

The Responsibility to Protect and the 67th Opening of the UN General Assembly

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Summary

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)

Themes	Speakers	Total
Direct Reference to R2P	Bahrain; Belarus; Belgium; Botswana; Brazil; Costa Rica; Côte d'Ivoire; Croatia; Denmark; Estonia; Libya; Liechtenstein; Montenegro; Poland; Romania; Russia; Slovenia; South Africa; Sudan; Syria; the Netherlands; Turkey; UN Secretary-General; Uruguay; Zimbabwe.	25
Indirect Reference to R2P	France; Slovakia.	2
Syria	Afghanistan; Albania; Algeria; Andorra; Angola; Antigua & Barbuda; Armenia; Australia; Austrai; Azerbaijan; Bahrain; Belgium; Bosnia & Herzegovina; Botswana; Brazil; Bulgaria; Burundi; China; Colombia; Costa Rica; Croatia; Cuba; Cyprus; Czech Republic; D.R. Congo; Denmark; DPR Korea; Egypt; Estonia; European Union; Finland; France; Gabon; Gambia; Germany; Greece; Grenada; Guinea; Guyana; Holy See; Iceland; India; Indonesia; Iraq; Ireland; Italy; Jamaica; Japan; Jordan; Kazakhstan; Kuwait; Kyrgyzstan; Latvia; Lebanon; Lesotho; Libya; Liechtenstein; Luxembourg; Madagascar; Malaysia; Maldives; Malta; Mauritania; Mauritius; Mexico; Micronesia; Monaco; Mongolia; Montenegro; Morocco; Nepal; New Zealand; Nicaragua; Nigeria; Norway; Oman; Panama; Paraguay; Peru; Poland; Portugal; Qatar; R. Korea; R. Congo; Romania; Russia; San Marino; Sao Tome and Principe; Saudi Arabia; Singapore; Slovakia; Slovenia; Spain; St. Kitts and Nevis; St. Lucia; Sudan; Swaziland; Sweden; Switzerland; Syria; Tanzania; Thailand; The Comoros Islands; The Netherlands; The Solomon Islands; Timor Leste; Togo; Trinidad & Tobago; Tunisia; Turkey; Ukraine; U.A.E; United Kingdom; United States; Uruguay; Venezuela; Yemen; Zambia.	118
International Response to the Crisis in Libya	Andorra; Austria; Botswana; Chad; Colombia; Czech Republic; Finland; France; Gabon; Libya; St. Kitts and Nevis; Togo; Ukraine; United States; Venezuela; Zimbabwe.	16
Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)	Angola; Belgium; Benin; Burundi; DRC; France; Gabon; Morocco; Namibia; Republic of the Congo; Sao Tome and Principe; Tanzania; Uganda.	13
Sudan	Angola; Benin; Botswana; Chad; Egypt; Ethiopia; Gambia; Guinea; Guyana; India; Kenya; Mauritania; Namibia; Norway; Republic of the Congo; Sao Tome and Principe; South Africa; South Sudan; St. Lucia; Sudan; Swaziland; Zambia	22
Yemen	Germany; Kuwait; Saudi Arabia; United States; Yemen.	5
Mali	Angola; Austria; Botswana; Burundi; Chad; Côte d'Ivoire; DRC; France; Gabon; Guinea; Guyana; Liberia; Mauritania; Monaco; Morocco; Namibia; Nigeria; Portugal; R. Congo; Sao Tome and Principe; Senegal; Spain; St. Lucia; The Comoros; Gambia; Togo; Zambia.	27
Côte d'Ivoire	Côte d'Ivoire; Ghana; Liberia; Morocco; Togo.	5
Myanmar	Austria; Bahrain; European Union; Germany; Iraq; Japan; Kuwait; Libya; Myanmar; Norway; R. Korea; Thailand; Timor Leste; Turkey; United Arab Emirates; United States; Yemen.	17
Concerns over Use of Force	China; Cuba; DPR Korea; Lesotho; Liechtenstein; Russia; Somalia; St. Vincent & the Grenadines; Trinidad & Tobago; Tuvalu; Venezuela.	11
Focal Points	Costa Rica; Denmark.	2
RWP	Brazil; Russia.	2
UN Impartiality	Egypt; Eritrea; Russia; Sri Lanka; St. Kitts & Nevis; Syria.	6
Accountability & Mass Atrocities	Armenia; Austria; Belgium; Botswana; Costa Rica; Croatia; Denmark; Estonia; Iceland; Ireland; Libya; Liechtenstein; Montenegro; Peru; R. Korea; Sierra Leone; Slovakia; the Netherlands.	18
UNSC Veto	Ecuador; Iran; Liechtenstein; Malaysia; New Zealand; Norway; Singapore; Switzerland; Uruguay.	9
Regime Change	Cuba; South Africa; Venezuela.	3
UNSC Reform	Afghanistan; Angola; Antigua & Barbuda; Brazil; Cape Verde; Costa Rica; Côte d'Ivoire; Croatia; Cuba; Czech Republic; DPR Korea; Egypt; Eritrea; France; Gabon; Gambia; Ghana; Grenada; Guyana; India; Italy; Jamaica; Japan; Kuwait; Kyrgyzstan; Latvia; Lebanon; Lesotho; Liberia; Luxembourg; Macedonia; Malawi; Mexico; Moldova; Namibia; Nigeria; Paraguay; R. Congo; Russia; Samoa; San Marino; Sao Tome & Principe; Saudi Arabia; Senegal; Sierra Leone; Solomon Islands; South Africa; St. Lucia; Sudan; Swaziland; Switzerland; Tanzania; The Comoros; Timor Leste; Trinidad & Tobago; Ukraine; Venezuela; Zambia; Zimbabwe.	58

Direct Reference to R2P

UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon

"It is our duty to give tangible meaning to the responsibility to protect."

Bahrain

"Our organization must therefore shoulder its responsibilities for the protection of unarmed civilians and must not allow the procedures of the United Nations to impede its ability to prevent crimes against humanity. It must put aside the narrow geopolitical interests and proceed to the attainment of the supreme goal which is the **responsibility to protect civilians** in armed conflicts."

Belarus

"First, to ensure the rule of law on the global scale, the system of international law needs to become fully functional. Forged through the centuries of suffering, this is the foundation without which all other elements of the modern civilization cannot operate. Having signed the UN Charter, the world's countries committed themselves to abide by the principles of international law. In other words, they refused to live any longer in the conditions of destructive anarchy and lawlessness. International law has been shaped as a historic compromise between the interests of all states. Thus, it could be supplemented and revised only if all of them agree to do so. There should be no place to arbitrary interpretations that seek to subordinate international law to someone's private interests. Let us bear in mind that this behavior leads to infringement of interests of other international actors. This is why no trendy concepts – like 'humanitarian intervention' or 'responsibility to protect' – can justify interference in internal affairs of sovereign states."

Belgium

"...based on the approach of mutual respect, Belgium adheres to the principle of the responsibility to protect the victims of violence throughout the world. And it is in the same spirit that Belgium responded to the request made by our Secretary-General announcing seventeen specific steps: the rule of law and the fight for the respect of human rights makes us strengthen the fight against impunity and Belgium will continue its policy of active cooperation with the International Criminal jurisdictions. The work of the ICC contributes to the advent of the era of responsibility and all states should cooperate with the court."

Botswana

"My delegation is of the view that, given its mandate of maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations Security Council should assume high moral ground in defense of victims of war crimes and crimes against humanity such as the ones currently being committed in Syria. The Principle of the **Responsibility to Protect** in accordance with UN resolution 1674 of April 2006 should be forcefully applied wherever crimes against humanity occur."

Brazil

"Brazil will always fight to ensure that decisions emanating from the UN prevail. Yet we want legitimate actions, founded on international legality. In this spirit, I have defended the need for a "responsibility while protecting" as a necessary complement to the "Responsibility to Protect"."

Costa Rica

"We emphasize the value of the **Responsibility to Protect** as a critical operative principle of the international community. Its three pillars comprise a dynamic system of mutually related parts. As a contribution to its preventative dimension, we promote, together with Australia, Denmark and Ghana, a network of national focal points or Responsibility to Protect. We invite all member states to join this network."

Côte d'Ivoire

"Côte d'Ivoire considers that in terms of the UN, your predecessor had launched an interactive informal dialogue on the issue of the responsibility to protect. Following that very useful forum which gave many lessons learned, Côte d'Ivoire along

with the UN is convinced that R2P is now a mature concept and it has to be made operational now. On this basis, the ECOWAS commission and the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect organized in Abuja, in Nigeria, a forum on this idea of R2P. A similar meeting is planned in Côte d'Ivoire for the end of this year."

Croatia

"We support concepts of human security and **responsibility to protect**, their implementation as well as their improvement through an open and constructive dialogue within the UN framework...Undoubtedly, there are sufficient conflict prevention tools at our disposal. The question remains whether we can muster enough resolve to use them."

Denmark

"International agreement on the **Responsibility to Protect** at the 2005 World Summit was a clear statement by the international community that the atrocities and large scale tragedies of the 20th century must not be repeated in the 21st Century. The global network of National Focal Points on R2P - an initiative launched by the governments of Denmark and Ghana, Costa Rica and Australia - is an approach to encourage and assist states in developing their national capacities and mechanisms for the prevention of mass atrocity crimes. We call on all states to appoint national focal points and to join the network, thereby demonstrating their commitment to decisive and timely prevention and response."

Estonia

"Under the principle of the **Responsibility to Protect (RtoP)** states committed in 2005 to protect their people from ethnic cleansing, genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Today the content of **RtoP** is not debated. The difficulty, however, lies with its application: when governments do not live up to their responsibility, the international community must react. And act.

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Experience shows that if we fail to act responsibly, we will, in the end, be forced to do so."

Libya

"The suffering of the Syrian people is unimaginable. The regime in power is repressing its citizens violently, shedding their blood and honour. This has caused the regime to lose its legitimacy. In order to put an end to such a tragedy Libya urges the Security Council to act promptly, in accordance with the principle of the **Responsibility to Protect**, and take immediate action to end all forms of murder, violence and destruction and find a way out of this crisis through a peaceful transition power in order to ensure the legitimate demands of the Syrian people. This has not been achieved so far, however with the consensus among member states in the Security Council and by supporting efforts of the Joint Envoy of the UN and Arab League this may be obtained."

Liechtenstein

"When we last met a year ago, we already heard many calls from this podium to bring an end to the crisis in Syria. Since then, the violence has turned into a civil war that puts the United Nations to shame. We have seen open divisions in the Security Council and little interest by the parties to the conflict in UN-led mediation. Instead, the situation on the ground has further escalated. There is now a threat of instability to the entire region. The blatant disregard for the life and rights of civilians, women and children in particular, is simply shocking. It is a crisis with profound and lasting effects for the three main pillars of the United Nations: peace and security, development and human rights. It is therefore also an existential challenge for this organization. The United Nations is only as effective as its political organs allow it to be. This crisis must therefore make us think in general terms about the lessons we should learn. The situation in Syria is clearly of burning concern to the membership as a whole – as a crisis of human security and as a threat to international peace and security. At the same time, the Security Council is unable to carry out its tasks under the Charter because of disagreement among its Permanent Members. It is therefore essential that the General Assembly steps in and plays a more active role – as it has done on some occasions. This is all the more important as we are confronted with a failure to fulfill the responsibility to protect a civilian population – a principle adopted by this Assembly at the highest political level."

Montenegro

"Responsibility to protect and its operationalization remain a key priority. In the era of accountability, perpetrators of crimes

against humanity should not go unpunished. Countries need to demonstrate strong commitment to the rule of law, respect for human rights and freedoms, democracy and non-use of force in settling disputes."

Poland

"Based on various experiences gathered, the disputable idea of humanitarian intervention was replaced with the concept of "responsibility to protect". This was a very wise way out of the stalemate which emerged in this area more than ten years ago. The concept of responsibility to protect has been approved of by the entire international community and has been a UN norm since 2005.

As we know, a norm and a practice may sometimes be worlds apart. In the light of developments unfolding in the last decade, and in the light of humanitarian tragedies, in particular the suffering and death of thousands of innocent children, which must stir people's hearts and conscience, we cannot afford a situation where responsibility to protect remains a dead letter. What we put forward for your consideration is that the United Nations should initiate work on defining a catalogue of instruments to be applied in situations which entail "responsibility to protect". It is about the international community being effective without exceeding the mission's mandate and inciting disputes on that count."

Romania

"Under the auspices of the United Nations, through a common innovative and intellectual effort, the conceptual approach has been enlarged to: human security, **responsibility to protect**, mediation. There is still a long way ahead of us to make them operational. They should enhance our capabilities to act and to work together to assure peace and security at global and regional levels. Romania stands ready to implement them."

Russia

"In general, the events of the recent years have clearly shown that unilateral actions that violate international law and go beyond the decisions of the UN Security Council or distort the substance of these decisions do not do any good. Of course, the legal norms in international affairs will be further adjusted as necessary. But these transformations should be treated with utmost responsibility and full realization of serious risks associated with them. Only consensus can be the criterion for their adoption. Violations of international law should not be portrayed as their "creative development". All of the above has also to do with the debate regarding the concept of "responsibility to protect". Its further discussion should be held on the basis of the approaches agreed upon at the UN Summit in 2005 that reaffirmed the need to observe the principles of the UN Charter with regard to response to intra-State conflicts. Protection of civilians is an issue, which is too serious to be exploited for achieving political goals. The ambiguity of the "responsibility to protect" concept can be better understood in light of initiatives formulated by Brazil and several other States to help move forward to a consensus."

Slovenia

"The UN Secretary General Mr. Ban Ki-moon urged in his speech at the opening of this session that we should "give the **Responsibility to Protect** concept a tangible meaning". To my regret, however, we have not yet achieved a common understanding on the modalities of such actions. We should therefore strengthen and focus our dialogue to this end. There is a room for improving the modes of collaboration between the national, the regional and international levels.

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Moreover, an intergovernmental forum of like-minded countries should be formed to propose a UN Resolution that would set a clear mandate for preparation and adoption of an appropriate legal mechanism. A legal mechanism that would provide the **Responsibility to Protect** concept with new tools. A legal mechanism that will enforce the prevention of the crime. A mechanism is needed to enable a more rapid an effective response to acts of genocide and other mass atrocities."

South Africa

"To promote the peaceful settlement of disputes, we also wish to emphasize that the Security Council should carry out its Charter mandate within the confines of international law. Any member state or international body that implements Security Council Resolutions should be accountable to the Security Council. This will ensure that we avoid the abuse of internationally agreed concepts like **Responsibility to Protect** and the Protection of Civilians. These principles must not be used to amongst other things, justify the notion of regime change. These concepts exist to prevent mass atrocities, war crimes, genocide and

ethnic cleansing. We should continue the debate on these principles in order to develop norms and standards for accountability when actions are taken."

Sudan

"We today call for a balanced multilateral and just international system able to tackle the challenges that we face. One where respect of international law prevails. One where the principles and objectives of the United Nations, including the respect of the sovereignty of states and non-intervention in internal affairs by any justification and the non-use of force are the primary rules. Sudan is most concerned vis-à-vis new concepts or agendas that are not internationally agreed. They are controversial concepts such as 'humanitarian intervention', 'preemptive wars', 'the responsibility to protect', political and economic sanctions and new mechanisms to bring pressure to bear on states and to politicize international justice."

Svria

"Instead of seeking to contribute to the settlement of regional and international disputes by peaceful means, some well-known countries continue to pursue new colonial policies based on political hypocrisy in dealing with those crises. Under the pretext of humanitarian intervention these countries interfere in the domestic affairs of states, and impose unilateral economic sanctions that lack the moral and legal basis. And under the pretext of concepts such as the "Responsibility to Protect", drums of war are beaten, and sedition and unrest are spreading and damaging the structure of national societies."

The Netherlands

"People should be free to live their lives in peace and security. Every state therefore has an obligation to prevent aggression, genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. Prevention is key. But if countries cannot or will not act, the international community has a **responsibility to protect**.

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The Security Council must act decisively when serious crimes are involved and international peace and security is at stake.

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Fourth, countries should adhere to the principle of **Responsibility to Protect**. This applies to prevention, protection and prosecution."

Turkey

"If indiscriminate attacks and collective punishment becomes weapons in the hands of cruel regimes against their own citizens, as we are witnessing every day and night in Syria; If we fail to hear and rise up to the cry of innocent masses wherever they are; And if we cannot force these brutal regimes to submit to justice and the rule of law, how are we to maintain international peace and security? The peaceful world, as the founders of the United Nations envisioned, cannot be established if we remain ineffective in our work against these challenges. Let us not forget: Our inability to act becomes the tool in the hands of despots and destructive regimes to demolish their cities, towns and villages, massacre their own citizens, and make a mockery of the civilized world and the United Nations. Our failure to address a humanitarian crisis shakes our collective conscience. Worse, however, our inaction eventually emboldens oppressors and aggressive regimes, creates evil alliances to perpetuate and commit crimes against humanity. And let us make no mistake: Mercy shown to an oppressor is the most merciless act toward people under oppression. And if not now, when are we supposed to act in unity? And if it is not the United Nations, who is to lead? If it is not us, then who will shoulder the responsibility to protect the innocent civilians?

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As a mockery of the values we all share, the people of Syria continue to suffer under the brutality and the tyranny of the regime in Damascus for the last 18 months. The numbers speak in volume. More than 30 thousand people were killed so far, around 500 hundred thousand Syrian fled to neighboring countries, and about 3 million people are internally displaced. Unfortunately, this humanitarian tragedy has become just a statistic for many. And what has the international community done to stop this carnage? Literally nothing... We are yet to see a single effective action to save innocent lives. It is such a disgrace to witness that today, after 20 years, the ghosts of Srebrenica and Halapcha still continue to haunt us, this time in the cities of Syria. One can argue about the reasons for the failure of the Security Council to stop violence of the Syrian regime. However, there can be no legitimate explanation for the failure of the Security Council to reflect the collective conscience of the international community. It has to uphold its primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security. It is the

inability of the Security Council to act that still encourages the Syrian regime to kill ever more people. If the Security Council does not follow the conscience of the international community that was reflected by the resolutions adopted with more than two thirds of vote in this General Assembly, who will respond to the cries of the Syrian people? For how long we, the international community, will allow this humanitarian tragedy to continue? The **responsibility to protect** the people of Syria is our fundamental duty."

Uruguay

"We have promptly clearly and constructively expressed our position on situation of grave human rights violations, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity and war crimes. At national level, we have strictly monitored our treaties and international commitments related to all human rights. We will submit three new reports to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention against Torture and other cruel, inhumane or degrading treatment, as well as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. We have also submitted our first report to the Committee on Enforced Disappearances. From the Presidency of the Human Rights Council, Uruguay has promoted the strengthening of the multilateral system of protection and defense of human rights. The protection of basic human rights, inherent to human being, stands as one of the pillars of democratic societies, determining the fulfillment and the participation of citizens and guaranteeing peaceful coexistence among citizens. Moreover, the respect of these rights allows the empowerment of human being and its effective participation into societies, which is one of the inherent components of Rule of Law. Since 2002, Uruguay is part of the Rome Statute and passed a law which can be considered as a model of cooperation with the International Criminal Court (ICC), in regards with the fight against genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Seven years ago, in this Assembly, when including the concept of **Responsibility to Protect**, we undertook the compromise to stop atrocities, giving priority to the prevention and cooperating with States -upon request- to help them to fully comply with their responsibilities to protect their population from these flagellum and respond in time and decisively in accordance with the UN Charter."

Zimbabwe

"But the increasing trend by the NATO States inspired by the arrogant belief that they are the most powerful among us, which has demonstrated itself through their recent resort to unilateralism and military hegemony in Libya, is the very antithesis of the basic principles of the United Nations. In that case of Libya, the African Union and its peace-making role was defied, ignored and humiliated. May we urge the international community to collectively nip this dangerous and unwelcome aggressive development before it festers. In this regard, Mr. President, the theme you have chosen for this session, namely; "Bringing about Adjustment or Settlement of International Disputes or Situations by Peaceful Means," is very appropriate. The warmongers of our world have done us enough harm. Wherever they have imposed themselves, chaos in place of peace has been the result. The situation created by the Bush-Blair illegal campaign of aggression against Iraq has made worse the conflict between the Sunnis and Shias. Leave alone the disastrous economic consequences of that unlawful invasion. Libya has been made equally unstable, following NATO's deceitful intervention under the sham cover of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and the phoney principle of the **responsibility to protect**.

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We have noticed, with deep regret, that the provisions of the United Nations Charter dealing with the peaceful settlement of disputes, have, on occasion, been ignored by the Security Council. In contrast, there appears to be an insatiable appetite for war, embargos, sanctions and other punitive actions, even on matters that are better resolved through multilateral cooperation. Instead of resorting to the peaceful resolution of disputes, we are daily witnessing a situation where might is now right. Mr. President, we need to take stock of the inspiring preamble to the United Nations Charter, where the plenipotentiaries who met in San Francisco in 1945 undertook to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." This is especially so when global events represent a radical departure from that solemn and noble declaration as is happening at present. What do the NATO Alliance members say about this? One may ask.

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It is regrettable to note that certain unacceptable concepts are currently being foisted upon the United Nations membership, in the absence of inter-governmental mandates. For instance, there is no agreement yet on the concept of "responsibility to protect," especially with respect to the circumstances under which it might be evoked. We are concerned by the clear mad growing evidence that the concept of "responsibility to protect" has begun to be applied and seriously abused, thus inevitably compromising and undermining the cardinal principle of the sovereignty of states and the United Nations Charter principles

of territorial integrity and non-interference in the domestic affairs of countries."

Indirect Reference to R2P

France

"We must also fight to protect civilians and I would recall again that this assembly reaffirmed the principle that is all states have the responsibility to ensure the security of their civilians. And if a state does not uphold this obligation then it is up to us, the United Nations, to use the resources to uphold their obligation in their stead."

Slovakia

"The primary responsibility for the protection of its citizens is always borne by the government and democratic institutions of a country. If they do not exist or if they are at risk, it is our joint duty to seek solutions to remedy this situation."

Country Specific

Syria

Afghanistan

"Afghanistan views the situation in Syria with much concern. For over a year now, the thousands of our Syrian brothers and sisters have lost their lives due to an escalating cycle of violence."

