. The multidimensional nature of the new generation of peacekeeping operations requires improved collaboration and coordination among peacekeeping actors, including regional organizations. It is vitally important to better align the objectives and performance criteria of the various peacekeeping missions. In keeping with the spirit and letter of resolution 1353 (2001), partnership also implies

seeking the views and benefiting from the experiences of the troop- and police-contributing countries in the deliberations on and design of peacekeeping missions. In this regard, I wish to reiterate the strategic role of the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations. We strongly believe that the platform of the Working Group can be better harnessed in synchronizing the efforts of the troop-contributing countries and the Security Council in the formal atmosphere it provides.

As regards capacity-building, we note the considerable progress that has been made in several missions — such as the United Nations Mission in Liberia and the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste, among others — in strengthening the capacity of host countries in various areas, including police, judicial and corrections capacities. However, the real test of the success of these various missions' support to the host countries is the degree to which the host authorities are able to sustain efforts initiated by the peacekeeping operations after their departure.

Following the independence of South Sudan on 9 July, UNMIS was brought to a successful close and the Council shepherded the establishment of two new peacekeeping missions. Drawing on the lessons for missions that have had to contend with national conflicts with subregional dimensions, such as MONUSCO, we believe that the authorities of the new missions — the United Nations Mission in South Sudan and the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei — should work more closely together with host nations in deterring and eliminating threats posed by armed groups and focus efforts on disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, resettlement and reintegration. Such collaboration would make significant contributions to improving daily lives of the residents of Abyei and South Sudan.

Thirdly, I wish to seize this opportunity to remind ourselves that peacekeeping has become a valuable instrument for maintaining international peace and security. As with all valuable instruments, the integrity of peacekeeping operations must be protected and preserved.

We must ensure that the principles relating to the use of force do not by themselves jeopardize a mission's objective. Indeed, when force is deployed, the operational mandate should adapt to the local context and the requirements of the field. It is equally important to emphasize respect for the principle of

national sovereignty. A peacekeeping operation should be considered only in situations in which parties previously at war have agreed to sheathe their swords and to involve the United Nations in enforcing a peace accord. The United Nations must remain one hundred per cent neutral in conflicts.

Guided by these principles and practices, Nigeria remains fully committed to the principle of collective security, as enshrined in the Charter. It will remain a reliable contributor of troops to the United Nations operations.

In concluding, we would like to thank Council members, the Secretary-General and the international community for their words of support following the bombing incident that occurred in Abuja today.

**Mr. Li Baodong** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): On 26 August the United Nations compound in Abuja suffered a serious attack, with colossal human casualties. China strongly condemns this terrorist act and expresses its condolences and sympathies to the families of the deceased and to the wounded and their families, and to the United Nations and the Government of Nigeria. China will continue to work with the international community in combating all forms of terrorism.

I highly appreciate India's initiative in convening today's open debate. I also welcome the statement by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon.

Since the United Nations peacekeeping operations were launched more than 60 years ago, they have become one of the important means for the maintenance of international peace and security by the United Nations. Lately United Nations peacekeeping operations have been growing in scale, with ever-wider mandates and increasing challenges. I want to focus on the following.

First, it is imperative to continue to adhere to Dag Hammarskjöld's three principles governing peacekeeping. They constitute the premise and the foundation for the smooth conduct of United Nations peacekeeping operations, and they must be adhered to. On that basis, China approves and supports the adoption of a prudent and responsible attitude in light of developments and the necessary development and improvement of the peacekeeping theories and practices.

Secondly, greater attention should be given to integrated coordination between peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Peacekeeping is an important component of the peacemaking exercise, and greater attention should be given and greater efforts be made to address the issues at the root of conflicts, including issues relating to economic and social development. In peacekeeping it is imperative to formulate and gradually improve transition and exit strategies and to improve dovetailing with peacebuilding.

The third matter is effective implementation of the mandate for the protection of civilians. In carrying out this mandate in peacekeeping operations, there should be stricter observance of Security Council resolutions and the principle of neutrality by avoiding siding with one particular party or becoming a party to the conflict. Much less should we cause more civilian casualties while implementing this mandate. We should also respect the sovereignty of the countries concerned and do more to improve the political process and national reconciliation and give full play to the political advantage of the United Nations.

Fourthly, we should improve capacity-building for United Nations peacekeeping operations. We hope that countries able to do so will increase their input and provide the necessary resources and technical guarantees for peacekeeping operations. We support greater attention to strategic design in peacekeeping operations, greater communications and coordination with the countries concerned, improvement of logistic mechanisms and optimizing resource allocation, and improvement of the effectiveness and efficiency of peacekeeping operations, including their deployment, planning and management.

Fifthly, there should be better coordination between the Security Council on the one hand, and the troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and the Secretariat on the other. At all stages of the establishment and implementation of peacekeeping operations, the Council should pay attention to maintaining regular consultations with the TCCs. We support closer partnerships between the Council on the one hand and the troop contributors and the Secretariat on the other. We hope the Secretariat will continue to provide relevant information to the TCCs in a timely and accurate manner. We also support the United Nations in improving the partnerships with the countries concerned and with regional organizations in particular in supporting the peacekeeping efforts of the African

Union and in supporting the latter and improving its capacity.

**Mr. Cabral (Portugal):** Before I begin, I would like to briefly express my country's indignation at and unequivocal condemnation of the senseless and abhorrent act of violence that occurred this morning in Abuja against innocent civilians and against United Nations officers and property. I wish to present our heartfelt condolences to and solidarity with the victims' relatives, to the Government of Nigeria and, through the Secretary-General, to the whole United Nations family.

Thank you, Mr. President, for convening this timely debate. It is most suitable that we address this issue under the chairmanship of India, one of the countries that has most contributed to United Nations peacekeeping — a fact that deserves our recognition. I also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his important intervention and for his continuous commitment to peacekeeping and the high priority he has assigned to it.

Peacekeeping is the flagship activity of the United Nations, its most visible face. As we speak, one hundred thousand women and men are serving the United Nations as military and police personnel in 17 missions, from Timor-Leste to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, from Southern Sudan to Haiti. They are implementing the resolutions we approve in this room, turning our words into actions and our objectives into realities. Several of these women and men have given their lives for the United Nations. Therefore, they deserve our utmost respect and humble tribute.

Portugal has continuously assumed its part in the common effort of peacekeeping. Over 20,000 military and 3,000 police Portuguese women and men have served in peace operations. We are currently participating in the United Nations peacekeeping missions in Timor-Leste and in Lebanon, as well as in several European Union and NATO operations.

When discussing peacekeeping, we should bear in mind three of its cornerstone principles.

The first is consent of the parties — essential to assure the sustainability of a mission. It implies, on the one hand, a shared strategic understanding of the objectives, as well as a continuous dialogue and constructive cooperation between the national

authorities and the mission. On the other hand, this consent encompasses the responsibility of the national authorities to collaborate with the United Nations mission so that the latter has the proper conditions to fulfil its mandate.

The second principle is impartiality. As Sergio Vieira de Mello said, "In the UN, we cannot surrender our impartiality. It is perhaps our greatest asset."

Third is the non-use of force except in self-defence and in defence of the mandate. In that regard, we see with satisfaction that the defence of mandates is becoming increasingly effective, or robust. Regardless of the preferred term, what is important is the end result.

Passing from principles to practice, and bearing in mind that this Council, as the executive board for international peace and stability, shoulders a responsibility that is legitimately bestowed upon us by the whole membership of the United Nations, I would like to briefly address seven points that we deem essential to the success of United Nations peacekeeping.

First, we must continue our efforts to provide peacekeeping operations with clear, credible and achievable mandates. Subsequently, those mandates must be implemented in a precise, full and effective way.

Second, we must provide peacekeeping operations with the means required to achieve the objectives defined by the Council. The capacities on the ground must match the mandated tasks; otherwise, the credibility of the United Nations will be undermined. In that regard, we call upon those members that possess more resources to contribute accordingly, be it in terms of force generation or equipment, such as helicopters.

Third, the combination of widespread and growing peacekeeping objectives, on the one hand, and, on the other, the limited resources available imposes the need for efficient and effective management and use of those resources. We welcome the Secretariat's efforts in that regard and encourage it to continue improving its management performance.

Fourth, the Security Council must also continue to promote interaction with the relevant peacekeeping stakeholders. In that regard, we underline the unique role of troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-

contributing countries (PCCs), who match our words with deeds through their boots on the ground. Therefore, we are committed to further enhancing the triangular cooperation among TCCs and PCCs, the Security Council and the Secretariat in the decision-making process and throughout the implementation of the mandates.

Fifth, bearing in mind the various United Nations presences in areas such as the Great Lakes, or the Sudan and South Sudan, we highlight the value of inter-mission cooperation with a view to maximizing potential synergies and the advantages that arise from a strategic regional perspective. Moreover, the missions must enhance their capacity to coordinate the activities of the different actors on the ground, namely, regional and subregional organizations, development agencies and non-governmental organizations.

Sixth, the role of international organizations in peace and security, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, is increasingly important. In that regard, we highlight the efforts being made by the African Union, NATO and the European Union, as well as those of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries, which is increasingly active in the promotion of democracy, human rights, political stability and social and economic development, namely, in Guinea-Bissau and Timor-Leste.

Seventh, peacekeepers are ever more early peacebuilders. Peacekeeping and peacebuilding are to be implemented within a comprehensive approach, no longer as sequential activities but rather as integrated efforts, with obvious synergies. Peacebuilding efforts — such as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, security sector reform and the relaunching of the economy — should be considered from the genesis of a peacekeeping operation and carried out as soon as the situation on the ground permits and throughout the cycle of a mission. Moreover, a mission should also pave the way for a smooth transition to long-term development assistance with a view to a successful exit strategy for international actors and self-sustained peace and stability.

