United Nations A/65/PV.48

General Assembly

Sixty-fifth session

Official Records

48th plenary meeting

Thursday, 11 November 2010, 10 a.m.

New York

President: Mr. Deiss ..... (Switzerland)

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

Agenda item 110

Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations

Note by the Secretary-General (A/65/300)

The President (*spoke in French*): As Members are aware, in accordance with the provisions of Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations and with the consent of the Security Council, the Secretary-General is mandated to notify the General Assembly of matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security that are being dealt with by the Security Council and of matters with which the Council has ceased to deal.

In that connection, the Assembly has before it a note by the Secretary-General, issued as document A/65/300.

May I take it that the Assembly takes note of this document?

It was so decided.

The President (*spoke in French*): The Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 110.

Agenda items 29 and 119

Report of the Security Council (A/65/2)

Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters

The President (*spoke in French*): The two important items on the agenda for our joint debate concern the Security Council. I am happy to welcome the President of the Security Council, His Excellency Sir Mark Lyall Grant, who will shortly present to us the Security Council report (A/65/2). That report is one of the important instruments of interaction between the Council and the Assembly. It is therefore essential that it should serve as the basis for a substantive debate.

Our meeting today is an opportunity for us to study the progress and the challenges confronting the Council, as well as to reflect on the strengthening of cooperation between the General Assembly and the Security Council, so that together those two bodies may be even better able to promote the values and principles of the United Nations. Regular, close contact between the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council also constitutes another instrument. Since taking office, I have met all the Presidents of the Security Council and will continue to do so. I am grateful to them for the substantive discussions we have had. The recent adoption by both bodies of a resolution concerning the review of the Peacebuilding Commission (General Assembly resolution 65/7 and Security Council resolution 1947

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(2010)) has also shown us the benefits of such cooperation.

In recent years there has been positive movement towards greater transparency in the Security Council, and it is important that those efforts continue. That leads me to make a few remarks on the second item we will discuss today: Security Council reform. This is an essential part of reaffirming the central role of the United Nations in global governance. In that regard, I would like to stress that almost the entire world agrees that we need to adapt to the changes that have taken place in the world since 1945.

That is why I convened a preliminary informal meeting on 21 October, once I had confirmed Ambassador Tanin in his role as Chair of Intergovernmental Negotiations. It is essential to build on existing convergences and to narrow differences of opinion in order to reach more tangible results.

I have therefore asked Ambassador Tanin to continue his work on the text that has emerged from the second revision by holding open and transparent consultations. I call on all Member States to support him in his work.

At the beginning of the year, we will take stock and consult the Assembly on the follow-up on the intergovernmental negotiations process.

It must be very clear that the solution is in the Assembly's hands. It is Member States' determination to make something of that process that will lead to progress being made. It is therefore essential to demonstrate flexibility, willingness to compromise, good faith, creativity and mutual respect in an atmosphere that is transparent and inclusive.

Both Ambassador Tanin and I are at the Assembly's service to support it in its effort to find a solution that enjoys widespread support. However, that effort is the Assembly's responsibility. I welcome the Assembly's views on the agenda items and hope that our discussion will allow us to make progress.

I now give the floor to the President of the Security Council, His Excellency Sir Mark Lyall Grant, to introduce the report of the Security Council.

Sir Mark Lyall Grant (United Kingdom): Mr. President, on behalf of the members of the Security Council, I would like to congratulate you on your election as President of the General Assembly at its sixty-fifth session. As President of the General Assembly, Sir, you have a key role to play in working with the Security Council to enhance and strengthen the relationship between those two important organs of the United Nations.

In my capacity as President of the Security Council for November, it is my honour to introduce the annual report of the Council to the General Assembly as contained in document A/65/2. The report covers the period from August 2009 to July 2010. The introduction to the report was prepared by the delegation of Nigeria, which held the Council's presidency in July. On behalf of the Security Council, I wish to thank Ambassador Ogwu and her team for their efforts. I would also like to thank the Secretariat, which prepared the second part of the report.

There is always room for improving the report. I would be happy to pass back any feedback from the General Assembly today to the Security Council. Transparency in the Council's work is a frequent request of the wider membership. That is why the Security Council holds as many open meetings as possible and why it supports the live broadcast of its meetings on the Internet. Another tool to increase transparency is the regular meetings between the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council, which provide a valuable link between the Council and the wider membership. We also urge Member States to take full advantage of the regular briefings by the Security Council during the course of the year, which provide details of the Council's discussions on issues of the day.

The Security Council has adopted other measures to increase transparency in its work in the recent past and will consider ways to do it further in the future. I would draw attention to the adoption of a new presidential note adopted by the Council on its working methods (S/2010/507), which is aimed at enhancing transparency, interaction with non-Council members and efficiency. That note takes into account many of the views expressed by Member States during the open debate on the Council's working methods in April (see S/PV.6300).

Some long-running situations, including in the Middle East, Cyprus and Western Sahara, remain unresolved, as do issues in which the Council has become engaged in recent years, including Nepal and Guinea-Bissau. Huge challenges remain in the Sudan,

Somalia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. But there have been some successes, and the Council has worked to make progress across the board in what has been a busy year. I would like to touch on those situations in more detail today.

Over the past year, the Council has maintained a strong thematic focus in much of its work. Those themes are now well established on the Council's agenda: conflict prevention and peacekeeping, protection of civilians, children and armed conflict, women and peace and security, and relations with regional organizations.

The tenth anniversary in October of resolution 1325 (2000) on women and peace and security was a landmark event. The Council adopted a presidential statement that supported taking forward a set of indicators as a framework to track the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) in situations of armed conflict, post-conflict and other relevant situations (S/PRST/2010/22), which was a significant step forward and an important signal that more progress needs to be made to mainstream those ideas. There will be a high-level review of the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) in five years' time.

Overall, there has been significant progress over the past couple of years in the Council's thematic work. The challenge now is to translate the thematic resolutions into real actions on the ground.

Conflict prevention remains a key focus for the Security Council. Council members believe that the Council, working with the United Nations as a whole, must work more effectively to help prevent the outbreak of violent conflict and not be confined merely to responding after the event. Preventing conflict is, first and foremost, the responsibility of each national Government, but we must continue to ensure that the Security Council has access to early warning analysis — we have made some improvements in that regard in the past year — and that we are also able and willing to take decisions on the basis of that analysis, which can help prevent violent conflict. We should also support strong and capable machinery for United Nations mediation and preventive diplomacy and ensure that our collective efforts to support social and economic development can lessen the potential for people to resort to violence in redressing their grievances.

The Security Council has intensified its efforts to conduct a transparent and inclusive dialogue aimed at developing more effective United Nations peacekeeping. In a series of formal and informal debates among peacekeeping stakeholders, the Council has worked to build consensus towards substantial reform. Over the coming year, the Council will continue to engage constructively with the troop- and police-contributing countries, regional organizations and non-governmental organizations and civilian and military leaders from field missions. The Security Council Working Group of the Whole on United Nations Peacekeeping Operations has brought Council members together with troop- and police-contributing countries informally to discuss both cross-cutting and mission-specific peacekeeping issues. There have been important contributions from the Secretariat, from the President of the General Assembly, from the Committee of 34, i.e. the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, and from the Fifth Committee, which have worked in parallel and together to form the United Nations peacekeeping partnership.

The Security Council has welcomed the report presented by the co-facilitators on the review of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), which aims at delivering better results on the ground and improving the work of the Commission. The Council supports the work of the Commission and is willing to make greater use of its advisory role. It is important that the Commission now take up the challenge by helping to remove obstacles to peace, such as by promoting progress in security sector reform in Guinea-Bissau; promoting reintegration of former combatants in Burundi; completing a comprehensive disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme in the Central African Republic; helping to build institutional capacity in Sierra Leone; and strengthening the rule of law in Liberia.

The Council's work on peace and security continues to depend on the effectiveness of measures taken under various sanctions regimes. Significant advances in both the policy and practice of sanctions regimes were achieved in the past year. They include the adoption of more detailed and precise Security Council resolutions containing more targeted measures, and fairer and clearer procedures for listing and delisting. In particular, the appointment of an ombudsperson for the Security Council sanctions committee established pursuant to resolution 1267

(1999) regarding Al Qaida and the Taliban is a significant and welcome development. However, there remain challenges. For example, there should be better coordination and information-sharing among States, and between States and the various sanctions committees.

In addition to the work of the sanctions regimes, the Security Council has also actively worked towards international security through its non-proliferation efforts. They include the adoption of resolution 1887 (2009), which addressed the issues of nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament, and the ongoing work of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1540 (2004). That work includes a comprehensive review of the status of the implementation of resolution 1540 (2004), and improved transparency and technical assistance coordination.

The Counter-Terrorism Committee also continued its core work on assessing States' implementation of resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1624 (2005) and facilitating assistance where needed. It improved its outreach and transparency by increasing its open thematic briefings.

The Council's annual report illustrates the range of geographical issues that were considered in the reporting period. I would like to draw attention to a few particular cases that will continue to occupy the Council in the coming year.

We can expect the situation in the Sudan to continue to occupy the Security Council in the year ahead. The increased rhythm of Council engagement on the Sudan issue in 2009 and 2010 demonstrated the Council's commitment both to the Sudan and to conflict prevention. Whatever the outcome of the referendums on the status of Southern Sudan and Abyei, the Security Council will have a continuing interest in the peace and prosperity of all Sudanese people.

The Council has also followed developments in Darfur closely, including the security and humanitarian situation, and the Doha peace process, which the Council has called on all rebel groups to join without further delay and without preconditions. The Council visited the Sudan in October, and will continue to monitor the work of its two peacekeeping missions in the Sudan, the United Nations Mission in the Sudan and the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur.

Somalia is one of the most complex challenges facing the Council today, and will likely be an even bigger issue in 2011. Progress will require enhanced dialogue and cooperation between the United Nations and the African Union (AU). More broadly, the United Nations relationship with the African Union, including the Security Council's relationship with the AU Peace and Security Council, needs to be placed on a more strategic footing, as that relationship will be critical for peace and security in Africa.

The situation in the Middle East remains a priority for the Security Council. In June, the Council issued a statement following the tragic Gaza flotilla incident (S/PRST/2010/9), and in August welcomed the establishment by the Secretary-General of the Panel of Inquiry. Council members have consistently agreed on the need for a negotiated peace in the Middle East, leading to a two-State solution. Looking ahead, the Security Council will want to see substantive progress towards a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. Council members will continue to discuss and assess the situation in the Middle East on a regular basis.

The Security Council carried out a number of missions during the year. In May it visited the Democratic Republic of the Congo to discuss the future of United Nations engagement in that country, with particular reference to the mandate for the peacekeeping mission and the reconfiguration of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In June, the Security Council visited Afghanistan, where it met President Karzai, his ministerial team, members of the opposition, parliamentarians and civil society. The Council saw at first-hand the excellent work of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) team — and Special Representative of the Secretary-General Staffan de Mistura in particular — in delivering their mandate and coordinating the overall civilian effort. The visit underlined both the scale of the task in Afghanistan and the Security Council's commitment to Afghanistan's future. In the year ahead, the Security Council will continue to offer UNAMA its full support and will encourage UNAMA's leadership in aid coherence and

strengthening its ties with the International Security Assistance Force in order to support security transition, political outreach, and supporting the Government of Afghanistan in implementing electoral reform.

