

The Responsibility to Protect and the 66th Opening of the General Assembly

September 2011

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The below quotes made by government heads of state are from the opening of the general assembly and are relevant to the responsibility to protect (R2P).

1. Direct Reference to R2P

UN Secretary-General

“A second great opportunity: prevention.

This year, the UN peacekeeping budget will total \$8 billion.

Consider the savings if we act before conflicts erupt — by deploying political mediation missions, for example, rather than troops.

We know how to do this. Our record proves it — in Guinea, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan.

To prevent violations of human rights, we must work for the rule of law and stand against impunity. We have carved out new dimension for *the Responsibility to Protect*. We will continue.”

Brazil

“We vehemently repudiate the brutal repression of civilian populations. Yet we remain convinced that for the international community, the use of force must always be a last resort.

The quest for peace and security in the world cannot be limited to interventions in extreme situations.

We support the Secretary-General in his efforts to engage the United Nations in conflict prevention through the tireless practice of diplomacy and the promotion of development.

“The world suffers today from the painful consequences of interventions that aggravated existing conflicts. They allowed terrorism to penetrate into places where it previously did not exist, gave rise to new cycles of violence and multiplied the number of civilian victims.

Much is said about the *responsibility to protect*; yet we hear little about responsibility in protecting. These are concepts that we must develop together.

For that, the role of the Security Council is vital - and the more legitimate its decisions are, the better it will be able to play its role.”

Estonia

“Once again ongoing events underline the need for us to focus on the protection of civilians from atrocities. Even in the democratic part of my continent, the political project we today call the European Union was a reaction to mass murder and war. The very history of Europe motivates us to take preventive steps to avoid any repetition of such crimes. Therefore it is vital that we develop common practices and the capacity to implement the *principle of R2P, better known as responsibility to protect*. Protecting civilians from atrocities is not just about “protection”. It also means bringing perpetrators of crimes and atrocities against civilians to justice. International law, and in particular the International Criminal Court, and the understanding that justice will be done, no matter how long it takes, are the tools we possess to prevent the worst human rights violations. Rule of law and respect for international law are what will help ravaged and victimized societies regain their dignity and rebuild their communities. The common efforts of the international community, the ICC and its state parties remain a priority for Estonia.”

Paraguay

“No podemos dejar de manifestar ante esta Asamblea General nuestra preocupacion por el desarrollo de las acciones en el casa de Libia, en el marco de la Resoluci3n 1973 deI Consejo de Seguridad y deI concepto de *"responsabilidad de proteger"*. Consideramos que el uso de la fuerza debe ser siempre la 3ltima opci3n,”

“We cannot avoid to address to this General Assembly our concern for the development of actions in Libya that under the framework of Security Council Resolution 1973 and the concept of the *"responsibility to protect"* has taken place. We think that the use of force should be exerted always as a last resort.” (GCR2P translation)

European Union

“When, earlier this year, there was the risk of a bloodbath in Benghazi, European leaders, together with others, acted with swiftness and determination, diplomatically (*here in New York*) and militarily. We could not allow the Libyan regime to take the lives of its own people. The principle of *"responsibility to protect"* was put into action - with perseverance and success.”

Zimbabwe

“Mr. President, bilateral hatreds and quarrels or ulterior motives must not be allowed to creep into considerations of matters pertaining to threats to international peace and security, or to the principle of the *Responsibility to Protect...*”

The newly minted principle of the *Responsibility to Protect (R2P)* should not be twisted to provide cover for its pre meditated abuse in violating the sacred international principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of states because to do so amounts to an act of aggression and destabilisation of a sovereign state. Moreover, to selectively and arbitrarily apply that principle merely serves to undermine its general acceptability. Indeed, more than other states, all the five permanent members of the Security Council bear a huge responsibility in this regard for ensuring that their historical privilege is used more to protect the U.N. Charter than to breach it as is happening currently in Libya through the blatant illegal, brutal and callous NATO's murderous bombings.”

Costa Rica

“When education, persuasion and other preventive mechanisms are unable to deter the worst aggressions against humanity, the international community is faced with additional challenges. Among them is the protection of civilians summarized by the *Responsibility to Protect*. My country recognizes this as a

priority and a guide for action, either preventive or reactive, stemming from legitimate and well founded decisions. We hope that this concept, similarly to human security, will be outlined very clearly within the Organization.”

Ghana

“We are also committed to the global norm of the *Responsibility to Protect* (R2P) and will continue to work closely with member-states, UN Friends of R2P, and the UN as a whole.”

Sweden

“When there are threats of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing or crimes against humanity – when autocratic rulers like in Syria turn their guns on their own citizens - then the international community has a *responsibility to protect* civilians.”

Macedonia

“It is a right and duty of every country to preserve and advance its citizens' rights. It will be the best guarantee that the "*responsibility to protect*" as a principle, will mostly be retained on its first, primary pillar.”

Luxembourg

“The international community had to react, to recognise its *responsibility to protect* Libyan men, women and children who were under fire. We could not stand by and admonish ourselves later on for having hesitated too long, for having neglected our *responsibility to protect* defenceless people from the cruelty of their own authorities. We did not want, once again, to be the powerless witnesses of large-scale violence.”...“This is our joint responsibility: the responsibility to prevent, to preserve and to protect.”

Belgium

“Leaders who believe that pointing guns at their own people, that sending death squads on the streets, that stoning women to death is acceptable, lost touch with mankind and are bound to lose all support from their own people and from the world.

Warlords who think they can get away with sexual abuse of women or recruiting child soldiers, should be stopped and held accountable by a united and firm international community. Belgium will not stand idly by when people claim a future free of coercion and terror. Instead of noninterference, Belgium believes in non-indifference. Sovereignty is no longer a wall leaders can use to violate the rights of their citizens. Sovereignty cannot be used as an excuse to run away from the *responsibility to protect* their people.”...

“Voyez la Libye, où le Conseil de Sécurité a pu empêcher un massacre à Benghazi. La Belgique a décidé, avec le soutien quasi-unanime du parlement belge, de participer à l'opération militaire ‘Unified Protector’, en en assumant le risque et le coût. Car elle est convaincue que la communauté internationale a la responsabilité de passer à l'action lorsque des populations sont exposées à une menace imminente. Molière le disait, nous ne sommes pas responsables que de ce que nous faisons, mais aussi de ce que nous ne faisons pas. Maintenant, lorsque la menace immédiate s'estompe, cette même communauté internationale a la responsabilité d'assister lors de la reconstruction de la Libye, une responsabilité qui fait partie intégrante, ne l'oublions pas, de la *responsabilité de protéger*. La Belgique y contribuera.”

Italy

“Our response to the uprisings was consistent with our values. We called for dialogue and deplored the use of force against civilians. This was not enough in Libya, however, where the regime had vowed to slaughter its own civilians. The only way to prevent a massacre was for the international community to invoke the principle of *responsibility to protect*. By helping to implement this decision in military, diplomatic, and humanitarian terms, we shifted from a culture of sovereign impunity to one of responsible

sovereignty, rooted in national and international accountability for the most serious violations of human rights. At the same time we supported international sanctions against the Syrian leadership.”

Syria

“On the other hand, popular demands and claims have been manipulated to further objectives which are alien to the interests and express desires of the Syrian people. These demands were the stepping stone used by armed groups to sow discord and sabotage our security. They became the new pretext for foreign interventions. Syria exercised its *responsibility to protect* its citizens. It acted to guarantee their safety and stability. Vigilance against the danger of foreign intervention that assumes a different form with *every* passing day, and challenging it does not mean underestimating popular demands. These demands have already been accommodated prior to the recent *events*...