The protection of civilians is the paradigmatic example of the shared responsibility that binds all Member States of the United Nations, in particular those serving on this Council. Peacekeeping operations have a key role to play in protecting civilians in danger

when Governments are unable or unwilling to fulfil their responsibility. It is incumbent upon the Council to assure that they will continue to do so. Basic human rights and, ultimately, the lives of populations at risk depend upon it.

In our time, failing to protect civilians is unacceptable and would deeply affect the credibility of the United Nations. Therefore, we must continue striving to fully implement resolution 1894 (2009). Moreover, we welcome the contribution of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) to the definition of a coherent operational approach to the protection of civilians in United Nations operations.

Since the adoption of resolution 1325 (2000) on women and peace and security, missions have been mandated, with significant success, to boost women's participation in electoral and post-conflict processes, to prevent sexual violence, and to increase the presence of female peacekeeping personnel and peacekeepers trained to address gender issues. DPKO has made enormous progress in mainstreaming gender in peacekeeping, but we need to strive harder in some of those areas.

As Graça Machel stated in her report on the impact of armed conflict on children, "The protection of children must be central to the humanitarian, peacemaking and peacekeeping policies of the United Nations" (A/51/306, para. 281). We commend the fact that currently seven peacekeeping missions have advisers working on the needs of children.

Peacekeeping is an instrumental element in the promotion of peace, aimed at creating security environments conducive to comprehensive political processes through which sustainable solutions to conflicts can be achieved. In our quest for sustainable peace, the Council must also increase its focus on preventive diplomacy and, thus, pay close attention to new challenges to human security.

**Mr. Osorio** (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): Colombia shares the grief affecting the international community and the United Nations family at the tragic attack that occurred in Nigeria this morning. In condemning that attack and all terrorist actions, we convey our heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims.

I wish to thank Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for his presence and for his presentation on the matter

before us. I congratulate you, Mr. President, on the initiative in organizing a debate on peacekeeping operations, based on a document (S/2011/496, annex) of great interest and importance.

We concur with the view stated in that document that although the notion of peacekeeping does not appear explicitly in the Charter of the United Nations, it has become one of the main tools of the Organization. Furthermore, we agree that despite the shortcomings that still occur, peacekeeping operations represent perhaps the most tangible manifestation of the collective and joint efforts of the Member States to maintain international peace and security.

Colombia closely follows the discussions on restructuring and enhancing the functioning of peacekeeping operations. Convinced of the necessity of promoting peaceful coexistence, we always constructively participate in tasks that the Organization develops in that area, particularly in peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations such as the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, the Multinational Force and Observers in the Sinai and the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Sierra Leone.

For Colombia, the fundamental principles of peacekeeping — such as consent of the parties, impartiality, and the use of force only in the case of self-defence or defence of the mandate — must be observed. We believe it appropriate to reiterate the validity of such principles and to highlight the fact that they must be taken into account when analysing the options for responding to the challenges imposed by reality.

We are encouraged by initiatives that seek to improve the approaches between the Security Council — the organ that plans and adopts mandates for peacekeeping operations — and those that must implement them, particularly troop-contributing countries. We agree with the view that in establishing the mandates of peacekeeping operations the political context must be addressed and there must be clear and realistic objectives that are in keeping with the available resources. In that regard, the contributions of the broad membership represented in the General Assembly, especially the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Fifth Committee, are fundamental to seeking greater efficiency and transparency in the tasks of peacekeeping operations.

I believe it is important to highlight three key elements for the effective and efficient functioning of peacekeeping operations. The first is collaboration on purposes, focusing on the political and planning aspects of peacekeeping operations. Second is collaboration in action, oriented to operational aspects in the field. A third key issue is collaboration for the future, focused on the development of sustainable capacities to meet the challenges ahead.

One essential element in creating genuine collaboration is engaging in timely dialogue before the approval and renewal of mandates. In this context, I note the established practice of the Security Council of convening meetings with troop-contributing countries prior to the renewal of the mandate of a mission. We encourage the Council to resort to that procedure on a regular basis.

We should strike a balance between the significance and scope of United Nations peacekeeping missions and review and, when necessary, rethink the nature and purpose of those missions. We should also be bolder in the deployment of troops and the civilian component, which is particularly relevant because the dynamics of conflicts have changed substantially, due to factors such as organized crime, mass displacement and human rights violations, among others. It is well known that peacekeeping missions cannot merely deploy military and police elements, but must also have a strategic plan that takes into account the host countries' national capacities and that includes social, political and self-sustaining development programmes based on the principles of respect, the protection of civilians — who are the most vulnerable — and the sovereignty and self-determination of peoples, as enshrined in the Charter.

Finally, I note the ongoing willingness and openness to dialogue that my delegation has found in the officials of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations during the coordination of my country's various contributions in Haiti, both bilaterally and through the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti. Colombia reconfirms its readiness to take part in the evolving peacekeeping framework; to continue to contribute to peacekeeping operations to the extent that our domestic conditions allow; and to participate actively in discussions on restructuring and strengthening the United Nations capacity in this field.



**Mr. Messone** (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): Gabon echoes the condemnations of the attack in Abuja, Nigeria. We extend our condolences to the families of the victims and to the United Nations family as a whole. We support the Secretary-General in this matter and express our solidarity with Nigeria.

I concur, Mr. President, with previous speakers in welcoming both your initiative in organizing this debate and the fact that it comes from your country, India, which is currently one of the largest troop contributors to United Nations peacekeeping operations. That stands as yet further proof of your country's commitment to the maintenance of international peace and security. I also welcome the presence of the Secretary-General here today, and thank him for important contribution to our deliberations.

Peacekeeping operations lie at the heart of the United Nations actions in peacemaking and post-conflict reconstruction. The emergence of other challenges to peace, such as violence against civilians, has made peacekeeping operations increasingly important. New demands require missions to be allocated resources commensurate with their challenges and expectations.

I shall address the question of peacekeeping operation mandates and relationships among the various stakeholders in their success, especially the Security Council and the troop-contributing countries. In recent years, the United Nations has considerably improved the planning and conduct of missions. That evolution is largely due to greater United Nations awareness of the need to define mandates that are clear, credible and achievable and that will lead to successful missions.

My delegation welcomes the increasingly multidisciplinary approaches to mission mandates, as emphasized by the Secretary-General in his 2008 report. Those include the protection of civilians, strengthening the rule of law, mechanisms to prevent the resurgence of conflicts, support for electoral processes, and peacebuilding and reconstruction programmes, such as in the cases of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire and the United Nations Mission in South Sudan, to mention only a few.

All of those many dimensions were a response to the need for the Council to provide missions with mandates that are based on clear goals and measurable results, and that are provided with sufficient resources to fulfil all their tasks. Still, certain shortfalls and gaps remain that the Council must address. Missions such as MONUSCO, the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) are still lacking in logistical and human resources, whether it be aerial, financial or material resources. That point was made clear at the Council's meeting last month with Force Commanders on the ground (see S/PV.6592). My delegation encourages the international community to allocate to missions material and financial resources that are consistent with realities and actions on the ground.

As others have noted, we continue to believe that a good mandate must take into account the causes of conflict, and that its implementation should be founded on rigorous planning of the different phases and sequences of the process, and on the identification of criteria for ending a mission at the right time. That would keep the United Nations from slipping into an occupying role and from wasting resources that would be better spent elsewhere.

Regarding relations among the various actors in peacekeeping operations, my delegation welcomes the fact that the Council has enhanced its dialogue with its partners in peacekeeping operations over the years. We welcome, for example, the Council's regular consultations with the troop-contributing countries, including non-members. The same is true of the ongoing consultations of the President of the Council with the President of the General Assembly and States that are not members of the Council on matters that affect international peace and security.

To increase the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations, it is important to continue and strengthen consultations between the Council and the troop-contributing countries. Such regular exchanges allow the Council to better understand the situation on the ground and to make better decisions. In that vein, we welcomed the Council meeting on 27 July with the Force Commanders. The briefings we heard that day clearly reflected the daily reality of peacekeeping operations as a whole and the difficulties they encounter on the ground. In this context, we also support the recommendation contained in the draft presidential statement that we are to adopt today,

whereby the Council requests the Secretariat to provide troop- and police-contributing countries all necessary information and documentation by the 15th of each month.

Because the maintenance of international peace and security is at the heart of the political, strategic and ideological system of the United Nations, it is important to continue to work with regional and subregional organizations, especially regarding the root causes of conflicts and strategies to settle conflicts. Gabon would like once again to urge the United Nations to continue to support the African Union, especially by building its capacity and supporting its peacekeeping missions on the ground. In the case of the mission deployed in Somalia, the current weakening of Al-Shabaab should encourage us to strengthen the capacities of AMISOM in order to gain ground and significantly reduce the threat of that armed group.

While welcoming the significant progress achieved in the area of peacekeeping, Gabon feels that an additional effort should be made with regard to conflict prevention. We have stated this and reiterate it today. A culture of prevention would save enormous resources that could then be channelled towards economic and social development. Thus prevention must become our priority in the maintenance of peace and security.

Lastly, Mr. President, I would like to express my delegation's support for the draft presidential statement prepared by your delegation.

**Mr. Parham** (United Kingdom): I first join colleagues in expressing horror and disgust at the attack on the United Nations in Abuja today. I convey the British Government's condolences to the Secretary-General and to the Nigerian delegation and through them to all of the victims and to the whole United Nations family and the Nigerian Government and people. My Foreign Secretary, William Hague, has issued a statement expressing his utter condemnation of this brutal act. As he said in that statement, around the world the United Nations works for peace, security and international cooperation, and an attack on the United Nations is an attack on these principles. The United Kingdom stands ready to provide any assistance we can to the United Nations and to the Nigerian authorities to bring those responsible to justice.