These are just a few of the issues that the Security Council has covered in the reporting period. It has examined many other situations on the ground, from Haiti to Chad, and from Timor-Leste to Iraq. On behalf of all Security Council members, I should like to thank the members of the General Assembly for this opportunity to introduce the report. I would also like to express the Security Council's appreciation for the work of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat, with whom it works very closely, and whose cooperation and assistance is invaluable in helping the Council to fulfil its mandate.

Mr. Abdelaziz (Egypt): I have the honour to speak today on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

At the outset, I would like to express the Movement's appreciation to His Excellency Mr. Ali Abdussalam Treki, President of the General Assembly at its sixty-fourth session, for his efforts in advancing the important issue of Security Council reform. I would also like to congratulate you, Sir, for including this issue among your priorities for the sixty-fifth session, and for reaffirming confidence in His Excellency Ambassador Zahir Tanin, Permanent Representative of Afghanistan to the United Nations, in continuing to serve as Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform, in order to achieve maximum progress during the sixty-fifth session.

The Movement also commends you, Mr. President, for choosing "Reaffirming the central role of the United Nations in global governance" as the central theme of the Assembly's sixty-fifth session. That noble objective can only be achieved through working on the delicate balance in the Charter between the principal organs of the United Nations, revitalizing the work of the General Assembly, and reforming and expanding the Security Council.

The Non-Aligned Movement attaches great importance to achieving concrete results on Security Council reform through intergovernmental negotiations and in accordance with General Assembly decision 62/557 and subsequent decisions 63/565 and 64/568. In that regard, the Movement's position is clearly reflected in section E of the Sharm el-Sheikh Final Document (A/63/965, annex), adopted by the fifteenth Summit Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The Movement believes that the reform of the Security Council should be addressed in a comprehensive, transparent and balanced manner, in order to reflect the needs and interests of both developing and developed countries alike. Reform should also aim at limiting and curtailing the use of the veto with a view to its ultimate elimination. The enlargement of the Security Council, as the body primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as the reform of its working methods, should lead to a more democratic, more representative, more accountable and more effective Council.

In that context, the heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Movement acknowledged the historical injustices against Africa with regard to its representation in the Security Council and expressed support for increased and enhanced representation of the African continent in a reformed Security Council. Moreover, they took note of the common African position as reflected in the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration.

Improving the working methods of the Security Council is of great importance to the Movement, as reflected in the relevant paragraphs of the Final Document of the fifteenth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement and in several initiatives presented by the Movement throughout the years since the Security Council reform process was launched. Those initiatives include and are not limited to the comprehensive negotiating paper submitted by the Movement in 1996, as contained in the report of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters related to the Security Council (A/51/47).

Transparency, openness and consistency are key elements that the Security Council should demonstrate in all its activities, approaches and procedures. The rules of procedure of the Security Council, which have remained provisional for more than 60 years, should be formalized in order to improve the Council's transparency and accountability. Moreover, the Movement rejects any attempts to use the Council to pursue national political agendas and stresses the

necessity of non-selectivity and impartiality in its work.

In that regard, there is an urgent need for the Security Council to adhere to the powers and functions accorded to it by the Member States under the United Nations Charter. The Council should therefore stop encroaching on the functions and powers of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council by addressing issues that traditionally fall within the competence of those organs. The Security Council should also avoid resorting to Chapter VII of the Charter as an umbrella for addressing the issues that do not necessarily pose a threat to international peace and security. It should, rather, fully utilize the provisions of other relevant chapters, where appropriate, including Chapters VI and VIII, before invoking Chapter VII, which should be the authority of last resort.

Security Council-imposed sanctions remain an issue of serious concern to the Non-Aligned Movement. The use of sanctions raises fundamental ethical questions as to whether sufferings inflicted on vulnerable groups in a targeted country are a legitimate means of exerting pressure. In that regard, the objectives of sanctions regimes should be clearly defined, and their imposition should be for a specific time frame and be based on tenable legal grounds and should be lifted as soon as the objectives are achieved. The conditions demanded of the State or party on which sanctions are imposed should be clearly defined and subject to periodic review.

Last year, the Non-Aligned Movement noted that the annual report of the Security Council continued to be a procedural overview of the Council meetings, activities and decisions. Examining this year's report, we believe that there is a room for further improvement in the report to reflect the Council's challenges, assessments, rationales and the decision-making processes followed in each of the cases covered within the reporting period.

In our view, the report should provide more explanations of the positions on the different issues considered in the Council, including cases in which the Council failed to act, particularly those relating to international peace and security. It should also set forth the reasons behind the different outcomes emanating from the Council, be they resolutions, presidential statements, press releases or statements to the press.

In addition, the Council should submit special reports for consideration by the General Assembly, in accordance with Article 15, paragraph 1, and Article 24, paragraph 3, of the United Nations Charter. Furthermore, it is vital that regular interactions between the presidency of the Security Council and the wider membership of the United Nations during the preparation process of the Council's annual reports be maintained, which could contribute to enhancing the quality of the reports.

I would like to say a few words more in my national capacity. I associate my remarks with the statement to be delivered by the Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone on behalf of the African Group.

Egypt is keen to achieve tangible progress and reach concrete results in the intergovernmental negotiations on the Security Council reform based on decision 62/557. Paragraph (d) of that decision clearly stipulates that the intergovernmental negotiations should be based on proposals submitted by Member States. The rationale is to preserve the intergovernmental nature of the process and avoid jeopardizing the neutrality and impartiality of the President of the General Assembly and the Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations, especially since the main objective of the negotiations is to ensure the widest possible political acceptance by the Member States themselves.

The five key issues of our intergovernmental negotiations have been clearly defined in paragraph (e) (ii) of decision 62/557. They remain inextricably linked and constitute an integral, inseparable package that has to be agreed upon together. Accordingly, any agreement should be based on full consideration of all those issues without attempting to classify them into issues that constitute a point of convergence and issues that constitute a point of divergence, or attempting to avoid the most difficult issues and reach agreement on easy issues that could have been agreed years ago. We are not looking for just any agreement; rather, we are looking for an agreement that would have the desired effect on the power structure in the Security Council, which simply requires that we concentrate on reaching agreement on the easiest and most difficult topics at the same time.

Egypt, along with the African Group, continues to believe that States and groups of States should agree

first on principles, substance, terms and criteria before embarking on any drafting exercise. They should also agree on the form of that drafting exercise, whether it seeks to compile only certain specific proposals presented in past rounds of intergovernmental negotiations or all of them together. That agreement on principles should include an institutional agreement on ways and means to rectify the serious historical injustice to Africa as the only continent not represented in the category of permanent membership of the Security Council and not adequately represented in the non-permanent category. Mere reference to increasing African representation without providing details is simply not enough.

Egypt reiterates once again the validity and strength of the common African position represented in the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration. Limiting the expansion of the Security Council to the non-permanent category alone is not an option for us, as it will neither change the power structure of the Council nor correct the historical injustice to the African continent.

Let me recall here that Africa is opposed in principle to the veto and believes that it should be abolished, but as long as it continues to exist and as a matter of common justice, it should be extended to all new permanent members of the enlarged Security Council, in full application of the principle of equality between current and new permanent members.

In that context and with a view to dealing with the issue of the Security Council reform in a realistic manner, Egypt believes that the negotiations should deal effectively with the veto rights of new and current permanent members together, including the misuse or threat of use of the veto right. That approach would necessitate the serious consideration of restricting the veto right of current and new permanent members to exclude, at a first stage, cases of genocide, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity, grave violations to international humanitarian law, cessation of hostilities between belligerent parties and the election of the Secretary-General. That will strengthen the commitment of the permanent members to the international responsibility of the Security Council and of all members of the General Assembly to protect peoples from such heinous crimes, rather than to protect, for political or other considerations, those who commit such crimes. In itself, that would be the maximum manifestation of genuine global governance.

A balanced regional representation will be closely linked to the size of the enlarged Security Council. Therefore, when the Ezulwini Consensus states that Africa is demanding no less than two permanent seats with all the prerogatives and privileges, including the right of veto, along with two additional non-permanent seats, that should be read in the sense that Africa might demand more permanent seats if it feels that other regions smaller in number are getting more seats than their ratio of representation.

The African selection of candidates should not be seen as a contradiction to Article 23 of the Charter, which will continue to govern the election process in the General Assembly. We also believe that an enlarged Security Council, with at least 26 seats, will not negatively affect the efficiency and effectiveness of the Council, but will enhance representation and democracy.

Despite the continued efforts and attempts within the Security Council to improve its working methods, particularly those undertaken by the Council's Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions, as reflected in the note by the President of the Security Council (S/2010/507), none of those attempts meets the aspirations or the ambitions of the larger majority of Member States. Moreover, focus should be on the consideration, adoption and implementation of the proposals presented in that regard, including the proposals and positions of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Small Five.

Regarding the issue of the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council, Egypt stresses that encroachment by the Council on the role and functions of the Assembly should stop. The quality of the Council's annual reports submitted to the Assembly, the coordination between the Presidents of both organs, the role of the Assembly on questions relating to international peace and security and in the process of selecting and appointing the Secretary-General and many other issues must be dealt with effectively.

Different proposals have been made for an intermediate approach. Egypt believes that that approach does not respond to African demands, as it does not guarantee a true expansion of the permanent category and excludes granting the right of veto to new permanent members.

That new approach is still ambiguous, and we would welcome further clarifications from its authors concerning its final objective, the duration, renewal and termination of intermediate seats, the limitations on veto rights for current and new members in the intermediate phase, the period of transition, the rules that would be applied for the rotation of intermediate seats, and the exact details of the review stage.

Enhanced representation of developing countries and small States in the Security Council is also one of the fundamental pillars of the reform process, since the adoption of resolution 48/26. Egypt stresses the necessity takeoff taking duly into account the position of members of the League of Arab States demanding a permanent seat for the Arab Group in any future expansion in the category of permanent membership of the Council, as reaffirmed in the Sirte Declaration adopted by the Arab Summit in its ordinary session of 28 March 2010. We also stress the necessity takeoff taking into account the position of the Organization of the Islamic Conference demanding adequate representation of the Muslim Ummah in any category of membership in the expanded Council.

In conclusion, Egypt reiterates that what we need is the political will of us all, large and small, developing and developed, permanent and non-permanent members, in order to achieve the results that could garner the widest possible political acceptance, and I hope we can make strides towards that objective during the current session.

Mr. Aisi (Papua New Guinea): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the Pacific small island developing States (SIDS) represented at the United Nations, namely Fiji, Palau, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and my own country, Papua New Guinea.

We thank the United Kingdom for introducing the report of the Security Council (A/65/2) under the agenda item before us. The Pacific SIDS welcome the opportunity to participate in this debate on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters.

The reform of the Security Council is long overdue. In the 2005 World Summit Outcome (resolution 60/1), we, the international community, committed ourselves to early reform of the Council because we recognized that reform is necessary to increase its effectiveness and legitimacy. Furthermore, the reforms will properly reflect the contemporary geopolitical and economic realities, rather than those of 1945.

It is therefore critical that we redouble our efforts to achieve success. In a world where peace is not enjoyed by all, we must ensure that the body charged with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is properly structured to enable it to effectively discharge its duties, as detailed in the United Nations Charter.