It must be recalled that the Charter of our organization states that: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the UN to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state".

Cuba

“NATO imposed on the Security Council a dubious resolution authorizing "member States... acting nationally or through regional organizations or arrangements... to take all necessary measures to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under the threat of attack."

“Afterwards, NATO violated this same resolution in order to supply weapons, fund one of the parties to the conflict and deploy operatives and diplomatic personnel on the ground. Now everybody has a better understanding of the concept of "*responsibility to protect*" and what it can be used for.”

The Netherlands

“Providing security is a responsibility of governments and of the international community as a whole. In March this year, we rose to the challenge. Security Council Resolution 1973 on Libya was truly historic. It explicitly referred to the international community's *Responsibility to Protect*. It highlighted the UN's indispensable role.”

Nicaragua

“Nicaragua expresses its firmest rejection of the use of the "misnamed *responsibility to protect*" in order to intervene in our countries, to bomb civilians and change free and sovereign governments. We cannot allow the imposition of this new model of imperialist aggression nor the continued aggression of our peoples. Interference and intervention will not resolve crises, only dialogue and negotiation between brothers will resolve the political crises facing the peoples. The unacceptable policy of double standards has become a constant of the powers clearly aspiring to hegemony. Where are these countries, the supposed defenders of oppressed peoples, the self proclaimed civilian protection Apostles, when an attempt is being made to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, their right to live in peace, their right to a sovereign State integrated into the United Nations as a full member?”

Liechtenstein

“First, how did we do in our commitment to protect civilians? The United Nations has made much progress in developing the concept of the *Responsibility to Protect*. This concept has three pillars: in the first instance the primary responsibility of the affected States themselves and then, under the second pillar, responsibility for other States to assist in the protection of civilians. In two recent instances, however, the international community had to become active under the last, third pillar.”

Benin

“De même, les expériences réalisées dans l'opérationnalisation de la *responsabilité de protéger* devront être méditées pour cerner davantage les contingences de son application de manière à en faire une véritable institution du droit international contemporain, et surtout confirmer son unique vocation qui est de sauver les vies humaines et contribuer à l'amélioration de la sécurité humaine sous tous les cieux.”

Norway

“Norway's active participation in the military campaign in Libya was first and foremost an expression of our belief in a UN-led world order and the principle of **responsibility to protect**.”

Holy See

“These humanitarian emergencies emphasize the need for innovative forms to implement the *responsibility to protect*, at the heart of which we see a recognition of the unity of the human family and attention to the innate dignity of every man and woman. As we know, a principle such as this is the responsibility of the international community which must intervene in situations where governments cannot alone or do not wish to fulfill the primary duty to protect their populations from serious violations of human rights or the consequences of humanitarian crises. If the states are not in a position to guarantee this type of protection, the international community should intervene with the legal means set forth in the UN Charter and by other international instruments.

The risk of this principle being brought forth in certain circumstances as a convenient justification for military force is worth recalling it is good to note that this use of force within the UN regulation should be limited in time and there should be measures to ensure that there is a correct implement thereof. There should also be a deep search for a way to handle and manage the conflicts exploring all possibly diplomatic options through diplomatic and constructive dialogue paying special attention to the weakest on the part of those involved seeking reconciliation. The *responsibility to protect* should not just be understood as military intervention which should be the very last resort but it should also be an imperative for the international community when it comes to being united when facing these crises creating those bodies that allow for sincere and correct negotiations supporting the moral force of right seeking for the common good for governments, civil society and the public offering solutions to these crises, working together and showing solidarity with the populations that have been affected and always keeping in the heart those reality of all citizens in these area it is important to *responsibility to protect* as understood as I have explained it be the motivation of the United Nations and all countries committed to peace and the security of people. History has long seen successful peacekeeping operations and these can offer valuable experiences for peacekeeping and peacebuilding operation will full respect for international law within the framework of the *responsibility to protect* paying attention for the rights of all concerned.” (*GCR2P transcription*)

2. Indirect Reference to R2P

Qatar

“We know that our choices of principle are stable and strong. We also know that our subsequent response to the prevailing situations stems from urgency, and that it is a situation that needs to be settled on the basis of the rules and charters that govern international relations in modern times; a situation that should shift from the responsibility of individually-acting States to the responsibility of an international community acting in accordance with its charters.”

United Kingdom

“Here at the UN, we have a responsibility to stand up against regimes that persecute their people... Of course we should always act with care when it comes to the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

But we cannot allow this to be an excuse for indifference in the face of a regime that week after week arrests, intimidates, tortures and kills people who are peacefully trying to make their voices heard... In so doing, they stopped Benghazi from joining Srebrenica and Rwanda in history's painful roll call of massacres the world failed to prevent."

Turkey

"Sovereignty does not allow any leader or any regime to repress its own people or kill innocent civilians. A regime pointing guns to its own people can have no sovereignty or legitimacy."

Botswana

"This very Organisation is founded on the premise that Governments have the primary duty and responsibility to do all in their power to safeguard the legitimate aspirations of their people for a better life, including ensuring their safety and security..."

Consequently, it is not acceptable, under any circumstances, for any State to use military force against its civilian population, the very citizens it has sworn to protect...

Our view is that any leader who sanctions such use of force on his people forfeits the legitimate right to be recognised as representing the interests of his people...

"The international community should therefore spare no effort in applying all the necessary measures at its disposal, to protect civilians from such repressive governments, and to hold them accountable for their atrocities."

Uruguay

"In keeping with this, we understand we cannot ignore mass atrocities such as genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. Always keeping in mind the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other States, a principle that our country and region holds dear, we acknowledge the State's primary responsibility to protect its population, as well as the importance of fostering cooperation with States that might require international assistance to fulfill this obligation; the aim is not to weaken their sovereignty but to strengthen it."

3. Humanitarian Intervention

Equatorial Guinea

"Africa, Continente cuyos Paises y Pueblos han sido explotados durante siglos por potencias extranjeras, se enfrenta actualmente a una nueva version neocolonialista de intervencion de fuerzas por razones y principios humanitarios y de libertades democraticas.

Al respecto, Africa debe hacer gala de su personalidad politica internacional para que se respete la Entidad de la Union Africana, obviando las divisiones internas por caUSas de intereses inconfesados.

La intervencion de la fuerza, tanto interna como externa, nunca ha dado una solucion definitiva a los conflictos desde la creacion de las Naciones Unidas, como se puede observar de los diferentes conflictos habidos en los ultimos 50 anos."

"Intervention of powers for reasons of humanitarian principles and democratic freedoms is a form of Neocolonialism. Forced intervention force, internal and external, has never provided lasting solution to conflicts over the last 50 years. Unfortunately the UN is being used in a fraudulent manner under the pretext of humanitarian intervention- which further violates human rights- use of force in conflict is divisive and destructive." (GCR2P transcription)

Iran

“Real freedom, justice, dignity, well being, and lasting security are the rights of all nations. These values can neither be achieved by reliance on the current inefficient system of world governance, nor through the invasion of the world by arrogant powers and the gun barrels of NATO forces.”

Suriname

“...we increasingly bear witness to acts of war and intervention in many parts of the world. Such armed conflicts are sometimes preceded by a mandate of our very own Security Council, with disregard to the consequences of destruction, loss of lives and human suffering... We must ask ourselves if the architects of the acts of war on that same continent – under the pretext of protection of human rights – could not have better used those precious resources in the fight against famine.”