I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for this opportunity to take stock of recent progress in United Nations peacekeeping and to review the variety of challenges we currently face. The United Kingdom believes that the presidential statement to be adopted today will add important new ways to strengthen the relationship between troop- and police-contributing countries, the Secretariat and the Security Council in our consideration of peacekeeping mandates.

United Nations peacekeeping is a complex and unique global partnership. United Nations peacekeepers help fragile nations emerge from conflict to find new stability. They are a scarce asset, and we have a responsibility to ensure that they are deployed to maximum effect in the places where they are needed most.

I welcome the opportunity today to hear views from across the partnership about how we may strengthen our collective effort. I will restrict my own statement to three short comments about how the Security Council may improve its role supporting peacekeeping. I feel that they may not be new, but that they are worth reiterating.

First of all, the Council must understand the operational challenges standing in the way of success for our peacekeeping operations. That means greater participation from those on the ground— from troop- and police-contributing countries — when we examine peacekeeping missions and their mandates. And it means that we must understand not only where gaps in resourcing lie, but how these specific gaps affect the ability of a peacekeeping operation to fulfil its mandate.

Secondly, we must be fully aware of progress on the ground from across the peacebuilding community in order to mandate a complementary role for peacekeepers. We know that today's conflicts require a complex range of responses from peacekeepers. They are often called upon to help 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.

The Council must understand how to mandate peacekeepers to play an appropriate role as part of a longer-term effort to build 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. In such a complex environment, in order to write clear, achievable and realistic mandates — a well-worn refrain — this Council must be apprised of progress on the ground by all of these actors.

My third point is that we must ensure this Council has access to appropriate military expertise. The United Kingdom supports the emerging tradition to invite heads of military components to address the Council. And as the presidential statement suggests, we look forward to a similar consultation with the heads of police components in the future.

The Military Staff Committee has demonstrated, through its discussion in November last year of the draft concept of operations of the African Union Mission in Somalia, and of other issues since, that it has an important role to play. But we must not get caught up in process. All Council members can contribute military advice to the Military Staff Committee without recourse to Charter redrafting by making the most of the informal mechanism. We do not need further discussion about process; we should just do it.

In addition to today's debate, a number of other initiatives are already in place to take this work forward. We welcome the ongoing efforts of the Security Council's Working Group of the Whole on United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, chaired by Nigeria, and underline the need for this Group and other key actors — including the Fifth Committee and the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations — to complement one other's work on that shared agenda.

In the past eight months we have seen once again the critical role that United Nations peacekeeping operations play in the maintenance of international peace and security. United Nations peacekeepers serve with dedication and courage to create a safer and more stable environment in conflict and post-conflict zones around the world. We owe them our gratitude.

**Mr. Zhukov** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We would like to join in condemning the criminal terrorist actions carried out today in Abuja, which we condemn unconditionally and steadfastly. We express sincere condolences to the Nigerian delegation and through it to the Government of Nigeria to the families of the bereaved, and to all staff of the United Nations Secretariat regarding this crime.

We thank the Indian delegation for convening today's important and timely meeting on peacekeeping operations. The Russian Federation attaches great significance to United Nations peacekeeping and considers it an important instrument in ensuring international peace and security — hence our willingness and desire to actively help in those efforts. Russian peacekeepers participate in peacekeeping operations in the Middle East, in various African regions and in Haiti.

United Nations peacekeeping is needed as never before. Recently the Council took a decision on deploying a new peacekeeping operation in the region of Abyei in the Sudan. There has been an important reorganization in the presence of the blue helmets in the young Republic of South Sudan.

Two thirds of the total number of peacekeepers are uniformed and play a leading role in meeting such complex challenges as supporting efforts of national governments to stabilize a situation and strengthen peace, ensuring the protection of civilians, and monitoring ceasefire compliance.

United Nations peacekeeping efforts continue to evolve both conceptually and operationally. That will help in expeditiously handling emerging problems and effectively reacting to new political realities. Given the increased number of complex peacekeeping operations, in the past few years the Organization has experienced an ever-growing demand on its resources and consequently encountered an unprecedented number of challenges. It is clear that resolving these issues requires the interest and involvement of Member States.

The recent situations encountered by the blue helmets have again confirmed the nature of fundamental peacekeeping principles. Peacekeepers must strictly follow their mandates and remain neutral and must not be drawn into intra-political conflicts or provide support to any of the parties in the conflict, as that could jeopardize the reputation of the world organization.

The problem of ensuring the required level of military expertise has not yet been resolved in measures taken within United Nations peacekeeping operations. Once again we reiterate our proposal to step up the work of the Military Staff Committee.

The task of improving United Nations peacekeeping requires more effective use of the resources of regional organizations. Of course, the mandates of peacekeeping operations must be clear, implementable and adequate for the situation. The lack of financial and material resources dictates the need for optimal use of existing capabilities. In current peacekeeping mandates, it is important to clearly delineate the functions of peacekeeping and support for post-conflict peacebuilding. United Nations peacekeepers should be tasked only with initial peacebuilding duties. Processes supporting socioeconomic development should be more actively undertaken by specialized United Nations agencies and regional organizations.

We share the view that there is a need for ongoing dialogue between the Council and troop-contributing countries (TCCs) on all aspects of the work of peacekeeping operations, including at the planning and mandate-development stages. Interaction with TCCs will allow the Council to develop clearer and more realistic peacekeeping goals, with strict monitoring of their implementation, and to curb attempts to broaden their interpretation.

We hope that today's meeting will confirm our common interest in further improving the effectiveness of United Nations peacekeeping operations, which must be undertaken in compliance with the Charter of the United Nations, the norms of international law, and unfailing regard for the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. This is the political guarantee of the successful conduct of operations.

We would like to thank India for having prepared the draft presidential statement, which we fully support.

**Mr. Briens** (France) (*spoke in French*): I would like to join previous speakers in condemning in the strongest terms the reprehensible attack just carried out against the United Nations in Abuja. We express our compassion for and solidarity with the victims and their families, to the Government of Nigeria and, through the Secretary-General, to all United Nations staff, who prove their dedication to peace on a daily basis.

I thank you, Sir, for your initiative to hold this meeting on the most important subject of peacekeeping, a pillar of United Nations activity.

France associates itself with the statement to be delivered on behalf of the European Union.

Peacekeeping operations have become one of the most visible areas of United Nations activity. We have seen a considerable increase in recent years of the resources deployed on the ground and the goals to be met. The growing complexity and diversity of missions require enhanced cooperation between regional organizations and strengthened synergy among peacekeeping and peacebuilding stakeholders.

I recall the steadfast commitment of France to building United Nations peacekeeping capacities. France participates in seven of the 16 peacekeeping operations, contributing more than 1,500 men and women. Beyond this direct contribution, France also contributes approximately 6,000 men and women to United Nations-mandated peacekeeping operations of the European Union, NATO or on a national basis. As such, France has a presence off the coast of Somalia and in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Côte d'Ivoire.

Above all, France supports the participation of African States in peacekeeping operations through African peacekeeping capacity-building programmes. In the context of training and support for African contingents, France has established national schools with a regional focus to impart operational and technical expertise adapted to the needs of African armies. These schools provide the same quality of teaching given in France, adapted to local conditions. Since 1997, more than 14,000 European and African students have been trained in the 16 schools we support.

Since the Franco-British initiative of 2009, we have continued to call for strengthened military expertise, enhanced cooperation between the Council and troop- and police-contributing countries, and better cost-control in peacekeeping operations.

While a number of recommendations of the Brahimi report (S/2000/809), published more than 10 years ago, remain valid, I would like to focus on three aspects that we view as vital for improving peacekeeping: the protection of civilians, inter-mission cooperation, and the establishment of peacekeeping-to-peacebuilding transition strategies.

First, the protection of civilians is one of the primary objectives of peacekeeping mandates. Peacekeepers must be trained in this task and behave

beyond reproach on the ground. Peacekeepers are tasked with establishing an environment of security to allow for the resumption of political processes. This requires the implementation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes, including for children affected by conflict, security sector reform programmes, and programmes strengthening the rule of law.

Women are among the main assets for transforming societies, and it is therefore vital to strengthen their participation in decision-making. Integrating women into police and armed forces will make it possible to fight sexual and gender-based violence and to promote human rights in these institutions. Advisors on the protection of children and women must play an ever greater role in missions.

Secondly, with regard to inter-mission cooperation, when unforeseen events threaten to destabilize a country and to cast it back into the cycle of violence, inter-mission cooperation provides for a specific and effective response to strengthen missions in a timely manner with the personnel and materials they need. We saw this in Côte d'Ivoire, where cooperation between the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire and the United Nations Mission in Liberia played a decisive role. Helicopter reinforcements allowed heavy weaponry to be neutralized and continue to allow traffic and the movement of mercenaries at the Liberian border to be monitored.

Similarly, cooperation among missions and peacebuilding offices, as well as with regional organizations, must allow us to be more effective in the fight against such cross-cutting threats as the Lord's Resistance Army in Africa, piracy or trafficking, which have the potential to destabilize entire regions.

Finally, cooperation and the sharing of resources among neighbouring missions should allow us to make economies of scale in order to meet the demands of good management and budget constraints.

Beyond the primary need to protect civilians, there are also the need to develop crisis exit strategies that ensure a return to lasting peace, particularly on the social, economic and political fronts in societies often decimated by conflict. We count on the Peacebuilding Commission to instil greater coherence in the actions of the international community in post-conflict situations.

Peacebuilding priorities must be taken into account at the earliest stages of crisis management so as to anticipate the conditions and mechanisms needed to emerge from the crisis. It is therefore necessary to take into account as soon as possible emerging threats such as drug and human trafficking, organized crime and corruption, which have the potential to destabilize fragile countries.