As a global community, our commitment to peace and security is measured by our commitment to the effectiveness of the system that we have put in place to safeguard all people from the ravages of war and conflict. So in delaying the reform of the Council, we are contributing to the current global insecurity. We urge all Member States to recognize the global good to be achieved by a reformed Council, one that is more representative of the people whom it serves, and to urgently enhance our work so that we conclude this matter.

The position of the Pacific SIDS on a reformed Security Council is well known. In relation to the question of categories of membership, we consider expansion in the number of both permanent and non-permanent members to be critical. The Pacific SIDS do not support the creation of new categories of membership in a reformed Council, such as a new category of extended seats.

The current composition of the Council does not sufficiently represent all regions of the world and does not reflect the geopolitical realities of this century. That is most obvious in the case of Africa, where it is imperative that permanent seats be given to correct the injustices of the past. The Group of Latin American and Caribbean States (GRULAC) is also not represented in the permanent category, while Asia, with only one permanent seat, is underrepresented.

The redressing of that imbalance in one of the major decision-making bodies of the United Nations is most critical if the United Nations reform agenda is to be properly achieved. Therefore, the Pacific SIDS support two new permanent seats for Africa and one for GRULAC. We also support two additional permanent seats for Asia and one for the Group of

Western European and other States. We also support five additional non-permanent members.

The expansion of the Council as we have described it attracts the widest convergence among the United Nations membership, and we urge all countries to show flexibility so that we can move forward on this issue.

The existing regional group arrangement used to propose members for a two-year non-permanent seat in the Council through the concept of equitable geographical distribution also requires reform. The existing arrangement is no longer equitable in the distribution or selection of members from within the regional groups to serve on the Council. A more democratic and fair system of selection and a more balanced geographical distribution of subregions within the groups is required when proposals by groups for non-permanent seats in the Council are put forward.

The option of allocating a seat to the small island developing States within the existing group structures must be included in some form of assurance, contained in guidelines that could be part of a realistic reform process. Those assurances will afford the SIDS a more balanced opportunity to serve in the Council and will reflect a more democratic sharing of the concept of equitable geographical distribution.

In relation to the report on the Council's work, we are of course disappointed that the Council did not take up the issue of climate change. We urgently call on the Council to begin consideration of the threats to international peace and security posed by climate change. Climate change threatens to place tremendous stress on our national and international institutions and could displace millions of people around the world.

In our region of the Pacific, climate change may result in the physical disappearance of entire nations, with their populations rendered stateless. As the United Nations body that holds primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council has a duty to use the expansive powers granted to it under the Charter of the United Nations to respond to the security threat posed by climate change.

In the summer of 2009, this body unanimously passed resolution 63/281, recognizing for the first time the clear connection between climate change and its implications for international peace and security. In his report pursuant to that resolution (A/64/350), the Secretary-General identified several pathways by which climate change can threaten international peace and security. We agree with his statement that

> "the international community must anticipate and prepare itself to address a number of largely unprecedented challenges posed by climate change for which existing mechanisms may prove inadequate" (*A/64/350, para. 101*).

We agree with those conclusions and consider it imperative that the Security Council begin immediate consideration of actions it could take to respond to these growing threats.

The Security Council has long recognized that it must act to prevent disputes before they arise. To the current Council members, we ask that they support this call to action and place the issue on the agenda for 2011. Given the enormity of the threats posed by climate change, it is incumbent upon the Council to begin work on this enormous task at once.

Mr. Seger (Switzerland) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the group of five small nations (S-5) — Costa Rica, Jordan, Liechtenstein, Singapore and Switzerland.

My statement will address both agenda items 29, "Report of the Security Council", and 119, "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters".

With regard to item 29, the S-5 welcome the holding of a debate on the annual report of the Security Council (A/65/2). We also commend the efforts of the United Kingdom, as the current President of the Council, for its wise initiative to introduce an element of reflection and analysis in the introduction of the report. We hope that other Council Presidents will continue that practice.

Nevertheless, we believe that the time has come to take additional steps in order to make this debate more meaningful. Such measures would involve changes in both how the annual report is drafted and how it is discussed here. The sixty-fifth session of the General Assembly, whose overarching theme is global governance, gives us a good opportunity to reflect on the ways in which the report, and the manner in which we consider it, could be improved.

Ideally, the discussions of the Security Council's future reports should meet three criteria: they should be informal, inclusive and interactive. If we manage that, we will be able to draw greater and more tangible benefits from the annual report in the context of our common endeavour to strengthen international peace and security while fully respecting the tasks, mandates and competencies of both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The Charter of the United Nations clearly confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security on the Council. A more substantive and interactive dialogue between the two main organs of the United Nations, and among Member States, on the annual report is not meant to challenge that prerogative. Nonetheless, the Council could benefit from stronger involvement of its members. That would help it better discharge its functions. At the same time, political discussion with the Members of the Organization would have the additional advantage that the decisions taken by the Security Council would enjoy a greater sense of political ownership by States that would thus have a greater sense of involvement in them.

In that sense, the annual report would constitute an excellent opportunity not only to review the past but also for all parties to draw lessons with a view to improving the options and strategies for the coming year and beyond. In other words, the discussion of the report, instead of being primarily retrospective, should be a forward-looking exercise. Such discussion need not be a formal exercise; indeed, the Five propose a more seminar-like format, which could take the form of a series of workshops focused on situations and/or themes.

Our ideas may seem like a quantum leap to some, but the fact of the matter is that the debate on the report of the Security Council has become stale and ritualistic. As such, it has lost a great deal of its meaning. If we truly wish to work together towards international peace and security in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations, we need to be bold and innovative to get more out of this annual report. The Five therefore invite all Member States to reflect on possible improvements during this sixty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

That having been said, the Five would like to make the following remarks on this year's report. Although we had hoped for more in terms of the process as well as the contents of this report, we have seen some encouraging progress.

With regard to the process, we welcome the openness displayed by Nigeria in holding a dialogue with Member States on the annual report. Nonetheless, we propose that all Member States should be substantively involved at an earlier stage in the drafting process — for example, through an interactive open debate. We would also like to see those exchanges reflected in the annual report.

With regard to the contents of the report, we have noted some positive new elements in this year's report, which could serve as a basis for further improvements. First, we commend Nigeria for having included the analytical summaries of some of the presidencies, when available. Secondly, in the chapter on the Sudan, we noted a new practice whereby the discussions within the Council following a briefing by the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court were reflected. In that context, we support and encourage the inclusion of an analysis of the current challenges facing the Security Council, its evaluations, and the rationale for its decisions.

Thirdly, the Five underscore the need to highlight the linkages between thematic, regional and country-specific issues. The chapter on the Democratic Republic of the Congo clearly shows the relevance of the Council's approach to women and peace and security in the fight against sexual violence against women in armed conflict. The annual report should take account of that.

Finally, we welcome in particular the inclusion of a chapter on working methods. In future, we would suggest expanding on that chapter by adding the Council's assessment of its consideration of and progress on that matter, and informing the wider membership on the implementation of the note by the Council President in document S/2010/507.

In concluding our remarks on item 29, the Five would like to congratulate the current presidency of the Security Council for having breathed an innovative spirit into the discussions and for favouring interactiveness. We would also like to highlight that the increase in the number of open debates organized each month by the Council President — while one marker of openness and inclusion — in itself cannot translate into meaningful discussions.

In that context, the procedural changes presented by the United Kingdom during its informal briefing last week for members of the General Assembly deserve support, as they will make debates less formulaic and more conducive to discussions. We particularly welcome the idea of organizing an exchange of views with the Department of Political Affairs. We are also open to suggestions for making the consultations within the Council more spontaneous, lively and productive. We encourage future Council presidencies to follow that positive example and to continue such efforts.

The issue of working methods leads me to agenda item 119, on the reform of the Security Council. The S-5 thank the Council for holding an open debate on its working methods in April this year (see S/PV.6300), which was followed by the updating of the note by the President of the Council (S/2010/507). We commend the Informal Working Group on Documentation, and Japan as its Chair, for their work, and welcome the updated version of the presidential note. That document constitutes a good compilation of existing practices and of developments since the adoption of the first such presidential note (S/2006/507). At the same time, we believe that the note does not fully address all the important areas of work with regard to working methods. In particular, we regret the absence of implementation mechanisms.

The S-5 will continue to focus on the issue of reforming the working methods of the Security Council as a matter of priority. Progress in that area has to happen whether or not we can agree on an expansion of the Council.

With regard to the enlargement of the Security Council, the S-5 hope that the sixty-fifth session of the General Assembly will pave the way for initiating real, substantive and interactive negotiations. If we are not able to take that process to the next level, the United Nations will be perceived as an organization incapable of reforming itself. That would be very detrimental to the image and the credibility of the United Nations and would reflect badly on us as Member States. Therefore, we welcome the early resumption of the intergovernmental negotiations, as well as the reappointment of Ambassador Tanin as its facilitator. We wish to assure Ambassador Tanin of our full support for the upcoming process.

Mr. Touray (Sierra Leone): Permit me to thank you, Mr. President, on behalf of the African Group, for your opening remarks this morning, and for convening this joint debate on agenda item 29, on the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly on the work of the Council for the period August 2009 through July 2010, and on agenda item 119, dealing with the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters.

I should also like to thank both the Security Council and the Secretariat for the report contained in document A/65/2. We thank the Council's President, Sir Mark Lyall Grant, for introducing the report. However, in our representative capacity we will confine our intervention to matters relating to the working methods of the Council and its relationship with the General Assembly and to the question of equitable representation on and increase in membership of the Security Council and related matters. We will speak on other matters in the report in our national capacity.

Mr. President, your choice of "Reaffirming the central role of the United Nations in global governance" as the central theme of the Assembly's sixty-fifth session could not have been made at a better time. The United Nations, despite the daunting challenges that confronted it in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, has evolved to be the most legitimate forum where all nations could meet to find solutions to the myriad of problems confronting our world.

In an increasingly interdependent, globalized world, the United Nations has gained recognition as a norm-setting institution in governing relations between and among nations — hence the need to reaffirm its centrality in global governance. But in doing so, it becomes imperative that we all recommit ourselves to the reform process now ongoing. For the legitimacy and central role of the United Nations in global governance to be fully achievable, there is a need to address the burning issues of democratizing the Security Council through equitable regional representation in order to reflect the current geopolitical realities, and of making the Council more representative, transparent and accountable to the wider membership in order to give effect to the legitimacy of its decisions and make it more effective.

Less than a month ago, convinced of the urgent need to reaffirm the centrality of the United Nations in global governance as we entered into the Assembly's sixty-fifth session, the President convened a closed informal plenary on the intergovernmental negotiations in order to sound the views of the membership on where the reform process is, where it is leading us and how we can move the process forward.

The President concluded that, first, the second revision of the single negotiation text composed by the facilitator could serve as a vehicle to move the process forward. Secondly, the facilitator should continue to work through open, inclusive and transparent consultations that would allow the text to evolve in a balanced and comprehensive way. Thirdly, 11 November — that is, today's joint debate — would offer the opportunity to move the process forward. Fourthly, the responsibility to do that rests with Member States. Finally, he urged Member States to reflect on their positions and interact to find a way out. We unreservedly support his remarks and very much hope that this joint debate today will open a window of opportunity for finding solutions to what at this stage is a seemingly intractable subject.