4. Use of Force**Brazil**

“We vehemently repudiate the brutal repression of civilian populations. Yet we remain convinced that for the international community, the use of force must always be a last resort.

The quest for peace and security in the world cannot be limited to interventions in extreme situations.”

Suriname

“Suriname wishes to draw urgent attention to the stipulations of Article 33, Chapter 6 of the United Nations Charter, which in our opinion have not been exhaustively applied. This failure has resulted in an unnecessary continuation of violence on the African continent.”

Chad

“C’est pourquoi, nous disons que les vertus du dialogue doivent prévaloir partout et que le recours aux armes n’est envisageable que si toutes les voies de la négociation sont épuisées.”

Turkmenistan

“We absolutely reject military forces as an instrument of foreign policy and intergovernmental relations. We believe that the solutions by the armed forces do not have perspectives, eliminate sources and reasons of contradictions and in most cases do not create conditions for giving adequate answers to many questions arising in post conflict periods.”

Lesotho

“Strangely, and despite having mediation at its disposal, the Security Council has at times preferred military intervention. I may also add that, at times, some Members of the International Community have unilaterally engaged in military interventions. Whenever military intervention has been preferred, it has not enjoyed the support of the general membership of the UN. Needless to mention that the cost of military intervention in conflicts is catastrophic on the innocent civilians, and destroys infrastructure and economies of countries. In this regard, Libya may be used as a case study. The African Union (AU) developed a Comprehensive Road Map that would have led to the peaceful settlement of the Libyan crisis by the Libyan people themselves. Sadly, we witnessed the deliberate marginalization of the AU, in the resolution of this crisis. Military intervention was hastily adopted as an option, and the results of this kind of intervention are a matter of record for all to see.”

Tuvalu

“However at the same time the integrity and sovereignty of countries should be respected at all costs.

Tuvalu firmly believes that military and violent action should not be used as a means for the settlement of disputes. Instead parties concerned should be encouraged to discuss and understand the root causes of their differences and try to listen to each other in a more peaceful manner.”

Solomon Islands

“Multilateral diplomatic and political capitals need to take center stage over military solutions that may lead to long and protracted Conflicts.”

Uganda

“Specifically, in the case of conflicts in Africa, our preferred solution is peaceful settlement through mediation and not military intervention.”

Cuba

“It is the task of this General Assembly to exercise its powers to prevent a military aggression against Syria. The public opinion should receive objective information and speak up against war.”

Sierra Leone

“Of course, we are quite conscious of the inevitability of dispute in the conduct of inter-state as well as intra-state relations. But it is imperative to respect the set of principles enshrined in Article 2 of the UN Charter in our interaction with each other. These include: Sovereign equality of all UN Members; peaceful settlement of disputes, and prohibition of threat or use of force.”

Democratic People’s Republic of Korea

“Few countries are engrossed in interference in internal affairs and use of force against sovereign states in an attempt to dominate the regions of their strategic interests under the signboard of protecting civilians and defending peace. Regrettably, the UN is misused in this process. International law and order are violated and undermined by the arbitrary and high-handed acts of some big powers. Such a reality of today requires UN member states to reaffirm the principle of defending peace and sovereign equality enshrined in the UN Charter and to speed up the process of the UN reform including enhanced power of the General Assembly.”

5. Libya

United States

“And when they were threatened by the kind of mass atrocity that often went unchallenged in the last century, the United Nations lived up to its charter. The Security Council authorized all necessary measures to prevent a massacre. The Arab League called for this effort; Arab nations joined a NATO-led coalition that halted Qaddafi’s forces in their tracks.”

Qatar

“We were among those who have made their choice. On the one hand we have always had a clear policy with regard to the rules governing our Arab, regional and international relations; rules that are based on understanding, reconciliation and harmony among peoples and nations. On the other, we, as well as others, have been unable to turn a deaf ear or a blind eye to the calls of the wounded seeking help from near and far, against an entrenched oppression.

For our part, we have exhausted each and every means until the only option left for us was to hear and sympathize, to see and help. We knew that was not a solution, but rather an emergency...”

Mongolia

“Colonel Gaddafi called his fellow countrymen "rats" and to brutally hunt them down and exterminate. Now, he himself is being hunted as a rat from hole to hole, from trench to trench. And this is the fate which awaits anyone who suppresses the people's love for freedom and desire to live in dignity.”

South Africa

“With regard to the situation in Libya, the AU played a crucial role in seeking a peaceful solution to the crisis, in line with its mandate of working for peace and stability in the continent.

However, it is a matter of record now that the AU efforts were never given a chance. Military actions were preferred over peaceful means.”...

“During this period of working towards normalcy in Libya, we call for a cessation of hostilities and an end to the NATO aerial bombardment.

We also call for the lifting of the No Fly Zone, which was necessitated by the need for the protection of civilians.”

Latvia

“We welcome the timely reaction of the UN to the events in Libya, such as the decisions of the UN Security Council to provide humanitarian and security assistance, as well as the referral of the case to the International Criminal Court.”

Mozambique

“We call upon all relevant actors to engage in constructive dialogue and to work for peaceful solutions to ensure peace and stability. From these developments we learnt the lesson that the use of internal dialogue, regional cooperation, fairness in the interventions of the United Nations should be privileged.”

European Union

“When, earlier this year, there was the risk of a bloodbath in Benghazi, European leaders, together with others, acted with swiftness and determination, diplomatically (*here in New York*) and militarily. We could not allow the Libyan regime to take the lives of its own people. The principle of "responsibility to protect" was put into action - with perseverance and success. Now there is a "responsibility to assist" the new Libya with the political transition, the reconciliation and the reconstruction of a united country.”

United Kingdom

“The UN has to show that we can be - not just united in condemnation, but united in action acting in a way that lives up to the UNs founding principles and meets the needs of people everywhere.... The United Nations played a vital role authorising international action. But lets be clear the United Nations is no more effective than the nation states that come together to enforce its will. And on this occasion a coalition of nations across the Western and Arab world had the will to act. In so doing, they stopped Benghazi from joining Srebrenica and Rwanda in history's painful roll call of massacres the world failed to prevent.”

Zimbabwe

“The Charter is our set of commandments that must be strictly obeyed by each and every member if international and regional peace is to be maintained. We cannot honestly say this is the position today in regard to NATO states versus Libya. Whatever political disturbances might have first occurred in Benghazi, the process of mediation and peaceful negotiations was never given full play.

It was deliberately and blatantly excluded from shedding positive influence over developments. There was quick resort to invoking Chapter VII of the Charter with gross deliberate misinterpretation of the scope of the mandate originally given NATO to oversee and protect civilians...

We are yet to be convinced that the involvement of the mighty powers in Libya's affairs has not hindered the advent of the process of peace, democracy and prosperity in that sister African country. Our African Union would never have presumed to impose a leadership on the fraternal people of Libya as NATO countries have illegally sought to do. At the very least, the African Union would have wished to join those principled members of this august body who preferred an immediate ceasefire and peaceful dialogue in Libya. The African Union was and remains fully seized with this crisis and will spare no energies in fully complementing the U.N. so that peace returns to Libya and its tormented people. We wish that process God's speed.

The newly minted principle of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) should not be twisted to provide cover for its pre-meditated abuse in violating the sacred international principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of states because to do so amounts to an act of aggression and destabilisation of a sovereign state. Moreover, to selectively and arbitrarily apply that principle merely serves to undermine its general acceptability. Indeed, more than other states, all the five permanent members of the Security Council bear a huge responsibility in this regard for ensuring that their historical privilege is used more to protect the U.N. Charter than to breach it as is happening currently in Libya through the blatant illegal, brutal and callous NATO's murderous bombings.