Albania

"Peace and security in the world continue to be challenged by tyranny and oppression in various parts of the world. We reiterate our strong condemnation of the ferocious repression against freedom loving people of Syria, who are suffering a primitive bloodshed by a regime that has irreversibly lost its legitimacy to lead and represent the Syrian people. Let me join all those who call the United Nations Security Council to step up and, in conformity with United Nations Charter, fulfill its mandate in the preservation of peace and security. It is hard to believe that one can be or remain indifferent to such terrible events that unfold every day in Syria since one year and a half, with tens of thousands of human losses, wide spread deliberate destruction and suffering that have already brought the country decades behind. Haven't we already learned the hard lessons of similar mistakes in past tragedies in Rwanda and Bosnia?"

Algeria

"Algeria is a member of the Committee of Arab States to monitor the Syrian crisis; we supported Kofi Annan and will do the same with his successor Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi with a view to reaching, god willing, a political solution to this acute crisis. In our region, we face today, new risks and threats which point to a return of terrorism in its more violent manifestations and its interconnections with the scourges of organized crime, drug trafficking and weapons, as well as terrorist acts. It is in this context that we find a complex situation in Mali – that crisis seriously threatens the security of the countries of the Sahel. While in fact the deep root causes, the situation goes back or can be attributed to the ills of underdevelopment. Algeria acts in concern with the AU, with ECOWAS, and with other regional actors concerned with a view to reaching a peaceful and lasting settlement of this crisis."

Andorra

"The change of regime in Libya and the conflict in Syria —still ongoing and waging harshly— have forced the international community into a perverse dilemma: that of having to find the fair balance between solving conflicts peacefully and the rule of law; in short, between peace and justice. It would appear that in order to attain a peaceful solution to a conflict or to end

hostilities, one has to sacrifice justice and to allow those who have violated human rights to go unpunished; or that by being inflexible in applying international law, these conflicts go on forever. The fair balance must not allow those who violate human rights to go unpunished. The fair balance must not allow conflicts to go on endlessly. Now, with regard to Syria, it is time to give support to open societies and to back a political transition that will guarantee a framework for democratic development. Mister Secretary General, I wish to praise both your commitment and that of Special Envoy Mister Lakhdar Brahimi to finding a solution to the conflict in Syria."

Angola

"The conflict in Syria poses a serious danger to international peace and security and will seriously aggravate the humanitarian situation in the region. Angola urges the international community to support the efforts of Mr. Brahimi of the UN and the Arab League mediator to seek a negotiated settlement to the conflict."

Antigua and Barbuda

"The situation in Syria is disheartening; children, women and the elderly must be protected. I call on both sides to exercise restraint and allow humanitarian relief supplies to enter Syria. I also call on all nations to cease the supply of arms to both sides in the conflict. As leaders, our priority must be to urge all parties in Syria to implement a cease-fire and stop the violence immediately and completely. Every effort must be made to implement Annan's six-point proposal and relevant UN Security Council resolutions. The United Nations and the Arab League must lead in this process. Any threats of war should be diminished; and negotiation and mediation should be the order of the day. If not addressed, the Syrian crisis presents a serious threat to international peace and security. Antigua and Barbuda will continue to give our support to a just, peaceful and appropriate settlement of the Syrian crisis at an early date."

Armenia

"As many speakers, I should also express our concerns about the developments and worsening of the humanitarian situation in Syria, which directly affects also the large Armenian community in this country. This community was formed mainly by the survivors of the Armenian Genocide in Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the 20th century. Today they are struggling for life as many Syrian citizens. Armenia is continuing to receive refugees from Syria that are full of worries about the escalation of violence in this country. It is impossible to reach a durable settlement without the cessation of hostilities by all parties and without an inclusive political dialogue taking into account the interests of all Syrians."

Australia

"As we meet, the Syrian Government is turning the instruments of state power against the very people who state power ought to protect. Employing heavy weapons and ground-attack aircraft against civilians ... engaging in systematic human rights abuses. We must do everything we can to end the suffering of the Syrian people. And to rebuild Syrian society, those who are committing crimes against humanity must be held accountable. The international community must unite behind Lakhdar Brahimi, the Joint Special Representative for Syria. We urge the members of the Security Council to do so and to act decisively."

Austria

"Events of recent months have once again illustrated the importance of the United Nations as a multilateral forum to address today's crises and challenges: the conflicts in Syria and Mali and the ongoing reform processes in many parts of the Arab World demonstrate that we can face those challenges only through concerted action.

...

In Syria, thousands have lost their lives in their struggle for freedom and reforms through crimes committed by a regime that denies them every basic human right in order to stay in power. Austria condemns the systematic human rights violations and bloodshed in Syria in the strongest possible terms. More than 27,000 victims and some 2.5 million people in dire need of humanitarian assistance are a stark reminder for each and every one of us that it is high time for the United Nations to finally act. The Security Council in particular must assume its responsibility for the ever aggravating situation in the country. Violence has to stop immediately and both sides have to engage in a meaningful dialogue facilitated by the Joint Special

Representative Lakhdar Brahimi. There will be no solution unless President Assad steps aside and gives way to forces of reason and reconciliation.

...

In 2011, Austria was elected to the Human Rights Council. We fully support the Council and its mechanisms, especially the Universal Periodic Review. The Council is best placed to react swiftly in case of human rights emergencies. Its special sessions on Syria and Libya illustrated that the international community will not turn a blind eye on gross human rights violations and indiscriminate attacks against the civilian population. Human rights abuses must not go unpunished. Violations have to be thoroughly investigated and perpetrators must be held accountable before credible judicial institutions including the International Criminal Court."

Azerbaijan

"Azerbaijan remains deeply concerned about the escalation of violence and worsening socio- economic and humanitarian situation in Syria. We believe that the solution to the crisis lies in the hands of the Syrian people, their desire for mutual reconciliation and all-inclusive political process. We welcome the appointment of Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi as the Joint Special Representative for Syria of the United Nations and the League of Arab States and express our firm support to his efforts."

Bahrain

"My country firmly believes that the role of the UN is indispensable in addressing international and regional problems and finding appropriate solutions to them. Our region, specifically, is now in great need of that role given the speedy and regrettable developments in Syria. The international community, represented in the UN and its bodies entrusted with the maintenance of peace and security, is called up to unify its position so as to put an end to the humanitarian suffering of the Syria people and to find a political solution to the crisis that brings to an end violence and bloodshed, preserves the unity of Syria and the cohesion of its people and spares the region as a whole serious repercussions spilling far beyond the borders of Syria. Our organization must therefore shoulder its responsibilities for the protection of unarmed civilians and must not allow the procedures of the United Nations to impede its ability to prevent crimes against humanity. It must put aside the narrow geopolitical interests and proceed to the attainment of the supreme goal which is the **responsibility to protect civilians** in armed conflicts. My Government welcomes the appointment of Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi as joint Special Representative of the UN and the League of Arab states and wishes him every success in his endeavours to achieve the legitimate demands of the Syrian people."

Belgium

"Now I would like to turn to Syria. All of us are very seriously preoccupied in the face of the deterioration of the situation on the ground and the political deadlock. We are outraged by the attitude of the regime that is killing its own citizens. In addition to 30,000 dead, there are more than 250,000 refugees in neighboring countries and the number of internally displaced persons is even higher. How can human reason not find an agreement in order to put an end to the massacres? And I am addressing in all humility to the authorities of countries who are members of the SC - we cannot consciously leave this situation where we see suffering continue. We see crimes against humanity being committed and Belgium fully supports the joint special representative Lakhdar Brahimi. Belgium has high hopes in the work of Arab countries... we should all look for political solutions, but one thing is clear: Bashar al-Assad has to go. The regime has lost all legitimacy. In light of the urgent nature of the situation, the fact that winter is coming, Belgium would like to see the international community move ahead in a very specific was on humanitarian issues and provide assistance to the millions of persons affected by the situation. For Belgium, humanitarian issues are currently of the highest priority."

Bosnia and Herzegovina

"As we stand here, our fellow Syrians are fighting against a brutal regime. They are fighting to take their destiny into their own hands. The regime of Bashar al-Assad is answering their yearning for freedom and democracy with guns and bombs, just like his father's regime did thirty years ago. This is revolting and morally reprehensible. But so is our collective failure to stop it.

Once again, we are idly standing by while a human tragedy of dramatic proportions is unfolding before our eyes. We should do our part to help the Syrian people's historic stand for freedom. We should do our part to save the people of Syria from tyranny. We should. But we are not.

The images coming from Syria remind us of the tragedy of Bosnia. We in Bosnia and Herzegovina feel the pain of the Syrian people as our own because we went through the same horrors not that long ago. When the Secretary General Ban Kimoon visited Srebrenica with me this July to pay respects to the genocide victims, he said: "The international community must be united not to see any further bloodshed in Syria because I do not want to see any of my successors, after 20 years, visiting Syria, apologizing for what we could have done to protect the civilians in Syria - which we are not doing now". His predecessor, Kofi Annan, stated in the report on the fall of Srebrenica: ""Through error, misjudgment and an inability to recognize the scope of the evil confronting us, we failed to do our part to help save the people of Srebrenica The tragedy of Srebrenica will haunt our history forever " Today, these words ring true about this Organization's failure to respond to the tragedy in Syria. The best way to honor the victims of the Srebrenica genocide would have been to learn the lessons of that failure and not to commit the same errors ever again. Sadly, the United Nations, especially its Security Council, have failed to do so. The international community has chosen, yet again, to repeat the trial-and-error pattern of policies that failed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The resolutions, statements of concern, ineffective sanctions, observers, and no mandate to protect civilians are actions that have deadly consequences demonstrated in my country. Make no mistake. Unless we act now and act decisively to help the people of Syria and put an end to their bloodshed, this tragedy will haunt our history forever, just like Srebrenica."

Botswana

"We believe that the international community should act and speak out strongly and forthrightly against human rights abuses and atrocities whenever and where ever they occur. In this regard, my delegation observes with deep regret that over the past few months, the World watched helplessly and failed hopelessly to intervene as Syria descended into protracted anarchy. In the process, the Syrian people have been subjected to a cycle of violent repression and some of the worst human rights abuses and atrocities known to mankind. Even as we speak, the violent crackdown and bloodshed in that country continue unabated. Assad has displaced more than a million Syrians to satisfy his lust for power. He has caused around 300,000 Syrians to flee into neighboring countries because of his criminal acts. He has slaughtered 20,000 of his citizens in order to remain President. He has killed men, women, children and babies to achieve this. The International Community has, regrettably, failed to respond collectively. And yet Syria remains a member of the UN, a body with the expressed objective to defend humanity. This surely cannot be right.

Syria's allies in the Security Council and in the region need to be equally condemned.

...

My delegation is of the view that, given its mandate of maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations Security Council should assume high moral ground in defense of victims of war crimes and crimes against humanity such as the ones currently being committed in Syria. The Principle of the Responsibility to Protect in accordance with UN resolution 1674 of April 2006 should be forcefully applied wherever crimes against humanity occur.

In this connection, my delegation condemns in the strongest terms possible, the persistent veto action by China and Russia of successive Security Council resolutions aimed at putting pressure on the Syrian leadership to cease its heinous crimes against its own citizens. We therefore call upon such Members of the Security Council to live up to their responsibilities in accordance with the provisions of the UN Charter. We urge the international community to act swiftly to save the people of Syria from further unwarranted bloodshed. Botswana will continue to co-sponsor and support the various General Assembly and Human Rights Council resolutions aimed at addressing the situation in Syria as a practical demonstration of our unwavering commitment towards a resolution of the Syrian crisis. It is for this reason that we join forces with likeminded countries in calling for the situation in

Syria to be referred to the International Criminal Court for investigation in order that those responsible for committing crimes against humanity could be held accountable. Assad and his regime should be removed as soon as possible. We must encourage the opposition to unite and form a transition administration we can all recognize. We wish to commend Turkey and other countries that have taken the burden of accommodating Syrian refugees and who have spoken out against the deteriorating security and humanitarian situation in Syria and for contributing along with others to the UNHCR's plea for contributions. On our part as Botswana, we have made a modest contribution to the UNHCR to assist in humanitarian relief efforts for Syrian refugees.

...

Human rights abuses and atrocities are not only limited to Syria. It is in this context that we affirm our support for the International Criminal Court (ICC) and urge the Court to continue to implement its mandate including the prosecution of those indicted for human rights abuses and crimes against humanity. We therefore appeal to State Parties to fully cooperate with the court in its efforts to bring to justice suspected perpetrators of such crimes."

Brazil

"Syria is witnessing a large-scale humanitarian tragedy in its territory and in that of its neighbors. The Government in Damascus bears the largest share of responsibility for the cycle of violence that has victimized a large number of civilians, especially women, children, and young people. However, we are also aware of the responsibilities of armed opposition groups, especially those that increasingly rely on foreign military and logistical support. As President of a country that is the homeland of millions of people of Syrian descent, I call on the parties to the conflict to lay down their weapons and join the mediation efforts being undertaken by the Joint UN-Arab League Special Envoy. There is no military solution to the Syrian crisis. Diplomacy and dialogue are not just our best option: they are the only option."

Bulgaria

"The regime in Damascus has lost all legitimacy by waging a reckless war on its own people and by refusing to heed to the calls for a negotiated way out of the crisis. Bulgaria condemns these gross violations of basic UN principles and of international humanitarian law. We call for full accountability for the perpetrators, including by bringing them before the International Criminal Court."

Burundi

"Concernant la situation en Syrie, le Burundi souhaite un prompt rétablissement de la paix dans ce pays, dans un cadre concerté avec toutes les parties prenantes et les partenaires internationaux, dans le cadre de notre organisation des Nations Unies." (In statement but not delivered)

China

"China is deeply concerned about the persistent tension and worsening humanitarian situation in Syria. We call on all relevant parties in Syria to put on immediate and to fighting and violence, implement the relevant Security Council resolutions, Mr. Kofi Annan's six-point plan and the communique of the foreign ministers' meeting of the Action Group for Syria, and launch an inclusive political dialogue and a Syrian-led political transition as soon as possible. China is open towards any political plan that is acceptable to all parties in Syria. The relevant parties of the international community should play a positive and constructive role in this regard, support with credible steps. Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, the UN-Arab League Joint Special Representative, in conducting impartial mediation, and endeavor to set in motion and advance the process of political transition in Syria."

Colombia

"With regard to the dire situation Syria has been experiencing for more than a year and half, I must express our frustration with the inability of the international community to put an end to the tragedy that every day takes more and more Syrian lives. From this Assembly, we reiterate our call for an end to the attacks and for a political negotiation that resolves the legitimate aspirations of all sectors of Syrian society. The application of Kofi Annan's Six Point Plan would contribute to facilitating a political transition led by Syria. I would like to express our Support for the new Joint Special Representative of the United Nations and the League of Arab States, Lakhdar Brahimi, and wish great success in his difficult task."

Costa Rica

"Today, however, the sound most strongly resonating in this hall is the desperate scream of women and children in Syria. To them, we convey our solidarity."

Croatia

"I stress the importance of keeping high international attention on Syria. We align with the EU position on the situation in Syria. We see the need for prompt action on two fronts. The immediate priority is to stop the loss of life on both sides in the conflict, to provide humanitarian aid and assistance to the Syrian people and to support plans for economic and political stabilization of the country. More fighting and militarization will only exacerbate the suffering and make a peaceful resolution of the crisis more difficult. In addition, we have to remain committed to pursuing a Syrian-led political transition that would meet the democratic aspirations of the Syrian people. Resolving this crisis is our common responsibility. Therefore, we relentlessly call for the full respect of international law, especially international humanitarian law, human rights and refugee law.

Cuba

"The US and some European governments have decided to overthrow the Syrian government, for which they have armed, financed and trained opposition groups. They have even resorted to the use of mercenaries. Due mainly to the firm opposition by Russia and China, it has been impossible to manipulate the Security Council to impose the interventionist formula applied in recent warmongering adventures. Cuba reaffirms the right of the Syrian people to the full exercise of self-determination and sovereignty without any interference or foreign intervention of any sort. For that, violence, massacres and the terrorist actions that have taken a high toll on innocent lives must cease. The traffic in arms and money to help the insurgent groups as well as the shameful manipulation of reality by the media must also come to an end. It is the duty of the General Assembly to make use of its faculties to promote a peaceful solution to the current situation that is ruining that Arab country and prevent a foreign military aggression which will have serious consequences for the entire Middle East region."

Cyprus

"We strongly condemn the violence and the massacres of innocent civilians in Syria and call for their immediate cessation."

Czech Republic

"Our immediate effort has to focus on helping the people affected by the current tragic situation in the country."

Democratic Republic of the Congo

"The Middle East is today in a hot bed of tension. Syria is in the throes of bloodshed."

Denmark

"In Syria we witness - as I speak - a government that is not living up to its moral and political obligations. Instead, it pursues a violent path of trying to quell the cry for freedom, democratic reforms and human rights. Despite several promises made to the international community during the last year, the Assad-regime has not stopped the violence. Instead we have only heard the sound of machine guns, heavy weapons and airplanes firing away at civilians. Since I stood here at this podium a year ago, the situation has only deteriorated. Last year about 2,600 people in Syria had died. Now, more than 20,000 people have died in the conflict. The Syrian people are fleeing from the spree of bullets, and a quarter of a million of them are now refugees in neighboring countries. More than a million people inside Syria are in need of humanitarian assistance.

We condemn the brutal violence and massacres of civilians in the strongest terms. The time has come to stop the bloodshed and suffering of the Syrian people. We cannot look away while the increasing sectarian violence spiral

out of control, the humanitarian emergency escalates, and the crisis spills over borders. President Assad has lost all legitimacy and must step aside to allow for a peaceful and democratic transition.

At the same time those responsible for gross human rights violations must be put to justice. We commend the work done by the Commission of Inquiry. The Commission has done very valuable work. We note in particular that the Commission has stated that it is likely that crimes against humanity have been committed by the Syrian regime. The international community must ace on chis information. Denmark calls on the Security Council to refer the case of Syria and the serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the country to the International Criminal Court.

We urge the Security Council to unite and agree on strong measures, including comprehensive sanctions, which will enforce the 6-point plan endorsed by the Council. We cannot afford to continue waiting for a change of policy on the part of the regime, chat it shows no sign of ever making. The Syrian people need action. At the same time, we strongly encourage the Syrian oppos1t1on groups to agree on a set of shared principles for working towards an inclusive, orderly, and peaceful transition in Syria to a future free of Assad and his brutal regime.

While thanking Mr. Kofi Annan for his valuable contribution to finding a lasting solution to the conflict, we now put our trust in the new joint special envoy, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi and his efforts in reaching a political solution to the conflict."

Democratic People's Republic of Korea

"Unless the high-handedness and arbitrariness of certain countries are not eliminated thoroughly, it's hard to say that the UN is playing its function and role as a centre for coordinating cooperative relations between states based on the principle of sovereign equality as enshrined in the UN Charter. The unjustifiable interference, pressure and use of force that violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Syria and the right to self-determination and existence of Palestine should be rejected."

Egypt

"The bloodshed in Syria and the humanitarian crisis that has unfolded must be stopped. The blood that is shed in this country that is dear and near to us is far too valuable to continue to be shed, and the Syrian people, dear to our hearts, deserve to hope for a future of freedom and dignity."

Estonia

"Permit me to touch upon developments in Syria. We have witnessed the complete breakdown of any semblance of the rule of law. We continue to see extensive human rights and international humanitarian law abuses. It appears that both sides have committed serious international crimes. Yet we still see no solution. We cannot look on and wait for the violence to spread even more widely. The Security Council - especially its permanent members - must overcome their differences and find a solution to this bloodshed. The least that all parties must do is to allow for humanitarian aid to be safely delivered and to guarantee the security of humanitarian workers. Without an end to the armed conflict, without peace, there can be no political process."

European Union

"I also welcome the initiatives aimed at bringing together the main regional players, in a coherent international approach. Earlier this year, European leaders called upon all Members of the Security Council to work together in an effort to stop the violence. Today this call is even more urgent. The country needs to advance quickly towards a Syrian-led political transition, meeting the democratic aspirations of the Syrian people, while fully respecting the civil and human rights of minorities. It is the only way out. Those responsible for the repression have no place in the future of Syria and must step aside."

Finland

"In Syria the tragic situation is, if anything, getting worse. The Security Council has not been able to take the leading role that it is expected to take under the Charter with respect to threats to the peace such as this. The General Assembly has, on the other hand, sent a strong signal that the international community cannot remain indifferent. Killings of civilians must stop. All members of the Security Council must cooperate to find a way out of the crisis. The authority of the UN will suffer if the efforts to end the crisis will move elsewhere."

France

"There have been almost 30,000 deaths in the last 18 months. How many more deaths will we wait for before we act? How can we allow the paralysis of the United Nations to continue. I know one thing is certain the Syrian regime will never again take its place in the concert of nations, it has no future among us. This is why I have taken a decision on behalf of France to recognize the provisional government representative of the new Syria as soon as it has formed. This government will itself have to give guarantees that every community in Syria will be respected and will live in security in their own country and without waiting any longer I ask the UN now give the Syrian people all the support and assistance that they are requesting and in particular that liberated areas are protected and that humanitarian aid be assured for refugees."

Gabon

"The Syrian crisis which arose as an extension of the Arab Spring last year is having a destabilizing impact on several countries in the region in the Middle East. We hope that the efforts begun by the special envoy of the Secretary General, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi will help put a stop and will open up a dialogue."

Gambia

"Ongoing conflicts in Mali, Guinea Bissau and Syria are recent cases in point. The Security Council should not be the stumbling block in the settlement of disputes by peaceful or other means... We must not lose sight of some of the negative concomitants of these upheavals as is currently evident in Syria. My delegation believed that the Annan Plan would have brought about stability as well as provide for space for dialogue between the parties. It seems there is lack of goodwill and trust between the parties as well as the invisible hand of external elements hell-bent on achieving one outcome or the other. Syria is now a deeply divided society and the international community is partly to blame for its actions or inaction. We urge the parties to go back to the negotiating table and revive the Annan Plan. The international community ought to play a more positive role than it is currently doing, innocent lives are being lost for no just cause."

Germany

"To this very day, the Security Council has failed to live up to its responsibility for people in Syria. The deadlock in the Security Council must not continue. Every day, the violence perpetrated by the Bashar al-Assad regime is escalating. The risk of this conflict engulfing the entire region is growing."

