Agenda

Threats to international peace and security
The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security

The President: I am pleased to acknowledge the participation in this summit meeting of the Security Council of heads of State or Government, Ministers for Foreign Affairs and other distinguished representatives of Security Council member States. We all greatly appreciate the spirit of cooperation that has motivated, and imbues, this very important meeting.

I would like to take this opportunity to express our deepest concern and sympathy to the American people, led by President Bush, for the loss of life and damage to property inflicted by Hurricane Katrina. We are all confident that America will overcome that natural disaster. It is manmade disasters, like terrorism and conflict, that continue to elude a comprehensive solution.

The United Nations Charter was born because of conflict, and its job continues to be, among other things, to prevent conflict. Although the Charter did not foresee the threat of terror in its form today, it is adequate to provide appropriate means to meet that challenge through the Security Council.

In Madrid last March, the Secretary-General acknowledged the need for a principled and comprehensive strategy to fight terrorism globally. Our job in this body today is to adopt a resolution to support that comprehensive strategy, as well as a resolution concerning the prevention of conflict, especially in Africa. Because we are the only body in the United Nations whose resolutions are binding on Member States, the Council must provide the leadership for effective solutions to the problems of terrorism and conflict.

The Security Council meeting at the summit level will now begin its consideration of the question of threats to international peace and security. Members of the Council have before them documents S/2005/577 and S/2005/578, which contain the texts of two draft resolutions prepared in the course of the Council’s prior consultations.

In accordance with the understanding reached earlier among members, the Security Council will take action on the two draft resolutions before it, prior to hearing statements from the Secretary-General and Council members. Accordingly, I shall now put the two draft resolutions to the vote, one after the other.

I shall first put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/2005/577, which concerns the prevention of incitement to terrorism.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1624 (2005).

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/2005/578, which concerns the prevention of conflict, particularly in Africa.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1625 (2005).

I now invite the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, to take the floor.

The Secretary-General: I am honoured to be with you today. The subject you are debating — threats to peace and security — is a broad and complex one. There are any number of aspects fully deserving of your attention, including the need to prevent conflict in Africa. On the latter, crucial issue, I consider it thoroughly appropriate that at this summit you have reflected the priority it deserves, as is the case in the daily work of the Security Council.

On this occasion I will focus my remarks on efforts to combat international terrorism in all its forms. Terrorism constitutes a direct attack on the values for which the United Nations stands: the rule of
law, the protection of civilians, the peaceful resolution of conflicts and mutual respect among people of different faiths and cultures.

We must be at the forefront of the fight against terrorism. That is why, this year, on the anniversary of the Madrid bombings, I proposed, as you heard earlier, a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy for the United Nations.

I am heartened that the world summit outcome document (General Assembly resolution 59/314, annex) has welcomed elements of that strategy and has committed to their early consideration at the sixtieth session of the General Assembly. The strategy consists of actions in five areas.

First, we must work to dissuade disaffected groups from choosing terrorism as a tactic. That means that the international community should complete a comprehensive convention that outlaws terrorism in all its forms. It also means that civil society and religious leaders must raise their voices against terrorism. We must all make clear, as all Member States affirm in the summit document, that terrorism, “committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes” (Ibid., para. 81), can never be accepted or justified.

Secondly, we must deny terrorists the means — above all, weapons of mass destruction — to carry out their attacks. The ongoing implementation of Security Council resolutions is critical. Five months ago, the General Assembly reached a milestone by approving the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism. I hope States will accede to that convention without delay.

Thirdly, we must deter States from supporting terrorists. All States must know that if they provide support for terrorists in any form, this Council will not hesitate to take coercive measures against them.

Fourthly, we must develop State capacity to prevent terrorism. That includes promoting good governance and the rule of law. In that context, I welcome the establishment of the United Nations Democracy Fund, and I thank the nearly 30 States that have provided it with generous support.

Fifthly, we must defend human rights. That is essential if we are to prevent terrorists from unravelling the very fabric of the societies they attack.

Finally, let us never forget the victims of terrorism. The Council has agreed to explore the possibility of an international fund to compensate victims and their families, to be financed in part with assets seized from terrorist organizations. I hope you will give this your active consideration.

I hope too that you will give your full backing to all points of the strategy I have outlined. Let us ensure that the United Nations plays its role in this fight to the full.

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

I now give the floor to the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, His Excellency Mr. Benjamin William Mkapa.

President Mkapa: This is one of the rare moments when the Security Council is meeting at the summit level, and I thank you very much, Madam President, for organizing this historic meeting.

Terrorism, violence and conflict top the list of current threats to international and regional peace and security. Terrorism and conflicts undermine the social and economic development of all States and threaten global stability, security and prosperity.

It is important that the Security Council, as the custodian of international peace and security, address not only those threats, but also their underlying causes. We must not only manage and resolve conflicts, but also, and especially, we have to prevent conflicts and terrorist acts.

Symptoms have their causes, and unless causes are addressed and understood, symptoms will not go away. When affected people do not see light at the end of the tunnel, when they lose all hope, then poverty, injustice and exclusion become fertile grounds for crime, violence and, yes, even terrorism.

While we may not have a common definition and understanding of terrorism, I do not think that we have disagreements about its impact upon our societies. However one defines it, terrorism and conflicts always elicit, by design or in consequence, the common characteristics of anxiety, suspense, fear, senselessness, violence, destruction and the disruption of the social and economic situation of our countries and peoples.

My country has experienced in practical terms the negative impact of both terrorism and conflict. We
were the direct victims of terrorism when, in 1998, the United States embassy in Dar es Salaam was attacked by terrorists, resulting in the loss of Tanzanian lives, human injuries and the destruction of property.

At the same time, my country is situated in a neighbourhood that has a long history of deadly and destabilizing conflicts. We know what such conflicts can do to people. We have lived their spill-over effects; we still are living them. As a country and a region, we have tried our level best to address them, and we are continuing to do so. The United Nations has been very helpful to us in our efforts to resolve conflicts in the Great Lakes Region. Its contribution was particularly useful in the organization of the first International Conference on the Great Lakes Region in Dar es Salaam last year.