After over twenty thousand NATO bombing sorties that targeted Libyan towns, including Tripoli, there is now unbelievable and most disgraceful scramble by some NATO countries for Libyan oil, indicating thereby that the real motive for their aggression against Libya was to control and own its abundant fuel resources. What a shame! Yesterday, it was Iraq and Bush and Blair were the liars and aggressors as they made unfounded allegations of possessions of weapons of mass destruction. This time it is the NATO countries the liars and aggressors as they make similarly unfounded allegations of destruction of civilian lives by Gaddafi."

Iran

"Can the flower of democracy blossom from NATO's missiles, bombs and guns?"

Gabon

"Au Conseil de Sécurité et avec les deux autres membres africains, le Gabon a approuvé la résolution 1973. La communauté internationale se devait d'éviter le bain de sang annoncé à Benghazi et d'abrégé un conflit plein de périls pour la population civile."

Croatia

"I believe that the course of recent events in Libya has clearly confirmed that the coalition forces and the Security Council have taken the right approach in protecting civilians from the brute force of the old regime."

Georgia

"...we supported the NATO-led intervention in Libya at the initiative of France, UK and US."

Australia

"While so many challenges lie before us, the last year has proven that when the international community does act collectively and *decisively*, we can *deliver*. As we have seen in the decisions of the Security Council on Libya and Côte d' Ivoire..."

In Libya, Australia was among the first to campaign internationally for a no-fly zone to protect civilians at a time when Gaddafi seemed destined for victory.”

Namibia

“We believe that the demands for democratic change should be locally driven. They should not be used as a pretext to undermine the fundamental principle of sovereignty and non-intervention in the internal affairs of independent states. We are concerned that all efforts by the African Union to find a peaceful negotiated solution in Libya were ignored and undermined. Never in the history of United Nations has the sanctity of the principle of non-intervention been compromised as we have witnessed recently in Libya. The military intervention by foreign powers reminds Africa of the infamous Berlin Conference of 1884/1885, when Africa was carved up by imperial powers.”

Czech Republic

“We know it is an uneasy path. To remove several leading politicians is not the crucial moment of the much needed systemic change. When the Iron curtain in Europe fell, more than twenty years ago, I used to talk about three mutually interconnected preconditions for successful transformation: to have a clear and transparent concept of where to go, to have a feasible strategy how to get there, and to be able to motivate the citizens of the country to promote it. I still do not see these preconditions in some of the countries of Northern Africa. By saying that I want to stress that the systemic change cannot be agreed upon or pre-arranged at international conferences, and that it cannot be mediated or passively "acquired" as a foreign investment. It is a domestic task and it is a sequence of policies, not a once-for-all policy change.”

Sweden

“We are contributing to the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1970 and 1973 in Libya.”

Serbia

“In a time of such uncertainty, crises call for UN-sanctioned involvement to save lives and to keep the peace.”

Greece

“We conducted unprecedented evacuations for tens of thousands of citizens, provided ground support for the implementation of the Libya no-fly zone, mediated for the release of European military personnel early in the crisis, established a diplomatic presence early on in Benghazi to liaise with the National Transitional Council. And we are now offering infrastructure on Crete as a staging area for the efforts to deal with the humanitarian situation in Libya.”

Bulgaria

“We also welcomed the new representatives of Libya, free from the oppression of the Gaddafi dictatorship. It was at the gates of Benghazi in February that the international community, acting on a mandate of the UN Security Council, acted swiftly to prevent a massacre and protect civilians against attacks from their own government. The people of Libya proved that they can stand up and defend their right to freedom. Our thoughts go out to the families of all who lost their lives in this struggle, who fell victim to the crazed ambitions of a deluded dictator.”

Lesotho

“Strangely, and despite having mediation at its disposal, the Security Council has at times preferred military intervention. I may also add that, at times, some Members of the International Community have unilaterally engaged in military interventions. Whenever military intervention has been preferred, it has not enjoyed the support of the general membership of the UN. Needless to mention that the cost of military intervention in conflicts is catastrophic on the innocent civilians, and destroys infrastructure and

economies of countries. In this regard, Libya may be used as a case study. The African Union (AU) developed a Comprehensive Road Map that would have led to the peaceful settlement of the Libyan crisis by the Libyan people themselves. Sadly, we witnessed the deliberate marginalization of the AU, in the resolution of this crisis. Military intervention was hastily adopted as an option, and the results of this kind of intervention are a matter of record for all to see.”

Luxembourg

“A regime that has oppressed the entire Libyan society for 42 years and did not hesitate to use heavy weapons against its own population without discrimination, trampling its people's aspirations for freedom. The international community had to react, to recognise its responsibility to protect Libyan men, women and children who were under fire. We could not stand by and admonish ourselves later on for having hesitated too long, for having neglected our responsibility to protect defenceless people from the cruelty of their own authorities. We did not want, once again, to be the powerless witnesses of large-scale violence.

Our Organisation was able to react and demonstrate its capacity to act in a decisive, timely and just manner. The General Assembly suspended Libya from the Human Rights Council. Acting within the remit of Chapter VII of the Charter, the Security Council authorised all necessary measures to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack. The Council could act so decisively because the international community and the region in particular supported its action. The Arab League played a very important role in this regard that I would like to salute in particular.”

Libya

“I thank all friendly states all sister states all regional organizations the United Nations for resolutions 1970 and 1973. They were a determining factor in protecting civilians and preventing and further massacres by Gaddafi.”

Belgium

“Voyez la Libye, où le Conseil de Sécurité a pu empêcher un massacre à Benghazi. La Belgique a décidé, avec le soutien quasi-unanime du parlement belge, de participer à l'opération militaire ‘Unified Protector’, en en assumant le risque et le coût. Car elle est convaincue que la communauté internationale a la responsabilité de passer à l'action lorsque des populations sont exposées à une menace imminente. Molière le disait, nous ne sommes pas responsables que de ce que nous faisons, mais aussi de ce que nous ne faisons pas. Maintenant, lorsque la menace immédiate s'estompe, cette même communauté internationale a la responsabilité d'assister lors de la reconstruction de la Libye, une responsabilité qui fait partie intégrante, ne l'oublions pas, de la responsabilité de protéger. La Belgique y contribuera.”

Botswana

“We commend the Security Council for its swift and resolute action on Libya, under resolution SC 1973, which authorized NATO to protect civilians in that country. We however remain concerned about the delay and procrastination on a similar situation in Syria.”

Cuba

“While we are deliberating here in this hall, "another preventive" war is taking place in Libya using as a pretext "the protection of civilians". The United States and NATO, supposedly to avoid a massacre, launched a military attack against a sovereign State without there being any threat to international peace and security, and unleashed a "change of regime" operation...

NATO imposed on the Security Council a dubious resolution authorizing "member States... acting nationally or through regional organizations or arrangements... to take all necessary measures to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under the threat of attack...

Afterwards, NATO violated this same resolution in order to supply weapons, fund one of the parties to the conflict and deploy operatives and diplomatic personnel on the ground. Now everybody has a better understanding of the concept of "responsibility to protect" and what it can be used for...

In this war, waged with the most advanced and lethal military technologies, the means of communication have been used as combat weapons by the financial and media emporiums which are profiteering from the war and the reconstruction operations as if they were anti-crisis instruments. As early as February 21, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro Ruz had warned that NATO was irremissibly preparing a war against Libya. Since then, Cuba engaged indefatigably not in the defense of a government, but of a principle: the assassination of thousands of innocent people with the dubious objective of protecting other civilians is something unacceptable. History has eloquently shown that peace cannot be imposed either by war or by force. It is only up to the Libyan people to decide upon its destiny, without any foreign intervention, in the exercise of its right to self-determination and independence, its sovereignty over its natural resources and its territorial integrity.”