Greece

"In Syria, demonstrations faced battle tanks and a brutal crack-down. On numerous occasions, we have called on President Assad to open the way for a transitional authority, comprising all sections of Syrian society. Yet, we are still in a prolonged bloody stalemate that jeopardizes the present and the future of the Syrian people and stability in our region. 29 000 victims, 250 000 refugees, 2.5 million Syrian citizens in need. We are convinced that a Syrian-led political solution is still achievable, and we see no alternative to such a solution. Greece believes that there is no military solution, to the Syrian problem."

Grenada

"The staggering loss of human life in Syria must be brought to an end by all those responsible. We call for a politically negotiated and urgent end to the situation and we reiterate our support for the work of diplomacy by the United Nations and the Arab League."

Guinea

"The situation in Syria is more alarming than ever before. We urge the stakeholders to deploy all efforts to put an end to violence, to protect the civilian population and to restore peace in this country. The government wishes to reaffirm its

commitment to the declaration of the extraordinary summit of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation on the topic of Syria."

Guyana

"It is my country's sincere hope that peace will soon come to the Syrian people. Guyana urges the renewal of efforts to bring the warring parties to the negotiating table. The international community must contribute to peace and not to the exacerbation of strife and conflict. Any abandonment of its role in bringing peace to Syria will result in greater suffering in that country and the undermining of security in that part of the world. The United Nations must therefore persevere in finding a peaceful end to the conflict. We therefore support the efforts of the Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States in working for a just peace in Syria."

Holy See

"The urgent nature of this situation is all the more obvious given events taking place in the Middle East and in particular in Syria. There can be no solution here that does not uphold the principles of international humanitarian law as well as the implementation of mechanisms established by the UN Charter. All relevant players must ensure not only that the Special Envoy's mission is facilitated but also to guarantee humanitarian aid to populations in need. The international community must rally its efforts to ensure that all relevant parties use negotiations instead of weapons and call for the effective exercising of religious freedom as well as human rights and all fundamental freedoms."

Iceland

"Sadly, there is no spring in Syria. Thousands of innocent people, not least innocent children, are losing their lives due to an oppressive regime. The international community must unite to end the violence and we must make a better effort to seek a political and peaceful solution for the sake of the Syrian people. We must also ensure that those, on both sides, who commit atrocities, will at the end of the day face their responsibility in an international court of law. The Syrian problem is also a wake-up call for the UN with regard to the Security Council. Syria has demonstrated how arcane the Council is, and how out-of-tune it is with the needs of the modern world. The truth is that the Security Council has become an obstacle to international efforts to address and solve situations such as in Syria. We must reform it, so as to make it a tool, not a hindrance, for progress in situations such as in Syria this year, or - as we saw last year - concerning the Palestinian application."

India

"The crisis in Syria continues unabated and is a matter of serious concern for us. Any further militarization of the crisis can have catastrophic consequences for the region. We urge all parties to commit themselves to resolving the crisis without any further bloodshed through an inclusive, Syrian-led political process that can meet the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people. We support the efforts of the UN and urge all sides to cooperate with the Joint Special Representative, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, in good faith."

Indonesia

"Indonesia therefore reiterates its call for the immediate cessation of violence in Syria, which has taken a high toll on innocent civilian lives. The UN Security Council must now unite and act decisively as mandated by the UN Charter to bring the situation under control."

Iraq

We think that the escalating violence in Syria is a reason for distress to all of us and makes it incumbent on the leaders gathered here to work in order to stop the bloodshed that claims the lives of tens and maybe hundreds of people every day in Syria. We would like also to draw your attention to the danger of providing the fighting parties with weapons, which only leads to more violence, blood, and loss of life.

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We also realize, as facts proved that negative regional and international interference could adversely impact the Syrian issue

and may cause unlimited chaos devastating results that may spare not even those who interfered. Therefore, we sincerely called and will continue to call for negotiations and peaceful solutions as a path to end the crisis that could draw the region in problems and exacerbate the current situation. The events in Syria proved that solving the crisis by violence and force could double the costs incurred by the Syrians and the region as such means only increase the suffering of civilians, destroy infrastructure and augment the number of the displaced. Therefore I hope that all of the parties realize that the bet on the military solution is a dangerous move; from this rostrum we call upon Kings, Presidents and leaders in this august gathering to support the reconciliation and dialogue plan among all Syrians by supporting the International and Arab initiative promoted by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi as the lofty efforts of Mr. Kofi Annan reached an impasse. In this regard, we don't hide our concern the consequences of the continuation of the crisis which could be exacerbated by the instigation of sectarian strife, which could lead the region into a spiral of fighting known only to God. This mater, ladies and gentlemen put the onus on us to seriously work to contain and resolve the crisis peacefully and to preserve the interests of the Syrian people and prevent further deterioration of the situation. Irag's initiative to solve the Syrian crisis is still standing as a beacon of peace as we strive to find an exit that all the forces of good are committed to follow and adopt. Iraq's adoption of this initiative is based on two points: First: Iraq's keen desire to preserve Syria and our support for the hopes and aspirations of its people and its choices of a free and dignified life. Second: Iraq's concern at the repercussions of violence and destruction of internal war and sectarian strife that we fear their affects and spread."

Ireland

"Mr. President, what is happening in Syria is an affront to humanity. Syrian children, Syrian women and Syrian men, young and old, are being slaughtered by their own Government. A national army - the army of a sovereign state - a member of this Organization - shelling their own people as they queue for bread, and launching airstrikes on their own cities. Compelling evidence of wholesale massacres in towns such as Houla. Syrian children trying to make sense of their shattered lives in refugee camps in neighboring countries. The violence is indiscriminate, and on an appalling scale. And not confined to one side. The people of Syria deserve the full support of the international community for the efforts to bring about an end to this suffering and to achieve an early political transition. Ireland backs the Joint Special Representative, Lakhdar Brahimi, in his difficult task. The priority must be to achieve an immediate ceasefire and to get a political process underway that will facilitate the transition. What is needed, above all, is a strong Security Council resolution which will authorize targeted sanctions. This must include a comprehensive arms embargo, against all those who are responsible for violating the human rights of the Syrian people. That is what the Syrian people want from us, and what they have a right to expect. There must also be full accountability for human rights abuses. To prevent further atrocities now, and to save lives now, we must make it clear now, that atrocities will not go unpunished. That is why Ireland supports the call by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, by Switzerland and others, for the Security Council to refer the situation in Syria to the International Criminal Court. We are working to build up strong cross-regional support for such a referral."

Italy

"But nothing can be achieved without good will and good faith, which we will need if we want to put an end to the ongoing massacres and the massive human rights violations in Syria. The regime in Damascus refuses to comply with the Security Council resolutions and it continues to commit indiscriminate violence against civilians. Italy fully supports the mission of the new Joint Special Representative for Syria and strongly urges the Security Council to overcome the stalemate that is preventing effective international action."

Jamaica

"The conflict in Syria poses a real threat to international peace and security. We are deeply concerned at the escalating internal violence and the resulting loss of life. It is our conviction that this conflict can still be resolved through political and diplomatic means."

Japan

"We cannot overlook continuous violence and suppression in Syria as well as serious violations of human rights from the perspective of the "rule of law." Japan strongly condemns the massive attacks in Syria, involving tens of thousands of innocent citizens, journalists and aid workers, including Ms. Mika Yamamoto, a Japanese journalist. Japan intends to put more pressure on the Government of Syria along with the international community and extend humanitarian assistance to the

people of Syria."

Jordan

"Violence must end immediately and a transition must begin now. There is no alternative to a political solution that will end the bloodshed, restore security and stability, and preserve the territorial integrity of Syria and the dignity and unity of its people."

Kazakhstan

"We should support all efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in Syria and assist in preventing a humanitarian disaster. We should also take measures to prevent the spillover of the crisis in the region. To that end, both the Syrian Government and the opposition should resort to diplomacy, not arms, and put an immediate end to violence. The principles of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs must be respected. It is the Syrians themselves who should determine the future for their country. We call on all nations united around the Syrian transition process, based on dialogue and compromise. Kazakhstan supports the activities of the United Nations and the League of Arab States Special Representative on Syria Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi."

Kuwait

"Therefore, while the State of Kuwait congratulates Mr. Alkhdar Alibrahimi, the Joint Representative of the United Nations and the League of Arab States to Syrian, on the trust, deposited in him, to support him in his efforts and determination, to continue those of his predecessor Mr. Kofi Anan, that yielded the Six Point Initiative, which would have guaranteed to resolve the crisis peacefully, if it was actually embraced. We reaffirm the commitment and the support of the State of Kuwait to the international endeavors and efforts in order to reach a political solution, in a manner that would meet the demands and aspirations of the Syrian people."

Kyrgyzstan

"Last year we observed with sympathy and solidarity the events in the Middle East and north Africa. The situation in Syria seen in this year is inevitably a source of serious concern for the international community. All attempts to resolve the military conflict and restore stability to that country have sadly failed. With regards to the thousands of civilians victims Kyrgyzstan advocates a speedy cessation of violence in that country building a broad national dialogue between the political forces and continuation of political and socioeconomics reforms in the interests of all Syrian citizens."

Latvia

"Conflict in Syria threatens security and stability in the whole region and beyond. Latvia urges all members of the Security Council to find the political will to unite and solve this crisis. Lives of innocent people must be protected! ... Latvia is seriously concerned about the potential use of stockpiles of Syria's chemical weapons."

Lebanon

"With regards to the Syrian crisis Lebanon reaffirms its disassociation policy on both the political and security level in order to maintain stability and avoid related consequences and risks. Hence, Lebanon did not disassociate itself from providing humanitarian support to displaced Syrians in Lebanon in an attempt to alleviate their suffering. Lebanon alone cannot handle the increasing number of displaced Syrians. Hence, we have extended our help, yet the number of the displaced has increased and exceeded our capacities. We can no longer absorb them on our own, which requires more assistance by relevant international organizations in order to help us in this respect. The security consequences of the Syrian crisis threaten peace and stability whether locally or in the middle east which requires more efforts to be exerted by the international community in order to assure the arrival at the political solution in order to end the violence that is claiming hundreds of innocent lives every day."

Lesotho

"The Government of Syria must accept popular legitimacy and supremacy of the people's aspirations before it is too late. Further militarization of the situation in Syria will make the conflict too costly in human life. At the same time, we call on all countries to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Syria in a manner that undermines the prospects of peace in

that country. True revolutions need no external sponsors. The efforts of the International Community must focus on assisting the Syrian People to find a negotiated, peaceful and lasting settlement to the ongoing conflict in their country."

Libya

"The suffering of the Syrian people is unimaginable. The regime in power is repressing its citizens violently, shedding their blood and honor. This has caused the regime to lose its legitimacy. In order to put an end to such a tragedy Libya urges the Security Council to act promptly, in accordance with the principle of the **Responsibility to Protect**, and take immediate action to end all forms of murder, violence and destruction and find a way out of this crisis through a peaceful transition power in order to ensure the legitimate demands of the Syrian people. This has not been achieved so far, however with the consensus among member states in the Security Council and by supporting efforts of the Joint Envoy of the UN and Arab League this may be obtained."

Liechtenstein

"When we last met a year ago, we already heard many calls from this podium to bring an end to the crisis in Syria. Since then, the violence has turned into a civil war that puts the United Nations to shame. We have seen open divisions in the Security Council and little interest by the parties to the conflict in UN-led mediation. Instead, the situation on the ground has further escalated. There is now a threat of instability to the entire region. The blatant disregard for the life and rights of civilians, women and children in particular, is simply shocking. It is a crisis with profound and lasting effects for the three main pillars of the United Nations: peace and security, development and human rights. It is therefore also an existential challenge for this organization. The United Nations is only as effective as its political organs allow it to be. This crisis must therefore make us think in general terms about the lessons we should learn. The situation in Syria is clearly of burning concern to the membership as a whole - as a crisis of human security and as a threat to international peace and security. At the same time, the Security Council is unable to carry out its tasks under the Charter because of disagreement among its Permanent Members. It is therefore essential that the General Assembly steps in and plays a more active role - as it has done on some occasions. This is all the more important as we are confronted with a failure to fulfill the responsibility to protect a civilian population - a principle adopted by this Assembly at the highest political level. The stalemate in the Council illustrates that we must look at the way the veto power is and can be used - without questioning its existence. There must be accountability in this respect vis-à-vis the membership of the organization as a whole. After all, the Council carries out its work on behalf of all of us. We call upon the Permanent Members to acknowledge that the UN Charter does not grant them the right to veto without any strings attached. We ask them to acknowledge that the Council must at all times act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. And we therefore request that they pledge not to use the veto to block Council action aimed at preventing or ending genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. Clearly, the main priority is ending the suffering of the Syrian people: bringing about a political solution that guarantees human security and stability for the region. But we also have an obligation to ensure that there is no impunity for the worst crimes under international law. That those who have the greatest responsibility do not get away with murder. The evidence before us is alarming. The Commission of Inquiry established by the Human Rights Council has come to clear conclusions. The primary responsibility to ensure accountability falls of course on the Syrian judiciary. But we can be under no illusions as to whether it will deliver justice to the victims and due process to all accused. We therefore join Switzerland in the call on the Council to refer the situation in Syria to the International Criminal Court."

Luxembourg

"The Syria crisis, which has been going on for the last 18 months, keeps getting worse. It has now claimed more than 20 000 victims. Repercussions on neighboring countries are growing. This crisis is a challenge to our conscience. It puts our commitment to a hard test. Some are tempted to accuse the United Nations of inaction. But the guilt lies elsewhere. Luxembourg firmly believes that those responsible for the terrifying violence, the war crimes, the egregious human rights violations and crimes against humanity committed in Syria, will one day have to answer for them."

Madagascar

"Did he (Secretary-General) not urge the protagonists in the Syrian crisis to call and immediate ceasefire and to end the violence? And yet, we can but regret the fact that his call went unheeded. Today still scores of innocent people die every day and thousands have died in recent months. We firmly condemn the slaughter this loss of human life. The earth continues to

flow with human blood, not just in Syria but elsewhere."

Malaysia

"We continue to have serious concerns regarding the situation in Syria. We condemn the violence and senseless killing that have and continue to take place. As we contemplate the next step forward, we have to bear in mind that whatever measures we take must be in the interest of the Syrian people. It is not about who is wrong or right, it is about putting an end to the bloodshed and suffering, bringing peaceful and inclusive resolution to the conflict. The unabated violence and killings must stop immediately. The parties involved have equal responsibility of ensuring the end to these appalling atrocities. Military aggression and armed confrontation will only serve to exacerbate the problem and can never be a solution to the crisis except diminishing any little hope there is for peaceful settlement. We earnestly hope that with the appointment of Lakhdar Brahimi as the new Joint Special Envoy for Syria, a peaceful solution to the Syrian crisis would be found. Toward this end the support of all parties including the involvement of the United Nations is crucial."

Maldives

"While the democratization processes in other countries in the region are on an upward trajectory, we see violence and human rights violations in Syria. We welcome the latest findings of the UN Commission of Inquiry on the human rights situation in Syria. We urge the Syrian security forces and anti-government armed groups to immediately cease all hostilities and violence."

Malta

"Yet as we bear witness to the wave of democratic reform drifting across the southern Mediterranean shores, we must also recall that others are still struggling for freedom. The situation in Syrian cannot but trouble us."

Mauritania

"The Islamic Republic of Mauritania is most seriously following the dramatic developments in the situation in the sister Syrian Arab Republic. We call upon all parties involved to put an end to the escalation in violence and to focus on dialogue in order to find a peaceful solution so that the brother Syrian people can be free from desolation and destruction and so they can preserve their unity, territorial integrity of Syria and ensure the cohesion of the social fabric."

Mauritius

"I must say that our hearts go out to the people of Syria who are enduring the consequences of a severe humanitarian crisis as there is no prospect in sight of a resolution of the political struggle. The international community cannot remain indifferent to such suffering."

Mexico

"The grave situation in Syria is a danger to world peace. We vigorously condemn the Damascus regime's repression and violence that is decimating the civil population and has already led to a refugee crisis in neighboring countries. The paralysis of the Security Council in light of the Syrian crisis today must renew our political will to advance the necessary transformation our organization to adapt to the demands of the contemporary world."

Micronesia

"We are horrified by the senseless killing of thousands of innocent civilians in Syria. For the last two weeks, we have witnessed surges in violence."

Monaco

"The Principality echoes those who condemned the acts of violence perpetrated by both the authorities and by other protagonists in the Syrian Arab Republic where the situation only continues to deteriorate."

Mongolia

"Today, I join with Mongolia's allies in condemning the needless violence and bloodshed in Syria as well. Last year, I urged action. This situation started peacefully, but was met with violence from the Syrian government. Each day...each hour and

indeed...each minute- the situation grows worse. In crises like Syria, we must remember that those dying are not just citizens of that nation. They are also citizens of our planet. Therefore, they are our brothers and sisters, too. The world should be unified and direct in bringing this bloodshed to an end before another life is needlessly lost.

. . .

This is not a television program. We, members of the United Nations, are not spectators. This body was not created just to watch the show unfold on our TVs. We have to act. We have to move."

Montenegro

"The scale and consequences of violence in Syria serve as a stern reminder of the importance of preventive measures in preserving international peace and security, which requires enhancement of the UN preventive capacities and the role of dialogue and mediation in peaceful conflict resolution. Montenegro strongly advocates an approach that strives towards an early prevention and elimination of threats before they evolve into sources of conflict."

Morocco

"On the other hand, it is most regrettable that the Syrian people are each day paying the blood price for their freedom. They yearn for the kind of democratic change that would enable each component of the Syrian population to contribute to achieving the desired change. Morocco which, as the only Arab country sitting on the Security Council, has significantly contributed to mobilizing international support for the Arab League's initiatives and resolutions, calls for concerted efforts and decisive action to compel the Syrian regime to put an end to the violence. It also calls for a political transition process which would allow for the full spectrum of opinions to be heard, the aspirations of the Syrian people to be fulfilled, and Syria's national unity and territorial integrity as well as stability in the entire region to be guaranteed. At the same time, it is necessary to raise the financial resources required to meet the needs of refugees in neighboring countries and those of internally displaced persons, as well as to ease the suffering of our Syrian brothers and put an end to their tragedy. In this regard, Morocco continues to show its solidarity by providing medical services on a daily basis to Syrian refugees in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan."

Nepal

"We call for the end of violence and peaceful resolution of the Syrian crisis as determined by the Syrian people themselves. Sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Syria must be upheld."

New Zealand

"My point is most vividly illustrated today in relation to Syria. It would be difficult for me to overstate the level of frustration of the people I represent with the complete inability of the United Nations Security Council to act in relation to Syria. And it would be even more difficult to overstate the extent to which the Security Council is at risk of losing its credibility in the eyes of reasonable and fair minded people through its inability to act. People in my country ask a very simple question: If 25,000 deaths, countless thousands injured, and many more thousands displaced and homeless, is not enough to get the Security Council to act, then what does it take? What does it take? I welcome the leadership which the Arab League and Arab States have shown on this issue - as we have also seen on some of the other difficult issues in their region. And I welcome the fact that the General Assembly has been looking for opportunities to be more engaged. In the absence of leadership from the Security Council, I suggest that this Assembly will need to find ways to play a more activist role. But from all of this, the case for reform of the Security Council has become utterly compelling."

Nicaragua

"Bearing in mind the daily information disseminated by the world's main means of communication, it has escaped no one's attention that there is a risk of generalized war in the Middle East. The situation in Syria is unacceptable. We strongly condemn the acts of terrorism that have cost the lives of high level officials of President Bashar Al-Assad's government, and the population of Syria. This is form of aggression was already condemned by the International Court of Justice in 1986 in the Nicaragua vs. United States case. It is evident, that mediation promoted by the United Nations is going nowhere, simply because it is being blocked by some Member of NATO and its allies with interests in the region. A peaceful solution regarding the Islamic Republic of Iran should be promoted."

Nigeria

"The situation in Syria, which continues to weigh on the collective conscience of the world, is a case in point. Every day, since the conflict began, innocent people continue to lose their lives and livelihood, while tens of thousands of others flee into neighboring countries seeking refuge."

Norway

"In Syria mass atrocities are continuing. The crisis in Syria started with a call for freedom and dignity through peaceful protests. The Syrian Government bears the primary responsibility. The privileges of the few should no longer stand in the way of the aspirations of the many. The regime of Bashir al-Assad has lost all legitimacy and must cease power. The violence in Syria must stop. Even in war, there are rules. All parties have clear responsibilities under international humanitarian law. To any party that commits violations of these principles, I say this: You are all individually responsible. When justice prevails, you will be held accountable for the crimes you have committed. Do not expect to be pardoned by stating that your opponent did the same.

...

The permanent members were entrusted with the right to veto... On behalf of my country, he cast his vote in favor of the right to veto. So did many other small and medium-sized countries. They did so to reflect the world order of the day, but also to ensure that the council would actually have the authority to make decisions and to act on our behalf. They did not do so because they held certain states to be superior to others. Therefore, and in light of the Syrian drama, my message to the members of the Security Council is this: People in the Arab world, in Europe, in Asia, in Africa and in the Americas are watching with horror how history repeats itself. Once again, the permanent members of the UN Security Council are divided and unable to protect the people on the ground. In its absence, extremists on all sides are free to kill, maim and rape. Now-we expect you to act. We expect you to put away outdated ideas of zero-sum games and spheres of influence and to strive to seek a common position. Enough blood has been shed. The verdict is harsh on he who chooses the wrong side of history. Do not allow narrow self-interest to block the winds of change that the vast majority of this Assembly applauds... President Assad of Syria was not forced to go down the path of conflict and confrontation – he could have opted for compromise and cooperation."