In conclusion, we recall that the success of peacekeeping missions is the result of the joint efforts of Council members, financial contributors, troop- and police-contributing countries and the Secretariat. These efforts are futile, however, without the firm commitment of the host country.

Finally, France pays tribute to the Blue Helmets of all nationalities, who sometimes give their lives in their dedication to peace.

**Mr. Salam** (Lebanon): At the outset, I would like to join the Secretary-General and my colleagues in condemning today's terrorist attacks in Abuja in the strongest terms and to express our deep sympathy and heartfelt condolences to its victims, their families, the people and Government of Nigeria, and the United Nations and all its members.

I wish to express our appreciation to you, Sir, for having organized this important debate and to extend our thanks to the Secretary-General for his important introductory remarks.

Lebanon aligns itself with the statement to be made by Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The success of United Nations peacekeeping requires partnership and regular consultation among the Security Council, the Secretariat and troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries (PCCs). These notions are at the heart of the draft presidential statement to be adopted today, which Lebanon fully supports. We advocate the further involvement of TCCs and PCCs in all the planning and deployment stages of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Peacekeeping should be not an end in itself, but rather part of a solution. The comprehensive resolution of conflicts by dealing with their root causes, whether political, social or economic, remains the objective. In our region, an end to the Israeli occupation in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon — the root cause of the

conflict — is a prerequisite to any comprehensive resolution and successful transition of United Nations peacekeeping missions in the Middle East.

Peacekeeping is not an alternative to an inclusive political process. It rather provides space for such processes that can guarantee the protection of civilians and the achievement of sustainable peace. Respect for the safety and security of United Nations peacekeepers and positions is not only critical to the implementation of their mandate, but is also a measure of the primacy of international law and respect for Security Council resolutions.

Lebanon considers that the main underpinning of the success of a peacekeeping operation rests on the following elements: first, developing clear and achievable mandates matched with the required resources and timely logistical support; secondly, adherence to the general principles of peacekeeping; thirdly, a strong link between peacekeeping and peacebuilding — the interactions between security and development are clearer than ever; and fourthly, strengthening the role of regional and subregional organizations, specifically the African Union, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

Peacekeeping remains the most cost-effective method to avoid conflict. The goal is the realization of more efficient peacekeeping adapted to the new complex realities of military, police, civilian and humanitarian components all together, in some missions and mandates that have less to do with conflict between States and more with intra-State conflict.

To achieve that goal, and to ensure the creation of a more predictable, professional and accountable peacekeeping system, we should emphasize the key role of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations in policy formulation and development. We should also enhance regular coordination on peacebuilding tasks with the Peacebuilding Commission in a manner that stresses national ownership and the prioritization of peacebuilding needs. To also ensure that peacekeeping remains an expression of our collective security actions, we should enlarge the base of troop-contributing countries in a manner that responds to the scope and scale of peacekeeping needs.

As peacekeeping now appears to be entering a period of consolidation after a substantial period of

growth, it is high time to draw on lessons learned in order to improve the critical early peacebuilding tasks undertaken by peacekeepers. We should focus not only on areas such as police, corrections, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, and security sector reform, among others, but also on economic revival and sustainable development. It is clear today that peacekeeping and peacebuilding are not sequential. It is also clear that transition should be based on benchmarking against indicators in all fields.

On capability development, we all know where the critical gaps are. We thus need a comprehensive, capability-driven approach that addresses uniform capability requirements, including force enablers such as air assets, as well as civilian ones.

On global field support, we are glad that the Secretariat has moved from a mission-centred to a more global management approach.

Turning now to Lebanon, we reiterate the full support of the Lebanese people and their Government to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). We would also like to reiterate our condemnation in the strongest terms of all attacks that have targeted UNIFIL and UNTSO. The Lebanese people highly appreciate the important role that UNIFIL plays in South Lebanon and fully recognizes the grave sacrifices it has made. UNIFIL has been steadfast in its support for the Lebanese people in their efforts to end the Israeli occupation of their land. UNIFIL is also our partner in mine clearance and in development efforts in South Lebanon. The Lebanese people and their Government express their sincere thanks and appreciation to the peoples and Governments of each and every troop-contributing country.

**Mrs. Dunlop (Brazil):** First and foremost, echoing my Government's note issued early this morning, I would like to express my country's condemnation and regret regarding the terrible attack against the United Nations in Abuja. We express our condolences to the families of the victims, to the people and Government of Nigeria and, through the Secretary-General, to the whole United Nations family. Brazil supports a firm condemnation by the Security Council of this outrageous act.

I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his briefing this morning.

I commend your delegation, Mr. President, for promoting today's debate and for the thoughtful concept note that you have provided (S/2011/496, annex). As one of the largest contributors to peacekeeping today, India is particularly well placed to lead a discussion on the future of these operations.

The complexities of the situations that Blue Helmets encounter demand a constant effort to improve the functioning of the peacekeeping system. At the moment, we face two main challenges.

The first challenge is ensuring that peacekeeping generates a truly sustainable peace. In the current financial climate, there will always be pressure to do less or to draw down earlier. However, especially in times of straitened means, we must break the cycle of violence and establish the basis for long-term peace. Renewed attention must be given to early peacebuilding and the promotion of political solutions to conflict.

The second challenge is making our troops on the ground more effective. Our performance can and should be constantly improved. We must work harder to build a common understanding of what is expected of peacekeepers, including through the development of baseline standards. We also support the Secretariat in its continued efforts to elaborate more advanced, scenario-based training, especially regarding the protection of civilians and response to conflict-related sexual violence.

The United Nations must also ensure that countries willing to contribute have the material conditions to prepare, train and equip them in an adequate fashion. This must include both direct support to troop-contributing countries and cooperation to increase the capabilities of regional organizations such as the African Union.

The draft presidential statement to be adopted today signals the Council's firm commitment to the guiding principles of peacekeeping: consent of the parties, impartiality, and use of force only in self-defence or in defence of the mandate. It also underlines that peacekeeping is built upon the concept of partnership and highlights the central role of troop-contributing countries in that partnership.

Each country makes a distinctive contribution. The individual capabilities and viewpoints that each troop-contributing country has to offer must be

recognized and encouraged. The Charter itself underlines the need for the Council to consult countries that provide armed forces to it.

Strengthening triangular cooperation between the Security Council, the Secretariat and the troop-contributing countries is therefore very important. The Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations can make crucial contributions in this regard.

In Haiti and elsewhere, Brazil has sought to make its distinctive contribution to peacekeeping. Brazilian troops, police and military observers are present in seven peacekeeping missions across four continents. Brazil's culture and experience have led us to give particular emphasis to, for example, civil-military cooperation, military engineering, and pairing military operations with social action.

Brazil's long-standing commitment to United Nations peacekeeping reflects our determination to make a positive contribution to maintaining international peace and security. The United Nations can continue to count on Brazil to maintain and enforce the highest standards of conduct and discipline and to send the most capable and qualified volunteers to serve under the United Nations flag.

**Mr. DeLaurentis** (United States of America): Let me begin, as others have, with a word on what happened in Abuja, Nigeria, this morning. The United States condemns in the strongest possible terms the horrific attack on the United Nations offices in Abuja this morning. The victims are humanitarians, development experts, and members of our United Nations family. We stand ready to offer whatever help and assistance are needed by the United Nations and our Nigerian friends to recover, to rebuild and to bring the perpetrators to justice. We extend our deepest condolences to the United Nations, to the people of Nigeria and to the families, friends and colleagues of the victims.

I am honoured to convey the United States warm thanks to India and to you personally, Sir, for having organized today's open debate on peacekeeping operations. It is particularly appropriate for India to have organized this debate, given its decades-long commitment as a leading contributor of troops and police to United Nations operations across the globe. We thank you for your country's contributions and sacrifice.

We would also like to extend our compliments on the thought-provoking concept paper (S/2011/496, annex) that you circulated to the Council to stimulate discussion. The paper has helped to bring to the fore issues on which we hold different perspectives, and has also enabled us to see where we are all in clear agreement.

First and foremost, we fully concur that the success of United Nations peacekeeping is dependent on a strong partnership among the Security Council members, the troop-contributing countries (TCCs), police-contributing countries (PCCs) and the Secretariat. We are particularly pleased that today's draft presidential statement calls for concrete measures to enhance the Council's consultations with TCCs and PCCs, and seeks more regular input from United Nations force commanders, police commissioners and other current and acting serving uniformed personnel who can provide us with a critical understanding of the challenges and realities they face on the ground. We also welcome India's suggestion that the Council more regularly enlist the good offices and diplomatic engagement of TCCs and PCCs in countries or regions where peacekeeping operations are deployed and where their engagement could bolster efforts to overcome challenges and obstacles to a peace process.

As we take these steps, we concurrently renew our commitment to the full peacekeeping reform agenda that has been the subject of intense discussion in the Security Council and the General Assembly's Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. Several aspects of that reform agenda remain important works in progress.

With respect to the protection of civilians, we welcome the work being done by the Secretariat to develop operational training and planning tools to enhance the ability of United Nations peacekeeping operations to effectively implement their protection of civilians mandates. We encourage troop and police contributors, as well as missions in the field, to use this material and provide feedback.

With respect to helicopters, we share the concerns of the Secretariat and the TCCs that the chronic lack of military helicopters significantly hampers the ability of United Nations peacekeeping operations to implement their mandates, including for the protection of civilians. We believe that addressing this strategic gap should remain a high priority and requires a

multifaceted response and creative thinking from Member States and the Secretariat alike.

On mission leadership, we appreciate the Secretary-General's recent efforts to strengthen the appointment process for senior field personnel. The quality of mission leadership can sometimes mean the difference between success and failure. We support measures to equip and empower mission leaders to implement their mandates and to hold them accountable for results. But this responsibility is not the Secretary-General's alone. We, the Member States, must put forward our very best and most qualified candidates for senior leadership positions.