The Netherlands

“In March this year, we rose to the challenge. Security Council Resolution 1973 on Libya was truly historic. It explicitly referred to the international community's Responsibility to Protect.

Sao Tome and Principe

“We regret that there has not been a responsible partnership between the African Union and the Security Council to resolve the crisis that befell Libya.”

United Arab Emirates

“The UAE renews through this international platform its full commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Libya. The UAE also stresses its commitment to the Security Council resolutions 1970 and 1973 of 2011 in regard to the protection of civilians. The UAE has played a vital role in international efforts aiming at protecting the people of Libya, and helping them fulfill their aspirations. Also, the UAE humanitarian field mission has been extending humanitarian support since the outbreak of violence to civilians in Libya, who were affected by the conflict, through its relief agencies.”

Angola

“However, we should make use of lessons learned with a view to a more effective cooperation between external partners and the African Union in seeking joint solutions based on international law and mutual respect.”

Nicaragua

“ The blunt and shameful manipulation of Security Council resolution 1973 regarding Libya – the illegal nature of the war being carried out by NATO members - is the most recent example of the pathological use of certain States to subordinate the peoples of the World no matter the cost. It is the most recent example of attacks against the sovereignty of a member State of the United Nations in violation of the United Nations Charter.”

Canada

“We would not "go along" with appeasement of the former Qadhafi regime, nor would we look the other way when the Lockerbie mass murderer received a hero's welcome and the Colonel's embrace. We would not look the other way as the Qadhafi regime, (blatantly disregarding human rights and the rule of law), waged war on the people of Libya.

Canada backs our principles with action:

- providing military support to NATO's Operation Unified Protector;
- recognizing the National Transitional Council as Libya's transitional government;
- co-founding the Libya Contact Group; and
- giving early, strong, continuing support to the Libyan people's struggle against tyranny.”

“This year, collective action, under U.N. sanction, helped to limit the loss of life in Libya, and ultimately ended a criminal, illegitimate regime's war on the people it claimed to represent.”

Liechtenstein

“We commend the Security Council for taking swift action to protect civilians in Libya and Cote d'Ivoire. In both instances, the Council authorized the use of force only as a last resort, but also without undue delay. Some have criticized the actions taken and argued that they are aimed at regime change. Let us not forget, however, that the regimes in question had a choice. It was them who chose to attack civilians. It was them who forced the international community to act.”

Russia

“Russia condemns the use of violence against civilians, and supports the aspirations of Arab peoples for revival of their states and their democratic development and social and economic prosperity. At the same time, the actions by the outside forces must be based on full respect for international law and be instrumental to the search for a political settlement between the authorities and the opposition. The attempts to go beyond the UNSC mandate are unacceptable, since they undermine its authority, and multiply the suffering of innocent civilians.

“In this context, it seems quite pertinent that the States and regional organizations commit themselves to strictly complying with the existing norms of international law, including humanitarian law, in order to protect civilians during the armed conflicts.”

“We believe that it is time to make additional steps including the lifting of the no-fly zone.”

Zambia

“My delegation wishes to underscore the need for the International Community to resolve the conflicts on the African Continent, including the situation in Libya, within the frameworks established by the African Union. We believe that local solutions have a higher prospect of being respected and accepted by all parties to the conflict. In this regard, Zambia aligns itself with the mediation efforts put in place by the African Union and supports the Roadmap for the peaceful resolution to the crisis in Libya as endorsed by the African Union Heads of State and Government at their 1yth Summit held in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea in June this year. With regard to Libya, Zambia shares the relief of the Libyan people in ridding themselves of a leader who committed egregious atrocities against his own people. We must, however, express serious concern about new atrocities being committed against black people in that country - both the citizens and migrants from other African countries. We call on this august body to send a strong message that not only will it pursue perpetrators of these atrocities as vigorously as it did Gaddafi, but it undertakes to investigate all allegations thoroughly. It would be tragic if, in the euphoria of celebrating the ousting of Gaddafi, the UN turns a blind eye to atrocities still being committed.”

Norway

“In Cote d'Ivoire and Libya, the United Nations has once again proved its worth by addressing some of the most challenging situations in the world. The resolve shown by the Security Council in Libya has reconfirmed its pivotal role in global governance and international security - the role that the Member States bestowed on it through the UN Charter.”

“Norway's active participation in the military campaign in Libya was first and foremost an expression of our belief in a UN-led world order and the principle of responsibility to protect. The response to Libya was also a landmark in terms of international justice. For the very first time, a unanimous Security Council chose to refer possible crimes against humanity to the International Criminal Court. Combating impunity and promoting Rule of Law and fundamental human rights are key to prevention of conflict and protection of civilians.”

New Zealand

“As we saw earlier this year in respect of Libya, the Council is an extraordinarily powerful instrument for maintaining international peace and security. But, with extraordinary power comes extraordinary responsibility; responsibility that must be exercised with regard for the views of all countries, large and small.”

Venezuela

“It should always be remembered that saving future generations from the scourge of war... is mentioned in the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations; just a dead letter. From 1945 on, wars have done nothing but inexorably increase and multiply themselves. Let us see, once again, Libya destroyed and bloodstained by the will of the powerful ones of this world.”

“Mankind is facing the real threat of permanent war. The empire is ready to create the political conditions for triggering war anywhere, and the case of Libya proves it.”

“Right now, there is a very serious threat to global peace: a new cycle of colonial wars, which started in Libya, with the sinister goal of refreshing the capitalist global system, within a structural crisis today, but without any limit to its consumer and destructive voracity.”

“It is necessary to remember and to recur to our immediate memory: Venezuela, alongside the member countries of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of the Americas (ALBA), was actively advocating for a peaceful and negotiated solution to the Libyan conflict. That is, also, what the African Union did. However, after all, the logic of war decreed by the UN Security Council and put into practice by NATO, the armed wing of the Yankee Empire, was imposed. The logic of war having its spearhead in transnational mass media: let us bear in mind that the “Libyan Case” was brought before the Security Council on the basis of an intense propaganda by the western mass media, who lied about the alleged bombing of innocents civilians by the Libyan Air Force, not to mention the grotesque media setting of the Green Square of Tripoli. This premeditated bunch of lies was used to justify irresponsible and hasty decision by the Security Council, which paved the way for NATO’s military regime change policy in Libya.”

“It is worth wondering: what has the no-fly zone established by Security Council resolution 1972 become? How could NATO perform more than 20,000 missions against the Libyan people if there was a no-fly zone? After the Libyan Air Force was completely annihilated, the continued “humanitarian” bombing shows that the West, through NATO, intends to impose their interests in North Africa, turning Libya into a colonial protectorate.”

“How can we say that an arms embargo was imposed on Libya, when it was the NATO itself that introduced thousands of heavy weapons to support a violent upheaval against that country’s legitimate government? The embargo was, of course, meant to prevent the Libyan government from defending its sovereignty. This show, once again, the cruel logic of the International relations, where the law only applies to the weak.”

“What is the real reason for this military intervention? To re-colonize Libya in order to take over its wealth.”

“We call for the immediate cessation of the bombing operation on the Libyan territory.”

Belarus

“This year we have witnessed large-scale changes in the Middle East. Choosing the path of the Middle East countries is their birthright. We all need to respect the choice of these states and not interfere in their internal affairs. This is our international obligation as UN member states.”