We continue to reiterate the imperative of reforming the Security Council in a comprehensive manner that will enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of the United Nations in its primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. Attention should therefore be given to improving the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly, enhancing the efficiency and transparency of the Council's work, and promoting more interaction and dialogue with non-Council members on the Council's working methods, in addition to the most important issue of the expansion of the Council in both the permanent and non-permanent categories. Bringing the two agenda items 29 and 119 together in this debate is a clear indication that the two are interlinked.

On that note, we acknowledge the Security Council's presidential note contained in document S/2010/507, issued on 26 July 2010, and the progress made towards attaining greater efficiency and transparency in the Council's working methods, particularly in the holding of more meetings and consultations with other stakeholders such as Member States, troop-contributing countries and non-governmental organizations.

We also welcome the Security Council's visit to specific missions engaged in areas in the continent that are on its agenda to garner accurate information on the ground and to increase the effectiveness of its work and decisions. We encourage the Council to continue with such measures aimed at improving, nurturing and enhancing its relations with relevant stakeholders.

In particular, we continue to stress the need for more inclusiveness, transparency and legitimacy in the Council's proceedings. Here, we would like to emphasize that the rules of procedure — which remain provisional after 60 years of the Council's existence — are a cause for concern. Additionally, we urge its full compliance with the provisions of Article 15, paragraph 1, and Article 24, paragraph 3, of the United Nations Charter by submitting special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration, and urge that the Council's annual reports be analytical enough to be of added value and significance.

Furthermore, it is important for the Security Council to concentrate on the mandate and competence accorded to it by the United Nations Charter and resist resort to Chapter VII provisions of the Charter as an excuse to address issues that do not really fall within the ambit of the provisions. We urge the Council to continue to work more cooperatively with the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council by holding more intense and regular consultations with the Presidents of both organs, which would foster harmonious interaction and avoid encroaching on the mandates of the other two organs.

We therefore reaffirm the need for full implementation of the relevant provisions of Assembly resolutions 51/193, 58/126 and 59/313.

We acknowledge progress made during the intergovernmental negotiations in the previous session, culminating in the single negotiating document as a significant step in the right direction. We would like to thank His Excellency Mr. Ali Abdussalam Treki, President of the General Assembly at its sixty-fourth session, and Ambassador Zahir Tanin, the facilitator, for their tireless efforts in promoting and advancing the reform process. It now behoves us all to build on that progress by continuing the negotiations within the framework of decisions 62/557, 63/565 and 64/568 in a way that will allow the text to evolve in an open and transparent manner.

In that vein, there is need to identify and agree on the structure and approach by which to continue the negotiations. Consequently, it is our view that we should now aim at meaningful consultations and an interactive approach that will move the process towards consensus-building. We support the continuation of the intergovernmental negotiations along with the facilitator, seeking to reach an agreement on the principles and criteria relating to the five key issues, or negotiables, as stipulated in paragraph (e) (ii) of decision 62/557.

Our call for Africa's representation in both the permanent and non-permanent categories of the Security Council, as contained in the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration, is to address the injustice that a continent of 53 States, accounting for about 70 per cent of the Council's work, has had to contend with, and continues to contend with, as against the geopolitical realities of today's world.

Africa therefore demands and continues to demand an expansion in both categories of membership, permanent and non-permanent, with no less than two permanent seats together with all the prerogatives and privileges, including the veto as long as it continues to exist, and a total of five non-permanent seats, with the African Union being trusted with the responsibility of selecting Africa's candidates. Any continued delay in the process will not only succeed in prolonging that historical injustice but will also question the legitimacy of the decisions of the Council and the integrity of its proceedings.

In conclusion, Africa reiterates its call for a Council that is more inclusive, effective, transparent, efficient and accountable. Africa urges all Member States to continue to negotiate in good faith and with mutual trust and to endeavour to make concerted efforts to achieve progress in the negotiation and move the process forward. It is therefore incumbent on us all to continue the process in an atmosphere of flexibility and compromise so that a reform that satisfies the broad consensus of membership can be achieved.

We in Africa are committed to working with all interested groups and the general membership in this session to make Security Council reform a reality.

In our national capacity, my delegation acknowledges with appreciation the report on Sierra Leone in the Council's report for the period August 2009 to July 2010 (A/65/2). We would like to take this as another opportunity to thank the Council and the international community for the continued support in our post-conflict peacebuilding effort. Sierra Leone is deeply committed to building on the gains since the end of hostilities and will continue to endeavour to work with all stakeholders to ensure sustainable peace, stability, growth and development.

Mr. Lambert (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): Our world is in the process of an accelerated transformation. We all know that the economic, political, institutional and development positions of many countries are in a full process of change.

Within the United Nations, we all promote effective multilateralism. We must therefore take into account the reality of certain changes. The United Nations institutions, including the Security Council, should better reflect that new reality in an equitable manner. Indeed, recently we have been able to see that the attention to the issue of the reform of the Security Council is and continues to be very current in the international sphere, at the highest levels. The outside world has expectations when it comes to this issue, and consequently has expectations of us.

It is in this context that I welcome the laudable work of Ambassador Tanin, who has been able to achieve remarkable progress by initiating an exercise intended to make the current negotiating text more operational. Many delegations, including those of the Benelux countries, have contributed to this exercise by introducing proposals for improving the text on the five major topics before us. We remain prepared to do even more during the current session of the General Assembly. I also welcome the specific attention that you, Mr. President, are devoting to this effort. For us, that is a positive sign that should inspire us to continue with the momentum initiated at the beginning of this session.

Here and now, I wish to appeal to all members of the Assembly to contribute concretely and technically to producing a real negotiating text through specific proposals to improve the current one, which will be the principal task of this round of negotiations. The mere repetition of traditionally held — and therefore well-known — points of view is no longer an option. From now on, we must produce results. The outside world is watching, expects much from us and, indeed, expects us to do better. Ideally, we should be prepared to target elements that essentially constitute the real political

Gordian knot, such as enlarging the Council in its two categories.

The objectives to be reached this year are therefore clear in our minds. My delegation remains prepared to rise to the challenge and to assume our responsibility in an interactive fashion.

Mr. Wittig (Germany): Please allow me to first thank you, Mr. President, for the personal attention that you have been giving to the topic of Security Council reform. We are very grateful both to you and to the Chair, Ambassador Tanin, for the fact that we have already been able to hold one informal plenary meeting on the issue under your presidency of the General Assembly.

The importance of United Nations reform, and in particular that of the Security Council, cannot be overstated. There are concerns about global governance being restructured and about the creation of new international formats, such as the Group of 20. In recent days, we have been witnessing an important reform of the International Monetary Fund. The concern is that the United Nations might be left behind in this process, as its basic structure has remained essentially unchanged since 1945, while the Organization's membership has grown from 51 at the time to 192 Member States today.

It is our responsibility as Member States of the United Nations to ensure that these concerns do not become a reality. Time will not play in the favour of the United Nations, if an adaptation of its structures to the realities of our times cannot soon be achieved. We must reach a reform compromise, if the Security Council is to preserve its place at the heart of the multilateral system. With its unique claim on legitimacy and its indispensable functions as outlined in the Charter of the United Nations, it must remain, in our view, the body that deals with threats to peace and security in the world.

We should therefore not lose any more time in the reform process. We welcome the fact that it is now ever more widely recognized that the Council's future composition will reflect current geopolitical realities. President Obama delivered an important speech in New Delhi at the beginning of this week highlighting this particular fact. We have to ensure that the Security Council can play its role in the twenty-first century.

The overwhelming majority of Member States considers this aim to be best served by an expansion of the Council in both of its membership categories. Like our African partners and many others, Germany and its partners in the Group of Four firmly support this model of expansion. That was a clear result of the sixty-fourth session, and it is reflected in the second version of the negotiating text that was put forward by the Chair of the intergovernmental negotiations, Ambassador Tanin. We now need to build upon this result. All of us will have to engage in the endeavour to find the compromise solution with the broadest possible support.

I appeal to all members to now swiftly take the negotiating process in the informal plenary meeting one step further to arrive at a third version of the negotiating text by the end of the year. That version should eliminate overlaps and merge identical positions, and thus be significantly shorter than the second version.

We call on you, Mr. President, and on the Chairman of the intergovernmental negotiations, to work with Member States — possibly also in groups — and aim for a shortened version by the end of the year. This process should eventually be used as an opportunity to narrow down the options and should be the basis of any stocktaking. The membership could then start with actual negotiations about the reform by the beginning of next year. We should firmly envisage a concrete outcome by the end of the sixty-fifth session.

Let me stress that we should arrive at a reform that changes the Council for the better. In doing so, a permanent African presence on the Council, as well as the permanent presence of other countries from the South — from Latin America and from Asia — is essential. But those who are the largest contributors to the maintenance of international peace and security will of course also have to assume their rightful place.

Last but not least, improving the working methods of the Security Council is another essential element of the reform. A Council thus reformed would better serve the interests of all Member States.

Mr. Kleib (Indonesia): Let me begin by thanking you, Mr. President, for convening this important debate on two interconnected agenda items. We also wish to thank the delegation of the United Kingdom, as the current President of the Security Council, along with

other Council members, for presenting the Council's annual report for the period 1 August 2009 to 31 July 2010 (A/65/2). We also take this opportunity to thank the delegation of Nigeria, which held the Council's presidency in July, for its work in drafting the introduction of the report.

Indonesia associates itself with the statement on the position of the Non-Aligned Movement delivered earlier by the representative of Egypt.

The vast number of Council resolutions, presidential statements and field visits during the period covered by the report shows the seriousness of global peace and security challenges. The Council and the agencies of the United Nations system have indeed played a very important role in helping to mitigate conflict and foster peace. Indonesia commends the Council for its actions in many of the cases mentioned in the report. We applaud it for its many open briefings, as well as its consultations with troop- and police-contributing countries, as part of the effort to plan and execute peacekeeping operations more effectively and with clear and up-to-date mandates.

At the same time, as some have pointed out, we too would have preferred greater analysis and elaboration of the Council's approaches in the report. Indeed, there is always room for improvement. In that regard, it would be helpful to United Nations Members if the report of the Council could include the implementation status of the Council's own decisions. It is important that the General Assembly, whose members entrust the Council with the maintenance of world peace and security, should have a better understanding of the complete picture. Also, the report should be not just about the Council's successful deliberations, but also about its failure to act on particular issues. It is not an institution incapable of failure.

On United Nations peacekeeping and many other matters concerning international peace and security, the Council should conduct a more meaningful exchange of views with Member States in general, especially those whose interests may be directly affected by possible decisions of the Council. Apart from enhancing the quality of the Council's decisions, that will create greater ownership over the Council's decisions among the relevant stakeholders, making it more effective.

On the subject of Security Council reform, my delegation would first like to commend Ambassador Zahir Tanin of Afghanistan for his hard work at the informal intergovernmental plenary meetings of the General Assembly to steer what is certainly not an easy process. A reformed Security Council that, inter alia, addresses the imbalance in the Council's composition in relation to the vast number of developing countries from various regions, as well as making the Council more representative, accountable and effective are both essential. The future composition of the Council should naturally include the newly emerging Powers.