Oman

"In our region - the Middle East - the Syrian crisis continues to be great of concern to us due to the loss of lives and properties and the instability it causes in the region and the world. Despite efforts exerted by the United Nations and the League of Arab States, the parties involved in the Syrian crisis failed to reach a peaceful solution that would spare the lives of the Syrian people. We call on our brothers in Syria to renounce violence, stop fighting, and enter into a political process that will meet the aspirations and the hopes of the Syrian people and preserve the security, stability and unity of Syria. We call on the Security Council, which is responsible for the preservation of international peace and security, to reach consensus on a unified position towards the Syrian crisis, away from any political contradiction and without bias to any party, which would usher a serious national political dialogue between all political powers in Syria without exception We believe that the principles and guidelines for a Syrian-led political transition, as contained in the final communique of the Action Group for Syria in its meeting held in Geneva, could form the basis of the solution, he conflict of interests of some countries and disagreement in addressing the Syrian conflict is no longer useful because time has come for a collective action that will preserve security, stability, and development of all the countries in the Middle East, because the alternative would be the spread of violence, killing, and destruction. We believe that it is not in the best interest of the world to turn the Middle East into another global flashpoint. May I also take this opportunity, to welcome the appointment of Dr. Lakhdar Brahimi as the Joint Special Representative of the United Nations and the League of Arab States for Syria, and we hope that he can provide practical and concrete proposals to pull Syria out of the cycle of violence and fighting."

Panama

"The government of the Republic of Panama expresses its concern regarding the severe crisis that has been suffered by Syrian

Arab Republic for over a year. Therefore, Panama respectfully calls upon all the concerned parties and reminds them that a peaceful solution is the only acceptable means to achieve a solution that is just and permanent before the community of nations and people of the world."

Paraguay

"I would like to draw attention to the great effort and dedication of the Paraguayan military observers in the increasingly difficult situation in the Syrian Arab Republic, where they have remained, even in the most difficult circumstances."

Peru

"We reiterate our faith in multilateralism and deeply regret the existence of situations where, up- to-date, the organization has not been able to find solutions. The latest and most painful one, due to the high number of victims that it continues to produce, is the crisis in Syria. Peru condemns the use of force and violence in that country, and calls upon all parts in conflict to the immediate cease of hostilities, and to start a genuine process of dialogue and pacification in a framework of respect for the independence and sovereignty of that country, and for the fundamental rights and freedoms of its citizens. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as well as of the Arab League, in their search for a peaceful and negotiated solution to this conflict; and encourage the mission of the Joint Special Representative, Lakhdar Brahimi."

Poland

"The weakness of international institutions in the face of economic, security, humanitarian or environmental problems is indisputable, and yet these institutions were designed to resolve such problems. This also applies to the Security Council, especially in the context of the conflict in Syria. The civil war in Syria and the toll of lives in its aftermath, as well as the inability to contain it on the part of the UN and the Arab League cast a shadow all across the region."

Portugal

"The number of victims in Syria increases exponentially day by day. We are impotent witnesses to a true humanitarian catastrophe and a generalized and systemic violation of the most basic rights of the Syrian people. In addition, this catastrophe could have been avoided had the Syrian Government not chosen military force and brutal repression in response to the legitimate manifestations from its people, thereby systematically excluding any possibility of a politically negotiated outcome to the crisis. There is no alternative other than a political solution. A solution that goes toward the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people and that allows for a democratic transition driven by the Syrians themselves and one in which they see themselves reflected. Increased militarization of the conflict will undoubtedly lead to even more suffering for the civilian population, threaten the territorial integrity of Syria and increase the risks of destabilization for its neighbors and, indeed, the regional as a whole. The nomination of Lahkdar Brahimi as the Joint United Nations and Arab League Envoy, whom we greatly respect, should be seen as a new opportunity for the parties to revisit their options, to cease the violence and to seriously engage in a process of political transition. For the Joint Envoy's mission to be a success, the Security Council will finally have to exert joint, continued and efficient pressure on all parties, and most certainly on the Syrian authorities who have primary responsibility for the current situation."

Qatar

"We have used all available means to get Syria out of the cycle of killing but that was in vain. The Security Council failed to reach an effective position. In view of this, I think that it is better for the Arab countries themselves to interfere out of their national, humanitarian, political and military duties and do what is necessary to stop the bloodshed in Syria and the killing of innocent people and their displacement in order to guarantee a peaceful transition of power in Syria. We have a similar precedent when the Arab forces intervened in Lebanon in the mid-seventies of the last century to stop the inter-fighting there in a step that proved to be effective and useful."

Republic of Korea

"In Syria, a great number of civilians have been killed and gross violations of human rights have been witnessed. With high hopes on the efforts of Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, the Joint Special Representative for Syria, the Korean Government will stand by the Syrian people through this time of suffering together with the international community."

Republic of Congo

"The civil war in Syria is particularly troubling, as preceding speakers have said. Faced with the risks of a general destabilization of this situation in the sub-region and for the world, we call for an agreed settlement/negotiated settlements bearing in mind the interests of the different protagonists and in trying to put an end to the escalation of violence and the grave violations of human rights."

Romania

"Throughout 2012 we have been confronted with the dire effects of the crisis in Syria. Human rights violations are practically a dominant feature in Syria. The Syrian Government must comply with its international commitments and obligations related to human rights. Justice must be done in all cases of violence against human rights and all those guilty of that must face a fair trial even if they did not offered that to their victims. Romania has continuously stated that it is imperative for the international community to curb the escalation of violence in Syria. Naturally we favor a political solution. In this context, allow me to clearly state our firm support for the mission of Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, in his new capacity of Special Representative of the United Nations and of the League of Arab States. We also supported wholeheartedly the implementation in full of the Six Point Proposal presented by the Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States on Syria. Along the same lines, one can also understand our full and direct support to the former UNSMIS activity and I would like to remind in this context that Romanian monitors were part of the structure. I strongly believe that the only future for Syria must be an inclusive one, for all Syrians, irrespective of their religions or ethnic group. Any other option will be nothing less than a nightmare scenario. The scars of the actual violence will heal in a long time and we must all help the Syrian people to speed up this process. Time has come for a more structured reaction of the UN that should be based on a consensual approach by the Security Council. Obviously we cannot and should not allow violence to prevail when people in Syria rely on our capacity to offer stability and predictability and when the regional stability and security are at stake. Last but not least, we believe that the severe humanitarian crisis in Syria needs our undivided attention. Romania takes seriously this responsibility and already contributes to the efforts of the international community trying to alleviate the pain and suffering of the innocents."

Russia

"Of particular concern is the deepening of internal conflict in Syria. We have consistently called for consolidated efforts of the international community to compel the government and its opponents to immediately cease the violence and come to the negotiating table and to elaborate a compromise on the content and pace of the reforms that would satisfy all Syrians and ensure safety and the rights of all ethnic and religious groups. This is the substance of the consensus recorded in the Geneva communiqué of the Action Group agreed upon as follow-up of the Kofi Annan Plan. We call upon all members of the Action Group to fully confirm the commitments that all of us have taken on in Geneva. This is the shortest way to stop the loss of human life in Syria. We proposed to adopt a resolution in the UN Security Council that would endorse the Geneva communiqué as the basis for negotiations at the beginning of the transitional period, but this proposal had been blocked. Those who oppose the implementation of the Geneva communiqué take upon themselves an enormous responsibility. They insist on a ceasefire only by the government and encourage the opposition to intensify hostilities – but in fact they push Syria even deeper in the abyss of bloody intensive strife. The militarization of conflict is continuing with the calls for an open intervention. The extremist organizations including Al-Qaeda have become more active in Syria - they perpetrate terrorist attacks against innocent civilians and civil infrastructure. The number of war crimes is growing - both on the side of the government forces and opposition, as it has been recorded in the recent report of the commission of the UN Human Rights Council. Russia resolutely condemns any violence, wherever it comes from, and is convinced that there is still an opportunity to undertake collective actions. Practical steps to overcome the crisis need to begin with a comprehensive ceasefire, release of prisoners and hostages and supply of additional humanitarian aid. This will create conditions to start an inter-Syrian dialogue. We hope that the experience of special UN-Arab League representative Lakhdar Brahimi will help agree on such arrangements with the support of the international community. Russia will provide its full support to ensure the success of his mission."

San Marino

"Furthermore, today we are assisting to the Syrian conflict, the violence of which is unacceptable. There are clear reports on the atrocities perpetrated against the populations: mass killings, rapes, summary executions, tortures. And children have been among the innocent victims of the massacres. San Marino firmly condemns these atrocities, in the same way as it condemns any violation of human rights and international humanitarian law."

Sao Tome and Principe

"Sadly, our organization continues to suffer from the roadblock that prevent urgent decisions that cannot be postponed from being taken and that undermine this forum's credibility; this sanctions the impunity of the leaders that martyrize their own people, paving the way to more international disorder, despair, and the sentiment of injustice that gives preference to the rule of different treatment between peoples. We need no further evidence of the urgency for in-depth reforms of our institution, primarily the Security Council, to put an end to the horrific images of children that are symbols of purity and innocence who are killed daily in Syria, to prevent the destruction of the world historic and cultural heritage by gangs of destructive criminals in Mali and in Afghanistan, and to prevent coups d'etat or obvious attempts to destabilize States and democratically elected Governments which, in fact, solves nothing and irreparably delays the lengthy process of building democracy and fighting poverty, and generates the cost of the international mobilization of human and financial resources that today are increasingly scarce.

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The massacres in Syria must cease."

Saudi Arabia

"Our current session of the GA is held at the same time in which the Syrian crisis reached exacerbated and complicated limits. This crisis resulted in tens of thousands of victims and hundreds of thousands of displaced and refugees who fled into neighboring countries. This conflict continues to expand and deepen the humanitarian disaster that beset them. All that is happening amidst a noticeable international community's failure due to the division in the Security Council as well as the failure of all proposed Arab and international initiatives due to the intransigence and arrogance of the Syrian regime. We regret that this regime continues to believe that it can proceed with its suppressive procedures to control the situation without any due regard to the high humanitarian losses. The Security Council, which is entrusted with the responsibility of keeping peace and security, has failed so far to take a decision about the Syrian crisis and to stop the bloodshed therein. This matter gave the Syrian regime a green light to proceed with its crimes against the Syrian people, in a race against time, to accomplish its objectives using the most advanced means of killing and destruction. Since day one of this crisis, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been keen to deal with it in accordance with the framework and resolutions of international legitimacy, with full respect to the principles of human rights and international humanitarian law, through the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), the League of Arab States (LAS), the UN, and the outcomes of the Islamic Summit on the Status in Syria which was held in Honorable Makkah in August 2012 While we welcome the appointment of His Excellency Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi as the Joint UN-LAS Special Representative for Syria, we believe that the success of his mission will require implementing a new strategy and a clear plan that aims to achieve a peaceful transition of power; and surpasses the six point plan which the previous envoy was not able to implement any of them. Needless to say that the new representative will not be able to move forward unless the Security Council provides him with the necessary support he needs to deal with the Syrian crisis at both political and humanitarian levels."

Singapore

"Many of us fault the UN, including the UN Security Council, for its inability to act to resolve ongoing conflicts, such as in Syria."

Slovakia

"Please allow me to express my deepest regret over thousands of victims of the conflict in Syria. The Slovak Republic has therefore joined the initiative requesting that the most serious crimes under international law committed in Syria be investigated by the International Criminal Court."

Slovenia

"From among the other issues of global concern I would like to draw your attention to the horrific scenes in Syria. A civil war has been dragging on for many months. The mediation activities unfortunately failed. It shocks our conscious that we have been unable to stop bloodshed. Sadly we have not succeeded to protect civilians."

Spain

"A year ago, in this assembly, an urgent appeal was made to the Syrian regime to end the abuses and crimes committed to its peoples. Despite the international communities' effort the situation has not ceased to deteriorate. Thousands of innocent victims, the unbearable suffering of civilians, and the serious risks of conflict expanding to neighboring countries are forcing us to act. Today, I wish to reiterate an appeal to end all violence in Syria and I call upon President Assad to accept his responsibility and make way for a political process that will allow a peaceful resolution to this conflict."

St. Kitts and Nevis

"As the geographic distance that divides us shrink into insignificance and become increasingly reduced by our interdependence and partnership, it is equally significant that we strive for effective and lasting settlement of disputes. Libya and Syria, of course, are just two of the many cases that come to mind, with the myriad and multifaceted question that they raise not only regarding the advisability of intervention, but also with reference to such issues as the timing of any intervention, the form of any intervention, and, of course, the associated humanitarian and relief-related consequences of any such intervention. The complexity of these challenges, Mr. President, demands a sober redoubling of our efforts, and underscores the fact that social upheaval and human trauma anywhere must indeed concern us all."

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Syria is this most recent and most striking example which proves that there is a need for a greater role for preventive diplomacy and mediation in the early phase of a conflict. The later we engage, the more divided we are. Timely prevention is crucial for a successful conflict resolution."

St. Lucia

"Therefore, Mr. President, Saint Lucia welcomes a peaceful resolution to the conflict in the Syrian Republic and an immediate end to what is clearly carnage, a human tragedy. We continue to support the efforts of the Special Envoy and of the Secretary General in this body's efforts to induce the parties to focus on coming to the table for negotiations, with a view to finding a path towards a resolution of the conflict which is acceptable to the majority of the people of Syria, and takes into account the necessity to ensure the welfare and interest of minorities in that State."

Sudan

"My delegation would like to express its deep sadness and regret for the developments currently taking place in Syria. There has been an escalation of violence and an excessive use of force by all parties this is not the appropriate way to resolve the dispute. From this rostrum we call all parties to heed the voice of reason, to move to negotiations, to cease hostilities and military confrontation. We believe that the appointment of a new envoy, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, to the region is a good opportunity to continue to seek a peaceful settlement to the dispute and we hope that all parties will cooperate with him to protect Syria and its social fabric."

Swaziland

"The war in Syria has claimed the lives of one too many citizens and must come to an end. To the people of Syria, we wish to discourage the use of force to resolve your differences. We encourage the use of dialogue where you do not see eye to eye. We implore the Syrian government and the other stakeholders to sit down and dialogue to find a lasting solution to the current impasse. The barrel of the gun will bring nothing but misery. The UN has sent a special envoy to work with the people of Syria. We hope all the stakeholders will make good use of the Special Envoy in finding a peaceful and lasting solution to their differences. The Kingdom of Eswatini urges the UN member states to work together in support all efforts aimed at helping the people of Syria in resolving this conflict."

Sweden

"In this world of connected nations, people around the globe - including thousands of Swedes of Syrian origin - are following the tragedy unfolding in Damascus, Aleppo and Homs with the greatest of concern. We have all been reminded of a simple truth: violence is easy to start, but difficult to stop. What began as a popular protest has now turned into a civil war which - if unchecked - brings the risk of sectarian fragmentation across the wider region. We need to do everything possible to prevent that from happening. We call upon the divided Security Council to put global responsibilities above narrow national interests. We urge, in the strongest possible terms, the Assad regime to stop killing its own people, and to start respecting its obligations as a member of the United Nations. And we remind perpetrators of deadly violence and abuse, that they should rest assured that they will be held accountable. There is no alternative to a political solution. Together with our European partners, we offer our full support to the Joint Special Representative of the United Nations and the League of Arab States, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi. Syria is a society rich in culture, history and traditions. Damascus is one if the oldest continually inhabited cities in the world. To preserve and protect the mosaic that Syria represents is vital to its - indeed to our - future. But we must also help all those now so tragically affected by what is happening. A thousand people are being killed every week, according to the latest reports. We are witnessing a human tragedy. The needs are enormous. More than 2.5 million people are in need of humanitarian support. Over a million people are already displaced inside Syria, and there are a quarter of a million refugees in the region as a direct consequence of the current crisis. The regime must give unhindered access for assistance to the displaced and the suffering, and the countries which have generously opened their borders should be commended and supported. Sweden - as one of the world's largest humanitarian donors - has contributed massively. And we stand ready to further increase our support - here, and elsewhere around the world where people in need are suffering."

Switzerland

"As long as human rights continue to be trampled upon and as long as those responsible are not held accountable, security will be threatened. Switzerland therefore requests for the perpetrators of serious violations of human rights should answer for their actions. Impunity of the offenders is not just immoral it also compromises the whole process of reconciliation and undermines it once the war is over and thus makes possible a repetition of events. Switzerland has been involved with some 30 countries who have been asking for the ICC to take up the case of Syria."

Syria

"For more than one year now, my country has been facing organized terrorism that affected our citizens, our human and scientific resources, national establishments, and also much of Syria's historic and archeological landmarks through terrorist bombings, assassinations and massacres, looting and sabotage activities that horrified citizens in many parts of Syria. The latest example of this terrorist bombing took place recently in Damascus on 26/09/2012. A terrorist group with the name "Jabhat Al-Nosrah", one of the AI Qaeda arms, took the responsibility for this attack. It is no surprise that the Security Council failed to condemn this and other terrorist bombings, because some of its members are supporting such acts. This terrorism which is externally supported is accompanied by unprecedented media provocation based on igniting religious extremism sponsored by wellknown states in the region that facilitate the flow of arms, money and fighters through the borders of some neighboring countries. Those states either turn a blind eye to the activities of terrorist groups crossing their borders, or provide active material and logistical support from their territory for armed terrorist groups. These facts make me question whether this international consensus by our states on combating terrorism was serious, or it was just merely ink on paper? In what context can we classify the explicit request of the United States from the armed terrorist groups not to surrender their arms as a response to amnesty decrees and decisions issued by the Syrian leadership? We also wonder to what extent the statements of Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, the United States, and France that clearly induce and support terrorism in Syria with money, weapons and foreign fighters, are in line with the international responsibilities of these countries in combating terrorism. One of the ironies that we face is represented by encouraging the extremists in countries within and outside our region to go to the borders of Syria, and enter country, to carry out terrorist acts under the name of "jihad" in collaboration with

terrorists from the inside, and this is a fact confirmed by reports of both international and Arab observers. Until today, and as a result of this terrorism, Syria has lost thousands of martyrs from the military and civilians as a price of its quest to defend the integrity of the Syrian state and its citizens in the face of this global terrorist campaign.

...

The Syrian government has the initiative to call for dialogue at the beginning of the events that took place, without that call finding any positive response from most opposition parties. Also, My Government responded positively throughout the crisis for each sincere initiative that aims to help finding a peaceful solution based on national dialogue among Syrians, and rejects external manipulation, and emphasizes preserving the blood of the Syrians and the unity of Syria and its future. Based on this principled position, and despite the conviction of the Syrian leadership that there are no sincere intentions from some regional and international parties that push for the escalation of the Syrian crisis, and fueling its fire and prolonging it through thwarting all attempts for dialogue, and insisting on creating a state of instability to ensure the need for foreign interference, despite all that, Syria cooperated with the Arab Observers Mission, and the subsequent international initiatives linked to the work of the UN Special Envoy Kofi Annan. Syria, out of this principle, received the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS), and provided it with all the facilities that enabled it to deploy in an unprecedented record time. The Syrian leadership, also, announced its full commitment to the implementation of the Six Point Plan presented by Mr. Annan, and started the practical implementation of its provisions. It, also, welcomed the Geneva Communiqu6 that stressed the need for the implementation of these provisions, but the behavior of the armed groups that sought to exploit the Syrian government's commitment to the plan and the Geneva Communiqu6 to achieve gains on the ground and expand the area of their presence, in addition to the statements issued by some Western and Arab countries; all this clarified who are the actors and states working to thwart all these initiatives.

...

Syria has welcomed the appointment of Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to succeed Mr. Annan, and stressed its willingness to fully cooperate with him on the principles agreed upon by the international community, particularly the Six-Point Plan. I would like to tell you that the success of any international effort requires, in addition to the commitment of the Syrian government, committing the states supporting armed groups in my country, particularly Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Libya and others, to stop arming, funding, training and harboring armed terrorist groups, and instead to encourage dialogue and renounce violence.

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For more than one year now, Syria has been saying that what my country is witnessing s a two-sided problem: the first side is linked to the need for political, economic and social reforms demanded by the public; the second is the exploitation of those needs and demands for objectives that are completely different from the demands of the Syrian people and their interests, and make these peaceful demands as a ladder for armed groups working to sow sedition and undermine security in my country. I referred to this in my speech from this podium last year. I come back today to tell you that the state in Syria made serious and important reform steps that culminated in a new constitution that embraces political pluralism, and was adopted by referendum; consequently parliamentary elections, which were open to multiple political parties, took place and. Now I tell you that Syria is continuing to work with the patriotic components in the opposition to build a new and pluralistic Syria that responds to the aspirations of its people, and is determined at the same time to carry her duties in protecting her people from jihadist and takfiri terrorism, through which armed terrorist groups are working to spread chaos and create sedition among Syrians and threaten their peaceful coexistence.

...

We heard calls from this podium, and on other platforms, some calls from those who are ignorant of the facts or maybe ignoring them, or also from those who are shareholders in exacerbating them, that invites the President of the Syrian Arab Republic to step down. This is a blatant interference in the domestic affairs of Syria, and the unity of its people and its sovereignty. The Syrian people is the only party authorized to choose its own future and the

shape of its own state that accommodates all groups and spectrum of the Syrian people, including those who were deceived and chose the wrong way. The Syrian people is the one to choose its leadership through the ballot box which represents the most important way of democracy and expression. If some countries that interfere in the internal affairs of Syria are proud of their democracy and freedom of decision of their people, then, it is better for those countries to support us in our democratic course, and leave the Syrian people to choose its leadership through elections whose form is defined by the new constitution and relevant laws; and then the ballot box will have the final say. I say to those countries enough illusions, and I invite the national opposition to work together to stop the shedding of Syrian blood, and to sit at the dialogue table and participate in the making of the present and the future of Syria. We do not bet on any party or factor apart from the Syrian people which is determined, in all its components, to reject all forms of foreign interference in its domestic affairs, and to defeat the advocates of the project of sectarianism, extremism and terrorism, because the bond is very strong in my country between state policies and the aspirations of the people. Despite all that I said about what my country is experiencing, we still believe in political solution as an essential way to exit out of the crisis, and I call from this platform for;

First: all parties and political groups, inside and outside Syria, to a constructive dialogue under the umbrella of the homeland; and the doors of Syria, as is her heart, are open to anyone who wants construction and dialogue. To achieve this, I call all countries represented in the General Assembly to exert pressure to end the violence in my country through ending of arming, financing, harboring and training of terrorist groups. Second: the results of this national dialogue, after agreement by all parties, will be the map and the future way of the country in establishing a more pluralistic and democratic Syria.

...