Pakistan

“In North Africa and the Middle East, we have witnessed important developments. Pakistan believes that the aspirations of the people must be accommodated peacefully, without external interference and in a manner consistent with the principle of sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of states.”

6. Syria/Yemen

United States

“As we meet here today, men and women and children are being tortured, detained and murdered by the Syrian regime. Thousands have been killed, many during the holy time of Ramadan. Thousands more have poured across Syria’s borders. The Syrian people have shown dignity and courage in their pursuit of justice -- protesting peacefully, standing silently in the streets, dying for the same values that this institution is supposed to stand for. And the question for us is clear: Will we stand with the Syrian people, or with their oppressors? Already, the United States has imposed strong sanctions on Syria’s leaders. We supported a transfer of power that is responsive to the Syrian people. And many of our allies have joined in this effort. But for the sake of Syria -- and the peace and security of the world -- we must speak with one voice. There’s no excuse for inaction. Now is the time for the United Nations Security Council to sanction the Syrian regime, and to stand with the Syrian people.”

Republic of Korea

“Right now, even at this very moment, the people of Syria and Yemen are undertaking great risks to hold aloft the torch of freedom and democracy.”

Bosnia

“We appeal once again to stop violence and create the peace in these societies.”

Mongolia

“The international community should not shy away from condemning the regime of Syria's Bashar al-Asad, who has inhumanly and brutally chosen bloodshed to crack down on freedom and justice craving peaceful protesters by using combat vehicles, snipers and military force. Let us unanimously demand that he ends his atrocities. We must make the necessary decision to that effect without delay and help the courageous people of Syria who are craving freedom and justice, and are losing dozens of their brave sons and daughters every day. The love for freedom is the greatest force in this world. No tyranny, no cruelest regime can resist it forever. I would like to say these words to the authorities of Yemen and dictators seeking to suppress their citizens' fight for freedom.”

Latvia

“We support the UN Security Council presidential statement regarding the events in Syria and the Human Rights Council decision to dispatch urgently a special mission to Syria. The message is clear – violations of human rights and the use of force against civilians is totally unacceptable and strongly condemned by

the international community. We look forward to an appropriate follow-up on this issue in the Security Council.”

Kuwait

“The developments and events that the Middle East region is currently witnessing are indeed a source of great concern and forewarn of further deterioration to the security and stability of the region. The use of force and acts of violence that have claimed the lives of thousands must cease, to prevent further bloodshed.”

United Kingdom

“... on Syria, it is time for the Members of the Security Council to act. Of course we should always act with care when it comes to the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

But we cannot allow this to be an excuse for indifference in the face of a regime that week after week arrests, intimidates, tortures and kills people who are peacefully trying to make their voices heard.”

European Union

“But alongside the hope, there is reason for worry too. Worry about the brutal and on-going repression by the Syrian regime against its own citizens. Europe is keeping the pressure on the regime with sanctions, urging others to join us.”

Poland

“The United Nations has been, is and must remain the main forum and instrument of international mediation. We in Poland and Europe know from our own experience how valuable is this way of solving difficult social and political problems. The Polish Round Table of 1989 paved the way for transformation in our part of Europe. I am convinced of its usefulness in the process of the "Arab Spring", particularly in the difficult situation that arose in Syria, a country of great Islamic culture and traditions. We are ready to share this experience with the societies that wish it. Mediation is an irreplaceable way to a lasting and just peace.”

Turkey

“We observe with regret that there are still countries, which stay behind the events and act with wrong reflexes due to their outdated state of mind. It is in this context that we follow closely the developments unfolding in our neighbor Syria. We have warned the Syrian leadership on several occasions upon witnessing the regrettable acts of the Syrian regime against its own people, which are of great concern for all of us. Only friends can speak the bitter truth. Indeed, we acted in line with this principle and told our Syrian friends that they have to lend an attentive ear to the call of the Syrian people for democracy, that no regime pointing guns to its own people can survive, and that oppression does not yield prosperity.

However, the Syrian leadership has resisted heeding our warnings. Now, every drop of blood spilt is tearing apart the Syrian leadership from its people. Turkey will continue to support the democratic demands of the peoples, both in Syria and other countries, and encourage regimes to take steps in this direction. We expect and urge the international community to do the same.”

Gabon

“La Syrie s'est ajoutée aux situations qui nécessitent des efforts de tous. Le Gabon souhaite que les efforts de médiation de la Ligue Arabe permettent de parvenir d'urgence à une issue pacifique et démocratique.”

Croatia

“In the same vein, Croatia has recognized the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people, who need and deserve wide and undivided support. We share the concern of the international community where it is essential to normalize the situation and prevent further mass violation of human rights, strengthen the democratic standards and rule of law, and assist those who share the vision of democratic Syria. As with

the case of Libya, let me repeat: all violations of the international human rights must be investigated, and all those responsible for the crimes committed need to be brought to justice.”

Australia

“What challenges us now is the ongoing brutality in Syria. We salute the courage of so many brave Syrians.

The Syrian regime should heed the lessons of Libya. We call on Bashar al-Assad to step down now, for political reform to begin now and for the international community to intensify its pressure on Damascus to respond to the voices of the Syrian people demanding their legitimate freedoms.”

Greece

“I am talking about the same rights that the Syrian people have also been demanding for months. The rights that their own leadership is at present violently denying them.”

Bulgaria

“At the same time the international community has been appalled by the developments in Syria. Instead of responding to the legitimate demands of the Syrian people by fulfilling promised reforms, the government cracked down violently on protesters. They did not have unrealistic demands; they did not ask for anything out of the ordinary. According to the UN over 2600 people have been killed since March. The government in Damascus questions these numbers. Even if only one person had been killed, it would have been one person too many. The responsibility for the repression lies squarely with the authorities and no one else. I use this opportunity to call on President Assad -- who has made many promises to his people and the international community -- to come out from the shadows, change the constitution, dismantle the machinery of repression, and immediately call internationally supervised elections. The people of Syria have the right to elect their own government and hold it accountable. The time for transition has come.”

Austria

“In Syria, and to some extent in Yemen, the suppression is ongoing. Austria strongly condemns the systematic human rights violations and the violence against peaceful demonstrators. We strongly urge those responsible to immediately stop the bloodshed and to engage in meaningful dialogue and reforms.”

Luxembourg

“In Syria, the regime continues to lead a brutal campaign against its own population. All appeals, including that of our Secretary-General, to halt violence and repression have so far remained unanswered.” I salute that the Human Rights Council has decided on August 23 to urgently dispatch an independent international commission of inquiry to Syria, but the Security Council must also take its responsibilities.”

Spain

“Unfortunately, the international community continues to witness with indignation the brutal repression of civilian demonstrators by the Syrian authorities. I wish to firmly condemn once again these actions and reiterate the need for the international community to take measures to stop repression.”

Portugal

“The disintegration of the situation in Syria is unacceptable and unsustainable. We praise the actions of the Human Rights Council but we believe the Security Council should also take a position in this regard. We also urge the Syrian government to put an end to the violence and repression...”

Botswana

“We commend the Security Council for its swift and resolute action on Libya, under resolution SC 1973, which authorised NATO to protect civilians in that country. We however remain concerned about the delay and procrastination on a similar situation in Syria.”

“The Council's condemnation of human rights violations and the military assault on civilians by Syria came rather too late.”

“It failed to convey a clear and unequivocal message of revulsion to the Syrian authorities, and to urge them to respect international humanitarian law and human rights.”