In the context of this regional development, we fervently affirm that the focus on terrorism and conflict is not misplaced. In the spirit of multilateralism, we should use this opportunity to underline the importance of strengthening the United Nations role in preventing and combating terrorism and conflict. We need to agree on and pursue an effective strategy that will legitimately and comprehensively address the root causes and underlying conditions of terrorism and conflict. That calls for a holistic approach to prevention, one that addresses and recognizes the nexus of and the linkages between development and security.

Terrorism is evil and despicable. There should be no room for equivocation or inaction. Violent conflicts are evil and preventable. Let us summon the will and the resources to build an effective global partnership between States and institutions that will work in unison to prevent and combat terrorism and violent conflicts.

**The President:** I thank President Mkapa for his statement.

I invite the President of the Russian Federation, His Excellency Mr. Vladimir Putin, to take the floor.

**President Putin (spoke in Russian):** May I say first of all that Russia attaches particular importance to today’s Security Council summit meeting. In gathering here we are not only demonstrating our shared responsibility and solidarity in combating the global terrorist threat; it is of fundamental importance that it is precisely the United Nations and the Security Council that can become the coordinating centre, the headquarters for the international antiterrorist front. It is here, today, that the most important ideological, political and organizational foundations for the fight against terrorism are being formulated. Russia welcomes this approach and is ready to act to strengthen the central role of the United Nations in insuring international security and stability.

The Security Council resolution adopted at the initiative of the United Kingdom reflects the lessons learned in this war against terrorism and sets forth new substantive tasks, including the need to end incitement to terrorism. I believe that such actions must be qualified as criminal by all States, without exception.

Our common task is to create a truly solid front in the fight against this evil. Any attempts to condone terrorism, to flirt with terrorists or to use them for different political purposes must be condemned unanimously. Those who advocate terrorism, propagate the ideologies of racism and ethnic or religious intolerance must be fought, using not only the power of the State but also engaging civil society, the mass media, cultural and humanitarian cooperation and interreligious dialogue.

On behalf of my country I have just signed the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism. As is known, it was Russia that initiated that document, and we would like to thank our partners for their support. We worked together, and we have now created an efficient legal instrument for tackling this real threat of the possible use of weapons of mass destruction by terrorists.

I believe that at this session of the General Assembly it may well be possible to complete the draft comprehensive convention on international terrorism. The issues of fighting terrorism and its roots, taken as a whole, are questions needing our further cooperation and must, we believe, be permanent items on the agenda of this United Nations, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies.

The Russian Federation is deeply convinced of the need to enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council in preventing armed conflict, particularly in Africa. In that connection, we attach great importance to the resolution just adopted by the Council on this matter.

**The President:** I thank President Putin for his statement.
I invite the Prime Minister of the Hellenic Republic, His Excellency Mr. Kostas Karamanlis, to take the floor.

Mr. Karamanlis: It is a great pleasure for me to attend today’s Security Council summit meeting. I would like to congratulate you, Madam President, on the Philippines’ assumption of the presidency for the current month.

This is a historic moment for the United Nations, as heads of State and Government are reviewing the implementation of the Millennium Declaration and are considering the future of this Organization.

The end of the cold war ushered in a new era in international relations, which dissipated the threat of military confrontation among the two power blocks. However, the world community still faces violent internal conflicts, civil wars, genocide and other large-scale atrocities that cause immense suffering to millions of people.

Terrorism is undeniably one of the most serious threats to peace and security, menacing the very foundation of our democratic societies. The signing, during the present summit, of the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism and the adoption during the sixtieth session of the General Assembly of a comprehensive convention against terrorism are very important steps in the struggle against this scourge.

In this context, it should be stressed that actions to combat terrorism and the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms are not mutually exclusive. We fully subscribe to the recent statement of the Secretary-General that “in the long term, we shall find that human rights, along with democracy and social justice, are one of the best prophylactics against terrorism” (S/PV.4453, p. 3). Consequently, we welcome the adoption of a new Security Council resolution on the prohibition of the incitement to commit terrorist acts. We believe that this resolution should not affect established principles relating to freedom of expression and to non-refoulement.

In addressing the deep-rooted structural problems that fuel conflicts, peacebuilding must bridge security and development. Good governance, the rule of law, strong democratic institutions, respect for human rights, development assistance, reform and democratization of the security sector are critical components in reducing today’s conflicts.

The United Nations should be strengthened in managing, resolving and preventing conflicts and their recurrence. Early, comprehensive and coherent prevention of conflicts lies at the heart of the United Nations mandate for the maintenance of international peace and security. Integrated and long-term strategies to address the root causes of conflicts are necessary.

In this respect, we fully support the establishment of a Peacebuilding Commission. We also support the adoption of a Security Council resolution on conflict prevention in Africa, the most conflict-ridden continent.

Conflicts within and between States are not the only threat to international peace and security. New threats and challenges are emerging. Extreme poverty in many parts of the world, deadly infectious diseases and environmental degradation have devastating consequences. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is potentially the greatest threat to our societies. Organized crime is another threat that can have destabilizing effects and can fuel civil wars.

All these threats and challenges require a more comprehensive concept of collective security and the strengthening of the United Nations. International regional organizations should also be effective and international treaties should be respected. We believe that this summit offers a unique opportunity to bring about the changes required for a more peaceful and stable world in the twenty-first century.

The President: I thank Prime Minister Karamanlis for his statement.

I invite the President of the United States, His Excellency Mr. George Bush, to take the floor.

President Bush: I would like to express appreciation to all the members of the Security Council for participating in this summit. Our presence here reaffirms the seriousness of the challenges we face and our determination to confront them.

We are meeting just over two months after the terror attacks in London, one year after the terrorist massacre of schoolchildren in Beslan and four years after the terrorist attack in this city. Acts of terrorism like those emerge from a radical ideology that tolerates
no dissent and justifies the murder of innocent people as the best way to achieve its goals.