These events in Syria have led to growing humanitarian needs in several key sectors in areas affected by the terrorism of Takfiri groups, which led to the worsening of the living conditions of the Syrian citizens there. While my Government is working hard to meet the basic needs of citizens who have been forced by the violence of the armed groups to flee their homes, some have sought to fabricate a refugee crisis through inciting armed groups to intimidate Syrian civilians in border areas and forcing them to flee to neighboring countries. There, they are either accommodated in military training camps, or in what resembles places of detention, amid arid or rugged regions, and exploit their plight to get aid spent mostly on goals that have no relevance to humanitarian objectives. I appeal from this podium to those Syrian citizens to return to their towns and villages where the state will guarantee their safe return and their precious lives away from inhuman conditions they suffer in these camps. At this point let me ask a legitimate question about the credibility of those who claim to care for providing humanitarian assistance as a response to the needs of the Syrians, and the consistency of those claims with the policy of tightening economic sanctions that badly affect the living conditions of Syrian citizens. How can imposing sanctions on the banking, health and transport sectors be consistent with caring for the best interest of the Syrians? I also wonder if the legitimate public demands of our citizens, to which the Syrian leadership responded transparently and sincerely, can justify their use as an excuse to continue providing all forms of military, financial and media support to those killing innocent people in Syria, including journalists, doctors, university professors and even religious dignitaries? Or is this the practical interpretation of the concept of "creative chaos" which only contributes to strengthen Western hegemony on Mediterranean countries, and serve the expansionist interests of Israel?"

Tanzania

"We are all too aware of the dire consequences of conflicts particularly when all mechanisms provided in the Charter of the United Nations for resolving conflicts fail to find a permanent solution and lasting peace. The situation in Syria is a case in point. It is important that we find ways of strengthening the early warning mechanisms and prevent conflicts before they occur. In whatever case, we should not pursue anything that would encourage parties in conflict to resort to armed solution instead of dialogue."

Thailand

"Elsewhere in the Middle East, the situation in Syria continues to worsen. Thailand is deeply concerned about the humanitarian impact of violence against civilians and strongly condemns such violence. We call for an immediate end to use of force against civilians. We call for all sides to engage in dialogue towards a political solution which can only be achieved by the efforts of the Syrian people themselves"

The Comoros

"Our General Assembly is held yet again, in a global context marked by uncertainty. This is a climate marked by multi-faceted crisis all of them huge challenge facing our institution. It takes place at a moment when one of the members of our UN family, Syria is under war, constantly deteriorating, posing a serious threat to peace both to the region as well as to the world."

The Netherlands

"Last month, I visited a refugee camp at the border between Turkey and Syria. I met children, women and men who told me how they had escaped the violence and suffering in their home country. They had fled the bloodshed of a regime which is using indiscriminate violence against its own people. They had fled a country where children are being tortured, women raped and innocent civilians killed. They had lost their friends and family. They had lost their homes. But they had not lost hope for a better future. One of the people I met near the border was Medya, the 25-year-old mother of a five-year-old girl. She had fled the city of Hams eight months earlier. Now, she travels back and forth between Homs and a refugee camp in Turkey, at great personal danger. She risks her life to report to the world on the situation in Syria. Her reports are broadcast on major international networks. Medya told me about the terrible events she had witnessed. I was touched by her sorrow and impressed by her determination. Her strong desire for freedom is something we can all relate to. Those who have struggled for freedom do not give it up easily. But it is also clear that these refugees need the support of the international community. They need food, shelter and security. And ultimately, they need an effective United Nations and a strong international legal order.

...

First, a strong international legal order helps to preserve peace and security. To achieve this goal, we need greater unity. I regret the persistent disagreement in the Security Council. It has prevented the United Nations from taking decisive action on Syria. The world needs a strong, united and determined Security Council.

...

This brings me back to Syria. The Syrian crisis also highlights the mounting challenges of the United Nations and its member states. I applaud the active stance the Secretary-General has taken with regard to Syria. OCHA, The World Food Programme, UNHCR and many other organizations provide crucial assistance to victims of the violence. And I want to pay tribute to the governments of Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan for their invaluable efforts to alleviate the suffering of the thousands of refugees.

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For me, meeting Medya, that courageous Syrian journalist and mother, has given a voice to those refugees. I hope that I will meet Medya again in the near future, in Hams, in Syria. I want to see her live in an inclusive and prosperous Syria, where democracy and human rights have replaced terror and violence. A Syria where jobs and economic opportunities have replaced poverty and despair."

The Solomon Islands

"On the situation in the Middle East, I believe the UN is uniquely placed to provide a comprehensive solution to the region's complex issues including the current situation in Syria. It is a region that deserves freedom, democracy and long-term security."

Timor Leste

"Consolidating the gains of the Arab Spring is proving to be difficult. Syria is a terrible example of internal conflict."

Togo

"The crisis in Syria and the climate of major insecurity is a perfect illustration of the climate of major insecurity."

Trinidad and Tobago

"It is a matter of grave concern to Trinidad and Tobago that the Security Council has not been able to effectively address the situation in Syria. In this regard, we appeal to the Council to fully support the work of Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi - the Joint Special Representative for Syria of the United Nations and the League of Arab States. The Council must uphold its sacred mandate under the Charter and ensure that all sides involved in that conflict are made to account for their actions, which have caused tremendous human suffering and continue to threaten international peace and security."

Tunisia

"This price is nothing when compared to the price paid by our brothers in Egypt, Yemen, Libya as well as well as of course our brothers in Syria, over 25,000 killed, tens of thousands injured. The destruction of the very infrastructure of their country all of this will forever mark the Syrian people and will impact the future of these people for decades to come."

Turkey

"If we cannot regard the rights of a person in Syria, Palestine, Somalia, Afghanistan and Rakhine region and other places, as equal as of our own, how can we talk about freedom and justice?

...

"If indiscriminate attacks and collective punishment becomes weapons in the hands of cruel regimes against their own citizens, as we are witnessing every day-day and night-in Syria; If we fail to hear and rise up to the cry of innocent masses wherever they are; And if we cannot force these brutal regimes to submit to justice and the rule of law, how are we to maintain international peace and security? The peaceful world, as the founders of the United Nations envisioned, cannot be established if we remain ineffective in our work against these challenges. Let us not forget: Our inability to act becomes the tool in the hands of despots and destructive regimes to demolish their cities, towns and villages, massacre their own citizens, and make a mockery of the civilized world and the United Nations. Our failure to address a humanitarian crisis shakes our collective conscience. Worse, however, our inaction eventually emboldens oppressors and aggressive regimes, creates evil alliances to perpetuate and commit crimes against humanity. And let us make no mistake: Mercy shown to an oppressor is the most merciless act toward people under oppression. And if not now, when are we supposed to act in unity? And if it is not the United Nations, who is to lead? If it is not us, then who will shoulder the responsibility to protect the innocent civilians?

...

As a mockery of the values we all share, the people of Syria continue to suffer under the brutality and the tyranny of the regime in Damascus for the last 18 months. The numbers speak in volume.

More than 30 thousand people were killed so far, around 500 hundred thousand Syrian fled to neighboring countries, and about/3 million/ people are internally displaced. Unfortunately, this humanitarian tragedy has become just a statistic for many. And what has the international community done to stop this carnage? Literally nothing... We are yet to see a single effective action to save innocent lives. It is such a disgrace to witness that today, after 20 years, the ghosts of Serebrenica and Halapcha still continue to haunt us, this time in the cities of Syria. One can argue about the reasons for the failure of the Security Council to stop violence of the Syrian regime. However, there can be no legitimate explanation for the failure of the Security Council to reflect the collective conscience of the international community. It has to uphold its primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security. It is the inability of the Security Council to act that still encourages the Syrian regime to kill ever more people. If the Security Council does not follow the conscience of the international community that was reflected by the resolutions adopted with more than two thirds of vote in this General Assembly, who will respond to the cries of the Syrian people? For how long we, the international community, will allow this humanitarian tragedy to continue? The responsibility to protect the people of Syria is our fundamental duty.

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No political differences, no balance of power politics, no geopolitical considerations should prevail over our conscience and our concern for the destiny of the Syrian people. More importantly, the situation in Syria has evolved into a real threat to regional peace and security. The Syrian regime deploys every instrument to turn the legitimate struggle of the Syrian people into a sectarian war, which will engulf the entire region into flames. And unfortunately, the longer this regime is allowed to

wage its campaign of violence, the harder it will be to prevent such a dreadful eventuality. It is high time that the UN Security Council must take action as this Assembly called for. There has to be a solution to ensure the immediate safety and security of the Syrian people. There has to be a solution for a sound transition process that will pave the way for the creation of a new and democratic Syria. The regime in power has to step down and allow an interim Government to lead the country to free and fair elections. The Syrian people need our united support and solidarity in their struggle for their future and for having the right to a legitimate and representative government. The Turkish nation stood by their brethren, the Syrian people, in their legitimate struggle. We now care for 90 thousand displaced Syrians. And let me underline once again: Since the beginning of the conflict we never have and we will never hesitate to be with our Syrian brothers and sisters at their most difficult hour."

Ukraine

"These days we watch closely the situation in Syria, which remains extremely alarming. Ukraine shares the deep concern of international community regarding escalation of violence in that state. We call on all relevant parties to exert maximum efforts to settle the conflict on the basis of respect to the UN Charter and universally recognized principles of international law. I am confident that by joint efforts of international community we'll manage to ensure the safety of civilian population in Syria."

United Arab Emirates

"What is happening in Syria is heart-breaking, and exceeds all limits and humanitarian norms. The United Arab Emirates is following with deep concern the escalating acts of violence, killings and displacements perpetrated by the Syrian regime against its people, which made the regime lose its legitimacy. From this platform, we call upon the international community to consider with seriousness and commitment to what is happening to our brothers in Syria, and to shoulder its humanitarian and political responsibilities towards stopping the heinous tragedies committed against the peaceful people of Syria. We are convinced that the solution to this crisis will only be achieved through an orderly transition of power. This severe humanitarian crisis requires us to support the people of Syria, particularly the refugees, displaced and wounded persons. The United Arab Emirates has shouldered its obligations and will continue to do so towards the people of Syria by providing ongoing relief operations round the clock in Turkey and Jordan, and urges all States to contribute to these humanitarian efforts."

United Kingdom

"You cannot blame the people for the behavior of a brutal dictator. The responsibility lies with the dictator. Assad is today inflaming Syria's sectarian tensions, just as his father did as far back as the slaughter in Hama 30 years ago. The only way out of Syria's nightmare is to move forward towards political transition and not to give up the cause of freedom. The future for Syria is a future without Assad. It has to be based on mutual consent as was clearly agreed in Geneva in June."

United States

"In Syria, the future must not belong to a dictator who massacres his people. If there is a cause that cries out for protest in the world today, it is a regime that tortures children and shoots rockets at apartment buildings. And we must remain engaged to assure that what began with citizens demanding their rights does not end in a cycle of sectarian violence."

Uruguay

"We strongly condemn the serious violations of Human Rights that are taking place in Syria. The situation has deteriorated and the sufferance of the civil population has become intolerable. We support the work carried out by the Commission of International Investigation set up by the Human Rights Council, which in its last report says that exist reasons to believe that governmental forces are committing crimes against humanity, as murder and torture, as well as war crimes and serious violations to the International Human Rights and Humanitarian Law. The violence in Syria must be stopped immediately and it is necessary a dialogue process towards a peaceful solution. Uruguay supports the mediator role of the United Nations, inserted in the strict respect of the International Law and the principles of the Chart of this Organization. The protection of civilians is a multi-faceted task, which more sensitive and urgent aspect is the protection of people who are facing imminent danger of physical violence."

Venezuela

"The same interventionist script applied in Libya is being followed in Syria. Imperial powers stir up ethnic, political and religious divisions between the Syrians and between neighboring countries. They supply, perkily, weapons to rebel forces trying to overcome the government of that Arab country. Venezuela supports the peace efforts made by the Special Envoy of the Secretary- General of the UN, Lakhdar Brahimi. We encourage the political dialogue between the Syrians. We reject foreign intervention and the terrible policy of regime change. We support the positions of Russia, China and other countries that, at the Security Council, call for the unity and territorial integrity of the Syrian State. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) can play a proactive role in overcoming this crisis."

Yemen

"We also call the United Nations to adopt appropriate solutions to end the crisis and the internal war in Syria and to put an end to all forms of violence against thousands of civilians in Syria including women and children. Proposed initiatives and announced peaceful solutions shall be revived to end the crisis and make the mission of the Arab-International Envoy to Syria Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi a success."

Zambia

"Further afield, but no less important is the situation in Syria which has seen the indiscriminate killing of many innocent lives. There is therefore, need for concerted efforts to utilize peaceful means such as mediation and negotiations to bring a halt to the killings and restore peace to the country. Humanity has again been embarrassed by this unnecessary carnage."

The International Response to the Crisis in Libya & Resolution 1973

Andorra

"The change of regime in Libya and the conflict in Syria —still ongoing and waging harshly— have forced the international community into a perverse dilemma: that of having to find the fair balance between solving conflicts peacefully and the rule of law; in short, between peace and justice. It would appear that in order to attain a peaceful solution to a conflict or to end hostilities, one has to sacrifice justice and to allow those who have violated human rights to go unpunished; or that by being inflexible in applying international law, these conflicts go on forever. The fair balance must not allow those who violate human rights to go unpunished. The fair balance must not allow conflicts to go on endlessly.

Austria

"In 2011, Austria was elected to the Human Rights Council. We fully support the Council and its mechanisms, especially the Universal Periodic Review. The Council is best placed to react swiftly in case of human rights emergencies. Its special sessions on Syria and Libya illustrated that the international community will not turn a blind eye on gross human rights violations and indiscriminate attacks against the civilian population. Human rights abuses must not go unpunished. Violations have to be thoroughly investigated and perpetrators must be held accountable before credible judicial institutions including the International Criminal Court."

Botswana

"With regards to Libya which had to engage in an internal conflict to rid itself of a brutal dictator, we commend the Libyan people and their allies in the military coalition that imposed a no-fly-zone in removing Gaddafi and his regime."

Chad

"La crise libyenne qui nous a imposé le renforcement de la sécurité aux frontières avec ce pays, s'ajoutant aux efforts de sécurisation des frontières avec le Soudan, la Rca et dans la Région du Lac Tchad; l'arrivée de prés de 100.000 tchadiens fuyant la guerre en Libye et dont la plupart sont des jeunes pour lesquels nous souhaiterions une aide à la réinsertion; les inondations dont le pays est victime en ce moment même, du fait d'une pluviométrie exceptionnelle. L'appel lancé par le

Gouvernement en faveur des victimes de cette catastrophe n'a pas encore reçu les réponses attendues." (In statement but not delivered)

Colombia

"In Libya, a relentless tyranny that has been around for more than 40 years was broken in a process where the Security Council played a decisive role. My government did not hesitate to condemn the violent repression that the civilian population, justly clamoring for the exercise of their fundamental rights, was subjected to. That is why we joined the Council's decision that contributed to a transition towards democracy that – although fragile still – has the support of the international community in order to achieve its consolidation."

Czech Republic

"We should know what needs to be done tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. I am afraid that this is the most important lesson learnt from the military intervention in Libya, which clearly demonstrated that a stable settlement cannot be sought by military force."

Finland

"In Libya the UN was instrumental in laying the groundwork for a new and hopeful future for its people."

France

"The Arab spring showed these values (fundamental rights and freedoms) are universal. They are valid for all continents and all countries. I want to welcome what happened in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. It is true that transitions are not always easy there are risks there can be steps forward and backwards."

Gahon

"When we had a seat on the Security Council we responded together with other members to the appeals of Libyan people. While the situation is still difficult, we encourage the United Nations to establish a peaceful life as well as to rebuild the country."

Libya

"The Libyan people that rose on February 2011 in the comprehensive explosive revolution that shook the very foundations of the regime of the lunatic despot Muammar Qadaffi, who declared he would burn Libya, would destroy Libya, and make it swim in a blood bath. He killed thousands of civilians, recruited mercenaries from everywhere, crossed every value and ordered his militias and mercenaries to rape minors. One who destroyed cities, our people did not kneel, did not back down. Thousands were martyred and the price of freedom was a price in blood, lives, amputated limbs and lost youth. In this place on behalf of the Libyan people I greet the organization of the United Nations which stood by our people by our will for freedom against bloodlust and nihilism. One that adopted Resolutions 1970 and 1973 in the Security Council to protect the innocent in the Libya against crimes against humanity and violations of Human Rights."

St. Kitts and Nevis

"As the geographic distance that divides us shrink into insignificance and become increasingly reduced by our interdependence and partnership, it is equally significant that we strive for effective and lasting settlement of disputes. Libya and Syria, of course, are just two of the many cases that come to mind, with the myriad and multifaceted question that they raise not only regarding the advisability of intervention, but also with reference to such issues as the timing of any intervention, the form of any intervention, and, of course, the associated humanitarian and relief-related consequences of any such intervention. The complexity of these challenges, Mr. President, demand a sober redoubling of our efforts, and underscores the fact that social upheaval and human trauma anywhere must indeed concern us all."

Togo

"The incapacity of the Security Council to agree on certain major matters is a perfect illustration and indicates clearly the question of the reform of this body which is at the heart of the UN system. This file which has an account less times been opened and have always been put up for later, deserves at this point of time for an immediate action. Thus, Togo would like

to solemnly reaffirm it steadfast support for the African Union initiative which seeks to grant the African continent following modalities which has not yet been defined, with more adequate representation within the UN Security Council. I firmly believe that it is up to the Nations which have always had the privileges to have a permanent member seat in the Council to take a small step which would allow all of humanity to make a great leap forward."

Ukraine

"Last year, thanks to Ukraine's humanitarian mission to Libya, people of many nationalities, mostly women and children, were evacuated from hostilities. In this case, we speak not about a single action, but about Ukraine's resolute intention to use its capabilities to protect civilian population in hot spots."

United States

"We intervened in Libya alongside a broad coalition, and with the mandate of the U.N. Security Council, because we had the ability to stop the slaughter of innocents; and because we believed that the aspirations of the people were more powerful than a tyrant."

Venezuela

"The same interventionist script applied in Libya is being followed in Syria. Imperial powers stir up ethnic, political and religious divisions between the Syrians and between neighboring countries. They supply, perkily, weapons to rebel forces trying to overcome the government of that Arab country. Venezuela supports the peace efforts made by the Special Envoy of the Secretary- General of the UN, Lakhdar Brahimi. We encourage the political dialogue between the Syrians. We reject foreign intervention and the terrible policy of regime change. We support the positions of Russia, China and other countries that, at the Security Council, call for the unity and territorial integrity of the Syrian State. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) can play a proactive role in overcoming this crisis."

Zimbabwe

"But the increasing trend by the NATO States inspired by the arrogant belief that they are the most powerful among us, which has demonstrated itself through their recent resort to unilateralism and military hegemony in Libya, is the very antithesis of the basic principles of the United Nations. In that case of Libya, the African Union and its peace-making role was defied, ignored and humiliated. May we urge the international community to collectively nip this dangerous and unwelcome aggressive development before it festers. In this regard, Mr President, the theme you have chosen for this session, namely; "Bringing about Adjustment or Settlement of International Disputes or Situations by Peaceful Means," is very appropriate. The warmongers of our world have done us enough harm. Wherever they have imposed themselves, chaos in place of peace has been the result. The situation created by the Bush-Blair illegal campaign of aggression against Iraq has made worse the conflict between the Sunnis and Shias. Leave alone the disastrous economic consequences of that unlawful invasion. Libya has been made equally unstable, following NATO's deceitful intervention under the sham cover of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and the phoney principle of the responsibility to protect.

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We have noticed, with deep regret, that the provisions of the United Nations Charter dealing with the peaceful settlement of disputes, have, on occasion, been ignored by the Security Council. In contrast, there appears to be an insatiable appetite for war, embargos, sanctions and other punitive actions, even on matters that are better resolved through multilateral cooperation. Instead of resorting to the peaceful resolution of disputes, we are daily witnessing a situation where might is now right. Mr President, we need to take stock of the inspiring preamble to the United Nations Charter, where the plenipotentiaries who met in San Francisco in 1945 undertook to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." This is especially so when global events represent a radical departure from that solemn and noble declaration as is happening at present. What do the NATO Alliance members say about this? One may ask.

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It is regrettable to note that certain unacceptable concepts are currently being foisted upon the United Nations membership, in the absence of inter-governmental mandates. For instance, there is no agreement yet on the concept of "responsibility to protect," especially with respect to the circumstances under which it might be evoked. We are concerned by the clear mad growing evidence that the concept of "responsibility to protect" has begun to be applied and seriously abused, thus inevitably compromising and undermining the cardinal principle of the sovereignty of states and the United Nations Charter principles

of territorial integrity and non-interference in the domestic affairs of countries."

Democratic Republic of the Congo

Angola

"In the Great Lakes region, the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo continues to worry the international community. My country reaffirms its support for the decisions of the third extraordinary summit of the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region, as well as the efforts by the African Union and SIDAC."

Belgium

"The Great Lakes region: the situation in the east of the DRC, the escalation of violence, and the rebellion of the M23 are of great concern to the Belgian government, especially of the very dramatic impact that this has on local populations, the images of massacres, rapes, forced recruitments, soldiers (including children), looting, the 400,000 persons displaced internally – all of this is completely unacceptable. Belgium calls upon the countries of the region to step up their efforts to put an end to the current rebellion. Belgium would also like to call for a resolution on the root causes of instability of the region of the Great Lakes. We welcome the efforts that have been taken and the initiatives by the Secretary-General to devote a high level meeting to this issue and our foreign minister will be participating in this meeting, and we are ready to contribute to finding a solution. For Belgium, the territorial integrity of the DRC should be respected. Any foreign support to rebels should be stopped. Everybody knows we shouldn't have any illusions about the situation: denying the facts do not mean the facts do not exist; everybody knows what is happening on the ground. Belgium is demanding that every country of the region of the Great Lakes respects fully the sovereignty of the Congo. Belgium also encourages the Congolese authorities to put into place the necessary reforms in the army and the police in order to reestablish their rule of law over the entire territory and especially in the east of the Congo. And also I'd like to call for reason to prevail – Belgium is ready to work for the restoration of trust between the countries of the region and a direct link should be established between the President of the Congo and the President of Rwanda."

Benin

"I welcome the AU and the international community's effort to resolve conflicts on the continent including DRC, Somali and Sudan."

Burundi

"As far as the situation in the east of the DRC is concerned, my country confirms its commitment to the provisions of the agreement of 15 December 2006 and the relevant protocols. Burundi is determined to work together with other countries in the region to find a solution to the conflict through existing regional mechanisms in line with the decisions that have been taken by the countries of the sub-region within the framework of the international conference on the Great Lakes region."