We support the efforts to draw up a negotiating text, which is definitely a good basis for further negotiations. However, in our view, no matter how hard we try to fine-tune the text during this session, a breakthrough in finding solutions to differences will be beyond any text. There needs to be greater political flexibility in agreeing on generally acceptable points. Progress will be made when the formula for Council reform is such that it is acceptable to the wide majority of countries, including those that have a particular interest in reform. We need to move forward to work on the points of convergence that can unite the largest possible number of countries.

Indonesia is among those countries that believe that expanding both categories of membership offers the greatest potential for addressing the fundamental shortcoming of the Council as it is presently constituted, namely, its lack of representation. That defect is widely recognized and hardly needs repeating. Expanding both categories of membership offers a rare opportunity to achieve a Council that better reflects the contemporary world and, indeed, can anticipate projected trends for the future.

However, notwithstanding the obvious appeal of expanding both categories to ensure a more representative Council, it is our considered view that at the present time we can realistically say that it is the middle ground that may garner the widest possible political acceptance, and that it is the intermediate approach on the key issue of categories of membership that deserves further consideration in order to move the process forward. In saying this, we are not jettisoning the possibility of future reform involving expanding the permanent membership. This is one issue that can be addressed in the review concept within the intermediate approach, which we will all delve into in the future.

There are many variants of the intermediate approach. We should therefore encourage ourselves to explore it further. Our suggestion is that this year's session can add substantive value to advancing the process of Council reform by further exploring the kind of intermediate approach we can agree on. Regarding the issue of the size of a reformed Council, we should also take a middle-ground approach. A suggestion at this stage is to expand the membership to between the mid-20s and 31. We need to work to arrive at an agreed-on number that reflects the world's plurality, with its vast number of developing countries and regions, in a more balanced manner.

While opinion also varies on the remaining three key Council reform issues, Indonesia is certain that, through increased cooperation, collaboration and dialogue, differences can be narrowed and agreements reached on advancing the reform process we are all so painstakingly invested in.

Finally, my delegation would like to reiterate that all five key issues of Security Council reform should be negotiated as an integral part of a comprehensive package. Indonesia, for its part, stands ready to engage with all countries to advance Council reform on a viable path.

Mr. Ragaglini (Italy): Thank you for convening this debate, Mr. President. It helps us to focus in a very concrete way on two issues related to the Security Council, namely, its annual report and the reform process.

The Security Council was involved in intensive activity during the period considered by the report (A/65/2). It dealt with geographic crises in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, the Balkans and Haiti. It also devoted considerable time to thematic and general issues, including terrorism, the protection of civilians, women and peace and security, peacekeeping operations, peacebuilding and non-proliferation.

To respond to the growing demand of Member States to improve its effectiveness, the Security Council, under the leadership of the Turkish presidency, also held an important summit last September focused on ensuring an effective role for the Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. On that occasion, the representative of one of the Council's members made the following statement:

> "Improving the effectiveness of the Security Council depends also on the role of non-permanent members. They must fully participate in the decision-making process. Non-permanent members can bring a diversity of views and regional experiences to the Council. It is not appropriate to call upon them only to ratify decisions already taken by the permanent members." (*S/PV.6389, p. 16*)

That member was Brazil, and the representative who made the statement was its Foreign Minister. We fully share the letter and spirit of the approach of our Brazilian friends. I shall now shift focus to the Security Council reform process.

We are not deaf and we are not blind. We are closely watching the reshaping of the international community. We understand and welcome the will and capacity of Member States to contribute more and to take on more responsibilities. Over the past 15 years, the world has changed dramatically; it will change even faster in the next decade. In reforming the Security Council, we all have the responsibility to consider the changes that the past and present have brought, but especially those that the future will bring. We need to make the Council more legitimate, more representative and more effective.

A reformed Council must give a chance to the 70 Member States that have never served on it. We must make it accountable to the General Assembly through the noblest of democratic principles, that is, the right to vote and to elect representatives. These are the reasons that we strongly believe that the Security Council needs to be reformed. That is why we do not believe that a democratic, representative and legitimate reform can be achieved by enlarging the Council and extending outdated and ineffective privileges, such as permanent membership, to a few, while neglecting the rights of many.

Italy, its Uniting for Consensus allies and many like-minded Member States are convinced that a reformed Security Council must be more representative, more accountable and more flexible. Under our proposal, it would be more representative because, by including longer-term seats and new non-permanent members, more Member States would have a chance to serve. It would also be more representative owing to an innovative approach to regional representation, which is particularly significant

following the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and the progress achieved by the African Union. It would be more accountable because even longer-term seats would be subject to elections and scrutiny by the General Assembly. And it would be more flexible because our proposal has the merit of making the Council adaptable without the need to spend another 17 years looking for a reform to adapt it to new realities.

The latter is a crucial point. If we add new permanent members now — say four or five — in addition to further non-permanent members, what shall we do in 10, 15 or 20 years' time when other countries will be ready to assume greater responsibilities? Shall we add other permanent members while applying the same logic? Will we end up with a Council of 30 to 35 members? Will it work better or worse? Will not Brazil's concerns on the attitude of permanent members — which we share — be heightened?

Of course, the Uniting for Consensus proposal is not a take-it-or-leave-it proposition. It is a genuine and doable proposal — the newest in the past five years — which takes into account the link of all five key issues, reflects a fresh and compromise-based approach and shows flexibility, creativity and good faith. It is therefore imperative that, during the current session, the members of the Assembly show the same flexibility, readiness to negotiate and willingness to compromise in order to work on the text prepared by the facilitator, Ambassador Tanin. Italy and its partners are ready to do so.

Mr. Alotaibi (Kuwait) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to express my appreciation to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, the President of the Security Council for this month, for his introduction of the Council's report (A/65/2) to the General Assembly, and for his important briefing on the Council's activities over the past year. I am also pleased to congratulate the new non-permanent members of the Security Council for the period 2011-2012, namely, Colombia, Germany, India, Portugal and South Africa. I also wish to reaffirm my delegation's support for the statement delivered earlier by the representative of Egypt on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement. We also welcome a new decision to once again place trust in Ambassador Zahir Tanin to lead the work of the intergovernmental negotiations aimed at reaching a historic agreement that would strengthen the role of the Security Council.

The two topics under consideration today are among the most important items on the agenda of the General Assembly, namely, the report of the Security Council and the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Council. The issue of reform continues to be stalled after 18 years of discussions. We have not yet reached any agreement on either the changes to be made or the form that the Council should have, although there is international consensus that the Council must be reformed.

However, we cannot ignore the fact that there has been progress in the negotiations, especially on the working methods of the Council. There is almost generalized agreement on many of the procedures and proposals to be introduced. There is no doubt that there must be general agreement when it comes to any issue pertaining to expanding and reforming the Security Council, so as to ensure that the reform is real, enjoys wide acceptance and is easy to implement. There is also a need for transparency, good faith and avoiding any unilateral actions aimed at achieving national interests. The purpose of serving as a member of the Council is to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security. That entails a responsibility to maintain objectivity and not seek political gains for any State or regional group.

Kuwait's position on the issue of Security Council reform, which has been clearly set out on many previous occasions, is grounded on the following established principles. The reform of the Council should be an integral part of a comprehensive reform of all the organs of the United Nations. The reform process should aim at improving efficiency and ensuring effectiveness and legitimacy. It should be comprehensive and ongoing in order to meet its responsibilities, keep pace with changes and address the challenges and developments facing the international community. Any increase in the membership of the Security Council should serve to bolster its role in maintaining international peace and security and increase the legitimacy and credibility to its resolutions.

We attach great importance to improving both the working methods of the Council and its relations with the other principal organs of the United Nations, namely, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. Kuwait therefore supports the proposals made by the Non-Aligned Movement aimed at increasing transparency in the work of the Council

and facilitating the flow of information to and from Member States. We also recognize the need for full respect for the respective mandates and competencies of each organ, especially those of the General Assembly, as well as the need to limit the role of the Security Council to discussing issues that pose a threat to international peace and security.

In that regard, we reiterate the importance of codifying the procedures adopted by the Security Council to improve its working methods, without waiting for an agreement on other issues — such as those relating to the size and composition of the Council and its decision-making process — especially since codifying those procedures would not necessarily entail amending the Charter. We also believe that the Security Council should adopt permanent rules of procedure, instead of the provisional ones under which it has been operating for more than 60 years.

Kuwait also supports keeping in place the mechanism for the election of non-permanent members of the Council established under Article 23, paragraph 2, of the Charter, as it provides a greater opportunity for small Member States to serve on the Council and contribute to its work. That is especially important given that, after six and a half decades, more than a quarter of Member States have yet to serve as members of the Security Council.

With regard to the veto, we consider it important to place limits and controls on its use, including limiting it to issues under Chapter VII of the Charter.

Should there be an agreement on increasing the number of non-permanent seats, distributing those seats to regional groups should take into account the great increase in the number of Members from among Asian States.

We should also not ignore the right of Arab and Muslim countries to appropriate representation in accordance with their size and contributions to defending the purposes and principles of the Charter.

In conclusion, we reaffirm our support for all efforts to strengthen the role and performance of the Security Council. We must reach a consensus that will ensure that the Security Council is able to carry out its work under the Charter without any obstacles.

Mr. Oyarzun (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation appreciates the opportunity to hold this joint debate on the Security Council report to the General Assembly (A/65/2) and Security Council reform.

With regard to the Security Council report to the General Assembly, I am grateful for the statement made by the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, as President of the Council. The report submitted at this session is more analytical than that of the previous year, but even more progress could be made through the inclusion of additional, qualitative information.

Spain attaches great importance to positive interaction between the Security Council and the General Assembly. The interaction and cooperation between these two main organs of the United Nations should be improved through greater transparency and accountability, which would promote the adoption of more useful methods to prevent and eliminate threats to international peace and security.

The United Nations Charter provides guidelines for interaction between the General Assembly and the Security Council. Articles 15 and 24.3 provide for the submission by the Council of annual and special reports to the General Assembly.

Among the matters addressed by the Security Council, cross-cutting issues are of special relevance to the Assembly. Issues such as the fight against terrorism, peacebuilding, the disarmament of ex-combatants and the prevention of conflicts are of special interest, since the Assembly has responsibilities for various aspects of them. Greater coordination and interaction between the Council and the Assembly in dealing with these would be desirable, including specific information in order to make the work of the United Nations more effective. It would also be desirable to have greater transparency in the work of the Council and greater participation of Member States in the activities and decisions of the Council, especially on those issues directly affecting them. It would also be desirable for the debates of the Council to be more open to statements from Member States with an interest in the topics under discussion and that there be greater interaction with troop-contributing countries involved in operations authorized by the Council.

My delegation, in any case, appreciates the important role of the Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, and believes that the Council should strengthen its preventive diplomacy

activities before international crises arise and be more flexible in dealing with them once they do occur.

I should now like to address the question of Security Council reform.

We appreciate your interest, Sir, and that of Ambassador Tanin — who is once again responsible for chairing the intergovernmental negotiations at this session — in achieving concrete results during your respective mandates. You can count on the full support of the Spanish delegation in this endeavour.

As I stated at the exploratory meeting held on 21 October, my delegation — along with others of the Uniting for Consensus group — is prepared actively and constructively to pursue negotiations on the basis of the revised negotiation text that was submitted to us by Ambassador Tanin on 27 August.

The word "negotiate" is absolutely key here. It means making concrete proposals that can generate consensus, and demonstrating the will to reach a compromise solution acceptable to all. Conversely, negotiating does not mean reiterating positions that are sufficiently well known and officially on record, such as ours, which continues to favour the enlargement of the Council exclusively in the category of non-permanent membership.