Today, we supported the resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom that condemns the incitement of terrorist acts and calls on all States to take appropriate steps to end such incitement. I want to thank the Prime Minister and his Government for their hard work on that issue. The United States of America strongly supports the implementation of that resolution.

We have a solemn obligation. We have a solemn obligation to stop terrorism in its early stages. We have a solemn obligation to defend our citizens against terrorism, to attack terrorist networks and deprive them of any safe haven, and to promote an ideology of freedom and tolerance that will refute the dark vision of the terrorists. We must do all we can to disrupt each stage of planning and support for terrorist acts. Each of us must act consistent with past Security Council resolutions to freeze terrorist assets, to deny terrorists freedom of movement by using effective border controls and secure travel documents and to prevent terrorists from acquiring weapons, including weapons of mass destruction. Each of us must act to share information to prevent terrorist attacks before they happen. The United States will continue to work with and through the Security Council to help all nations meet those commitments.

The United States also reaffirms its commitment to support the prevention of unjust armed conflict, particularly in Africa. That is why we joined Algeria, Benin and Tanzania in co-sponsoring today’s second important resolution. We support the need to improve the ability of the African Union and subregional organizations to deploy both civilian and military assets to prevent such conflicts. Over the next five years, the United States will provide training for more than 40,000 African peacekeepers as part of a broader initiative by the G-8 countries. We will help train African forces to preserve justice and order in Africa.

Terrorism and armed conflict are not only threats to our security, they are the enemies of development and freedom for millions. I want to thank the members of the Security Council for supporting today’s resolutions, to help ensure that the twenty-first century is one of freedom, security and prosperity.

The next speaker is the President of the Argentine Republic, His Excellency Mr. Néstor Kirchner.

President Kirchner (spoke in Spanish): I should like at the outset to commend you, Madam, and your delegation, for having chosen this subject for today’s debate — a subject of the utmost importance for the international agenda.

Unfortunately, it must be acknowledged that today, in spite of the efforts made by the international community through the United Nations, peace and stability in the world are still a distant goal.

From our perspective, threats to peace and security result not only from the criminal activities of terrorists, but also from weapons of mass destruction, violations of human rights and the lack of much-needed participation.

Peace is much more than the absence of conflict. It requires a positive stance and ongoing dynamic action designed to foster dialogue and understanding. Preventing conflict is always better than reacting after a conflict has already broken out, because prevention avoids loss of life and ensures stability, as well as being much less costly. But effective preventive action requires more of us. It requires us to respond in a just manner to longstanding disputes and injustice, to the deepest and most abject poverty, hunger and terrible pandemics such as those affecting Africa. This is also an important issue for Latin America.

Such instability highlights what must be the dominant agenda for Security Council action. Within that context, it is necessary to understand that peace is preserved through the participation of all nations and peoples. Those who take shelter behind their own security are forgetting that this is no longer the twentieth century; they should know that a threat to one will, sooner or later, also affect all — including those who believe themselves to be safe. These new threats make us understand at last the true meaning of solidarity among nations.

Terrorism is a threat to life and human dignity, an affront to civilization and humankind. Argentina regards all terrorist acts as criminal and unjustifiable. No ethnic, religious, ideological or other motivation can justify the slaughter of innocent civilians.

The Argentine people express their full solidarity with the victims of terrorism throughout the world and with their families. We experienced two terrible
terrorist attacks during the 1990s — against the Israeli embassy and against the headquarters of the Argentine-Israeli Mutual Association. We share the pain and despair of those who suffered as a result. That is still an open wound at the heart of our society.

We know that in order to tackle terrorism successfully, our response must be legitimate and must have the support of the international community. This requires us to look at the problem from a broader perspective; the response cannot be purely military or unilateral in nature. We must understand — and make sure that others understand — that peace and development are mutually reinforcing. We must stress the close relationship between respect for human rights and the fight against terrorism.

Terrorist acts can no longer be considered national or transnational crimes; they are a threat to international peace and security. The vulnerability of all nations — large and small, rich or poor — demands international action that is intelligent, coordinated and sustainable, based on legitimacy, respect for human rights, proportionate response and the support of international public opinion.

In combating terrorism we must ensure respect for international law, human rights and international humanitarian law, as well as refugee law. When we respond to specific events, it is in the defence of individuals and their rights that the raison d’etre of this Organization and its Member nations is revealed.

Argentina fully cooperates with the Counter-Terrorism Committee set up by resolution 1373 (2001), as well as the Committee set up pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999).

The General Assembly is also doing outstanding work in the area of combating terrorism. We must encourage that and take it further. Recently, after years of efforts, the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism was adopted, and we hope that the comprehensive convention against terrorism will soon be adopted.

International cooperation is vital. Judicial cooperation — that is, extradition and mutual legal assistance — is fundamental, because if it does not work properly, any norm or antiterorist legal regime will be rendered ineffective and illusory.

Combating the financing of terrorism is also essential. Pursuant to Security Council resolutions, States need to strengthen and maximize their cooperation to prevent funds from being used in support of acts of terrorism and terrorist groups, freezing such funds by means of effective arrangements.

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the danger of their falling into the hands of terrorists is one of the greatest threats to international peace and security. Argentina, which is the only Latin American country that is party to the five non-proliferation regimes, attaches great importance to resolution 1540 (2004). The international community has made commendable efforts to curb terrorism, responding to a challenge to all of humankind. In this context, Argentina reaffirms its readiness to work together with the rest of the world to combat this scourge. If we are to be successful, we must also energetically confront unresolved conflicts and deal with situations of deep-seated injustice, social exclusion, extreme poverty, famine and illiteracy.

In other words, we must address, in a comprehensive way, all threats to international peace and security; that is the only way to ensure that the Council properly fulfils its mandate. As recent events show, working for peace is not an easy task. There are many conditions that have to be met. But above all, we need a commitment to collective political action. The United Nations was created on the basis of the resolve of all States that collective action was the only basis for taking measures to maintain international peace and security.