Democratic Republic of the Congo

"As I'm talking to you today Mr. President 100,000 of children, women and men in North Kivu are deprived of peace and are subject to inhumane and degrading treatment by a negative force which is led by unrepentant elements due to their enormous capacity to do harm and due to external support. This situation is unacceptable, it deserves to be condemned and it should give rise to sanctions. We expect that the community of nations will shoulder its responsibilities in this respect, and that the Security Council will ensure compliance with its resolutions, this is a condition for those resolutions to be effective and to remain credible."

France

"We must also fight to protect civilians and I would recall again that this assembly reaffirmed the principle that is all states have the responsibility to ensure the security of their civilians. And if a state does not uphold this obligation then it is up to us, the United Nations, to use the resources to uphold their obligation in their stead. Let us not lose sight of this promise, I'm thinking about what is happening in the Democratic Republic of Congo where civilians are the main victims of clashes and where foreign interference must cease as quickly as possible."

Gabon

"In Democratic Republic of Congo, given the ongoing tensions in the east of this brother country, our common action in support of the Congolese state should be maintained by providing security, political and humanitarian dimensions."

Morocco

"On the other hand, the Kingdom of Morocco commends the notable progress made in several parts of Africa, especially in the sister nations Cote d'Ivoire and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, towards the promotion of national reconciliation and a return to political normalcy."

Namibia

"We are concerned about the deteriorating security situation in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. We, therefore, urge the international community to support the regional initiative aimed at resolving this conflict and to provide humanitarian assistance to displaced persons. We call on all neighboring countries to work together with Congolese authorities to help resolve this conflict and ensure that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the DRC is not violated."

Republic of the Congo

"DRC is undergoing a serious crisis in the eastern part of the country, characterized by repeat violence and a humanitarian tragedy, intolerable due to armed groups of the M23 and other negative forces. The heads of states of the region who met on the heads of states conference of the region have invested themselves in looking for a peaceful solution."

Sao Tome and Principe

Regarding the occupation of the North of the Republic of Mall by groups of terrorists, and the persistent conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sao Tome and Principe acknowledges and applauds the efforts the international community has made through the United Nations and the African Union to establish peace, security and stability. However, it seems to us that is becoming increasingly essential for us to call on the States that share borders with these two African countries to establish more effective, intelligent and effective ways to cooperate, based on trust and on a matrix of mutually beneficial and realistic economic interests."

Tanzania

"Tanzania is the current Chair of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) Organ on Politics, Defence and Security. We have taken the mantle of leadership of this Organ at a time when some countries of the region are facing security challenges. Under the umbrella of SADC and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region of Africa (ICGLR), we have resolved to find a durable solution to the crisis in the Eastern DRC where rebel groups such as the M23 are destabilizing and threatening peace and security of the entire region. Members of ICGLR have agreed to establish an International Neutral Force comprising of 4,000 troops to address the problem. Tanzania has committed to contribute troops to the neutral force. Through African Union (AU), we are taking necessary steps to ensure that the deployment of this International Neutral Force in Eastern DRC gets the mandate of the United Nations."

Uganda

"On the contrary, external interventions often contribute to a cycle of destabilizing tendencies which is why we are still grappling with situations like the one in Eastern DRC. The African Union has shown strong political will to resolve conflicts on the continent peacefully, and to contribute towards maintenance of international peace and security."

Sudan

Angola

"The situation in Sudan has no positive developments. My country welcomes the recent agreement reached between the

sisterly republics of the Sudan and South Sudan with a view to settling their dispute. Thus Angola urges stakeholders to engage with one another and show political will to implement the commitments that have been undertaken."

Benin

"I welcome the AU and the international community's effort to resolve conflicts on the continent including DRC, Somali and Sudan."

Botswana

"Elsewhere on the continent we particularly welcome the recent agreement between Sudan and South Sudan on the implementation of the African Union Roadmap, aimed at resolving outstanding issues in the relations between the two countries. We, however, remain concerned about the fragile security situation between the two. We therefore appeal to both parties to exercise maximum restraint and to commit to honouring the terms of the Roadmap. Although this appeal is made to both sides, we are very much aware that Sudan is the main cause of instability between the two countries. There is a catalogue of incidents of provocation and blatant acts of aggression against the Republic of South Sudan by the North that have led to instability in that region which has been typical of the Sudanese regime for many years."

Chad

"Let me benefit from this rostrum to warmly commend their excellences the Presidents Omar al-Bashir of Sudan and Salva Kiir of South Sudan who overcame their differences by reaching a peace agreement, albeit partial. We sincerely hope that this agreement will quickly lead to a final understanding that is so necessary to the progress of the countries and to the stability of the sub-region."

Egypt

"Our brothers and sisters in Sudan need, more than ever, your support. This country seeks to achieve stability and development and works on building healthy ideal relations with South Sudan. I believe that this nascent state, together with Sudan, is ready to become a center of cooperation between the Arab world and African countries. Sudan has made great sacrifices in its quest for peace and stability. It has committed itself to the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. It was also the first country to recognize the nascent state of south Sudan. But let me be frank: it has not received the support it deserves. The time has come for international efforts to rally to support it and work on settling differences between Sudan and its neighboring South Sudan to resolve all outstanding issues."

Ethiopia

"We are pleased that there is also a major progress in the peace process between Sudan and South Sudan. We are confident the two parties would maintain the momentum toward durable peace, which is the basis for ensuring the viability of both. We are indeed indebted to former President Mbeki and the AU High Level Implementation Panel (AUHIP) for their perseverance and for their commitment to peace between the two sisterly countries. What has been achieved by the two parties over the last few days which culminated in the signing of the much anticipated agreements on vital matters is a significant breakthrough which needs to be consolidated and is used as a basis for resolving the still remaining outstanding issues. We are confident the two parties appreciate how much their joint effort for a win-win outcome is so vital, not only for their peoples, but also for us all. For us Ethiopians peace between Sudan and South Sudan, and close partnership between the two, above and beyond the benefit it has for us all, does also have an additional emotional and sentimental value - This was an issue that our late Prime Minister even as he was struggling for his life was following with the same intensity as before and continued to offer whatever added values he could bring to bear on the peace process. Let me thank both Sudan and South Sudan for placing their trust in us as has been so manifest in the deployment of UNISFA. Indeed, we are proud of our troops in Abyei as we are of all our people serving under the UN flag, including those in Darfur."

Gambia

"The situation in Darfur continues to occupy the attention of my delegation. We call for more dialogue in finding a lasting solution to this conflict. We are equally concerned about the lingering conflict between Sudan and South-Sudan. Dialogue is the only way to solve this conflict. The parties must implement the recommendations of the AU High Level Implementation Panel and the Roadmap. We urge our brothers to demonstrate the same magnamity and extraordinary statesmanship that

characterized the independence of South Sudan as they embark on settling the outstanding issues. You will forever be neighbors; and as neighbors, you are mutually dependent on each other for your national security."

Guinea

"Guinea also backs negotiations currently underway between the governments of Sudan and South Sudan regarding postindependence issues, pursuant to the Roadmap of the African Union, dated 24th of April 2011, endorsed by the Security Council in its Resolution 2046. It welcomes the agreement reached by the parties on the sharing of oil revenues."

Guvana

"Guyana is encouraged by the continuing efforts of the Republic of the Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan to resolve their differences through negotiations."

India

"The challenge before the international community today is to ensure that UN peacekeeping is adequately resourced and enabled to meet the realities of today, including in post-conflict and peacebuilding contexts. In this regard, we are hopeful that progress will be made in all outstanding issues between Sudan and South Sudan."

Kenya

"Kenya therefore welcomes the UN Secretary-General's initiative to convene a series of High-Level Meetings during this week to discuss the political and security situations in ... South Sudan and the Sudan. As regards the Republic of Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan, Kenya is appreciative of the positive developments of 4th August 2012 relating to the long-standing dispute over oil resources. We hope that this important agreement marks a first step towards reducing tensions between the two sister-countries. Kenya appreciates the efforts of the international community, both directly and through the African Union, and encourages the two sides to work towards reaching a compromise. I especially commend the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel, for its determination and leadership in steering the negotiations. We are confident that both countries will agree to urgently address contentious issues on border security."

Mauritania

"We express the ardent wish that the agreements reached recently between Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan to lead a peaceful solution to all outstanding issues between the two states."

Namibia

"With regard to Sudan and South Sudan, Namibia calls on the two countries to resolve all outstanding issues peacefully. In the Darfur region of Sudan we urge the Government and other parties concerned to find a negotiated peaceful solution to the conflict."

Norway

"Today, in Addis Ababa, the leaders of Sudan and South Sudan have made the choice to end a bloody conflict which has marred their peoples' lives for decades. Sudan and South Sudan have been on the brink of war - but by signing today's agreements they have opted for peace."

Republic of the Congo

"Regarding the dispute between the young Republic of South Sudan and the Republic of Sudan, my delegation calls on the two countries to exhibit the political will they need and to spare no effort in order to sign the comprehensive agreement as called for by the vision of the AU regarding the existence of two states that are viable and for a sustainable peace."

Sao Tome and Principe

"However, we must point out positive signs in the trends of a few conflicts on the African Continent, such as the cases of the Republics of Sudan, South Sudan, and Somalia. Consequently, we cannot fail to applaud the recent agreement signed by the Republic of Sudan and South Sudan. Through this framework, the two countries will be able to live in peace and harmony."

South Africa

"Currently, the AU continues to address one of the longest outstanding conflicts on the continent through one of its mechanism the African Union High Level Implementation Panel on Sudan."

South Sudan

"Our declaration of independence on July 9, 2011 did not resolve all the issues between us and the predecessor state; the Republic of Sudan. These unresolved, post-independence issues include border demarcation) oil infrastructure, security and the final status of Abyei. The bilateral engagement of the two countries failed to achieve an agreement. As a result the African Union intervened by mandating the African Union High Implementation Panel (AUHIP) under President Thabo Mbeki to facilitate negotiations between the two parties.

As the situation continued to deteriorate, the UN Security Council intervened and passed Security Council Resolution 2046. This resolution sets out a clear road map for resolving all the remaining differences between Sudan and South Sudan including Abyei and addresses the conflicts in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile as well.

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While we are working tirelessly towards achieving and maintaining peace within our borders, critical unresolved issues remain between South Sudan and Sudan, including border demarcation citizenship rights, the Status of Abyei, and oil related issues. The lack of progress in these post-independence issues has been posing threats to peace and stable relations between the two countries.

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In this context of South Sudan and Sudan relations, it is incumbent upon my government to shed some light of what became known as Heglig or Panthou incident between us and the Republic of the Sudan. This crisis was the result of increasing border tensions and repeated bombings in the border areas of my country by the Sudan Armed Forces.

In April this year our forces clashed with the Sudan Army in an area inside South Sudan, several kilometers south of Heglig. This resulted in our Armed Forces, taking over Heglig temporarily, acting in self-defense to prevent it being used as a launching pad for military attacks by the Sudanese Armed Forces on our country.

. . .

Another area in which we believe we have not been well understood by the International Community is our alleged support for the SPLM- North. What may not be fully appreciated by outside observers is that these forces were integral members of the SPLM. But, although they fought side by side with us, they were not fighting for the cause of Southern Sudan independence, but for their own cause, through alliance with us. Of course, we shared a common vision of creating a new, fundamentally restructured United Sudan of inclusivity, equality and dignity for all, without discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion or culture. But we also had issues that were specific to our particular situation and which, for us, eventually led to our independence.

It should be recalled that the CPA included a special protocol on Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States that addressed their special grievances. That protocol is yet to be credibly implemented. As former allies who contributed significantly to our success in achieving the objectives of our struggle, we obviously have a moral and indeed political obligation to assist SPLM-N in addressing their legitimate grievances, as stipulated and agreed in the CPA.

In this connection, South Sudan is currently carrying the burden of accommodating an increasing number of refugees from the two areas. We therefore call upon the international community to assist in meeting the humanitarian needs of these refugees within South Sudan as well as through Sudan territory for those internally displaced by the conflict.

Our President stated in his statement at our independence celebration, "we cannot abandon them, but would support their cause peacefully through negotiated settlement between them and the government of the Sudan". South Sudan will use its good offices as a former ally of the SPLM-North to assist the Sudan by acting as an honest broker in mediating a peaceful,

but just resolution, of the conflict. We believe our role as honest brokers will in long term assist our neighbor in the North."

St. Lucia

Further, Saint Lucia welcomes the resolution of the longstanding dispute in Sudan, and the achievement of self-determination of the new state of South Sudan into the comity of nations. It is pleasing that this process has occurred in a context where the states of the African continent have now also been creating new spaces in a bid to take advantage of the development of the continent's resources in a changing economic environment.

Sudan

"My country has a suffered a long conflict, one of more than 6 decades that hampered the achievement of peace, stability and development. One that has also had an effect on the region. Proceeding from the conviction of my government of the need to put an end to the this conflict based on UN instruments on the need to resolve disputes by peaceful means difficult thorny negotiations began that took over a decade and were crowned by signing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement under the aegis of IGAD many regional partners and international partners helped in reaching that agreement. The government of Sudan was committed to fulfilling that agreement with in the proscribed time frame which led to the referendum where the people of South Sudan decided to secede. The government of Sudan immediately recognized the government of South Sudan and fully committed to itself to assisting the nascent state.

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The delay in drafting important agreements provided for in the CPA following the referendum has led to many tensions which led to the adoption by the AUPSC and the Roadmap of April 2012 and UNSC Resolution 2046 stressing the spirit of the AUPSC resolution. We have begun a new phase of serious negotiations under the AUHIP which led on 27th September to very important agreements in Addis Ababa on the economy, security, and citizens' status in both states as well as a framework agreement for both countries for cooperation in all fields. All of that would not have taken place without the firm determination by my President to insist on the need to resolve disputes by peaceful means beginning with signing the CPA and then the Abuja agreement on Darfur, the agreement on the east and the Darfur document. This shows to the world that Sudan's leadership proceeds from firm principles that prize security, stability and aim at peace and development. We want all to know that attempts to distort Sudan's image and its leadership are all attempts at merely defaming us and void of any substance.

...

Sudan more than once has stressed its commitment to good neighborliness our determination to strengthen brotherly relations with South Sudan. Achievements have been great. They have brought an end to the longest war on the African continent. With the same determination we have attempted to tackle the remaining issues. They are few and in order to continuing sincere cooperation with the state of South Sudan on Thursday 27th September 2012 in the Ethiopian capital an agreement was signed between the two governments on security, the economy, borders, oil, trade, rates of exchange, pensions, religious matters as well as other economic issues. This is an important step that shows Sudan's commitment to a policy of good neighborliness and its determination to improve relations with South Sudan and to reach a comprehensive understanding on all issues. Despite the fact that no agreement was reached on the final status of Abyei and the dispute has not found a term of reference for its resolution Sudan stresses entirely and supports the Abyei protocol and the Abyei Agreement of June 2012 as well as the referendum law on Abyei achieved by both parties through the Sudanese parliament in 2010. We must stress here the role of the two parties with the mediation by the late Ethiopian prime minister, Meles Zenawi, and his predecessor Haile Miriam, as president of IGAD, as well as other international partners.

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Allow me to stress the role of the international community. The international community must fulfill its responsibility to help both parties as well as to help fulfill all promises made following the signing of the CPA by providing assistance in both in funds and in kind to develop both Sudan and South Sudan. Mr. President in the statement by the representative of South Sudan he stated that that South Sudan claimed Heglig and they sympathize with those bearing arms in South Kordofan and Blue Nile. This is regrettable this goes outside the agreement of Addis Ababa this takes us back to square one as far as conflicts are concerned. Perhaps that phrase came to be delivered before this august assembly before the agreement was reached in Addis Ababa. The government of Sudan calls on the international community to put pressure to bear on those rebels bringing violence to South Kordofan and Blue Nile. Let me say that the government of Sudan will continue to respect its responsibilities on protection of civilians and development project.

...

In the same framework proceeding from our belief of the fundamental responsibility of the government to protect its citizens we renew our commitment to the tripartite initiative between the UN, the AU and the LAS to bring humanitarian assistance to civilians in the regions controlled by rebels in South Kordofan and Blue Nile.

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My country is also witnessing another important development. The peace negotiations on Darfur led to the signing of the Doha Peace Document on Darfur under aegis of Qatar. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to Qatar's role as well as his Highness al-Thani for peace and stability. The Doha Document has been accepted widely by the people of Darfur. We have turned a new page in Darfur after closing the page of fighting towards peace, stability and the returned of displaced persons. We call on the international community to protect and secure the peace by countering the armed rebel groups that have refused to join the peace. We also call upon on Security Council to bring pressure to bear against those movements and to compel them to join the document."

Swaziland

"We encourage a speedy resolve in areas where there are still pockets of conflicts such as the DRC, Sudan and in some north African countries."

Zambia

"This year's General Assembly theme "adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations by peaceful means" is undeniably significant in the wake of the turmoil that continues to threaten international peace and security, with the persistent conflict situations on the African continent in places such as Sudan, South Sudan, Guinea Bissau, Mali and Somalia. I therefore wish to report that my government has in certain instances supported measures to help mitigate the humanitarian situation, I urge the international community to redouble efforts in bringing peace to these troubled regions."

Yemen

Germany

"Without development there can be no security. Without security there can be no development.

That applies to our engagement in Afghanistan, which we will continue after the withdrawal of combat troops in 2014. It also applies to the efforts to bring stability to Somalia and Yemen, to the Great Lakes region and to the countries of the Sahel."

Kuwait

"The State of Kuwait welcomes the decisions and the steps taken by His Excellency President Abd Rubbuh Mansur AI Hadi, and the Yemeni Government in implementing the initiative of the Gulf states, as well as the mechanism for its implementation, and support the finalization of the remaining items of the initiative. We also renew our trust in that Yemen, under an elected President, and a national accord government, is capable of accomplishing the development and progress that the brotherly Yemeni people aspire for in the various fields. We also reaffirm our continued backing and support for the Yemeni Republic to ensure its political and economic stability."

Saudi Arabia

"The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia congratulates the Republic of Yemen for overcoming its political crisis through the peaceful transition of power, in accordance with the GCC initiative and its implementation mechanism and the wide international support it gained. We call upon our brothers in Yemen to hold the same positive and constructive approach, to support their leadership, and to confront foreign interference in Yemen's internal affairs in order to deal with security, economic, and social challenges; and to achieve their aspirations for security, stability, development and prosperity. Meanwhile, we call upon the international community to fulfill its pledged commitments for Yemen, in addition to providing it with all forms of support to achieve these goals. Saudi Arabia reaffirms its full support of all international efforts undertaken in this context. We have done all we can to effectively support, promote, and contribute to these efforts through the Friends of Yemen Conference held in Riyadh this year in May, the Donors' Conference held also in Riyadh earlier this month, and the participation in the

Friends of Yemen Conference held in New York on Thursday, September 27, 2012."

United States

"We supported a transition of leadership in Yemen, because the interests of the people were not being served by a corrupt status quo."

Yemen

"Recently, we had a peaceful transfer of power for the first time in the country as a new historical achievement. This transition was not possible except with the determination of Yemenis to fulfill the goals of the revolution in freedom, sovereignty and putting an end to the autocratic and family ruling forever and establishing a republican regime governed by the constitution as a new social contract between the state and its people."

Mali

Angola

"Regarding Mali, Angola deplores the worsening humanitarian situation as a result of the crisis prevailing in that country. Angola calls on the international community to demonstrate its determination to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mali."

Austria

"Events of recent months have once again illustrated the importance of the United Nations as a multilateral forum to address today's crises and challenges: the conflicts in Syria and Mali and the ongoing reform processes in many parts of the Arab World demonstrate that we can face those challenges only through concerted action.

. . .

The situation in Mali also continues to be a matter of grave concern. Austria has been dismayed by the political turmoil with its disastrous effects on the Malian population. Growing insecurity and the continued deterioration of the humanitarian and human rights situation are calling for concerted action. The High-Level meeting on Wednesday was an important signal that we are moving in that direction. We fully support the efforts by ECOWAS and the African Union to try and find - together with the UN - a lasting political solution to the crisis in Mali and the Sahel region as a whole. Austria will advocate for increased support of the European Union to contribute to this end."

Botswana

"The military coups in Mali and Guinea Bissau early this year are a sad reminder of what we thought was a closed chapter of the dark days of African politics driven by self-interest. These developments seriously undermine the significant progress which Africa has made to date in embracing and consolidating democracy, good governance, respect for human rights and the rule of law. We therefore call on the African Union to remain firm and resolute in its rejection of unconstitutional change of governments on the African continent and we implore the International Community to give full support to the African Union in this regard."

Burundi

"Regarding Mali, Burundi hopes that the new Government has been put in place found to the crisis in this country, a solution adequately fast.

...

He is also confident that Mali will soon not to renew the democratic process so that it can develop institutions created free and transparent elections."

Chad

"The crisis in Mali comes as a test and a challenge launched at the international community. Today with this crisis, blind and violent religious extremism, trafficking in drugs and humans, and irredentist claims exist in the very heart of Africa. Can the

world continue to remain inactive for long given this disease which could spread throughout the entire Sahel, and which Mali is only the epicenter? Our delegation commends the determination of the international community that was seen at the high-level meeting on the Sahel, that was organized on the initiative of the UN Secretary-General. It commends the commitment of France, ECOWAS, and above all the primary party concerned, that is Mali, in order to act to eradicate the gangrene. The UN also needs to speed up the procedures and operate quickly by adopting a resolution that would authorize an intervention by an international military force."