“Crimes against humanity have been committed in Syria and the leadership in that country should answer for such crimes through the ICC.”

Ireland

“However, the situation in Syria continues to arouse the deepest international concern. President Assad and his Government seem oblivious to the demands of the Syrian people for change and to the lessons of the "Arab Spring" elsewhere. They appear determined to respond with further oppression and violence. Our basic message to the Syrian leader is this. No leader who refuses to listen to what his people are saying and to act on their clearly expressed desire for peace and reform, can expect to remain in power.”

China

“We hope that parties in Syria will exercise restraint, avoid any form of violence or more bloodshed and conflict and act quickly to ease tension. We believe that a Syria-led, inclusive political process aimed at promoting reform and advanced through dialogue and consultation is the right way to resolve the current crisis in Syria. The international community should respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Syria, and handle the Syrian issue in a prudent way so as to prevent further turbulence in Syria and its repercussions on regional peace”

Germany

“The Syrian Government has responded to the legitimate demands of the Syrian people with brutal force. Germany will continue to press for a Security Council resolution. That is not only about showing solidarity with the Syrian people. It is also about the international community's credibility. If the repression continues, we Europeans will further tighten the sanctions against the regime.”

Morocco

“Concerning Syria and Yemen, Morocco hopes that Arab diplomatic initiatives will prevent further bloodshed and guarantee a peaceful resolution of the crisis in the two brotherly countries through the announced deep reforms, in a manner consistent with their territorial integrity and that preserves their stability.”

Syria

“On the other hand, popular demands and claims have been manipulated to further objectives which are alien to the interests and express desires of the Syrian people. These demands were the stepping stone used by armed groups to sow discord and sabotage our security. They became the new pretext for foreign interventions. Syria exercised its **responsibility to protect** its citizens. It acted to guarantee their safety and stability. Vigilance against the danger of foreign intervention that assumes a different form with *every* passing day, and challenging it does not mean underestimating popular demands. These demands have already been accommodated prior to the recent *events*. In our *view*, these are needed reforms that have fallen due. Many of their elements have been already met. Those reforms are a work in progress that will continue through national dialogue in the context of national unity, sovereignty and independence.

“We expected the states that advocate the need for reform and change to support the Syrian official position instead of opting for incitement and defiance. In fact, the more ground we cover towards stability and reform, the stronger the foreign incitement. Armed violence surges in tandem with multiple economic sanctions. By targeting the Syrian economy with sanctions, the United States and the European Union jeopardize the interests and the basic daily subsistence needs of the Syrian people. This course cannot in any way be reconciled with pronouncements about concern for the interests, security and rights of the Syrian people. It further runs counter to the basic principles of human rights in defense of which these States base their interference in our internal affairs. It must be recalled that the Charter of our organization states that: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the UN to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state" ...

“Positions and circumstances of states are undeniably governed by their geopolitical realities and by the constraints and demands stemming therefrom. They are equally influenced by the repercussions they endure, the stances they adopt and the price they pay, be that high or low for their positions towards these questions.”

“There are two sides to the problem Syria faces today: on the one hand, the country needs the people-driven political, economic and social reforms. President Bashar Al-Assad already declared that these reforms are needed and due. He expressed a strong desire to accomplish them. But the force of the political circumstances to which I have briefly alluded earlier forced internal demands important as they were - to take a back seat to other priorities. Our overriding priority was facing the external pressures which were at times tantamount to blatant conspiracies.”

Republic of Gambia

“In the case of Syria, we call on the international community to encourage and support the Syrian Government and people to resolve their internal problems through diplomacy and peaceful means. Poverty should not be a pretext for violent and disorderly change of government in the developing world.”

Tunisia

“Tunisia expresses its hope that peace and stability be restored in the brotherly countries Syria and Yemen in order to meet the aspirations of their respective people for democracy, freedom and reforms. Meanwhile Tunisia asserts its refusal of any attempt to exploit the situation in these two brotherly countries to jeopardise their security and stability.”

The Netherlands

“By contrast, the Council's failure to reach consensus on Syria has been at great human cost. Everyday we are shocked by new horrific stories. Peaceful demonstrators were carrying a sign this weekend, which read: *"Help Syria. It is bleeding."* We need to listen to the people of Syria. We need to stop President Assad's government from brutally murdering his own citizens in an attempt to crush their legitimate call for freedom. I urge all members of the Security Council to act decisively and agree on targeted sanctions against the regime.”

Cuba

“It is the task of this General Assembly to exercise its powers to prevent a military aggression against Syria. The public opinion should receive objective information and speak up against war.”

Indonesia

“Like many, Indonesia has been deeply concerned by the untold losses and casualties suffered by innocent civilians. This - the bloodshed and use of force - must be brought to an immediate end.”

United Arab Emirates

“The UAE is concerned about the recent developments in Yemen, and calls upon all relevant Yemeni parties to maintain patience, wisdom, and reconsider their stance regarding the peaceful solution initiative suggested by five GCC states, and consider this initiative as an appropriate basis to overcome the current situation, and ensure a peaceful transition of power that responds to the will and choices of the Yemeni people, and preserves the peace and stability of the country.”

“With regard to the unstable situation in Syria, the UAE hopes that President Al Assad fulfills his recent commitments to stop military operations against Syrian civilians, and carry out meaningful political reforms.”

Canada

“Canada would not simply "go along" or look elsewhere when the Assad regime started killing Syrian men, women and children in a despicable and desperate attempt to cling to power. We imposed tough sanctions on the regime and its backers.

When Canada placed strong restrictions on Syria's current regime, we acted independently, but in close consultation and cooperation with other nations.”

Liechtenstein

“At the same time, we sympathize with those who perceive selectivity in the application of the responsibility to protect. As the stalemate in the Security Council on Syria shows, politics at times continue to trump principles. In response, however, we need more principled action, not more politics.”

Russia

“As for Syria, it is inadmissible to boycott proposals on a national dialogue, stir up confrontation and provoke violence, while neglecting albeit late but still achievable reforms proposed by President Bashar al-Assad. It is important to encourage the authorities and the opposition to start negotiations and agree on the future of their country. We hope that the League of Arab states will make relevant efforts.”

Norway

“Now, popular calls for reform in Syria have been met with a violent response. We urge the Syrian regime to respect the people's legitimate demand for democracy and fundamental human rights.”

Denmark

“As we speak, events continue to unfold across the region, including in Syria. More than 2,600 people in Syria have died during the popular uprising. We condemn unequivocally the violence against and killing of peaceful demonstrators. It is high time to respect the right of peaceful protests and their legitimate demands. To increase the pressure on the Syrian regime we adopt sanctions and hope others will join us.”

Venezuela

“And the same imperialist speech is being repeated regarding Syria. Should some permanent members not show a firm stance, that everything would be defined within the Security Council to authorize shooting missiles and sending bombardiers against Syria?”

“It is not tolerable that the powers of this world intend to claim for themselves the right to direct the lawful rulers to resign immediately. This was the case of Libya, the same apply against Syria. These are the existing asymmetries in the international setting and there are the abuses against the weakest nations.”

“It is not for us to bring forward a conclusive judgment about the national situation in Syria, firstly, because of the inherent complexity of any national reality and, secondly, because only the Syrian people can solve their problems and decide their fate in the light of the right to self-determination of the people’s, an inalienable right in all respects.”

Pakistan

“In North Africa and the Middle East, we have witnessed important developments. Pakistan believes that the aspirations of the people must be accommodated peacefully, without external interference and in a manner consistent with the principle of sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of states.”