The Security Council was created to maintain peace and prevent wars, those manmade disasters that are born in the human heart, when humankind observed with incredulity the great savagery and brutality that had occurred.

Today, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, the dynamics of international relations demand, more obviously than ever before, that we make multilateral mechanisms stronger and more robust as appropriate means to preserve international peace and security and that we respond in a balanced manner to the situation of global instability confronting us.

Firmly attached to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, we are convinced of the need to build consensus aimed at strengthening international law and promoting universal values associated with peace and security, representative democracy and
respect for human rights. We believe it is essential, if that vision is to be effective, to have a Security Council whose actions and legitimacy cannot be called into question.

The strengthening of multilateralism — a crucial principle of collective security — requires a constant search for agreed responses. Argentina will continue to play its role in that important process. Therefore, Argentina calls for reform of the multilateral system that will result in true strengthening of the United Nations, which reform is essential if the Organization is to carry out its functions of maintaining international peace and security, promoting social and economic development and eradicating hunger and poverty.

It is imperative that we take an all-inclusive approach to reform of the Organization, one based on development, security and full respect for human rights. We must consider all issues that might affect those elements, including violence and massive human rights violations, weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, organized crime, poverty and disease, as well as a general concern with regard to unilateralism, the continuance of trade barriers in developed countries and the inequities characterizing the current international financial system.

We must recognize that much remains to be done, particularly given the terrible situation of social problems facing the international community. But there is also much that can be done to lessen the effects of the evils we face. We must mobilize ourselves to fight for the defence and dignity of the human person.

We are convinced that today’s world can accommodate different civilizations and different religions. There can be no cultural leadership imposed by force. We firmly defend diversity and plurality. There will be no peace without justice. Defending human rights must be at the heart of our agenda. In this fight, we will be fulfilling our moral obligation and our duty to future generations.

The President (spoke in Spanish): I thank the President of Argentina for his statement.

(spoke in English)

The next speaker is the President of the People’s Republic of China, His Excellency Mr. Hu Jintao.

President Hu (spoke in Chinese): It gives me great pleasure to attend this historic meeting, Madam President. I highly appreciate the efforts of the Philippines and your own efforts in organizing it.

Sixty years ago, the Member States of the newly founded United Nations entrusted the Security Council with the mandate of maintaining international peace and security. The past decades have shown that the Council has indeed had an irreplaceable role in resolving major global and regional issues affecting world peace and security. In order to maintain peace, we should make sure that the Security Council is able to carry out its Charter responsibilities properly.

First, we should uphold the Council’s authority by adhering to multilateralism. Only by strengthening multilateral cooperation, enhancing the role of the United Nations and maintaining the authority of the Security Council, in particular, can we effectively cope with increasing global threats and challenges and truly achieve universal security. With regard to major issues affecting world peace and security, the Council should be allowed to judge the merits of the actual situation and act collectively in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Secondly, we should improve the Security Council’s efficiency so that it can respond more effectively to threats. The Council needs a rapid response capacity. Moreover, it should address both the symptoms and the root causes of problems by formulating a comprehensive strategy featuring prevention, peace restoration, peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction. Coercive measures alone will not solve a problem once and for all; what is achieved through dialogue and negotiation may last much longer. China supports an important role for the Security Council in responding to terrorism and other non-traditional threats to security. We also support closer cooperation between the United Nations and other international and regional organizations with a view to sharing resources, advantages and responsibilities.

As terrorism poses a serious threat to world peace and security, the international community should act in strict accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and should work together closely in a more effective fight against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. It is essential to promote dialogue among civilizations and to earnestly address problems such as poverty, ignorance and social injustice in order to eliminate the breeding grounds for terrorism.
Thirdly, we should pay closer attention to African concerns and increase the Council’s commitment accordingly. This meeting should renew our pledges to Africa and should encourage the Council to increase its input in Africa, to listen more attentively to the concerns and proposals of African countries and to take fully into account their fervent desire for peace, development and cooperation so that hundreds of millions of African people can truly benefit from the care and support of the international community.

China is prepared to work with other Member States in advancing the lofty goals of peace and development for all mankind.

The President: I thank the President of China for his statement.

The next speaker is the President of the People’s Democratic Republic of Algeria, His Excellency Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika.

President Bouteflika (spoke in Arabic): This very special Security Council meeting cannot be completely isolated from the current discussion of reform of the United Nations system. However, I do not believe that we need to address that issue today as we deal with the problems of collective security.

No one would dream of questioning what has now become self-evident: there is a link between development and peace — peace and respect for the rule of law. The mission of the United Nations quite rightly goes beyond the maintenance of international peace and security to include the promotion of economic and social development, friendly relations among States based on respect for their sovereign equality and the right of peoples to self-determination. The Security Council has a primary, but not exclusive, responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter of the United Nations.

We would like to reiterate once again that we condemn all manifestations of terrorism. It is within the United Nations that we must all work together to combat it. Accordingly, the draft comprehensive convention on terrorism should be completed as soon as possible to fill the lacunae that remain with regard to terrorism-related activities not yet covered by existing international instruments. There must also be an agreed definition of terrorism that will avoid any confusion between terrorism and the legitimate struggle of peoples for self-determination, a struggle which is covered by international law and international humanitarian law.

The negative impact of globalization is another issue that must be addressed. All international bodies must strive to promote cooperation and exchange information in combating terrorism. Africa’s commitment to fighting terrorism is crystal-clear; as exemplified by the Algiers Convention. Our commitment to eradicating terrorism has enabled Algeria to address the phenomenon comprehensively.

Having emerged from a crisis that did not prevent us from pursuing that campaign, we have now restored peace to our cities and countryside and repaired the fabric of our society by encouraging the social reintegration of those who were misled by false propaganda. We have adopted a national reconciliation policy and a referendum is to be held on 29 September in our country. That is our commitment.

The President: I thank the President of Algeria for his important statement.

I now give the floor to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, His Excellency the Right Honourable Tony Blair.