Côte d'Ivoire

"In order to achieve the goals...of the Charter of the UN...established a system of collective security on the basis of two major principles: prohibiting the recourse to the use of force in international relations and the obligation to ensure peaceful settlement...The President Alassane Quattara will do everything possible to ensure lasting solutions to both the post-electoral crisis in Côte d'Ivoire and regionally, particularly with regards to the situations in Mali and in Guinea-Bissau. Indeed the security of Western Africa is seriously challenged by military and political crises which are orchestrated by military and by rebel or terrorist movements, particularly in Mali and Guinea-Bissau. ECOWAS, which has always favored negotiation, as does this theme of the General Assembly, and is working tirelessly to ensure a positive outcome to these crises to ensure the return of constitutional order and the restoration of democracy both in Mali and in Guinea-Bissau. If the situation has considerably improved in Guinea-Bissau, it continues to still be a major concern in Mali, where rebel movements related to terrorist networks continue to occupy the main towns in the north that they are now destroying and pillaging in total impunity. And to put an end to this abusive occupation of the north of Mali, ECOWAS plans to deploy a military force at the request of the government of Mali to help the Malian army to fulfill its sovereign mission of defending the territorial integrity of the country. The establishment and deployment of such a force, requires major support from the AU, the UN, and all development partners. Indeed the presence of groups which are related to terrorists in the north of the country are a genuine threat which could lead if nothing is done to the implosion of the entire west African region of the Sahel. When we look at the non-state actors involved in the current conflicts in Guinea-Bissau and Mali, particularly the terrorist networks, armed groups related to transnational crime and piracy in the gulf of Guinea - we have to see how incomplete are the current instruments for resolving these crises which are based on negotiation and mediation. Today there is no questioning the fact that the resurgence of terrorism in the Sahel region in general and in the north of Mali in particular have created a sanctuary of a lawless zone which confronts western Africa...eradicating these problems require concerted efforts by ECOWAS, the AU and the UN."

Democratic Republic of Congo

"Mali is seeing attempts at separatism."

France

"The situation created by the occupation of north Mali by terrorist groups is intolerable it is unacceptable. This is not only unacceptable for Mali which is affected by this terrorist threat but by all countries of the region and beyond the region for all those affected by terrorism one day. The African union which I would commend and ECOWAS have said they are ready to take courageous decisions. The authorities in Mali have spoken so there is no further time which should be lost. France, I'm announcing here, will support any initiative that will enable Africans themselves to resolve this issue in the framework of international law with a clear mandate from the Security Council. Yes, Mali must recover its territorial integrity and the terrorists should be eliminated from the Sahel."

Gabon

"With respect to the situation in Mali, we condemn the attempts to divide the country as well as destruction of sites in Timbuktu, which are categorized as world heritage sites. I urge the Security Council and member states to support a United Nations strategy for the Sahel region incorporating questions of security, governance, development, human rights, and humanitarian aspects."

Guinea

"Mr. President, in western Africa, in neighboring Mali, whose northern part has been occupied for a few months now by terrorist groups and rebel groups, the strengthening of democratic institutions and the restoration of territorial integrity are

major challenges which need to be met. Guinea wishes to reiterate its support of ECOWAS and of the African Union in seeking solutions to this crisis whose consequences on countries in the sub-region could be devastating. Guinea wishes to associate itself with the request by the government of Mali addressed to the Security Council for the rapid deployment of an international force to restore the territorial integrity of this brotherly country."

Guyana

"We are hopeful also that the people of Mali will be able to overcome their current crisis and restore the celebrated Legacy of Timbuktu."

Liberia

"We in Liberia, like many other countries in the region and the world at large, were particularly appalled by the unconstitutional unraveling, of democratic governments in Mali and Guinea Bissau in the early part of this year; and unequivocally condemned these attempts to seize power through unconstitutional means. Accordingly, Liberia endorses the decisions of ECOWAS aimed at the full restoration of constitutional order in both countries in the shortest possible time. Liberia enjoins the world community, particularly the Security Council, to buttress efforts of ECOWAS in restoring peace in our region, most especially in Mali."

Mauritania

"Our sub-region, the Sahel, for a number of years has become a safe-haven for organized crime networks of all kinds: from drug trafficking to those who traffic in weapons and munitions, as well as those who traffic in human beings, illegal immigration and hostage taking, particularly terrorism. And together, to our great regret, this has all led to an extremely serious situation currently in our brother neighbor country Mali, particularly in the regions of the north of that country which are occupied by terrorist armed groups, thereby posing a clear threat to the security of the entire sub-region. Clearly in these conditions we have been very closely following with great concern the developments of the situation, we reaffirm our deep commitment to the unity and territorial integrity of our brother Mali. We have every hope that the international community as represented by the SC will fully shoulder its responsibilities and will take the relevant decisions, naturally, with the governments of Mali and neighboring countries in order to promptly promote a solution that would guarantee the restoration of authority of the Malian state throughout the nation and the return of civil peace to all Malians and would simply and purely eradicate all terrorism and organized crime in Northern Mali and the rest of the Sahel. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania has taken principled, firm positions with regards to this painful crisis. It very clearly condemns the military coup de ta that overthrew the elected president and interrupted the electoral process. We quickly rejected the separatist claims and unequivocally condemned the occupation of Northern Mali by armed terrorist groups. We have continuously reaffirmed out commitment to the unity of Mali, its territorial integrity and the cohesion of its social fabric. I have no need to say that my country very quickly took all appropriate measures to accommodate Malian refugees."

Monaco

"We are equally most concerned by the worsening of the recent events in the Sahel region, including Mali. The Principality of Monaco, that is involved in various humanitarian efforts in the region, supports all actions by the international community given the urgency and gravity of this situation. We shall support the strategy to be established by the UN, a strategy which will address issues of security, governance, development, human rights and humanitarian aspects."

Morocco

"During the past year, the situation has seriously deteriorated in Africa, and more particularly in the Sahel and Sahara region, due to criminal, terrorist and separatist activism which now threatens the stability of the countries concerned. The sister nation, the Republic of Mali, is confronted with a situation which threatens the country as well as its national unity and territorial integrity. Despite the sincere efforts exerted by countries in the region, including Morocco and the Economic Community of West African States, the contribution of the United Nations is needed in order to achieve national consensus, overcome the political crisis and confront separatist activism in the north. Only an independent, focused effort on the part of the United Nations can help achieve those objectives: I should like, in this respect, to reiterate to our brothers in Mali Morocco's commitment to continue to provide them with aid and active support for the success of the political process, and the preservation of their country's national unity and territorial integrity."

Namibia

"We denounce the unconstitutional changes of Govenm1ent in Mali and Guinea-Bissau, which took place in March this year. Equally, Namibia resolutely rejects the secessionist attempts in northern Mali and the destruction of ancient shrines in Timbuktu. We wish to commend the role played by ECOWAS in helping to resolve the conflicts in these two countries and, at the same time, urge the international community to provide support and assistance to ECOWAS."

Nigeria

"In Mali, political crisis stemming from this reality has escalated to insurgency that is threatening the unity of the country. Nigeria and ECOWAS are working in concert to address this threat which has the potential to spill over into neighbouring countries and destabilize the entire region."

Portugal

"In Africa, we are faced with a grave situation in the Sahel, and particularly in Mali, which threatens the whole region and could spread throughout western Africa, putting both stability and development at risk in a number of countries."

Republic of the Congo

"The collapse of democracy in Mali, a country that was once an example of democracy in Africa, is a setback that my country has condemned while calling for a return to constitutional order. The crisis provoked by the de facto partition of the country, following the occupation of the northern part by terrorist groups now threatens the peace and stability of the Sahel region."

Sao Tome and Principe

"Sadly, our organization continues to suffer from the roadblock that prevent urgent decisions that cannot be postponed from being taken and that undermine this forum's credibility; this sanctions the impunity of the leaders that martyrize their own people, paving the way to more international disorder, despair, and the sentiment of injustice that gives preference to the rule of different treatment between peoples. We need no further evidence of the urgency for in-depth reforms of our institution, primarily the Security Council, to put an end to the horrific images of children that are symbols of purity and innocence who are killed daily in Syria, to prevent the destruction of the world historic and cultural heritage by gangs of destructive criminals in Mali and in Afghanistan, and to prevent coups d'etat or obvious attempts to destabilize States and democratically elected Governments which, in fact, solves nothing and irreparably delays the lengthy process of building democracy and fighting poverty, and generates the cost of the international mobilization of human and financial resources that today are increasingly scarce.

...

Regarding the occupation of the North of the Republic of Mall by groups of terrorists, and the persistent conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sao Tome and Principe acknowledges and applauds the efforts the international community has made through the United Nations and the African Union to establish peace, security and stability. However, it seems to us that is becoming increasingly essential for us to call on the States that share borders with these two African countries to establish more effective, intelligent and effective ways to cooperate, based on trust and on a matrix of mutually beneficial and realistic economic interests."

Senegal

"In Northern Mali, organized and heavily armed terrorist groups, living off all sorts of trafficking, have been occupying in complete illegality two thirds of the country, sowing despair among the population and destroying symbols of World Cultural Heritage. Northern Mali has become a lawless area, used as a safe haven for recruitment and training by the international terrorist nebula, which wrongly uses Islam as a pretext to disguise its criminal activities, and seeks to attack foreign interests as well as reach other countries of the region and the world. As guarantor for the collective security of Member States under the UN Charter, the Security Council has the obligation to act in order to bring an end to such a situation."

Spain

"I consider the situation in Mali and the entire region of the Sahel to be particularly serious. The humanitarian crisis has been

aggravated by political instability and an armed revolt which has deteriorated into terrorist's movements causing considerable harm to the people of Mali. Spain condemns violence and supports the efforts by the UN, African Union and ECOWAS to reach a solution to this crisis."

St Lucia

"Saint Lucia also wishes to support the calls, that Africa needs permanent representation on the Security Council, as supported by the Presidents of Mali and South Africa. As we recognize the perils of conflict and warfare in Africa, so too should we recognize the ability of Africa to bring peace to itself. The voice of one billion people and that of an entire continent should no longer go unheard."

The Comoros

The situation in northern Mali also remains alarming. The attacks carried out against the civilian population of this region, the serious violations of human rights, the obstacles erected to humanitarian access, the destruction, the looting of holy, religious, historical and cultural sites are all barbarous acts running counter to the principles of Islam.

The Gambia

"Ongoing conflicts in Mali, Guinea Bissau and Syria are recent cases in point. The Security Council should not be the stumbling block in the settlement of disputes by peaceful or other means.

...

In West Africa our ongoing security changes are being compounded by these situations ECOWAS should not be left alone to shoulder the burden of these conflicts. The United Nations Security Council must step up to the plague and act decisively in cooperation with the African Union and ECOWAS. The signals coming from the Council are a bit disheartening for some of us. ECOWAS is ready to act. The AU is ready to act to salvage the situations in Mali and Guinea Bissau. The Security Council must act with a sense of greater urgency.

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In line with our foreign policy the Gambia stands ready to contribute meaningfully to the settlement of these conflicts° The eve of steadfastness shown in solving the conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone must equally be shown in Mali and Guinea Bissau."

Togo

"From this point of view I would like to join my voice with those orders who preceded me to invite the entire international community to mobilize in order to assist all of the institutional actors who are acting in good will to support Mali in its determination to recover as quickly as possible its territorial integrity and to reestablish peace so that the transitional period which has begun can become a success."

Zambia

"This year's General Assembly theme "adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations by peaceful means" is undeniably significant in the wake of the turmoil that continues to threaten international peace and security, with the persistent conflict situations on the African continent in places such as Sudan, South Sudan, Guinea Bissau, Mali and Somalia. I therefore wish to report that my government has in certain instances supported measures to help mitigate the humanitarian situation, I urge the international community to redouble efforts in bringing peace to these troubled regions."

Côte d'Ivoire

Côte d'Ivoire

"Thanks to the valuable support of the international community, particularly the UN, Côte d'Ivoire has emerged from the political, military crisis which seriously threatened the basis of its economic and social development for over a decade. Determined to take post-conflict reconstruction... Côte d'Ivoire has seriously progressed in terms of policy, economic, social and humanitarian affairs...these results were possible because of the determination of the government of Côte d'Ivoire to

implement the three priority areas of action...security and stability, for which the joint efforts of the government have allowed a positive outcome to the situation...national reconciliation through the truth and reconciliation commission"

Ghana

"We will work under the ECOWAS protocol and utilise whatever other tools of diplomacy are at our disposal to ensure that security is restored to Mali and C6te d'Ivoire and that they find a place alongside their fellow African countries in the continent's forward march towards prosperity."

Liberia

"It is in this context that we categorically condemn all attempts to undermine the peace and democratic gains in La Côte d'Ivoire and are working closely with the Ivorian authorities and UN peacekeeping outfits in both Liberia and La Côte d'Ivoire to protect and consolidate the peace in our two countries."

Morocco

"On the other hand, the Kingdom of Morocco commends the notable progress made in several parts of Africa, especially in the sister nations Cote d'Ivoire and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, towards the promotion of national reconciliation and a return to political normalcy."

Togo

"In this regard we should note that the protocol created in 2002 of a Peace and Security Council within the African Union has resulted in much hope. Based on the model of the Security Council, this new institutional tool, was meant to allow the African Union, to directly intervene in countries of crisis. Unfortunately recent experiences, as we have seen in Libya and Côte d'Ivoire, have shown that faced with the antagonism that is characterized by the international community we have not been able to fill in the gaps with using this tool."

Myanmar

Austria

Progress made in Sierra Leone, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, or Myanmar testifies how successful sustainable mediation efforts can be.

Bahrain

"Based on this same humanitarian principle, we should also stand by the Rohingya Muslims of Myanmar in their ordeal and provide them with assistance while giving good counsel to the Government of Myanmar on that subject."

European Union

"The progress of democracy which has taken place in successive waves since the United Nations was created this movement forward has experienced a new acceleration forward and we can all welcome the fact. Without underestimating the difficulties and problems encountered elsewhere and here I am I also thinking of the positive developments in Myanmar..."

Germany

"We also pay tribute to the efforts to gain freedom in other parts of the world. As a result of the remarkable opening up process underway in Myanmar, the country is emerging from isolation and gradually leaving repression behind."

Iraq

"According to the spirit of the United Nations Charter, our condemnation and rejection of the discriminatory policies practiced against religious and ethnic minorities in more than one location in the world. We especially condemn the inhumane violations of the rights of the Muslims in Myanmar, who face genocide that world's conscious should not be silence visa vis its gravity. That intersects with all the principals of human rights stipulated by laws, religions and International

conventions."

Japan

"Myanmar has taken steady steps toward democracy and reconciliation."

Kuwait

"The State of Kuwait commends the positive positions of the United Nations and the international community towards the bloody events that the Moslems Minority in Myanmar was subjected to, hoping that these efforts will culminate in stopping the violence, preserving their rights and the prevalence of peace."

Libya

"Libya calls for the end of the killing of Muslims in Myanmar. This is a fragrant violation of international human rights. Calls on immediately intervene to put an end to this tragedy. Commission of inquiries are needed for justice and ensure the right of compensation to victims."

Myanmar

"The political progress in our country is enhancing its political legitimacy. This, in turn facilitates the creation of basic political stability thereby paving the way for economic and social transformation necessary for better living standard of the people. Mr. President, The legislative body has also been progressing well and functioning more effectively at each session and the parliament has now been able to adopt landmark laws through the democratic practices.

. . .

We believe that cessation of all armed conflicts are a prerequisite for the building of genuine democracy. As such, we place high priority on achieving a lasting peace in the country. In accordance with our motto 'ÿFrom War to Peace", we are working hard to bring an end the longstanding difficulties in the regions of our ethnic nationalities. We have so far achieved ceasefire agreements with 10 armed groups. While further strengthening confidence building measures, we will continue the peace talks. National level peace negotiations will then continue to reach a final peace agreement that would completely end the armed hostilities. In order to redress the situation in northern part of Myanmar, the leaders of the Government Peace Work Committee and the Kachin armed group (KIA) are holding informal consultations and working to further strengthen the confidence building measures. We consider any loss of life and property from either side in the armed conflict as a loss for the country. While the Government is resolutely pursuing political, social and economic reforms, some unfortunate and unexpected issues have come up in our way. A case in point is the recentn communal violence in Rakhine State. In this connection, I would like to mention in the first place that the people inhabiting in our country, regardless of race, religion and gender, have the rights to live in peace and security.

As you are aware, a national level independent investigation commission has been established to investigate the issue. To ensure impartiality, the composition of the Commission is made up of representatives from all strata of the society, including the widely-respected personalities from the Buddhist, Muslim, Christian and Hindu faiths. Upon completion of its task, the Commission will be submitting its findings and recommendations to me.

Demonstrating our determination to resolve the issue in a transparent manner, we have facilitated field visits to the Rakhine State by the representatives from the OIC, ASEAN, UN agencies, the United States and resident foreign diplomats in Myanmar. When it comes to the relief assistance, access is being facilitated to those organizations who are willing to provide it to both the communities without discrimination. The issue at hand cannot be solved overnight. It will be resolved by taking short-term and long-term measures through a multi-faceted approach taking into account political, economic and social aspects. I sincerely believe that as an independent and sovereign state, Myanmar has the right to secure our borders and also to safeguard and protect our sovereignty. We will do our utmost to solve this issue in line with international norms."

Norway

"Today, in this assembly, we heard how Myanmar's reformist President Thein Sein is opening the door for a free and democratic Myanmar. I commend the courage shown by the Myanmar government."

Republic of Korea

"Recently, we witnessed the strong desire of people in the Middle East and North Africa to materialize their pursuit of democracy and respect for human rights. The recent positive developments in Myanmar are also well worth noting in this regard."

Thailand

"This is particularly relevant in the present case of Myanmar during the critical period of transition towards greater democracy, which Thailand fully supports. We must all work together as partners to help Myanmar continue in this process of change. We will all benefit from this economic cooperation and integration."

Timor Leste

"Democracy must be an internal process. This process is sometimes long, but it is vital for a lasting solution. The most recent, dynamic and inspirational example comes from Myanmar. Here I would like to commend Aung San Suu Kyi, a woman with an unshakable character, a born leader, a resolute democrat, defender of peaceful solutions and who is today, an advocate for internal reconciliation."

Turkey

If we cannot regard the rights of a person in Syria, Palestine, Somalia, Afghanistan and Rakhine region and other places, as equal as of our own, how can we talk about freedom and justice?"

United Arab Emirates

"The United Arab Emirates expresses its deep concern about the violence against the Rohingya Muslims community in Myanmar, and calls upon the international community to move towards urging the Government of Myanmar to stop acts incompatible with the principles of fundamental human rights, which are recognized by international conventions."

United States

"In Burma, a President has freed political prisoners and opened a closed society; a courageous dissident has been elected to Parliament; and people look forward to further reform."

Yemen

"The brutal racial cleansing of Muslims in Myanmar imposes on the international community to give attention to this humanitarian tragedy and to take tangible steps to stop the series of violence and savage acts committed against this group. It is not enough to issue statements of denouncement and condemnation in light of the racial maining and practices that took place during the past months. It is necessary to establish an international committee to investigate in human rights violations against Muslims there; deliver humanitarian aid to them and provide guarantees to protect them against violence and atrocities."

Thematic References

Concerns over the Use of Force

China

"We must resolve disputes through dialogue and negotiation and oppose willful use or threat of force."

Cuba

"Right now, the overthrowing of governments through the use of force and violence is being blatantly encouraged; the "change of regime" is being imposed from Washington and other NATO member countries' capitals, and conquest wars are being waged for the control of natural resources and strategically important areas."

Democratic People's Republic of Korea

"In the current international relations, high-handedness and arbitrariness are becoming ever more undisguised and the use of force and acts of state terrorism aimed at infringement of sovereignty, interference in internal affairs and regime change are continued under such pretext as "non-proliferation" and "humanitarian intervention"."

Lesotho

"Unilateral actions that defy civility and international law have increased in their impunity and frequency on the international stage. Despite the lessons of history, there are countries that still believe they can solve the political problems of our time through war and coercion. It does not matter to them that history has shown that the goal of domination through the use of force is not only illusive and dangerous but is unsustainable."

Liechtenstein

"We are also given a historic opportunity – both for the Court and the United Nations: For the first time since the end of World War II, we can enable an international tribunal to prosecute the crime of aggression. The prohibition of the illegal use of force is at the core of the Charter of the United Nations. And aggression has been considered a crime under international law for decades. But the consensual adoption of the Kampala amendments to the Rome Statute allows us to turn the principle into practice. Leaders that consider resorting to the illegal use of force will be put on notice – once 30 States Parties have ratified the amendments, and once we have activated them in 2017. I am proud that Liechtenstein, after its Presidency at the Review Conference, was the first State to ratify the amendments on 8 May this year. We chose the date as a tribute to the commemoration of the end of World War II in Europe. We have also launched an initiative to support the ratification process underway. I would therefore encourage all of you, current and future Parties to the Rome Statute, to ratify the Kampala amendments as soon as possible. Together we can make this big step forward in the history of international law."

Russia

"The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone is entitled to an international order in which their rights can be fully realized. Those who use military force and sanctions bypassing the UN Charter or engage in illicit supplies of arms, or whitewash terrorists grossly violate this right."

Somalia.

"As Somalia reclaims its status as a full member of the International Community, we must acknowledge our responsibility as a nation, both for the proliferation of these [security] problems and for their eventual resolution. We recognize the urgency of tackling these threats to international security, but we are also conscious of their complexity, and that lasting solutions can only be achieved through reflection, consultation, the force of law and only, as a last resort, the judicious use of force."

St. Vincent and the Grenadines

"In the midst of this global upheaval, we have witnessed the aggressive reemergence of those that would seek to reshape the world in their own image and to their own purposes. Would-be interventionists, unilateralists and hegemons – both new and old – have rushed to fill and exploit political vacuums, to settle ancient grudges, and to strengthen their grip on global or regional power."

Trinidad and Tobago

"Too often we have witnessed the severity of the consequences when States act unilaterally to solve disputes through the illegal use of force."

Tuvalu

"We firmly believe that the use of force through military and violent actions as a means for settlement of disputes and conflicts should be avoided at all costs. It is also important that countries involved in such disputes should be encouraged and supported to discuss the root causes of their differences among themselves in a non-confrontational manner."

Venezuela

"The same interventionist script applied in Libya is being followed in Syria. Imperial powers stir up ethnic, political and religious divisions between the Syrians and between neighboring countries. They supply, perkily, weapons to rebel forces trying to overcome the government of that Arab country. Venezuela supports the peace efforts made by the Special Envoy of the Secretary- General of the UN, Lakhdar Brahimi. We encourage the political dialogue between the Syrians. We reject foreign intervention and the terrible policy of regime change. We support the positions of Russia, China and other countries that, at the Security Council, call for the unity and territorial integrity of the Syrian State. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) can play a proactive role in overcoming this crisis."