On standards and capabilities, properly equipping mission leaders means providing them with troops able to meet clear performance standards. We welcome the Secretariat's recent work to develop model standards for infantry battalions.

On the rule of law, we believe that equal if not greater attention is required to enhancing the United Nations performance standards in the areas of police, justice and corrections. The work to strengthen local rule of law institutions is critical to building a self-sustaining peace. Further, the different parts of the United Nations system engaged in the rule of law need to strengthen their partnership and deliver as one.

On civilian capacity, the rule of law is one but not the only area where there is much work to be done to ensure that the United Nations has qualified civilians available as and when needed. The Senior Advisory Group report on civilian capacity (S/2011/85) illuminated the issues that we must address to provide post-conflict countries and special representatives of the Secretary-General with the best deployable civilian expertise to support political processes and develop national capacities. The United States welcomes the work of Under-Secretary-General Malcorra and her team to develop implementable measures from the Guéhenno report's recommendations.

There is a lot of good work being done to improve United Nations peacekeeping, but there are equally some serious challenges and gaps. As we go forward, we encourage the Secretary-General to give us candid assessments of what missions can and cannot do within the capabilities available to them. If a mission is unable to effectively discharge its mandate for the protection of civilians because it lacks adequately trained and equipped troops, is missing



desperately needed helicopters, suffers from deficient command, control and communications systems, or struggles with certain TCCs maintaining national caveats, then we need to know. And while it is true that gaps may exist between mandates and means, let us also recognize that a third key ingredient is the political will of individual missions or troop contingents to take robust action when they have the means and the mandate to do so.

We look forward to further discussion among all peacekeeping stakeholders on providing peacekeepers with the mandates and means they need, as well as the resolve that host populations rightfully demand and expect. The United States applauds the many achievements of United Nations peacekeeping over more than 60 years. We honour the sacrifices of the men and women — military, police and civilian — who have served under the blue United Nations flag in the furtherance of peace, and especially remember with our deepest gratitude those who have lost their lives in service.

**Mr. Barbačić** (Bosnia and Herzegovina): On behalf of my Government, allow me to express our deep sorrow and concern in regards to the bombing of the United Nations building in Abuja. This act must certainly be strongly condemned. Allow me also to express our condolences to the Government of Nigeria, the Nigerian people, the United Nations family and, of course, the families of all the victims.

At the outset, we would like to thank India for having organized this important debate, and the Secretary-General for his important contribution today.

As the key instrument of the Security Council and a collective undertaking of Member States committed to maintaining international peace and security, peacekeeping has evolved into an enterprise complex in the scope of its mandates, size and nature. In order to retain their credibility and effectively discharge their mandate, missions must be based on a clear and common understanding of the guiding principles of peacekeeping: the consent of the parties, non-use of force except in self-defence, and impartiality.

Peacekeeping missions must be provided with clear, credible and achievable mandates, matched with adequate resources, in order to fulfil their mandated tasks. With significant peacebuilding tasks in their mandates, such multidimensional peacekeeping missions now include diverse activities and require

manifold expertise. Coordination between the peacekeeping mission and other stakeholders must be exercised in a coherent and integrated manner.

From its inception phase, the mission needs to anticipate and analyse which structures of the host Government should be supported in order to provide sufficient capacity to gradually take over responsibilities from a peacekeeping mission. The issue of consent and its possible implications for the concept of State sovereignty are of vital importance where the concerns and priorities of the host Government must be taken into account.

Building the capacities of regional and subregional organizations is an important additional aspect, in which the transfer of knowledge, training and the application of lessons learned from previous peacekeeping missions are crucial. Additionally, integrating mission expertise and experience and improving the consideration of and reflection on early peacebuilding tasks in the mandates and composition of peacekeeping operations will lead towards a better, more successful and effective transition from a peacekeeping mission to other forms of United Nations presence.

More efficient exchange of information and consultations among the Council, the Secretariat and troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries (PCCs) are indispensable. In that way, the Council can receive credible information from the field that is relevant to the decision-making process, while TCCs and PCCs can optimize their contributions. We believe that regular meetings between the Council members and TCCs and PCCs before the mandate renewal should include a detailed agenda to encourage discussions on operational challenges and mandate implementation on the ground.

The Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations has an important role as a forum for the exchange of views on enhancing cooperation among the TCCs and PCCs, the Secretariat and the Security Council. We believe that the concrete and practical recommendations of the forum should be taken into consideration by all relevant stakeholders. Briefings by heads of military components or on the mandate implementation of individual peacekeeping missions should contribute not only to a better understanding of operational challenges, but also to how available capabilities influence mandate implementation.

Member States should continue to improve their efforts in responding to requests for the provision of personnel to United Nations peacekeeping operations. They need to be fully aware of requirements related to the force generation process, particularly in the early stages of mandate formulation.

As a troop- and police-contributing country, Bosnia and Herzegovina has always emphasized the importance of cooperation, consultations and exchange of views with troop- and police-contributing countries in order to reach a common understanding of a mission's mandate and implementation. That is also necessary for mobilizing and generating the support of Member States with regard to skills, equipment or capacity.

In order to make peacekeeping more effective, all stakeholders must be meaningfully engaged. They need to optimize their performance, increase or make the best use of available resources, and, finally, constantly assess, build upon and advance that complex enterprise mandated to perform tasks for the maintenance of international peace and security.

**Mr. Berger** (Germany): Germany strongly condemns the terrorist attack against United Nations House in Abuja. We convey our heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims, the Government of Nigeria and the whole United Nations family.

I would like to thank the Secretary-General for his insightful briefing and you, Mr. President, for organizing today's important debate. As we all know, India is one of the countries that has most contributed to peacekeeping over many decades. Germany aligns itself with the statement to be made by the European Union observer a little later. We commend the active and useful role of the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations in this field, and we would like to thank Ambassador Ogwu for her able chairmanship.

Peacekeeping operations are at the heart of the United Nations role to maintain international peace and security. We need a comprehensive and coherent approach. That includes the need to continually adapt preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding to changing circumstances. In recent years, much has been achieved in terms of reforming United Nations peacekeeping, including doctrine and capability review. Building on those efforts to adapt and to strengthen effective peacekeeping, we consider it vital to continuously review and develop its key

areas, in particular the design and management of missions; delivery in the field, including enhanced deployment; clarifying and delivering on critical roles; and improving mission impact and building for the future. Against that backdrop, I would like to highlight some specific aspects that are of particular concern to us in those key areas.

First, designing mandates and missions should build on an inclusive planning process, involving at an early stage a broad range of experts and potential capability providers, notably including troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries (PCCs), as well as the main financial contributors. The role of corrections in peacekeeping settings should also be taken into account. A decision-making process that includes interaction with major stakeholders at an early stage could contribute to managing expectations and facilitate an effective force generation process. Such procedures are mandatory in other international organizations. To that end, the role of the Military Staff Committee should be revitalized and strengthened.

Furthermore, from the beginning, whenever possible, peacekeeping mandates should have clear benchmarks inserted and monitored in order to lay the ground for transition towards exit, based on sustainable political solutions. Partnership in peacekeeping and peacebuilding is crucial. We fully support initiatives to improve communication and to find a better system for consistently pooling information from TCCs, military experts, PCCs, the main financial contributors and other key stakeholders in peace processes.

Secondly, with regard to delivery in the field, including enhanced deployment, peacekeeping requires adequate means and efficient structures. In that context, we strongly support the implementation of the global field support strategy.

In reference to the deployment of staff, let me add two points on civilian staff and police. Civilian staff have a critical role to play in the peacekeeping context as they provide political, humanitarian, human rights and leadership roles, as well as management and related administrative functions. In that context, I would like to reiterate our support for the swift implementation of the civilian capacities review. We should build on existing local capacities and the capacities of Member States and regional organizations. Internal United Nations rules and

regulations need to be adapted in order to improve conditions for Member States that wish to support the United Nations with their civilian capacities.

Police generation, however difficult, remains crucial. While the global commitment of trained police is high, the challenge to source sufficient numbers of police to ensure that well-trained police officers are sent to secure the sustainability of their effort remains.

Thirdly, with regard to delivering on critical roles, the protection of civilians has increasingly become a yardstick for measuring the success of peacekeeping operations. That represents both an opportunity and a challenge. It is an opportunity since the protection of civilians is now widely accepted as a part of peacekeeping mandates, while respecting the primary responsibility of States to protect their civilians. However, it also represents a challenge with regard to the discrepancy between aspirations, also contained in mandates of the Security Council, and the reality on the ground, notably with respect to the capabilities of missions to effectively implement protection tasks. We therefore advocate strengthening the evaluation of protection measures, fostering inter-mission exchange and drawing on lessons learned more intensively.

In the context of the protection of civilians, children in armed conflict deserve our special attention. They are the most vulnerable members of societies, both as victims and as coerced participants in conflicts. Special protection from violence, including sexual violence, and for schools and hospitals is necessary, as stated in the recently adopted resolution 1998 (2011), as are specific approaches in the field of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.

Peacekeepers transform mandates into concrete actions on the ground and keep hope for peace alive. Clearly defined mandates, adequate resources and reliable command and control structures are crucial for successful peacekeeping. They are also crucial for a successful transition from peacekeeping to peacebuilding.

Germany remains committed to all initiatives supporting more efficient and effective peacekeeping. There are no alternatives to peacekeeping operations. However, we should keep in mind that their deployment should be a last resort. The prevention of conflicts needs to be the priority.

To conclude, let me take this opportunity to thank all United Nations military and civilian personnel involved in past and current peacekeeping operations for their duty and to express our deepest appreciation.

I thank the Indian delegation for preparing the draft presidential statement, which we fully support.