Mr. Blair (United Kingdom): First of all, on behalf of the United Kingdom, let me thank everyone for supporting today’s resolution.

We should not underestimate what we face. The terrorism that today again has claimed the lives of innocent people — this time, queuing for jobs in Iraq — and has now disfigured countries in every continent, at every stage of development, with every conceivable mix of races and religions, is a movement. It has an ideology and it has a strategy, and the strategy is not just to kill. It is, by terror, to cause chaos and instability and to divide and confuse us, its enemy.

It will not be defeated until our determination is as complete as theirs, our defence of freedom as absolute as their fanaticism, our passion for the democratic way as great as their passion for tyranny. It will not be defeated until we unite not just in condemning the acts of terrorism, which we all do, but in fighting the poisonous propaganda that the root cause of this terrorism somehow lies with us around this table and not with them. They want us to believe that, somehow, it is our fault and that their extremism is somehow our responsibility. They play on our
divisions; they exploit our hesitations. This is our weakness, and they know it.

We must unite against this ghastly game with our conscience. There are real injustices in our world: poverty, which it is our duty to eradicate; conflicts, not least that between Israel and Palestine, which it is our duty to help resolve; and nation-building, as in Iraq and Afghanistan, which it is our responsibility to help deliver.

But none of this has caused this terrorism. Around this table two years ago, we were divided over Iraq, but by June 2003 there was in place a new United Nations resolution and a new United Nations-backed political process to give democracy to Iraqis — which they want, as 8.5 million of them showed by voting for it. The obstacle is terrorism. The victims are largely Muslim. How obscene it is, therefore, for these terrorists to claim that their terror is in response to our aggression against Muslims in Iraq. They use Iraq to divide us, just as they use Afghanistan, where, again, their terror is the obstacle to Afghan democracy; and just as they use Palestine, where terrorism does not create progress, but destroys it.

If not those issues, we must never forget that the events of 11 September 2001, which happened just a short distance from here, were before Iraq or Afghanistan and when there was an active attempt to bring peace to the Middle East. If not those, they will use Chechnya, they will use Kashmir or Bosnia; and if none of those, it will be the Western presence in Arab States. And when all of that fails, those States themselves will be blamed, or any State that is not Talibanized.

The root cause, therefore, is not a decision on foreign policy, however contentious. It is a doctrine of fanaticism, and we must unite to uproot it by cooperating on security, as people have said; by taking action against those who incite, preach or teach this extremism, wherever they are in whichever country; and also by eliminating our own ambivalence by fighting not just the methods of this terrorism, but also the terrorists’ motivation, twisted reasoning and wretched excuses for terror.

At the same time, of course, by contrast, we should fulfil our duty to act against injustice. All of us strongly support the resolution on conflict prevention in Africa. We should show our own strength and belief in the values of democracy and tolerance, and, above all, we should demonstrate that the future, however hard the path to it is, does not and never will belong to fanatics, but will be with those who believe that we should live in peace with each other, whatever our race, nation, colour or religion.

They do, indeed, have their strategy, but we have ours, and we should use it to defeat them.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for his important statement.

I now give the floor to the President of the Republic of Benin, His Excellency Mr. Mathieu Kérékou.

President Kérékou (spoke in French): We are grateful to you, Madam, for having taken the exceptional opportunity of the commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the United Nations to convene the Security Council to discuss essential matters arising from its statutory powers and functions.

Thanks to the highly commendable initiatives of the Secretary-General, we have a clear picture of the threats and challenges that the Council faces at this decisive juncture in the life of the Organization. The two resolutions that we have just adopted duly reflect our perception of the current threats to international peace and security. Among those threats, terrorism and armed conflict have attained a level of destructiveness that is fraught with consequences. It is therefore up to the Security Council to identify specific and appropriate measures, both at the State level and within the United Nations and the international community as a whole, to enhance prevention.

The terrible attacks of 11 September 2001, the fourth anniversary of which we recently commemorated, proved that the inconceivable is now possible. We welcome the significant progress made by the United Nations in fostering and providing strategic guidance for multilateral cooperation in combating terrorism, in scrupulous respect for the sovereignty of States, international law, and the protection of human rights and humanitarian law.

The activities of the Council’s committees have allowed us to devise an effective monitoring apparatus that will enhance the coordination, coherence and efficiency of activities already under way.
As regards the prevention of armed conflict, Council action has been less evident and less visible for reasons that are associated with a certain inertia that is both historical and conceptual in nature. It is important that the Council endow itself with the necessary means to enhance its capacity to act to prevent and eradicate crises in concert with regional and subregional organizations.

The major concern in this area should be to shorten the time frame for coordinated intervention by the international community so as to ensure better protection for populations. The Council should organize itself so as to revitalize the political field of action, mobilizing other parts of the international community with a view to helping to restore normality and working together with local actors, by means of operational, structural and systemic measures at the appropriate level. We are thinking here of the setting up, jointly with regional organizations, as appropriate, of high-level political missions that would make it possible for the Council to bring its full weight to bear on the course of events and to enhance the value of regional initiatives.

We need not wait for the completion of the United Nations reform effort, which seems to be marking time. Beginning right now, the arrangements for preventive diplomacy promoted by the Secretary-General should be strengthened by the establishment of new capacities in various regions of the world. In due course, it will be appropriate for the Security Council to put in place a process for regular global risk assessment with a view to evaluating existing threats.

Africa deserves particular attention, given the internal pressures that African countries face as a result of the compound effect of endemic poverty and the globalization of the economy. Rapid response systems need to be strengthened so as to make it possible to identify and interpret correctly the earliest warning signs for the effective prevention of crises and conflicts and to promote stability through the development of integrated strategies.

The Security Council should, whenever necessary, set forth recommendations for coordinated political action by the competent organs of the United Nations and the international community. We believe that in that way the Council will truly be able to move from a culture of reaction to a realistic approach of strategic watchfulness, which will make it possible to monitor risks and better manage crises and, as a result, to prevent acts and events that might result in the breakdown of international peace and security.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Benin for his statement.