7. Cote d’Ivoire

United States

“One year ago, the people of Côte D’Ivoire approached a landmark election. And when the incumbent lost, and refused to respect the results, the world refused to look the other way. U.N. peacekeepers were harassed, but they did not leave their posts. The Security Council, led by the United States and Nigeria and France, came together to support the will of the people.”

Nigeria

“The resolution of the conflict in Cote d’Ivoire is a case in point. I consider the inauguration of President Ouatarra not just a success for Cote d’Ivoire but also for the international community, which spoke with one voice and acted in concert in support of the Ivorian people.”

Australia

“While so many challenges lie before us, the last year has proven that when the international community does act collectively and *decisively*, we can *deliver*. As we have seen in the decisions of the Security Council on Libya and Côte d’Ivoire.”

Gabon

“S’agissant de la Côte d’Ivoire, le Gabon a approuvé les actions des Nations Unies, pour le respect de la volonté du peuple Ivoirien et le retour à une vie politique apaisée

Norway

“In Cote d’Ivoire and Libya, the United Nations has once again proved its worth by addressing some of the most challenging situations in the world.”

8. Other (UN impartiality; early action; accountability; sovereignty)

South Africa

“The UN should never take sides in any conflict but should always maintain its impartiality.

The UN must not allow itself to be used by any country regardless of its history or size. All citizens of the world should feel confident and secure, in the knowledge that the UN is above all interests and only serves those of the global citizenry.”

Sri Lanka

“The interest of the developing world needs to be protected in another significant respect. It is vitally important to insist that the structures and procedures of multilateral organizations are uniform and consistent and devoid of discrimination.”

Georgia

“The Cold War ended 20 years ago and, slowly—too slowly—new rules are emerging. And even these rules are still too rarely applied. Step by step though, tyrants starts to fear that they could one day be held accountable for their crimes. There will be – I am convinced - less and less tolerance for the ethnic cleansing and other war crimes that have stained my country, and so many others.”

Costa Rica

“The international community cannot condition its preventive action to actual armed violence between brothers. It should react, not as a function of the quantity and magnitude of the detonations, but rather to the severity and persistence of the violations. Otherwise, the message to the world would be disastrous. It would imply that, in order to mobilize diplomacy, the shortest route is that of blood. As a country and as a people, we emphatically reject this idea.”

United Kingdom

“But at the same time Africa must meet its responsibilities too. Many will find it hard to understand why countries in Southern Africa which have fought so hard to throw off oppression have been so slow to respond to the Arab Spring. Of course I recognise that many have long been committed to non-intervention. But my argument is that where action is necessary, legal and right, to fail to act is to fail those who need our help.

Australia

“While so many challenges lie before us, the last year has proven that when the international community does act collectively and *decisively*, we can *deliver*. As we have seen in the decisions of the Security Council on Libya and Côte d' Ivoire. But to be effective, this parliament of human-kind, these United Nations, must continue to summon the political capital of Member States to make our global institutions work. Otherwise, we become a clanging gong, full of sound and sentiment, but ultimately symbolizing nothing.”

Slovakia

“We need to focus on eliminating the primary causes of conflicts, not just deal hastily with their grave consequences which so sadly often happen only after too many lives have been destroyed.” The credibility of the United Nations as a moral force, as a force to protect civilian populations and their rights is at stake. Equally at stake is the UN's capacity to be present in crises, revolts, catastrophes, which are an attack on the dignity of populations and threaten their very existence.”

China

“We should respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, and the internal affairs of a country should be decided by its own people. We oppose interference in other countries' internal affairs by whatever means and under whatever pretext.”

Liberia

“Our experience leads us to suggest that greater emphasis be placed on preventive measures, and that the tools of mediation be employed as soon as early warning signs of conflict emerge. The benefits of establishing an early warning system that will deal with potentially explosive situations before they degenerate into full-blown infernos are obvious.”

Uganda

“Uganda believes that differences that might arise between and within countries are better addressed through home grown solutions. External influences or interventions do not necessarily offer sustainable solutions to resolve conflicts. On the contrary, the latter at times tend to contribute to a cycle of destabilizing tendencies”

“It is also important to underscore the fact that where potential conflict situations arise and external support is necessary, the international community should provide timely, adequate and robust response”

“Uganda would like to make a strong case to this Assembly that Africa should be given the chance to resolve her conflicts. Africa has strong political will to handle them, and any interventions should be aimed at supporting Africa's initiatives to find peaceful and solutions solutions.”

Cuba

“More than ever before we have to defend the United Nations, but the biggest challenge would be to turn it into an organization that serves the legitimate interests of all States, instead of catering for the arbitrariness and abuses of a handful of rich and powerful countries.”

Tajikistan

“Maintenance of peace and security remains an issue of top priority for the entire international community. For this reason, in order to stop wars and settle conflicts the international community must bear responsibility and undertake urgent collective measures. We welcome the peaceful settlement in South Sudan ...”

Trinidad and Tobago

“The absence of peaceful means to resolve conflicts has led to genocide, war crimes, and other pernicious misdeeds of concern to the international community.”

Angola

“There are other elements I would like to mention that are an important cause of the spread of conflicts: I am referring to external interference, done in gross violation of international law, and which most of the time obstructs efforts at mediation and peaceful resolution, and prevents solutions to these conflicts. Angola paid a very high price as a result of such interference, that for too long a time fed a fratricidal conflict that Angolans finally settled and wisely overcame with magnanimity, fairness and inclusion.”

Canada

“This is the Canadian tradition. Standing for what is principled and just, regardless of whether it is popular, or convenient, or expedient.”

“Canada will not go along with a double standard that castigates some U.N. members for alleged failings while ignoring the notorious abuses of others.”

Liechtenstein

“Second, have we lived up to our promise to ensure accountability for the worst crimes? Have we lived up to the promise of “never again”, which we gave in the aftermath of Rwanda and Srebrenica? Once more, the international response to crimes committed in Libya provides a glimmer of hope. The Security Council’s unanimous referral of the Libya situation to the International Criminal Court was a historic decision...

“Regarding protection of women and girls from sexual violence... The greatest responsibility, however, lies with peacekeepers on the ground.”

Benin

“When the fundamental values of the charter are at stake the international community should come to the fore to shoulder its responsibilities on behalf of the international community. In this regard impartiality cannot be synonymous with a unfathomable neutrality that would make the Organization a passive

witness to facts on the ground versus using law. I would like to thank the Secretary-General for his courageous choices he has taken.”

Dominica

“The work of the United Nations, therefore, is paramount in maintaining world peace and security. In its maintenance of this role, the United Nations must be able to clearly demonstrate legitimacy and fairness in its actions cognizant always, of the need to protect the most vulnerable.”

Thailand

“Respect for human rights and democracy cannot be imposed from the outside. They must be developed and nurtured from within, in accordance with the readiness and aspirations of the people. Each government must find its own solution and pursue its own pace in a manner that is appropriate for its specific context and conditions. Meanwhile, it is incumbent on the international community to provide support to, and promote constructive dialogue and engagement with, countries of concern, while respecting their sovereignty, territorial integrity and the will of the people.”

Armenia

“As a nation that has survived a genocide, the most extreme form of racism and xenophobia, we are morally obliged to act for the prevention of future genocides...”

We unequivocally welcome the clear position adopted by the international community in precluding any possibility of immunity or pardon for perpetrators of genocide or other crimes against humanity.”

Rwanda

“... we need to take a good look at the toll that traditional diplomatic mediation can have on the lives involved in conflict areas. Too often, while resolutions are being debated and refined, people are dying.”