**Mr. Sangqu (South Africa):** South Africa joins the Secretary-General in condemning in the strongest possible terms the bombing of the United Nations building in Abuja. We express our deep sympathy and condolences to the victims of this heinous crime, to their families, to the people and Government of our sister country Nigeria and to the United Nations family.

We thank the Indian delegation for organizing this important debate on the state of United Nations peacekeeping. We also thank the Secretary-General for sharing his views on this flagship activity of the Organization.

South Africa aligns itself with the statement to be delivered by the representative of Morocco on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

This debate highlights once again the urgency of meaningfully and collectively addressing the complexity of peacekeeping today. Peacekeeping is one of the major means at the disposal of the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, in fulfilling its Charter-mandated responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

We would like to stress that peacekeeping is not by itself a panacea for conflict resolution. It must be an integral part of the broader political solution to the underlying causes of conflict. South Africa therefore supports efforts to promote and strengthen political solutions to conflicts, including through mediation, conflict prevention and management and peacebuilding. That is clearly espoused in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations.

In light of the changing nature of conflict characterized by intra-State conflicts, strong military States and well-resourced opposition groups, the Security Council must emphasize making full use of political processes, including those initiated by regional organizations. In that way, peacekeeping missions can simultaneously help to support efforts to achieve sustainable peace.

My delegation wishes to reiterate that United Nations peacekeeping missions must consistently be in consonance with the principles and goals enshrined in the United Nations Charter. The principles of consent of parties, the non-use of force except in self-defence, clear and robust mandates, and impartiality must be faithfully adhered to. We must ensure that United Nations peacekeeping is not politicized or misused in any manner other than that mandated by the Council. We must guard against the perception that United Nations peacekeeping is partisan, as that undermines the credibility of the United Nations.

The issue of flexible, predictable and sustainable resources for peacekeeping operations — especially as it relates to the African continent — is critical. The African Union continues to play a leading role in conflict prevention and management and the resolution of conflicts on the continent, in line with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. It will be necessary for this Council to take bold steps and move beyond well-known rhetoric to ensure that African Union missions that are authorized by the Council, including the African Union Mission in Somalia, are provided with sufficient resources, enablers and capabilities to carry out their mandates.

While we are further encouraged by the Secretary-General's observation in his report on support to African Union peacekeeping operations (S/2009/470), which acknowledges the African contribution to peacekeeping, the report also highlights Africa's needs in the area of conflict management. We believe the report also reaffirms the role of regional organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security, as provided for in Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter.

My delegation is of the view that burden-sharing is key to dealing with the complex challenges of peacekeeping. While many of us acknowledge the importance of our collective responsibility for effective peacekeeping, that should be guided by political will and matched by actual actions on the ground. For that reason we encourage the general membership of the United Nations to generously contribute to all peacekeeping operations, both in personnel and equipment.

South Africa supports the enhancement of the triangular cooperation among the Security Council, troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and the

Secretariat, aimed at improving the effectiveness of peacekeeping from the planning through to the exit stages. We also commend the role of the Security Council Working Group of the Whole on Peacekeeping Operations, under the chairmanship of Nigeria, which has been integral to enhancing the Council's relationship with TCCs.

It is common knowledge that peacekeepers are early peacebuilders, as they primarily provide a secure environment conducive to the implementation of early peacebuilding tasks. South Africa maintains that integrated peacekeeping and peacebuilding can play an important role in establishing the foundations for sustainable peace, rule of law and good governance. Creating, maintaining and sustaining peace require an integrated approach that incorporates early peacebuilding activities during the start-up of peacekeeping missions.

We believe that gender mainstreaming in peace missions ensures that women's concerns and experiences are at the forefront of the policy aspects of peacekeeping operations. We commend the work that has been done so far by the Secretary-General to ensure that the number of women in leadership positions is increased. South Africa welcomes the strategic role that UN-Women will play in facilitating the integration of gender perspective in the implementation of peacekeeping mandates.

We look forward to the adoption of the draft presidential statement before us, as it will add impetus to the Council's peacekeeping efforts and build on its relationship with TCCs.

Finally, we pay tribute to all the men and women who have served and to those who will continue to serve in United Nations peacekeeping operations. We commend their dedication and courage to keep the world a safer and better place. We pay special tribute to those who have paid the ultimate price in the service of peace and humanity.

**The President:** I shall now make a statement in my national capacity.

At the outset, I would like to thank the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, for his participation and statement in today's open debate. I also want to join the Secretary-General and other colleagues members of the Security Council in condemning in the strongest terms the bombing of the

United Nations building in Abuja, Nigeria, this morning. It caused numerous deaths and injuries, and I join others in expressing our deep sympathy and condolences to the victims of this heinous crime and to their families and to the people and Government of Nigeria. I also join the Secretary-General in conveying to the larger United Nations family our deepest sympathies on this tragic terrorist action.

Peacekeeping is a term that does not find mention in the United Nations Charter. Yet it has become the face of the United Nations. It consumes more resources, employs more people and occupies a greater share of the Security Council's time than any other single issue, and no other Council instrument has had a greater impact on the provenance and application of international law and international humanitarian law than its peacekeeping mandates. Peacekeeping has also generated a reputation of impartiality and fairness for the United Nations.

India is proud to have been associated with United Nations peacekeeping from its very inception. As a country that has contributed more than 100,000 peacekeepers to virtually every United Nations peacekeeping operation over the past six decades, we are also conscious that much has changed since the first peacekeeping missions were launched more than five decades ago.

The geopolitical environment in which peacekeeping is conducted today is vastly different from that of those days. Global capabilities — economic, political and military — have also shifted significantly. Moreover, today peacekeeping missions deal predominantly with intra-State issues rather than play the classic role of interposing troops between warring States. The peacekeeping agenda has also added new dimensions to various civilian and policing domains, and United Nations initiatives on peacebuilding demand close examination of the entire enterprise of peacekeeping.

The challenge before the international community is to build on the legacy of peacekeeping and ensure that it remains relevant to current realities. Today, United Nations peacekeeping faces a number of challenges, including the central resource gap challenge and peacekeepers being asked to do more with less. Ambitious agendas are not being backed by the necessary financial, operational and logistical resources. That lack of resources affects the

operational effectiveness of peacekeeping and casts a shadow on the credibility of the Council's mandates. Mandates also need to be relevant to realities in the ground.

Suggestions that the Council adopt a two-stage mandate-creation process that takes into account the complexities on the ground and matches those with resource requirements need to be seriously and urgently considered by the Council. In-depth consultations with troop- and police-contributing countries should be an integral part of the mandate-generation process.

India also notes the slow and cumbersome process of recruitment for key positions. This process will not only be speeded up by greater reliance on seconded capacities from Governments of Member States, but will also benefit from their real experiences in nation-building. This holds true not only for field positions but also in the management structures of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Field Support.

Given the importance of Africa on the United Nations peacekeeping agenda, India supports the capacity-building of the African Union (AU) peace and security architecture so that the AU may become a more effective and capable partner of the United Nations system.

Peacekeeping is a partnership involving members of this Council, the General Assembly, troop- and police-contributing countries and the host country. It is critical that the guiding principles of consent, the non-use of force except in self-defence or the defence of the mandate, and impartiality be strenuously guarded. This is important to ensure that United Nations peacekeeping retains its credibility and universal acceptability.

Of late, several United Nations peacekeeping mandates have included tasks that raise questions on the fundamental tenet of consent, placing peacekeepers in difficult legal circumstances and thereby hampering their effectiveness. The principle of national ownership needs to occupy centre stage in all peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities of the United Nations.

I would like to conclude by paying homage to those peacekeepers, including from my country, who have laid down their lives while serving in United Nations missions.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

After consultations among Council members, I have been authorized to make the following statement on their behalf:

“The Security Council reaffirms its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

“The Security Council affirms that respect for the basic principles of peacekeeping, including consent of the parties, impartiality and the non-use of force except in self-defence and the defence of a mandate authorized by the Security Council, is essential to the success of peacekeeping operations.

“The Security Council stresses the role of the United Nations peacekeepers in supporting efforts to promote political processes and peaceful settlements of disputes. The Security Council underlines the need for precise, full and effective implementation of mandates and its intention to continue to review and monitor such implementation on a regular basis. The Security Council recognizes the role of regional organizations in peacekeeping in accordance with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter.

“The Security Council recognizes the importance of providing peacekeeping operations with clear, credible and achievable mandates. It also recognizes the need for an adequate provision, management and efficient and effective use of operational and logistical resources for peacekeeping operations, in congruence with approved mandates and based on a realistic assessment of the situation. The Security Council also requests that the Secretary-General include a realistic assessment of how available capabilities and logistic planning affect implementation of the various mandate elements in briefings regarding specific peacekeeping operations.

“The Security Council welcomes efforts by Member States to respond more quickly to requests for the provision of personnel to take part in United Nations peacekeeping operations and underlines the importance of swift force

generation in the early stages of mandate formulation.

“The Security Council believes that United Nations peacekeeping is a unique global partnership that draws together the contribution and commitment of the entire United Nations system. The Security Council stresses the need to improve the communication between the Security Council, the troop-contributing countries and police-contributing countries and the Secretariat and other stakeholders in accordance with resolution 1353 (2001) to foster a spirit of partnership, cooperation, confidence and mutual trust and to ensure that the Security Council has the benefit of the views of those serving in the field when making its decisions about peacekeeping mandates. The Security Council also underlines the importance of an improved system of consultations amongst these actors, in order to promote a common understanding of the situation on the ground, of the mission’s mandate and of its implementation. The Council welcomes practical suggestions to improve this relationship and underscores the useful role of its Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations.