The next speaker is the President of Romania, His Excellency Mr. Traian Basescu.

President Basescu: This month of September marks an important moment. This is an opportunity not only to affirm our common objective to make the United Nations work better, but to be a part of its actual reform.

I see a great degree of consistency between the work of the Security Council, which has become more involved in development issues and human rights concerns, and our main deliberations in the High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly. These two meetings should therefore lead to mutually reinforcing conclusions and recommendations. Today’s meeting aims to take the international response to acts of terrorism to a new level. That threat is, indeed, the critical security issue at the beginning of this new century and millennium.

The Security Council was remarkably quick in responding to the post-9/11 realities that so dramatically changed our world. Its championing of counter-terrorism as an integral part of its responsibilities towards international peace and security is the most significant feature of its work. Yet the Council’s contribution to that global effort is still a work in progress. The recent strikes against London, Sharm el-Sheikh and Baghdad and throughout Bangladesh are reminders that, without an enduring security net, there can be no safe haven.

I would like to make four points relating to Romania’s approach to fighting terror.

First, there is no culture and no religion that generates or endorses terrorism. We are at a stage when we are fighting the consequences of terrorism, but seldom its real causes. It has become clear that the world has to face a new ideology — one that respects neither States, nor societies, nor cultures, nor human rights: the ideology of terror. It is my belief that that ideology is the new enemy of humanity.

The solidarity and action of like-minded United Nations Member States could offer us solutions to fight
that threat. The Security Council and the United Nations share a great responsibility in developing such policies.

Defending against security threats is not limited to taking a stand at one’s own border, but includes going to where the challenges originate and eradicating them with sustainable action and investment. This is why Romania is working together with its allies and partners in sustaining ongoing stabilization and reconstruction processes in Iraq and Afghanistan. Ours is a significant investment in a wide range of United Nations-mandated and United Nations-authorized operations, and we therefore have a very high stake in their successful outcome.

Secondly, Romania has begun chairing the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1540 (2004). That resolution is a true attempt to reduce and eventually eliminate the weak spots in our defence against the most worrying form of terrorism: weapons of mass destruction. Reducing proliferation risks should concern all Member States.

Thirdly, the global antiterrorism effort can be sustained only by action taken at the Security Council level. It has to be an undertaking by the United Nations as a whole. Every Member State should be supported in developing belts of defence and proper response capabilities in the face of terrorist threats. In doing so, we should not overlook activities such as the illicit traffic in human beings, arms and drugs, which can fuel the resources of terrorist networks and regional conflicts. In many parts of the world — including two of the regions close to Romania, namely, the Western Balkans and the Black Sea region — that often occurs.

Fourthly, Romania’s experience in South-Eastern Europe and the Black Sea region indicates that in the case of conflict management, regional action is also decisive in handling responses to transnational threats. Cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations is called for in the field of combating terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Romania is a catalyst for dialogue and cooperation in its region and is keen to share its experience at the international level. During the period of its current mandate in the Security Council, Romania has actively and constantly promoted deeper cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. We believe that the time has come to take global-regional cooperation to its full potential. The international community should be able to address each and every security challenge, anywhere, by better pooling together existing resources and capacities for responding to violence.

**The President:** I thank the President of Romania for his statement.

The next speaker is the President of the Federative Republic of Brazil, His Excellency Mr. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.

**President Da Silva (spoke in Portuguese; English text provided by the delegation):** I would like to congratulate you, Madam President, on the initiative of convening this meeting, which is being held at a critical juncture for the future of the United Nations. Efforts to strengthen the United Nations and its main bodies are being intensified. We need to adapt the Security Council to the political and economic requirements of a world that is undergoing a profound transformation.

This is only the third summit of the Security Council in its 60 years of existence. In 1992, we met to celebrate the end of the East-West confrontation, as new prospects dawned for the Council to act to promote international stability. There were reasons to believe in the future of collective security. In 2000, our summit meeting coincided with brutal acts of violence fuelled by racial and religious intolerance. At that time, we were striving to learn lessons from the civil wars in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and to restore the Organization’s capacity to counter massive human rights abuses. Today, we face threats of growing complexity. Both of the resolutions we have just adopted are attempts to respond to those challenges.

Barbaric acts of terrorism continue to be perpetrated against innocent and defenceless people. Combating this scourge demands resolve, yet repression alone will not defeat it. We must prevent terror from breeding in hotbeds of hopelessness. We must reject prejudice and discrimination, whatever their guise or pretext. In combating irrational violence, the best means at our disposal are the promotion of a culture of dialogue, the promotion of development and the unyielding protection of human rights.

The Council must also continue to devote attention to African issues. During my visits to 14 African countries, as well as in contacts maintained
with many African leaders in Brasilia, I have witnessed major institutional and economic progress in the region. The firm political will of African leaders to overcome today’s conflicts and to cope with a legacy of dependency has culminated in the establishment of the African Union. Their example should inspire parts of the world that are working towards integration with the international community in a sovereign and peaceful manner.

In Haiti, Latin America wants to prove that the United Nations is not condemned to merely clean up the wreckage of conflicts it could not prevent. The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti offers a new paradigm for responding to the challenges of conflict resolution and national reconstruction. We are contributing to the long-term stabilization of the country without resorting to the excessive use of force or to any imposed solution. We encourage dialogue among all political actors and support institutional and economic reconstruction.

The establishment of a Peacebuilding Commission demonstrates that the international community shares that view. Better coordination between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council would ensure that situations such as those in Haiti and Guinea-Bissau are adequately addressed. Those are deep crises in societies that seek to find their way back to development.

With regard to issues such as these, United Nations action is irreplaceable. That is certainly the case with the Middle East conflict, where sensitive political issues need to be resolved with credibility and transparency. In that spirit, Brazil supports the efforts of the Quartet to promote the implementation of the road map to peace.