I think we need to acknowledge that something is not quite right when, three months after the presentation on 26 May of the first version of the negotiating text, we have not been able to shorten its length by even a single page. The first revision was 31 pages long, and the second is the same length. Unfortunately, negotiations remain at an impasse similar to that which existed before we had a negotiating text.

Since we cannot put the blame on the Open-ended Working Group or, I imagine, on the former President of the General Assembly or on Ambassador Tanin and his team, we are compelled to acknowledge that the full responsibility falls entirely to us. However, although responsibility for the impasse is undoubtedly a collective one, it is not exactly the same for all. I think we need to recall that the Uniting for Consensus group was the only group to submit concrete amendments to the first revision, merging several of our proposals into a single one that was included in the second. We also remain the only group that has proposed an alternative model, demonstrating our readiness to explore the so-called intermediate model by adopting some of its elements, such as the creation of longer-term seats for non-permanent members and the inclusion of the review concept at the end of a certain period of time. Neither of these was part of the model we proposed in 2005.

After five rounds of negotiations, we believe that the time has come for other groups to follow suit. In any case, we have the mandate to immediately continue intergovernmental negotiations, as set out in decision 64/568, which I recall was adopted by consensus on 13 September. Accordingly, my delegation would like to see a road map, provided well in advance, for the sixth round of negotiations that would include the dates of and topics for each meeting. We would also like to know if consultations will be held prior to the next round. If they are, we would like to be reassured that the consultations will not become negotiations held at the margins of the informal plenary of the General Assembly.

Mr. Askarov (Uzbekistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Along with the road map, we attach great importance to scrupulous adherence to the rules of the game for the negotiations that were set out in General Assembly decisions 62/557, 63/565 and 64/568. I would like to refer to the following three such rules in particular.

First is the comprehensive nature of Security Council reform and the indissoluble interlinkage among its five key issues. It is essential for the negotiations to continue to include these five issues without excluding or marginalizing any of them.

Second is the open, transparent and inclusive character of the negotiations, including, as the case may be, possible consultations prior to the beginning of a new round. It is essential that no delegation be left out or any proposal excluded. I take this opportunity to recall that this is the first time that the General Assembly is addressing the issue of Security Council reform in plenary since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. My delegation will endeavour — we hope, with others — to promote a model of reform that will be fully consistent with the legitimate aspirations enshrined in the Treaty, giving preference to the general interest of all States members of the European Union over the particular interests of any single member State.

Third is the membership-driven aspect of the negotiations. It is essential that all initiatives always come from Member States or be unequivocally endorsed by them. In short, my delegation cannot accept that the rules of the game be changed mid-game, even if it is argued that this would benefit the negotiations.

To conclude, I reiterate my invitation to the President of the General Assembly to play a proactive role in monitoring the negotiations, complementing and strengthening the work of Ambassador Tanin, just as he did at the meeting of 21 October, which he attended from beginning to end. That would be the best way to help us fulfil the obligation he assigned to us to obtain concrete results by the conclusion of the current session.

Mr. Araud (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, in his capacity as President of the Security Council, for presenting the Council's annual report to the General Assembly (A/65/2). The improved quality of the Security Council's annual reports is evidence of improvements in its working methods in terms of increased transparency and improved interaction with all States Members of our Organization.

France is mindful of those aspects of the Security Council's necessary evolution and emphasizes the other issues that must be addressed if the Council is finally to enter the twenty-first century: regional representation, membership categories and size.

It is well known that France is committed to achieving an ambitious reform of the Security Council that would allow the Council to strengthen its effectiveness and make it more representative. Areas of convergence became apparent in the work carried out under the leadership of Ambassador Tanin, the chair of intergovernmental negotiations at the sixty-fourth session of the General Assembly. An expansion of the Security Council in the two categories of membership is one area attracting increasing support. We must work on these areas of convergence in order to launch genuine negotiations and to avoid getting bogged down in successive unilateral statements.

We must build on the progress represented by the document drawn up at the sixty-fourth session thanks to the facilitator's efforts. It is now time to work towards achieving a shorter and more functional text that will allow us to engage fully in genuine negotiations before the end of the year. We therefore urge Ambassador Tanin to do his utmost to achieve this objective by the end of the year.

Fundamentally, Security Council reform must take into account the emergence of new Powers that want to assume the responsibility of a permanent seat on the Security Council and that are, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, able to make a significant contribution to the Council's maintenance of international peace and security. With that in mind, we support the accession of Germany, Brazil, India and Japan to permanent membership. We also support an increased presence of African countries on the Security Council, particularly among its permanent members. The question of an Arab State among the permanent members of the Security Council is also to be addressed.

However, if we do not achieve real progress at the sixty-fifth session; that is, if there are no negotiations — and this is a juncture we have not yet reached — we must face that reality and consider the interim stage of reform jointly proposed by the President of France and the British Prime Minister. Some people have asked us — and some have asked here today — to define the parameters of that proposal. My delegation believes firmly that these parameters must emerge from negotiation and that they cannot be prescribed but must be fully embraced by all Members. First, a consensus must emerge whereby this Assembly commits to the path of negotiating an interim reform. Were that to happen, I am convinced that those States operating in good faith would be able to generate the working documents needed for the task.

We know everyone's positions, having heard them many times and having heard them yet again this morning. Nevertheless, we face a clear choice. Either we pursue this fruitless rehashing and Security Council reform will die a slow death, to the satisfaction of some and the detriment of all; or, conversely, we start negotiations. It is a question of political will. France calls on the Assembly today to make this decision, as we have done before at the highest levels of State, including the President of the Republic.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The Russian delegation welcomes the convening of today's meeting of the General Assembly, which gives all Member States an opportunity to

discuss the work of the Council over the year and to discuss questions of its reform.

We thank the President of the Security Council, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Mark Lyall Grant, for introducing the annual report of the Security Council (A/65/2). We also thank the delegation of Nigeria, which has done a great deal of work in putting together and preparing the document. We believe that overall it objectively reflects the momentum of the work of the Council in the past year. The fact that the Council, as in previous years, has been actively involved in dealing with important problems in the area of security shows that the international community is adhering to the irreplaceable principle of the unique legitimacy of Security Council decisions, which are fundamental to settling issues of international peace and security.

The purpose of the Council's reports is to give a holistic and factually accurate idea of the work of the Council for the year. The current report fully rises to that challenge. In terms of specific approaches of Council members to different issues on the agenda, Member States have many other opportunities to inform themselves, including by visiting the Council's numerous open meetings.

Along with improving the format and content of Security Council reports, positive evolutions in the working methods of the Council continue and its practice of holding open debates and briefings has expanded. An important milestone in this regard was the Council's adoption in July of the revised presidential note (S/2010/507, annex). The note reflected an array of new elements in the work of the Council, including enshrining the intent of its members to invite, as needed, the chairs of the country configurations of the Peacebuilding Commission to participate in official meetings of the Council in order to consider the relevant countries' situations. It also calls for their participation in an exchange of views with Council members in informal dialogue.

The Russian delegation is of the view that the work of the Council must in future maintain a reasonable balance between transparency and effectiveness, in the understanding that the important thing is to build the Council's capacity to discharge its Charter responsibilities to maintain international peace and security.

We favour a further deepening of interaction between the Security Council and the General Assembly. In this area, we need to focus on those spheres in which real cooperation between these two main organs of the United Nations is not only possible but necessary, on the basis of mutual acknowledgement of their respective authorities.

As a permanent member of the Council, Russia has consistently called for enhancing the effectiveness of the Council's work, including by making it more representative. However, efforts in this direction must not have a negative impact on the Council's functionality. We are in favour of maintaining a compact membership of the Council, and we are convinced that ideas that would lead to an infringement of the prerogatives of current permanent members, including the veto, would be counterproductive.

It is our view that the final formula for Security Council reform must be based on the broadest possible support of the membership. The proposed models of Council reform have not enjoyed such report to date. It is therefore necessary at this session of the General Assembly to continue our negotiating work to bring positions closer together. We anticipate that the efforts of the President of the General Assembly and the work of the negotiations' facilitator, the Permanent Representative of Afghanistan, Ambassador Tanin, will be aimed first and foremost at providing as much assistance as possible in achieving this goal, in the understanding that the ownership of the negotiating process must remain with the Member States themselves. This work must be conducted in a transparent and inclusive manner, without artificial timelines. How far we advance in the talks will depend on the political will and readiness of States to achieve a reasonable and effective compromise.

Mr. Nishida (Japan): I would like to thank the President of the General Assembly for convening today's plenary meeting to discuss the report of the Security Council (A/65/2) and Security Council reform. I would also like to extend my appreciation to Ambassador Mark Lyall Grant of the United Kingdom for introducing the report in his capacity as President of the Council.

It was indeed fortunate that President Deiss chose global governance as the theme for the general debate of the current session in September. During the debate, all Member States responded positively to this theme

and reaffirmed that the United Nations is the central forum for global governance. In this regard, it was very timely that he convened and presided over the first meeting of the intergovernmental negotiations of the current session on 21 October, in accordance with decision 64/568. At that meeting, his appointment of Ambassador Zahir Tanin to chair the intergovernmental negotiations on his behalf was endorsed by Member States. Japan welcomes the President's strong interest in this issue. We trust that he and Ambassador Tanin will exercise strong leadership in guiding us towards producing substantive results during this session.

The Security Council must reflect the political realities of the twenty-first century. The Council has been reformed only once, more than 45 years ago, to increase the number of non-permanent members from 6 to 10. The membership of the United Nations has expanded by approximately 65 per cent since then. The number of Member States, especially from Asia and Africa, has increased dramatically during these years.

Reform of the Security Council is long overdue. Our political leaders recognized this in the Millennium Declaration (resolution 55/2) in 2000, and again in the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document (resolution 60/1). During the general debate of the sixty-fifth session in September, the majority of political leaders of Member States stressed that urgent reforms, including reform of the Security Council, need to be undertaken to ensure that the Organization is able to fulfil its responsibilities.

At the first meeting of the negotiations on 21 October, almost all permanent representatives reiterated the necessity of early reform of the Security Council. While on his visit to Japan in the last week of October, President Deiss also emphasized repeatedly that a strong United Nations requires a decisive effort to reform the Security Council, among other organs.

We believe that realizing early reform of the Security Council will require political will and high-level action on the part of Member States. To that end, the Foreign Ministers of the Group of Four met in New York on 24 September for an exchange of views on Security Council reform. We committed ourselves to continuing to participate actively in the intergovernmental negotiations and to work in cooperation with other countries with a view to achieving concrete results during the current session.

Japan's position is that the Security Council must be reformed through modifications that include the expansion of both the permanent and non-permanent categories of membership, as well as improvement in the Council's working methods, so as to make the body more broadly representative, legitimate, effective and responsive to the realities of the current international community.

An enlarged Security Council should include, on a permanent basis, those Member States that have demonstrated well the readiness, capacity and resources to play an important role in the Security Council in the twenty-first century. In the general debate on 24 September, Prime Minister Naoto Kan confirmed this goal by stressing Japan's determined aspiration to take on further responsibilities for international peace and security as a permanent member of the Security Council (see A/65/PV.14).