“The Security Council reaffirms the recommendations made in its resolutions 1327 (2000) and 1353 (2001) and in the statements of its President dated 3 May 1994 (S/PRST/1994/22), 4 November 1994 (S/PRST/1994/62), 28 March 1996 (S/PRST/1996/13), 31 January 2001 (S/PRST/2001/3), 17 May 2004 (S/PRST/2004/16) and 5 August 2009 (S/PRST/2009/24) and the note by its President of 14 January 2002 (S/2002/56) and confirms its intentions to strengthen further efforts to implement fully these recommendations.

“The Security Council recalls, in particular, the statement of its President dated 4 November 1994 (S/PRST/1994/62) and its resolution 1353 (2001) and the decision contained therein to circulate an informal paper setting out the agenda, including issues to be covered and drawing attention to the relevant background documentation to troop-contributing countries (TCCs) and police-contributing countries (PCCs) when they are invited to attend meetings with the Council or the Secretary-General. The Council requests that the Secretariat circulate to troop-contributing countries and police-contributing

countries by the 15th of each month notice of and invitation to the Council's upcoming TCC/PCC meetings that are anticipated to take place during the following month on individual peacekeeping mission mandates. This routine notification mechanism shall not constrain the Council from convening additional special, emergency or short-notice TCC/PCC meetings as circumstances may make appropriate.

"The Security Council recognizes the need to improve its access to military advice, including from troop-contributing countries, and intends to pursue its work on mechanisms to that effect. The Council will continue to review the role of the Military Staff Committee. The Security Council recognizes the benefit of maintaining regular contact with mission senior leadership, including through an annual briefing by heads of military components. The Council would welcome similar briefings by heads of police components in order to improve understanding of operational challenges.

"The Council expresses its commitment to continuing to improve its consideration of and reflection on early peacebuilding tasks in the mandates and composition of peacekeeping operations. In this context, the Council notes with appreciation the contribution that peacekeepers and peacekeeping missions make to early peacebuilding and recognizes the need to integrate mission expertise and experience into the development of peacebuilding strategies.

"The Council also recognizes the important work conducted by the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly.

"The Council commits to making progress on the issue of more meaningful engagement with troop-contributing countries and police-contributing countries and to reviewing progress in 2012."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2011/17.

In accordance with the understanding reached among Council members, I wish to remind all speakers to limit their statements to no more than four minutes

in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously.

I now give the floor to the representative of Guatemala.

**Mr. Rosenthal** (Guatemala) (*spoke in Spanish*): Guatemala wishes to join the delegations that have expressed their horror at the attack carried out this morning in Abuja. We offer our profound condolences to the United Nations family and the Government and people of Nigeria.

Allow me, Sir, to thank you for having convened this open debate on the subject of United Nations peacekeeping operations, and in particular for the very pertinent concept note you prepared to guide our debate (S/2011/496, annex). I also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his presentation to us this morning.

Guatemala is a country that has benefited from United Nations peacekeeping, especially in the area of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration immediately after our peace accords were signed in late 1996. We have also participated actively in peacekeeping operations as a troop-contributing country. In other words, we have been both a beneficiary of and contributor to peacekeeping, and the topic is therefore of more than passing interest to us.

We agree with the concept note that peacekeeping operations have been a central enterprise of our Organization, and, on balance, highly successful. Their nature and scope have changed considerably over the years, especially since the landmark report of Lakhdar Brahimi of 2000 (S/2000/809). We note from the United Nations website on peacekeeping that, since then, the Secretariat has prepared 21 major reports on the subject, covering many areas that had not previously been taken into account. There is also a forward-looking agenda thanks to the New Horizon process, of which the concept note curiously makes no mention. Peacekeeping also dovetails into peacebuilding, which widens and deepens this thematic topic.

I would like to address only one aspect of this broad and complex topic, which relates to the distribution of responsibilities among Member States in peacekeeping operations. The issue is mentioned in the concept note, but my inspiration comes primarily from my personal experience chairing the discussions in the

Fifth Committee on the peacekeeping budget for July 2011 to June 2012. My main point is that, so long as roughly 90 per cent of the budget is provided by less than 10 industrialized countries, while roughly 90 per cent of the troops are provided by a different set of 10 developing countries, we will have a great deal of accumulated tension that is tantamount to an accident waiting to happen, or, if you will, a potential collision between States that could compromise the future of such endeavours.

A statement of only five, or rather four, minutes does not leave much room for elaboration, and even less for formulating proposals. But the diagnosis is clear. We must rationalize the manner in which the rates of reimbursement for costs undertaken by troop-contributing countries are calculated. On the other side of the equation, we may want to revisit the scale of assessments to finance peacekeeping.

My main concern, however, arises from the troop contributor's point of view. There is no rational explanation of how the rates for compensating troop and equipment contributors are calculated, and no rational cost-benefit analysis on United Nations peacekeeping as a whole. Of course, the benefit of saving lives and keeping the peace cannot be expressed in dollars and cents, but the costs of doing so do have precise numerical values. The only thing we have to go on for now is that, clearly, the United Nations is getting value for money when it comes to peacekeeping.

In our judgment, it is not useful to view peacekeeping as a large-scale outsourcing exercise through which developed countries contract lower-cost troops from developing countries to carry out the hard and dangerous work. Among other things, this is quite degrading for troop-contributing countries.

Speaking for my own country at least, we perceive participation in peacekeeping not as a well-remunerated service, but as a genuine partnership under the flag of the United Nations in order to accomplish what the Charter intended — the noble aim of keeping the peace. It is the sense of pride and professionalization of our armed forces, as well as a sense of commitment, that motivate us to participate in peacekeeping, even in countries far from our own, such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Having said that, we expect to recuperate the cost of our participation in peacekeeping, in the spirit reflected in General Assembly resolution 63/285 and

further developed in paragraphs 69 and 70 of resolution 65/289 on the review of the methodology for rates of reimbursement to troop-contributing countries.

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

**Mr. Oyarzábal (Argentina)** (*spoke in Spanish*): First, I would like to express my country's most vigorous condemnation of the attack on United Nations House in Abuja, and extend our condolences to the families of the victims, the Government of Nigeria and the United Nations family.

Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on the work you have carried out in presiding over the Security Council during the month of August and to thank you for having convened this open debate on an issue to which Argentina attributes great importance.

Argentina supports the development of a transparent and democratic peacekeeping system within the framework of the United Nations, with consolidated multilateral institutions and mechanisms that serve to ensure respect for international law. Since peacekeeping operations are the essential United Nations tool for maintaining international peace and security, our active participation in these operations is clear evidence of our commitment to that system, which in our view must be progressively improved and strengthened.

In addition to contributing to strengthening the peacekeeping system, another fundamental reason for our participation in peacekeeping missions is the close link between peacekeeping and the protection of human rights, particularly through the rebuilding of institutions and the strengthening of democracy and the rule of law in countries where increasingly complex multidimensional operations are deployed. In this regard, we believe that the move towards this type of more complex and integrated mission, with a clear mandate and robust rules of engagement, constitutes one of the greatest achievements of the last decade and one which we must preserve and improve.

Argentina is currently participating in six peacekeeping operations with both military and police personnel. Recently, together with Chile, we offered the United Nations the Cruz del Sur combined joint peacekeeping force, which, as of 2012, will be available to the United Nations standby arrangements system. Also in 2012, along with Peru, we expect to



have an engineer contingent ready to offer for deployment to the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti.

All that I have just said regarding the future of peacekeeping operations is contingent on their having adequate financing. In this regard, as Chair of the Group of 77 and China, my country has just painstakingly negotiated, in the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly, a draft resolution that reflects the consensus on the next measures to be adopted, given the need for the efforts of troop- and police-contributing countries to be met by an equivalent commitment by those countries with higher financial responsibilities. This is not merely a budgetary matter, but a political one that affects the performance and credibility of the Organization in the critical field of peacekeeping and that must therefore be duly taken into consideration when evaluating and planning any future peace mission.

My country discussed this and other matters this year in the troubled substantive session of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and in the General Assembly, and has adopted a constructive approach in this respect. The founding principle of our position is respect for national participation by the societies in which the peacekeeping missions are deployed. On this basis, Argentina favours any improvement to the missions' mechanisms that contributes to the effective discharge of their mandates and allows for better performance and conditions for the personnel deployed on the ground. In this respect, we believe that the creation of the Department of Field Support and the progressive implementation of the field support strategy are wise moves that will allow us to optimize resources and make peacekeeping more effective.

There is consensus among the Members of the Organization regarding the need to improve the United Nations capacity to carry out peacekeeping operations by strengthening the cooperative partnership that, in practice, comprises Security Council members — which design the missions' mandates — the Secretariat, the General Assembly, the host country and the troop- and police-contributing countries, which implement the mandate on the ground. In this regard, my country believes that, in order to make that partnership more efficient, it will be necessary to continue to improve communication and coordination among its members. In this context, we highlight the

importance of convening the Security Council's informal meetings with the troop- and police-contributing countries sufficiently in advance of the expiration of their mandates.

Finally, I would like to point out the importance of the groups of friends in that partnership framework. The Group of Friends of Haiti, of which Argentina is a member together with other members of the Council and several countries of the region, is a clear example of the relevant role that such an informal mechanism can play. Through its participation in the drawing up of the draft resolutions renewing the mandate of the mission in Haiti, among others, the Group contributes to maintaining Member States' support of the Mission by ensuring a continuity of efforts and unity of objectives.

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

**Mr. Kim Sook** (Republic of Korea): Before I begin, I would like to extend my deepest sympathies and condolences to the victims and families who lost lives and sustained injuries in today's terrorist attack at the United Nations offices in Abuja. The Government of the Republic of Korea condemns this attack and stands by the people of Nigeria and the United Nations during this difficult moment. At the same time, I would like to reaffirm my Government's support for continuing international efforts to eradicate terrorism around the world.