United Nations reform, now being discussed, cannot be dissociated from restructuring of the Security Council. New responsibilities — many of them not anticipated in the Charter of the United Nations — have arisen as a result of a broader agenda. The Council must stop running such a deficit in transparency and representativity. The values of good governance and the democratic principles that we so cherish at home should lead us to embrace multilateralism and collective decision-making in multilateral institutions. We have before us an historic opportunity to expand the Council in an equitable manner. For the majority of United Nations Member countries, that means expanding the number of Council seats, with developing countries from all regions as both permanent and non-permanent Council members.

I am convinced that there will be no peace or security in the world as long as a billion people are oppressed by hunger. I insist that that evil can be considered the most devastating of all weapons of mass destruction. Hunger and poverty affect people’s capacity to work, as well as their health, their dignity and their hopes; they also break down families, tear apart societies and weaken economies. Hunger and poverty fuel a vicious circle of frustration and humiliation that sets the stage for violence, crises and conflicts of all sorts.

I would like to reiterate that, as far as Brazil is concerned, the Council must continue to be the principal international body for the promotion of international peace and security, as defined by the Charter. Brazil will not shirk its responsibilities in promoting the reforms needed to strengthen this institution. A reformed Council will be better equipped to take the lead in facing the complex decisions required at this historic moment.

The President: I thank the President of Brazil for his statement.

The next speaker is the Prime Minister of the Republic of France, His Excellency Mr. Dominique de Villepin.

Mr. De Villepin (France) (spoke in French): On behalf of the President of the Republic, Jacques Chirac, I am pleased to bring France’s message to the Council.

In the face of discouragement and violence, our world needs unity more than ever before. It requires resolve and a collective endeavour. Such resolve can serve only the general interest and justice; that is the condition for our legitimacy. Such an effort can be undertaken only by all the nations gathered together; that is the condition for our effectiveness.

With 80,000 Blue Helmets, the Security Council is already committed on the ground to ending conflicts, preventing them from spreading, helping with reconstruction. But let us be clear: much remains to be done if we are to meet people’s expectations effectively and swiftly. In every crisis, we must affirm true political will to achieve lasting settlements, from Côte d’Ivoire to Darfur to Haiti. Let us collectively
have the courage to shoulder our responsibilities at every stage.

That is also true for the Iraq crisis. The Council, together with the Iraqi authorities, will again have to consider that issue, taking the current realities into account. So much is at stake — particularly the unity of the country, the stability of the region, our collective security.

At the same time, the Security Council must respond to new threats — terrorism, first of all. The attacks that have struck London, Sharm el-Sheikh, Turkey and Israel this summer remind us of that. None of our States is sheltered from that; none has the means to respond to this scourge alone. Our cooperation will be our strength.

The day after 11 September 2001, the Security Council met and took the first measures necessary to track down the terrorists, to combat their financing and to prevent them from possessing weapons of mass destruction.

Today, in the spirit of the global strategy proposed by the Secretary-General, we must go further, with one principle — full respect for the rule of law — because the example set by democracies is our strongest asset in confronting terrorists. We must go further, with one requirement: resolute action with respect to everything that fuels terrorism, including inequality, ongoing violence, injustice, conflict and cultural misunderstanding. Force alone will never defeat terrorism, for it does not address people’s frustrations or go to the roots of evil.

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction also calls for a determined response on our part. In the nuclear sphere, we have all put our trust in the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). There are rights to uphold, in particular the peaceful use of nuclear energy, but there are also duties to enforce, for the security of all. If a State fails in its obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, it is legitimate, once dialogue has been exhausted, to refer it to the Security Council. It is in that spirit that France urges Iran to conform to the resolutions of the IAEA and to comply with its international commitments, first and foremost the Paris Agreement.

Let us be bold enough to enlarge the Security Council to make it more representative. France supports the balanced and realistic proposal presented by Germany, Brazil, India and Japan. In the higher interest of the United Nations, it would like to see an agreement reached on enlargement before the end of the year.

Let us make no mistake: In the face of threats that ignore State borders, the only security is collective security. In the face of scarred identities, the demand for respect and justice is not only a political imperative, but a condition for peace. In the face of the growing inequalities between rich and poor countries, solidarity is a condition for our security. It also requires a commitment from all to promote sustainable development.

Lastly, in the face of the trouble in the world, we need a common vision. The United Nations must act apace with a rapidly changing world; the pain of men and women confronting health or political crises does not wait. It must also remain the forum for dialogue and decision that shapes the destiny of our world.

It is an honour and quite a responsibility to sit in this Council. Before our peoples, all peoples, let us not give in to division and inaction. Let us embrace debate and criticism. Each of us affirms his vision, defends his interests; each has his history and culture. Here, however, something goes beyond us and brings us together: an aspiration, shared by every individual, to justice, dignity and freedom. Those are the ideals we pledged to serve 60 years ago. Let us keep our promise.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister of the French Republic for his important statement.

I now give the floor to the Prime Minister of Denmark, His Excellency Mr. Anders Fogh Rasmussen.

Mr. Rasmussen (Denmark): Our discussion here is timely and relevant. Terror attacks in several countries during the last years have underlined our obligation to joint, efficient action against this major scourge of our generation.

Let me be very clear: Terrorism can never be justified. Terrorism is never a legitimate weapon. The targeting and deliberate killing of civilians are unacceptable. Full stop. I therefore find it appalling that today, four years after two passenger planes created havoc in this very city, a few countries are still
blocking agreement on a common definition of terrorism.

Each and every Government has an obligation to destroy terror networks, to dismantle training facilities and to cut off the supply of money and recruits. There ought to be absolutely no doubt or ambiguity about that. It must be made completely clear to our citizens what is acceptable and what is not. Freedom of speech and expression is the very foundation of any modern, democratic society, but that must never be an excuse for inciting terrorism and fostering hatred.

I see a major role for the United Nations in this battle, and I welcome the Secretary-General’s outline of a counter-terrorism strategy, but that is not enough. We need to empower the United Nations so that it can fulfil its obligation to ensure security for all in the age of global terrorism.