Now is the time to move to the next phase in the intergovernmental negotiations. In this round, we should not permit ourselves to simply continue debating and repeating what transpired in the previous five rounds. Japan, for its part, will spare no effort to help accelerate the work in order to produce, by the end of this year, a revised negotiating text that is more concise and useful for negotiation purposes. Japan has already begun and continues to engage more actively with other delegations, including those of African States, in a flexible manner in order to prepare the ground for concrete action with a view to achieving tangible results during the current session.

If we continue to defer reform and the current composition of the Security Council remains unchanged, we are concerned that not only the ability of the United Nations to carry out self-reform but also the Council's legitimacy will be increasingly questioned. Security Council reform is not simply a matter of concern for a small number of Member States. This task is a common responsibility of those of us representing Member States now on behalf of generations to come.

Even after the Security Council has been expanded, it will continue to make decisions that have an impact on the wider membership of the United Nations, with a limited number of countries participating in the decision-making process. The working methods of the Security Council are therefore crucial to its effective functioning, and enhancing the

Council's transparency, efficiency and interaction with non-Council members benefits Council members and non-members alike. Such efforts are essential if the Security Council is to fulfil its responsibility to act promptly and effectively in favour of international peace and security.

The Security Council has been conducting an ongoing discussion on the improvement of its working methods. During Japan's presidency in April, the Security Council held an open debate on working methods. While noting the improvements made in recent years, most non-members called for further enhancement, transparency and interaction with the wider membership. Taking note of the views expressed by Member States during the open debate, the Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions, which I currently chair, worked to revise the presidential note on working methods (S/2006/507). The revised presidential note (S/2010/507) was adopted by the Council on 27 July. The new note accurately reflects the current procedures and practices of the Council.

The revised note also clarifies the guidelines for the preparation of the annual report under the leadership of the President of the Council for the month of July of each calendar year. Japan welcomes the fact that the annual report of the Security Council was prepared in line with the revised presidential note. We commend the efforts made by Nigeria to interact with non-members in the preparation of the annual report for this year. Such interaction has been increasing in recent years. We also welcome the fact that the improvements in the Council's working methods achieved during the reporting period were described for the first time in the introduction of the annual report.

I would like to conclude by reiterating Japan's continuing commitment to improving the working methods of the Council.

Mr. Li Baodong (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I would like to thank the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom for his briefing on behalf of the Security Council on the annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly (A/65/2). I would also like to thank Nigeria and the Secretariat for their efforts in drafting the report.

The United Nations Charter entrusts the Security Council with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Over the past year, the Council has been committed to the peace and reconstruction process in Afghanistan, Iraq and Haiti, and ensured the smooth transition from peacekeeping to peacebuilding in countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste. It has supported the deployment of peacekeepers in the Sudan and pushed for the political process in Darfur. The Council has supported preventive diplomacy and the settlement of disputes through peaceful means, such as good offices, mediation, dialogue and consultation.

The Council has made ongoing efforts to combat terrorism and prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and transnational organized crime. It attaches importance to strengthened cooperation with regional and subregional organizations and protection of the rights and interests of women and children in armed conflict.

Nevertheless, the Middle East peace process still faces severe challenges and the situation in Somalia remains unstable. The Security Council needs to play a bigger role in some long-standing hotspot issues.

Improving the working methods of the Security Council and increasing its transparency will enable the Council to better carry out its responsibilities. The Council has made efforts in this regard, such as holding more open meetings and debates, strengthening its communication with the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and other main organs and agencies of the United Nations, and increasing exchanges with non-Council members and countries contributing troops to peacekeeping operations. The Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions has made a contribution in this area. China supports the further improvement of the Security Council's working methods.

The international community is now faced with increasing common challenges in the areas of peace and security. We hope that the Council will put greater emphasis on Africa's requests and support the efforts of the African Union to maintain peace and security on the continent. The Council needs to make better use of peaceful means, such as good offices and mediation, to prevent conflicts and turmoil, reform and improve United Nations peacekeeping operations, and support post-conflict peacebuilding so as to make a greater contribution to international peace and security.

China supports a necessary and reasonable reform of the Security Council. The reform should include not only an expansion of the Council's membership, but also an improvement in its working methods. The reform should help improve the authority and efficiency of the Council and enable it to fulfil more effectively the responsibilities entrusted to it by the United Nations Charter. Security Council reform should give top priority to increasing the representation of developing countries, in particular that of African countries, and give more small and medium-sized countries access to the Council and its decision-making process.

Security Council reform is a complex and difficult project to engineer, as it involves the future of the United Nations and the immediate interests of all Member States. Member States are still divided over the approaches to the reform. It is necessary to persevere with democratic and patient consultations and to meet each other halfway. China is opposed to setting artificial time limits.

The five clusters of issues concerning Security Council reform are closely interlinked and should not be addressed in isolation. There has to be a package solution to the reform. A piecemeal or step-by-step approach will lead nowhere. China supports continued intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform and appreciates the efforts made by President Deiss and Ambassador Tanin, chair of the intergovernmental negotiations.

We hope that the Assembly will, pursuant to decision 62/557, continue at this session to conduct member-driven intergovernmental negotiations in accordance with the principles of openness, transparency and inclusiveness, and make vigorous efforts to seek a solution that garners general agreement among Member States and that serves the common interests of Member States and the long-term interests of the United Nations.

Mrs. Aitimova (Kazakhstan): The delegation of Kazakhstan would like to thank the President of the General Assembly for organizing once again this joint general debate to discuss such important issues as the report of the Security Council (A/65/2) and item 119 on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters.

I would like to express our gratitude to the Security Council and the United Kingdom for providing us with a comprehensive overview of the growing number of immediate and long-term strategic and operational activities and questions, as well as thematic and general issues, that go beyond geopolitical conflicts to global peace and security concerns. We note with satisfaction the new areas encompassed by the Council's subsidiary organs and working groups and its cooperation with regional and subregional organizations to accomplish its mandate.

The rapid augmentation of the Council's scope, focus and activities, impacting all regions and populations of the world, obliges the international community to speedily reform that key organ of the United Nations. It is evident that there is a close connection between the effective implementation of its mandate, on the one hand, and the issues of equitable geographical representation, categories of membership and the veto right, more efficient working methods and the relationship with the General Assembly, on the other.

It was three years ago that the General Assembly adopted the historic decision 62/557 to commence intergovernmental negotiations on the reform process, and we commend the efforts of the intergovernmental negotiations, under the chairmanship of the Ambassador of Afghanistan, Mr. Zahir Tanin, in this direction.

The commitment of Member States to unanimously agreeing to start discussions on five major reform issues marks an important milestone and calls for greater political will to make the intergovernmental negotiations successful. The Council's accountability to the General Assembly is clear, as stated in Article 24 of the Charter. We therefore reiterate calls by Member States for greater transparency and the wider participation of the general membership in peace and security issues.

Kazakhstan once again confirms its commitment to reform of the United Nations, and primarily the Council in terms of increasing its membership in the categories of permanent and non-permanent members so as to enhance regional representation. My delegation reconfirms its position on increasing the Council's membership from the existing number of 15 to 25 by establishing six permanent and four non-permanent Security Council seats.

The present procedure of the negotiation process calls for a new intermediate formula to bridge the divergence between the majority of Member States favouring an increase of the Council in both categories and the Uniting for Consensus group, which insists on expanding only the category of non-permanent seats. It is thus advisable to examine this intermediate strategy in a spirit of compromise and inclusiveness during the ongoing negotiation process, rather than start a fresh round of negotiations.

We propose that new permanent members be granted the veto right only after an assessment of their work and contribution to peace and security through an ongoing mandatory review at the Conference; but their entry should not be delayed for too long.

The Council has repeatedly proven its inability, based on its structure and working methods, to agree on common action in military conflicts and sudden emergencies with far-reaching humanitarian or security implications for the international community. We need to strengthen the cooperation modalities between the Council and the Assembly, which by definition is a more democratic body representing the interests of all Member States, in order to facilitate more informed decisions and actions by the Council.

We welcome the measure to increase the number of open meetings of the Security Council and to reduce its closed meetings, but we also expect greater transparency. Currently, non-member States invest much time and effort in seeking vital information about closed consultations from external sources. The data culled may be too late, not available at all, or inappropriate. Non-members of the Security Council need to know first-hand the deliberations, decisions and positions of each Council member on subjects considered so that our Governments can more appropriately decide on State policies and actions, thereby strengthening the Security Council's authority and the public's trust in its mandate.

However, there remains the potential threat of reaching a deadlock in the Security Council reform deliberations, which my delegation would like to avert at all costs. Hence, commencing discussions on the paper by including in it each proposal of every Member State without exception could lead to innovative ideas and a compromise decision reached by the maximum possible majority.

To conclude, I would like to express once again the readiness of Kazakhstan to work with other Member States to reach an agreement on United Nations reforms, with reform of the Security Council at its core.

Mrs. Viotti (Brazil): This year's debate on the annual report of the Security Council (A/65/2) and on Security Council reform has special meaning for my delegation. Brazil has had the honour to serve on the Council as a non-permanent member for seven of the 12 months covered by the report before us. During such time, we have striven to honour the trust the membership placed on us last November.

As in previous mandates, we have been active and constructive in all items on the Security Council's agenda. We have also been consistently and firmly independent, while willing to cooperate with other delegations and compromise when needed and warranted. We have also remained attentive to the needs and interests of the wider membership.

An important aspect of our work on the Security Council has been helping to improve the Council's working methods in order to make the organ more transparent and accessible. We actively supported the revision of presidential note S/2006/507, which consolidates some relatively recent efforts of the Council to meaningfully interact with Member States. Among them, I would single out the informal interactive dialogues and the possibility of inviting the Chairs of the Peacebuilding Commission to pertinent informal consultations. Brazil will continue to work for concrete and effective reforms in the working methods of the Council.

Our experience in the Security Council has made even clearer to us the urgent need to expand the Council in both categories of its membership. It has also become evident that we need to increase the participation of developed and developing countries alike, including African countries. Only such a reform will enable the Council to preserve and enhance its legitimacy and effectiveness, while increasing transparency and access to non-members. Fortunately, the overwhelming majority of the membership has already identified that need. For almost two years now, under the wise and able guidance of our facilitator, Ambassador Zahir Tanin, we have exhaustively exchanged views on Security Council reform. It has become clear that most Member States favour the

expansion of the Council in both categories of membership.

It is also evident that the mere addition of non-permanent members, even if their terms were longer than the current two years, would only preserve the status quo. Notwithstanding the very important contribution that non-permanent members have made and continue to make to the Council — and I thank the Permanent Representative of Italy for noting our appreciation for their role — true reform of the Council requires the establishment of new permanent members committed to such reform.

Our experience also shows that we need to expand the set of perspectives and positions represented in the Security Council in order to better understand and effectively cope with challenges to the maintenance of international peace and security. We must therefore see the number of seats increase to around 25 or 26 — numbers that seem to accommodate all those perspectives. Let me add that we also concur with the Permanent Representative of Italy on the advisability of reviewing the situation created by the reform, and that is why the Group of Four (G-4) proposal includes a review clause after a period of 15 years.

At the sixty-fourth session, at the request of an overwhelming majority, the Chair of the negotiations provided us with a negotiating text that includes all positions presented by Member States and which has been accepted by all. The present session has had an auspicious start. We warmly welcome the prompt resumption of the intergovernmental negotiations in the informal plenary of this Assembly, and the reappointment of Ambassador Zahir Tanin as facilitator of the process.