At the outset, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to you, Sir, for having organized this meaningful open debate on United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Peacekeeping operations are considered to be among the most visible areas of the United Nations. They have evolved steadily over the past six decades to successfully address diverse challenges that have arisen from various conflicts. In particular, my delegation is encouraged by the recent efforts of peacekeeping operations in Côte d'Ivoire, which have contributed to the successful democratic transition and stabilization in the region, as well as in the Sudan during the peaceful referendum procedures. However, at the same time, we must admit that there is still a long way to go to ensure greater success and harness the full potential of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

As the New Horizon non-paper depicted in 2009, the environment of peacekeeping operations has changed significantly and quickly since the landmark Brahimi report (S/2000/809) was published in 2000. Peacekeeping operations have expanded more than fivefold since 2000 in terms of numbers of personnel. Additionally, mission mandates have expanded from monitoring military ceasefires to the protection of civilians, governance, human rights, the rule of law and early peacebuilding. In this rapidly-changing landscape, new challenges have continued to surface and mandates have steadily become more difficult to discharge. In this regard, my delegation would like to make several recommendations with a view towards the overall improvement of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

First of all, there should be an enhanced effort to mobilize resources in the most efficient way while simultaneously encouraging increased support from Member States. Today, growing demand on United Nations peacekeeping operations is not met with an equivalent supply from Member States, which sometimes leads to a lack of vital resources such as military helicopters. This is a critical impediment to the overall effectiveness and safety of United Nations peacekeeping operations and personnel. In this regard, my delegation welcomes the conceptual idea of a global field support strategy laid out in the report of the Secretary-General contained in document A/64/633, which is expected to contribute to a significant savings in peacekeeping operations and the full utilization of existing capacity.

Secondly, it would be desirable to examine plausible and achievable mechanisms for rapid deployment. For example, the recent case of inter-mission cooperation arrangements between the United Nations Missions in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire could be a good example to be further developed. At the same time, Member States are highly encouraged to shorten their crisis response time. With that in mind, the Government of the Republic of Korea adopted domestic legislation in 2009 that enables the deployment of standby forces on short notice.

Thirdly, it is imperative to bolster the availability, deployment and appropriateness of civilian capacities across the board. With the expansion of non-military components of peacekeeping operations, the role of civilians has become more important in key areas such as the rule of law, human rights and elections.

Currently, United Nations peacekeeping employs approximately 22,000 civilians, including United Nations volunteers, who constitute 18 per cent of personnel across 16 missions. In this vein, my delegation welcomes the recommendations in the report of the Senior Advisory Group on civilian capacity in the aftermath of conflict (S/2011/85), which aims at improving international civilian capacity.

Fourthly, there should be broader coordination between the United Nations and receiving countries, and between the United Nations and regional organizations. This is particularly important when a new mission is created or an existing mission is being expanded, as mandates should be matched to the needs on the ground and there should be a clear agreement on the concept of mandates themselves. Considering that the majority of the new demands for United Nations peacekeeping operations are arising in Africa, my delegation highlights the significance of coordination efforts to strengthen the peacekeeping capacities of African countries and the African Union.

Lastly, there should be enhanced awareness that peacekeeping and peacebuilding are not separate phases. Peacekeeping alone cannot cure all the challenges facing post-conflict societies. A long-lasting peace can be achieved only when peacekeeping is transformed effectively into longer-term peacebuilding. In this regard, my delegation encourages continuity between peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions and close coordination between the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the various United Nations bodies, including the Peacebuilding Commission, in identifying the proper sequencing and prioritization of activities.

Since its first contribution in 1993, the Republic of Korea has been a strong supporter of United Nations peacekeeping operations. Today, it has around 640 troops and police in the field, which is the largest number since the Republic of Korea became a Member of the United Nations. My delegation takes this opportunity to reiterate our steadfast support for United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Before concluding, my delegation would like to extend our sincere condolences to the countries and families whose peacekeepers have made the ultimate sacrifice for the noble ideals of United Nations peacekeeping, and to reiterate our respect for those

who continue to face the risks intrinsic in this inherently difficult work.

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

**Mr. Loulichki** (Morocco): I have the honour to speak on behalf the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). In so doing, I would like to condemn in the strongest terms the despicable terrorist act targeting the United Nations compound in Abuja, and to convey our deepest condolences to the people and Government of Nigeria, the United Nations and the families of the victims.

NAM expresses its appreciation for India's initiative to devote this meeting to a thematic debate that is timely and forward-looking and represents a collective-thinking exercise on the future of peacekeeping as the flagship activity of the United Nations. Let me also take this opportunity to thank His Excellency Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon for his personal participation and comprehensive briefing on the issue at hand.

Peacekeeping is dynamic in nature and has developed incrementally, evolving from classic peacekeeping operations with mandates limited to ceasefire monitoring, mostly in inter-State conflicts, into complex, multidimensional peacekeeping missions combining military, police, civilian and humanitarian components often operating in intra-State contexts. This evolution has been managed, in large part with continued adherence to the long-standing fundamental principles of United Nations peacekeeping.

The history of peacekeeping derives mainly from the fact that it remains the most cost-effective means to avert conflict and represents a genuine expression of the principle of collective security. Member States are accordingly vested with the responsibility to continue to abide by the guiding principles of United Nations peacekeeping operations. These guiding principles — the consent of the parties, the non-use of force except in self-defence and in defence of the mandate, and impartiality — constitute the ethical and moral foundations of United Nations peacekeeping. NAM also emphasizes that respect for the principles of sovereign equality, political independence, territorial integrity of all States and non-intervention must be upheld in this regard.

The Movement underscores that United Nations peacekeeping should not be used as a substitute for

addressing the root causes of conflict, which should be addressed in a coherent, well planned and comprehensive manner, with relevant political, social, economic and developmental instruments. Peacekeeping cannot substitute for a comprehensive political process. The current debate on the future of peacekeeping highlights the necessity to take a bolder stance on the interaction between security and development, among other challenges.

NAM appreciates the growing acknowledgment by all of the relevance of its consistent position that peacekeeping should be provided from the outset with the required political support, sufficient human, financial and logistical resources, and clearly defined and achievable mandates and exit strategies.

NAM contributes 87 per cent of deployed personnel to United Nations peacekeeping missions, and counts among its 120 member States the majority of countries host to United Nations peacekeeping operations. Those facts, among others, entitle troop-contributing countries (TCCs) to be fully involved in the planning process and in all aspects and stages of United Nations peacekeeping operations. Since mandates are implemented in the field by troop-contributing countries, those countries should be involved as major partners from the policy formulation and decision-making process to deployment. NAM members' first-hand experience as TCCs and host countries would contribute to an objective assessment of where and when to deploy and where to strengthen, cut or draw down, with the achievement of peace and security as the main objective and indicator of the success of peacekeeping missions.

Since we now have a broad consensus on the need for better interaction with TCCs, we believe that it is time to seek innovative ways to translate intentions into actions. We look forward to engaging in a more focused debate on options for a more structured dialogue and interaction among TCCs, the Security Council and the Secretariat.

In that regard, we should strive to further enlarge the TCC base by encouraging new TCCs to engage and old TCCs to return to the fold of United Nations peacekeeping. The flagship activity of the United Nations cannot continue to be supported by only a portion of the United Nations membership. To ensure the appropriate level of response in terms of the scope and scale of peacekeeping, the entire membership

should deal with the difficulties arising from deployment in hostile environments and difficult political contexts. Furthermore, much broader sharing and contribution by all Member States would ensure unity of vision to reach our common goal of peace and security. The issue of troop cost should enjoy sustained attention.

Peacekeeping missions have become heavily mandated and under-resourced. The mismatch between mandates and resources has in turn raised the risk of United Nations peacekeeping facing overstretched capacity, coupled with the increasing demand for expanded operations, which present a strategic challenge for the United Nations. NAM stresses with concern that many deployed troops are being stretched to cover geographic areas that exceed their capacities.

NAM also stresses that the improvement of peacekeeping entails a proactive management of the logistics and support of peacekeeping missions. At the core of that challenge is the need to address the capability gaps that are well known to all. NAM regrets that enablers are still not available to critical peacekeeping missions, be they air assets, field hospitals, transport companies, night-vision devices or other critical equipment.

The peacekeeping budget has reached an all-time record of \$8 billion. That shows not only that there is a diversification of tasks in field support, but also that multidimensional and integrated peacekeeping missions are more demanding in terms of financial resources, equipment and capabilities. That demonstrates the need to treat questions related to field support in a holistic way.

The 2000 Brahimi report on United Nations peacekeeping operations dwells on the sensitive issue

of the scope and the limitations of the use of force. In that regard, it is worth mentioning here that the report clearly states that “force alone cannot create peace; it can only create a space in which peace can be built”. (*S/2000/809, para. 3*)

Since we constantly strive to improve peacekeeping, we should at the same time be cautious in peace enforcement. The use of force in peacekeeping must under no circumstance jeopardize the strategic relation between the host country and the peacekeeping mission.

With regard to the notion of credible deterrence, NAM stresses that it is already part of peacekeeping that peacekeepers have been doing for a while when they operate under a Chapter VII mandate. In its existing form, peacekeeping is robust or firm enough to the extent allowed by the fundamental principles of peacekeeping and intended by political will, within the capability of the force and limited to the geographic jurisdiction.

The challenges of peacekeeping are well known and the fundamentals for improving this important task of the United Nations have been constantly stated by our Movement. They are, first, political will that translates into clear, realistic and achievable mandates; secondly, resources; and thirdly, capacity-building through training.

**The President:** There are still a number of speakers remaining on my list for this meeting. I therefore intend, with the concurrence of the members of the Council, to suspend the meeting until 3.30 p.m.

*The meeting was suspended at 12.45 p.m.*