All Member States need to sign, ratify and implement the United Nations terrorism conventions. All countries must incorporate the relevant provisions into their national legislations in order to hamper the terrorists’ room for manoeuvre, and the United Nations should constantly ensure that Member States fulfil their obligations. Countries that lack the necessary capacity to enforce the new legislation deserve our full and generous assistance. Countries that lack the necessary political will deserve our wrath and condemnation.

The threat of terrorists or irresponsible dictators armed with weapons of mass destruction is a shared nightmare for all mankind. This Council has the obligation to ensure that the nightmare never materializes.

The nuclear programmes of Iran and North Korea are a particular and urgent concern. We shall be ready to deal with them here at this table if other avenues fail. Acquiring nuclear weapons does not enhance the security of any State; it only decreases it for us all.

Seventy per cent of all conflicts discussed by this Council take place in Africa. The impact on civilians on that continent is particularly devastating. Africa alone has around 20 million refugees and internally displaced people. For that reason, the resolution put forward here today by the Council’s three African members is an important one. I hope that the adoption of that resolution will enable the international community to better prevent international disputes and internal crises from spilling over into armed conflicts, in particular in Africa.

**The President**: I thank the Prime Minister of Denmark for his important statement.

I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, His Excellency Mr. Nobutaka Machimura.

**Mr. Machimura** (Japan): I thank you very much, Madam, for convening this important meeting today under the Philippines presidency.

In the fight against terrorism, there are three important areas in which the international community must intensify its efforts.

First, priority must be placed on the strengthening of measures to prevent terrorist acts. For its part, Japan adopted an action plan for the prevention of terrorism last December and is in the process of reviewing both its legal institutions and Government practices.

Secondly, it is important to enhance international legal frameworks, as well as to improve our domestic legal system. Tomorrow, Prime Minister Koizumi will sign the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism here at the United Nations. I call upon all Member States to show their utmost flexibility so as to ensure the early conclusion of the comprehensive convention on international terrorism.

Thirdly, we must increase assistance for capacity-building against terrorism.

I believe that the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, has the capacity to play a greater role in each of those areas, as exemplified by the resolution adopted today.

Resolving the conflicts in Africa is a global challenge. In that regard, Japan welcomes the establishment of a proposed peacebuilding commission. We hope that the commission will be able to play an invaluable role in ensuring seamless assistance in post-conflict situations. Japan completely concurs on the importance of having a comprehensive, all-inclusive strategy, as stressed in today’s Council resolution.

I would also like to stress the importance of the concept of human security, which Japan has been advocating for some time. The perspective of human
security, which focuses on fully developing the human potential of individuals and local communities, is indispensable as an integral part of the needed comprehensive strategy. Moreover, human security is an important guiding principle in transitional situations.

Let me also take this opportunity to formally announce that Japan, under the auspices of the Tokyo International Conference on African Development, will soon hold an international conference on issues arising in post-conflict situations in Africa. I am sure that the conference will contribute to enhancing discussions on ensuring the smooth transition from post-conflict to reconstruction and development.

In addressing such global challenges as anti-terrorism and conflict prevention in Africa, the Security Council must play a key role. To that end, the Council needs to be reformed so that it can reflect today’s realities. I would like to conclude my remarks by stressing that Japan will continue to make every effort to realize Security Council reform.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan for his important statement.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as President of the Philippines.

As the Secretary-General said in Madrid last March, terrorism is a threat to all States, to all peoples, which can strike anytime, anywhere. Like many countries, the Philippines has been struck by the pain of terror, but we have fought back. Since the international war on terror started in 2001, almost 4,000 terrorists in the Philippines have been killed or captured, mostly from the New People’s Army, but also including about 300 Abu Sayyaf group members and about 40 international terrorist personalities. We have fought back with the vigilance of ordinary citizens, a strong bilateral and regional security network, our strategic alliance with the United States, and the tools of interfaith dialogue.

A few days after 11 September 2001, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia entered into an operational agreement to protect our common seas from terrorism. Other countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations subsequently joined us in that agreement. We have been able to dissuade the rebels in Mindanao from choosing terrorism as a tactic to achieve their goals. We have isolated the insurgent formations from the terrorist cells, negotiating with the former and hunting down the latter without spawning collateral conflict. Our peace process is perhaps the only one in the world that formally incorporates an anti-terrorism component. Alongside our ceasefire agreement, we have an agreement to cooperate in the interdiction of terrorist cells through the exchange of intelligence, information and orders of battle.

To deny terrorists the means to carry out their attacks, we have found it practical to recognize the leadership of the United States in the war against terror. We work closely with the United States on intelligence and security matters and in intercepting clandestine fund transfers through the anti-money laundering law that we enacted after 11 September. To develop our State capacity to prevent terrorism, the Philippines has also found it practical to accept American assistance for our ongoing defence reforms and, soon, for Philippine law enforcement reforms.

Therefore, let me take this opportunity to declare Philippine support for the United States Proliferation Security Initiative. The United States is the natural leader in this war on terror. America was the first and remains the biggest victim of terrorism in this present era. It is the most motivated and best equipped Member State in the fight against terrorism.

Thus, it would be practical for the Security Council’s Counter-Terrorism Committee to undertake a special intelligence coordinating project with the United States to consolidate all overt and covert international sources of information relevant to the war against terrorism, including an immediate inventory of private organizations that may be working as fronts for terrorist activities and a watch-list of Governments abetting or directly involved in terrorism and related criminal acts. Those found culpable should face the full force of United Nations sanctions.

The fight against terror and the prevention of conflict must thrive on synergy, creativity, strategic alliances for peace and sturdy parameters of collective vigilance. May God bless our work in our own countries and in this Chamber, and all of mankind, which waits upon our courage and wisdom.

I wish to thank all participants for joining together to make this meeting possible. My thanks go to all the heads of State or Government and ministers of foreign affairs, to representatives of Member States.
and regional organizations, and to the Secretary-
General.

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

There are no further speakers inscribed on my
list. The Security Council has thus concluded its
business for this meeting.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*