We cannot spend yet another year on statements. Decisive progress must be made during the current session, for we cannot afford to waste the momentum gained last year and the current favourable juncture, which includes Mr. Deiss's presidency. We reiterate our call for a streamlined negotiating text that is more workable and operational. We continue to believe that Mr. Deiss's leadership and initiative, given his authority and impartiality, would be crucial to the preparation of such a document and for its wide acceptance.

Brazil and its G-4 partners are willing to heed the call from the President and Ambassador Tanin for more interaction among Member States. During the following month, we will be reaching out to fellow delegations seeking ways to bridge the gaps between the various positions. The G-4 itself renewed its commitment to the process and reaffirmed its unity of purpose in a ministerial meeting held last September in New York.

My delegation has always engaged in the negotiations on Security Council reform with an open mind and with determination. We will continue to do so.

Mr. Wenaweser (Liechtenstein): We welcome this opportunity to discuss two closely interlinked topics: the report of the Security Council (A/65/2) and the question of its reform. As a member of the group of five small nations (S-5), we fully associate ourselves with the statement made by Switzerland earlier today. We are grateful to the President for his personal engagement in the reform process, to Ambassador Tanin for his continued efforts in leading the intergovernmental negotiations, and to the current President of the Security Council, Ambassador Lyall Grant, for introducing the report of the Council.

We believe that the United Nations Charter establishes a relationship of accountability between the Council and the membership of the Organization, on whose behalf the Council carries out its functions. The consideration of the Council's annual report is therefore one of the most important elements in that relationship. The ritualistic and highly repetitive manner in which the report is considered year after year does not do justice to the opportunity we have and to the role which the report could and should play — as an opportunity to reflect on the overall performance of the Organization in the area of peace and security.

The task of making the debate more meaningful rests both with the Council — in particular, by offering a report that can serve as a basis for a substantive political discussion — and the rest of the United Nations membership, which should engage in a substantive discussion instead of stereotypical criticism of the report. We hope that this year's debate and its aftermath can mark the beginning of more fruitful discussion.

The S-5 has made several concrete proposals to strengthen the format and content of the report, the process in which it is drafted and the format of its consideration by the wider membership. We will continue to work in that spirit and make positive contributions. We note with appreciation some improvements that have been made in the format of the report, such as the reflection of majority and minority views of States in the summaries of some debates, which is a helpful practice that should be expanded to all summaries. We are also pleased that the updated note by the President of the Security Council (S/2010/507) formalizes the process leading to the production of the report's introduction.

In that context, we take note of the consultations with the wider membership conducted in advance of the report's production. That practice should be combined with a further informal consultation once the draft report is available. We also reiterate our view that the report should try to reflect the cross-cutting impact of thematic issues, which would be an important improvement, not just for the format of the report, but because it would likely help the Council to overcome one of the weaknesses of its daily work, since the reflection of decisions on thematic issues remains one of the big challenges for the Council.

Finally, we note the link between the monthly assessments by Council Presidents and the introduction of the report, which is a welcome development that enables each Council member to positively influence the quality of the report by submitting an analytical assessment at the close of its presidency.

The S-5 has welcomed the updating of the note by the President of the Security Council contained in document S/2010/507, in particular, some of the new elements such as guidance for Security Council missions and interactive debates. The note is thus a useful compilation of the tools available to the Council. At the same time, it does not address some important subjects that we have been raising for a number of years and it also does not provide any mechanisms for the consistent implementation of the measures contained in the note itself. Indeed, document S/2010/507 should therefore not be the end, but rather the end of the beginning of the process to improve working methods.

We look forward to continuing working directly with the Council, the Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions, and wish, of course, in the framework of the reform process in the General Assembly plenary, to make the Council and its work more accountable, more legitimate and more transparent, as our leaders decided at the summit meeting in 2005. We are grateful to those Council members who share the view that improving the working methods of the Council will help improve its standing. In that respect, we warmly welcome the innovations announced by the United Kingdom on the assumption of its presidency this month. It is our hope that subsequent presidencies will also explore innovative approaches.

There is a substantive linkage between working methods and the enlargement of the Council, although progress on the former does not depend on a decision with respect to the latter. In the end, the enlargement of the Council is done through a set of amendments to the United Nations Charter, while working methods are improved through an ongoing process.

We continue to believe that the current composition of the Council is neither a faithful reflection of the membership of the Organization nor of today's geopolitical realities. Enlarging the Council is thus both necessary and urgent. That is why, a while back, we submitted an intermediate solution as a possible way out of the deadlock created by the well-known positions on the table. For ease of reference, we have attached a copy of our model of an intermediate solution to hard copies of my statement being distributed this morning.

The proposed solution would create a new category of seats, allowing Member States to serve for longer terms — for example, for 8 or 10 years — to stand for immediate re-election and thus to serve on a permanent basis as Council members. After the completion of two terms using the new category of seats, the new regime would be subject to a review that would comprise all essential aspects of Council reform, but at the same time would not entail any automaticity with regard to substantive outcomes. We are pleased to see that intermediate models are also promoted and explored by others, and we would be interested in a process that leads to the emergence of a single intermediate model.

We look forward to Ambassador Tanin's leadership in engaging the membership in substantive negotiations and will support him in those efforts.

Mr. Valero Briceño (Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela) (*spoke in Spanish*): The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela associates itself with the statement made by the representative of the Arab Republic of Egypt in its capacity as the Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The report of the Security Council (A/65/2) raises a variety of concerns, which have already been mentioned by many delegations. A very important one is that this organ is increasingly encroaching on issues on the agenda of the General Assembly, thereby weakening the role that should be played by the community of nations — the "G-192". That can be seen not only with respect to some items on working group agendas, but also in connection with broad themes such as violence against children in conflict, sexual violence against women in conflict, the protection of civilians in armed conflict and the issues of drugs, justice and the rule of law and intercultural dialogue, among others.

We have no doubt that the Security Council has had some success in addressing situations in some countries suffering from the scourge of internal violence — not infrequently fomented from abroad to achieve economic gains. However, the Council has overstepped some of the mandates conferred by resolutions on peacekeeping operations and has taken on functions having to do, for instance, with reforming electoral, judicial, penal and public safety systems, to name just a few.

As we move towards rebuilding the United Nations to align it with the demands of the world and of all the countries that make up this forum, we have to ask ourselves how the Security Council functions and how it addresses matters having to do with international peace and security. Developing countries are sometimes criminalized for alleged lack of respect for Security Council resolutions or the Charter, while, at the same time, by means of the veto, others, which with impunity fail to observe the norms of international law, are absolved from their human rights and Geneva Conventions obligations.

The Security Council report does not include many of the observations that numerous non-members of the Council have made in open debates on various topics on the United Nations agenda. That is the case with regard to the fight against terrorism, the situation in the Middle East and the question of Palestine. It is necessary that the United Nations and its organs, in particular the Security Council, implement a strategy to preserve peace and security that reflects the interests of all the countries and peoples of the world.

We express our appreciation to the President of the General Assembly for his interest in moving forward with an issue of such crucial importance as the reform of the Security Council, and that of the United Nations as a whole. We also commend the performance of Ambassador Zahir Tanin, Permanent Representative of Afghanistan, as facilitator of the informal intergovernmental negotiations. In accordance with General Assembly decisions 62/557, 63/565 and 64/568, we must move forward so that, in the near future, we can have a Security Council that is more democratic and more transparent, and therefore more legitimate.

For Venezuela, the issues of equitable representation on the Security Council, increasing its membership and related matters are closely related to the Organization's ability to fully fulfil the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter. In that regard, there is a need for progress in the intergovernmental negotiations, which have already produced a document setting out the positions of Member States. We appreciate the work of Ambassador Tanin in compiling that document. It is now necessary to move towards a synthesis that encompasses the majority positions in the five thematic areas around which the informal negotiations have centred.

It is clear that a majority of countries favours expanding the Security Council in both the permanent and the non-permanent categories of membership. There is also agreement that expansion should allow for the participation of countries from Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa and Asia in ambits from which, since the San Francisco Conference, they had been excluded.

The path towards rebuilding and democratizing the United Nations has been chartered. In order for it to be relevant at the present historical juncture, the Organization must fairly, effectively and transparently reflect the interests and needs of the entire international community. There is also consensus on the need to make the working methods of the Security Council more transparent.

The desire expressed by many countries to limit or eliminate the use of the veto in the future has also

been clearly reflected in the compilation prepared by the facilitator. It is important to underline that a majority of countries supports limitations of one sort or another on the use of the veto. This is a laudable starting point for forging a common position on that issue, as well as from the perspective of rebuilding and democratizing the United Nations. Along that path, Venezuela will continue to stress the need to eliminate the veto right per se.

Venezuela is confident that, with the President's leadership, we will be able to move forward a process to reform the Security Council and the United Nations. We extend our cooperation in working towards that end.

Mr. Apakan (Turkey): I would like to begin by thanking the President of the Assembly for convening this joint meeting, which provides yet another opportunity to reflect on the activities of the Security Council, as well as on the Council's ongoing reform process. I also wish to express our appreciation to the United Kingdom as President of the Security Council for the month of November 2010 for presenting the annual report of the Council to the General Assembly (A/65/2). Let me also thank the Permanent Mission of Nigeria for its valuable efforts in preparing the report and coordinating it with the Member States.

The report provides an accurate account of the work of the Security Council and demonstrates the multiplicity of the issues that are on its agenda. It also points to the heavy workload of the Council, whereby African issues, particularly in the context of peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts, remain at the forefront. Finally, the report points, albeit indirectly, to many of the important challenges that lie ahead for the Council, and indeed for our Organization as a whole.

While the report, as suggested by many other delegations, could have been more analytical and less descriptive, we are also well aware of the complexities that would have rendered such an analytical approach rather difficult to implement. Having said that, there is still much room for further improvement of the working methods of the Security Council in order to enhance its transparency, accountability and inclusiveness. We will continue to support all efforts to that end. Member States have recently had ample opportunity to express their positions on the Security Council reform process. However, as is customary, I would also like to briefly touch on Turkey's position on Council reform.

My country has taken an active part in the intergovernmental negotiations that began in February 2009. Although the past five rounds of negotiations have been useful in examining negotiable aspects and exploring the basic linkages among them, we believe that the membership remains seriously divided on issues such as categories of membership, regional representation and the question of the veto.

As a current member of the Council, serving again on the Council after almost half a century, Turkey has benefited immensely from that unique experience and responsibility. We believe that that experience should not be limited to a small group, but has to be available to all aspiring Member States, large or small, developed or lesser developed.

In particular, those Member States that have the means and capabilities to ensure peace and stability in their region and beyond should be allowed to take a more active part in the work of the Council. We are therefore supportive of the extended representation of such Member States on the Council.

We also support correction of the historic injustice perpetrated against Africa by substantially improving the representation of that continent on the Council.

We do not, however, support the expansion of the Council in the permanent category of membership. Additional permanent seats, in our view, would not bide well with the idea of a democratic, accountable and transparent Council. If the reformed Security Council is to be the Council not only of today, but also of the future, it is imperative that we all concentrate our best efforts on proposals that will provide the Council with the necessary flexibility as regards to its composition. Such a Council will be better equipped to effectively address the multitude of challenges facing our world.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.