National Focal Points

Costa Rica

"We emphasize the value of the Responsibility to Protect as a critical operative principle of the international community. Its three pillars comprise a dynamic system of mutually related parts. As a contribution to its preventative dimension, we promote, together with Australia, Denmark and Ghana, a network of national focal points or Responsibility to Protect. We invite all member states to join this network."

Denmark

"International agreement on the Responsibility to Protect at the 2005 World Summit was a clear statement by the international community that the atrocities and large scale tragedies of the 20th century must not be repeated in the 21th Century. The global network of National Focal Points on R2P - an initiative launched by the governments of Denmark and Ghana, Costa Rica and Australia - is an approach to encourage and assist states in developing their national capacities and mechanisms for the prevention of mass atrocity crimes. We call on all states to appoint national focal points and to join the network, thereby demonstrating their commitment to decisive and timely prevention and response."

Responsibility While Protecting

Brazil

"Brazil will always fight to ensure that decisions emanating from the UN prevail. Yet we want legitimate actions, founded on international legality. In this spirit, I have defended the need for a "responsibility while protecting" as a necessary complement to the "Responsibility to Protect"."

Russia

"In general, the events of the recent years have clearly shown that unilateral actions that violate international law and go beyond the decisions of the UN Security Council or distort the substance of these decisions do not do any good. Of course, the legal norms in international affairs will be further adjusted as necessary. But these transformations should be treated with utmost responsibility and full realization of serious risks associated with them. Only consensus can be the criterion for their adoption. Violations of international law should not be portrayed

as their "creative development". All of the above has also to do with the debate regarding the concept of "responsibility to protect". Its further discussion should be held on the basis of the approaches agreed upon at the UN Summit in 2005 that reaffirmed the need to observe the principles of the UN Charter with regard to response to intra-State conflicts. Protection of civilians is an issue, which is too serious to be exploited for achieving political goals. The ambiguity of the "responsibility to protect" concept can be better understood in light of initiatives formulated by Brazil and several other States to help move forward to a consensus."

UN Impartiality

South Africa

"It is also of critical importance for the UN to closely guard its impartiality, independence and objectivity. The UN should never be dragged to take side with any party in a conflict under the guise of the Protection of Civilians."

Zimbabwe

"Equally important, the United Nations must in future never allow itself to be abused by any member state or group of States that seeks to achieve parochial partisan goals."

Selective Application

Egypt

"Egypt would like to stress that the international system will not get fixed as long as the application of double standards remains. We expect from others, as they expect from us, that they respect our cultural particularities and religious points of reference, and not seek to impose concepts that are unacceptable to us or politicize certain issues and use them as a pretext to intervene in the affairs of others."

Eritrea

"The noble aims of protecting human rights and civilian lives are being selectively and cynically employed to justify military aggression, external intervention and imposition of sanctions-collective as well as unilateral-to destabilize nations, change governments and gain economic advantages."

Russia

"In general, the events of the recent years have clearly shown that unilateral actions that violate international law and go beyond the decisions of the UN Security Council or distort the substance of these decisions do not do any good. Of course, the legal norms in international affairs will be further adjusted as necessary. But these transformations should be treated with utmost responsibility and full realization of serious risks associated with them. Only consensus can be the criterion for their adoption. Violations of international law should not be portrayed as their "creative development". All of the above has also to do with the debate regarding the concept of "responsibility to protect". Its further discussion should be held on the basis of the approaches agreed upon at the UN Summit in 2005 that reaffirmed the need to observe the principles of the UN Charter with regard to response to intra-State conflicts. Protection of civilians is an issue, which is too serious to be exploited for achieving political goals. The ambiguity of the "responsibility to protect" concept can be better understood in light of initiatives formulated by Brazil and several other States to help move forward to a consensus."

Sri Lanka

"Sri Lanka believes that in the settlement of international disputes, action must be based on the fundamental principle of sovereign equality of states, a principle firmly enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The noticeable recent tendency to selectively and arbitrarily intervene in the internal affairs of states flies in the face of this principle and dilutes the confidence so carefully nurtured in the UN system."

St. Kitts and Nevis

"As the geographic distance that divides us shrink into insignificance and become increasingly reduced by our interdependence and partnership, it is equally significant that we strive for effective and lasting settlement of disputes. Libya and Syria, of course, are just two of the many cases that come to mind, with the myriad and multifaceted question that they raise not only regarding the advisability of intervention, but also with reference to such issues as the timing of any

intervention, the form of any intervention, and, of course, the associated humanitarian and relief-related consequences of any such intervention. The complexity of these challenges, Mr. President, demand a sober redoubling of our efforts, and underscores the fact that social upheaval and human trauma anywhere must indeed concern us all."

Syria

"Instead of seeking to contribute to the settlement of regional and international disputes by peaceful means, some well-known countries continue to pursue new colonial policies based on political hypocrisy in dealing with those crises. Under the pretext of humanitarian intervention these countries interfere in the domestic affairs of states, and impose unilateral economic sanctions that lack the moral and legal basis."

Accountability and Mass Atrocities

Armenia

"The United Nations will mark the 65th anniversary of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide next year. That anniversary will become an important landmark to make it more effective instrument in combatting the crimes of genocide. The denial of genocide and impunity pave way for the repetition of new crimes against humanity. As descendants of the nation that survived the horrors of the first genocide of the 20th century we are convinced that independent of any kind of considerations, the international community should stand together in the recognition and strong condemnation of genocides to be able to prevent them. It is due to the absence of this unanimity that humanity witnesses new attempts of crimes against humanity. Our strong conviction is that we should keep this issue high on our common agenda. We should recommit ourselves to a world where the crime of genocide would never occur again."

Austria

"In 2011, Austria was elected to the Human Rights Council. We fully support the Council and its mechanisms, especially the Universal Periodic Review. The Council is best placed to react swiftly in case of human rights emergencies. Its special sessions on Syria and Libya illustrated that the international community will not turn a blind eye on gross human rights violations and indiscriminate attacks against the civilian population. Human rights abuses must not go unpunished. Violations have to be thoroughly investigated and perpetrators must be held accountable before credible judicial institutions including the International Criminal Court."

Belgium

"...based on the approach of mutual respect, Belgium adheres to the principle of the responsibility to protect the victims of violence throughout the world. And it is in the same spirit that Belgium responded to the request made by our Secretary-General announcing seventeen specific steps: the rule of law and the fight for the respect of human rights makes us strengthen the fight against impunity and Belgium will continue its policy of active cooperation with the International Criminal jurisdictions. The work of the ICC contributes to the advent of the era of responsibility and all states should cooperate with the court."

Botswana

"It is for this reason that we join forces with likeminded countries in calling for the situation in Syria to be referred to the International Criminal Court for investigation in order that those responsible for committing crimes against humanity could be held accountable. Assad and his regime should be removed as soon as possible.

...

Human rights abuses and atrocities are not only limited to Syria. It is in this context that we affirm our support for the International Criminal Court (ICC) and urge the Court to continue to implement its mandate including the prosecution of those indicted for human rights abuses and crimes against humanity. We therefore appeal to State Parties to fully cooperate with the court in its efforts to bring to justice suspected perpetrators of such crimes."

Costa Rica

"The fight for human dignity also demands the fight against impunity. This is why we empathically support the International Criminal Court, one of the most relevant achievements of the multilateral system since the creation of the United Nations."

Croatia

"There is no peace without justice, and there is no justice without the rule of law and without the fight against impunity. We support concepts of human security and responsibility to protect, their implementation as well as their improvement through an open and constructive dialogue within the UN framework. We also support the work of the International Criminal Court. Undoubtedly, there are sufficient conflict prevention tools at our disposal. The question remains whether we can muster enough resolve to use them."

Denmark

"At the same time those responsible for gross human rights violations must be put to justice. We commend the work done by the Commission of Inquiry. The Commission has done very valuable work. We note in particular that the Commission has stated that it is likely that crimes against humanity have been committed by the Syrian regime. The international community must ace on chis information. Denmark calls on the Security Council to refer the case of Syria and the serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the country to the International Criminal Court."

Estonia

"The international criminal justice system, especially the International Criminal Court, plays a crucial role in providing timely and decisive responses to such crimes. Investigations by the Court may deter further atrocities, prevent their escalation or accelerate their end. Therefore it is essential to cooperate with the Court and apprehend those it has indicted."

Iceland

"The international community must unite to end the violence and we must make a better effort to seek a political and peaceful solution for the sake of the Syrian people. We must also ensure that those, on both sides, who commit atrocities, will at the end of the day face their responsibility in an international court of law.

Ireland

"There must also be full accountability for human rights abuses. To prevent further atrocities now, and to save lives now, we must make it clear now, that atrocities will not go unpunished. That is why Ireland supports the call by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, by Switzerland and others, for the Security Council to refer the situation in Syria to the International Criminal Court. We are working to build up strong cross-regional support for such a referral."

Libya

"Libya calls for the end of the killing of Muslims in Myanmar. This is a fragrant violation of international human rights. Calls on immediately intervene to put an end to this tragedy. Commission of inquiries are needed for justice and ensure the right of compensation to victims."

Liechtenstein

Clearly, the main priority is ending the suffering of the Syrian people: bringing about a political solution that guarantees human security and stability for the region. But we also have an obligation to ensure that there is no impunity for the worst crimes under international law. That those who have the greatest responsibility do not get away with murder. The evidence before us is alarming. The Commission of Inquiry established by the Human Rights Council has come to clear conclusions. The primary responsibility to ensure accountability falls of course on the Syrian judiciary. But we can be under no illusions as to whether it will deliver justice to the victims and due process to all accused. We therefore join Switzerland in the call on the Council to refer the situation in Syria to the International Criminal Court."

Montenegro

"Responsibility to protect and its operationalisation remain a key priority. In the era of accountability, perpetrators of crimes against humanity should not go unpunished. Countries need to demonstrate strong commitment to the rule of law, respect

for human rights and freedoms, democracy and non-use of force in settling disputes."

Peru

"It is a moral mandate to assure that the perpetrators of grave crimes against humanity be properly trialed and sanctioned."

Republic of Korea

"Putting an end to sexual violence against women in armed conflicts is another issue that warrants serious attention. War time sexual violence is a fundamental infringement of human rights, and is in fact an affront to human dignity and integrity. History has left us important lessons that warn us against such egregious acts. The Republic of Korea would like to urge the UN system and all Member States to make utmost efforts to put an end to such atrocities, not only taking all measures to protect women and girls in armed conflicts, but also providing effective remedies and reparations for victims and ending impunity by bringing the offenders to justice in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the UN."

Sierra Leone

"I commend the support of the United Nations and international partners to the work of the Special Court for Sierra Leone through which it has made a number of critical contributions to the advancement of the rule of law at both the national and international levels. In particular, we hail the Special Court for bringing perpetrators of crimes against humanity and violations of international humanitarian law committed in Sierra Leone during the course of our eleven year conflict. Sierra Leone, the United Nations and the international community can be proud of the Special Court's immense achievements. With our continued support, the Special Court can complete its remaining work."

Slovakia

"Please allow me to express my deepest regret over thousands of victims of the conflict in Syria. The Slovak Republic has therefore joined the initiative requesting that the most serious crimes under international law committed in Syria be investigated by the International Criminal Court."

The Netherlands

"Fifth, countries should join the International Criminal Court. This will ensure that civilians are protected and the perpetrators of atrocities prosecuted."

UN Security Council Veto

Ecuador

"Ecuador promotes the comprehensive reform of the UN system and the democratization of unilateral decision-making bodies. We advocate a comprehensive reform of the Security Council including a decision on the status of members, the issue of the veto, regional representation, the size of an extended SC, and working methods, and the relationship between the SC and the General Assembly."

Iran

"Moreover, the existence of the veto right and monopolization of power in the Security Council have made it nearly impossible to defend the rights of the nations."

Liechtenstein

"There must be accountability in this respect vis-à-vis the membership of the organization as a whole. After all, the Council carries out its work on behalf of all of us. We call upon the Permanent Members to acknowledge that the UN Charter does not grant them the right to veto without any strings attached. We ask them to acknowledge that the Council must at all times act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. And we therefore request that they pledge not to use the veto to block Council action aimed at preventing or ending genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes."

Malaysia

"The issue of Palestine's membership to the UN is tied to another bigger issue that is of particular concern to Malaysia. Allow me to elaborate. 132 countries recognise the State of Palestine. That number reflects more than two thirds of the membership of the UN. Yet, the Security Council, or more accurately, those who are conferred with veto power, are given the authority to determine the fate of Palestine membership irrespective of the opinions of the majority. This is just one of a host of reasons on why the United Nations, especially the Security Council, needs to be reformed. The Security Council will need to be able to cope with the many challenges that the international community face. There are so many instances when it has failed to take action when action is needed the most. It has failed to do this due to the veto power conferred to the five permanent members. Thus, time and time again it has become a victim of its own creation."

New Zealand

"There are now compelling reasons for us to ask the P5 to voluntarily accept restrictions on the use of veto. To go further, and seek its abolition is pointless - it simply will not happen. But to ask the P5 to acknowledge and respect the genuine concerns of the wider membership by voluntarily accepting a curb on the exercise of the veto, is an entirely reasonable and achievable objective. My country was one of those that led the opposition to the veto when this institution was being established; indeed, it was the only Charter issue that was forced to a vote. The permanent members argued at that stage that the veto was necessary in order to protect their vital national interests. Yet today, we routinely see the exercise of the veto in circumstances which have little to do with national interests. My request to the five permanent members is simply that they stick with what they said in 1945. And my challenge to them today is to consider a process by which they collectively and voluntarily agree to confine their use of the veto to those issues that clearly and directly affect their vital national interests; and that they voluntarily agree not to use their veto in situations involving mass atrocities."

Norway

"The permanent members were entrusted with the right to veto... On behalf of my country, he cast his vote in favor of the right to veto. So did many other small and medium-sized countries. They did so to reflect the world order of the day, but also to ensure that the council would actually have the authority to make decisions and to act on our behalf. They did not do so because they held certain states to be superior to others. Therefore, and in light of the Syrian drama, my message to the members of the Security Council is this: People in the Arab world, in Europe, in Asia, in Africa and in the Americas are watching with horror how history repeats itself. Once again, the permanent members of the UN Security Council are divided and unable to protect the people on the ground. In its absence, extremists on all sides are free to kill, maim and rape. Now-we expect you to act. We expect you to put away outdated ideas of zero-sum games and spheres of influence and to strive to seek a common position. Enough blood has been shed."

Singapore

"The P5, with their veto powers, have the primary responsibility to make the Security Council more effective. This is why Singapore has consistently called for an improvement in the Security Council's working methods. The Security Council is not a rubber stamp for the interests of its individual members. Its power, if not visibly and openly wielded for the greater good and to discharge its mandate in all instances, will eventually undermine its legitimacy and leadership role in the international community. This is in no one's interest."

Switzerland

"Resorting to the use of veto within the Security Council is difficult to justify in the event of genocide, war crimes or in the event of crimes against humanity. That is why Switzerland along with other countries continues to clamor for reform of working methods of the Security Council. Indeed transparency and the Security Council's collaboration with other bodies within the organization should be improved and the right to veto should be limited."

Uruguay

"Since 2002, Uruguay is part of the Rome Statute and passed a law which can be considered as a model of cooperation with the International Criminal Court (ICC), in regards with the fight against genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity."

Regime Change

Cuba

"Right now, the overthrowing of governments through the use of force and violence is being blatantly encouraged; the "change of regime" is being imposed from Washington and other NATO member countries' capitals, and conquest wars are being waged for the control of natural resources and strategically important areas."

South Africa

"This will ensure that we avoid the abuse of internationally agreed concepts like Responsibility to Protect and the Protection of Civilians. These principles must not be used to amongst other things, justify the notion of regime change."

Venezuela

"The same interventionist script applied in Libya is being followed in Syria. Imperial powers stir up ethnic, political and religious divisions between the Syrians and between neighboring countries. They supply, perkily, weapons to rebel forces trying to overcome the government of that Arab country. Venezuela supports the peace efforts made by the Special Envoy of the Secretary- General of the UN, Lakhdar Brahimi. We encourage the political dialogue between the Syrians. We reject foreign intervention and the terrible policy of regime change. We support the positions of Russia, China and other countries that, at the Security Council, call for the unity and territorial integrity of the Syrian State. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) can play a proactive role in overcoming this crisis."

UN Security Council Reform

Afghanistan

"The reform of the UN Security Council is an issue long overdue. Achieving a reformed Council that is more inclusive, representative and transparent must remain a priority; and we welcome the ongoing progress within the framework of the inter-governmental negotiations (IGN)."

Angola

"Mr. President, the Security Council plays a key role in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacekeeping, in accordance with the powers conferred upon it by the UN Charter. The central theme at the heart of our debate calls for the need for reform of the Security Council as well as the imperative of ensuring fair representation of all regions and the broadening of its permanent membership, thus adapting it to contemporary reality."

Antigua and Barbuda

"Peace is the elimination of corruption in government. Peace is the understanding and the recognition that the world's problems can only be solved by the."

Brazil

"Increasingly intense regional wars and conflicts, the tragic loss of human lives and the immense material losses for the peoples involved demonstrate the utmost urgency of undertaking the institutional reform of the United Nations, in particular of its Security Council"

Cape Verde

The reform of the United Nations Security Council, institution that has, less and less, been responding to the challenges of the contemporary world, it is an objective that has long been pursued, however, without reaching yet an agreement for its materialization. In this particular issue, Cape Verde supports the position taken by the African Union that recommends the reform of the Security Council, with the aim to correct the unjust situation with the African Continent, without the right yet, of at least a Permanent seat in the abovementioned Council despite the fact that it meets all the requirements for such.

Costa Rica

"We are also committed to the integral reform of the Security Council and convinced that improving its working methods should be an ongoing process."

Côte d'Ivoire

"...when we hold the 8th round of intergovernmental consultations on the reform of the SC... we would like to make an appeal for flexibility and a spirit of compromise...Africa should have a permanent member with rights to veto..."

Croatia

"On the one hand, we support the UN reform process with the aim to enhance its accountability, efficiency, effectiveness and transparency."

Cuba

"International Law and the Purposes and Principles of the UN Charter should be resolutely enforced; the key role of the General Assembly should be restored and a democratic, transparent and truly representative Security Council should be re-launched."

Czech Republic

"The Czech Republic also supports the attempts at reforming the United Nations including the Security Council, which started in 2005 aiming to respond to changed international environment and promote a more balanced representation of individual world regions and states."

Democratic People's Republic of Korea

"The UNSC reform which is at the core of the overall UN reform is a matter that brooks no further delay and it should be carried out in such a manner that it guarantees responsibility, transparency, impartiality and objectivity in its activities and ensures full representation of developing countries in its composition."

Egypt

"Revitalizing the General Assembly, since it is the only democratic forum representing all member states, and reforming the Security Council, which still reflects an arrangement agreed upon in an era very different from today's realities, must remain high on the priority list of issues we must start tackling with the necessary seriousness."

Eritrea

"The United Nations system as has been repeatedly pointed out is indeed outdated. The General Assembly has been emasculated; the Security Council is dominated by one powerful permanent member and increasingly becoming paralyzed. Change is being resisted by those who have believed they have benefitted from the old and anachronistic order. Respect for the sovereign equality, territorial integrity of nations and noninterference in their internal affairs, which constitute the pillars of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, is being eroded and willfully flouted. The noble aims of protecting human rights and civilian lives are being selectively and cynically employed to justify military aggression, external intervention and imposition of sanctions--collective as well as unilateral--to destabilize nations, change governments and gain economic advantages."

France

"The Security Council should better reflect the balance in today's world. This is why France supports the request formulated for enlargement by Germany, Japan, India and Brazil. It is also a favorable to have an increased presence from Africa, including among the permanent members."

Gabon

"In pursuing reform of the Security Council, Gabon remains committed to the objective of permanent and equitable

representation for Africa. Moreover, following a recent mandate in the Security Council we will remain committed to the question of mediation, prevention and peaceful resolutions of disputes and conflicts. We are convinced that it is necessary to act before disputes become armed conflicts."

Gambia

The paralysis of the reform agenda must come to an end. We cannot afford to be in a sure of coma when larger regional interests, especially those of Africa get shunted around or jettisoned. Africa needs to be at the table and we will not budge on this demand, it is legitimate and just. Africa must be legitimately represented on the Security Council. We must reform or risk delegitimizing the actions taken, and the decisions made in the name of our collective security.

Ghana

"The current realities call for greater inclusion to consolidate our common security. They inform Ghana's stand for an expansion of the Security Council to admit more members in order to make a meaningful impact on the many challenges that we all face."

Grenada

"If the UN is to continue to lead the way in sustainability, security and peace, it must be reformed so as to be revitalized for the road ahead. The centerpiece of this revitalization must be Security Council Reform, particularly to include small island developing states."

Guyana

"The governance of the Organization needs major reform if it is to reflect the realities of the present time and give full expression to the aspiration of the world's peoples. For the Security Council, the imperative for reform is particularly urgent. I reaffirm Guyana's steadfast support for early reform of the Council through an expansion in both the permanent and non-permanent categories with particular regard to the representation of developing countries."

India

"The United Nations and the norms of international relations that it has fostered remain the most efficacious means for converting today's challenges into opportunities. We need to, however, ensure that the architecture of global governance reflects contemporary realities. Sticking to structures designed at the end of the Second World War only constrains multilateralism from delivering on its promises. The most important and decisive step towards remedying this situation pertains to the UN Security Council, which must be expanded in both permanent and non-permanent categories. The reformed Council must include countries that are capable and willing to bear additional burdens relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and be able to sustain global campaigns against new and emerging global threats."

Italy

"Today more than ever the world needs the authority of the United Nations. The reform of the Security Council is a key element of this agenda, and we are very much counting on your assistance in making it happen. An effective Security Council is crucial not only to meeting challenges to peace, but also to creating a better international order. An equitable reform of the Council is a matter of continuing legitimacy rather than of increasing the national power of select member states."

Jamaica

"We must ensure that the UN remains relevant to its membership through a process of reform of its organs, including the Security Council. Negotiations should proceed urgently towards a satisfactory conclusion."

Japan

"We strongly support the management reform of the United Nations. Also, the Security Council must be endowed with a legitimacy that reflects the realities of the world today in order for the Council to be fully effective. Japan is ready to take on greater responsibility in the international community. Now is the time to accelerate the stalled process on the Security Council reform and start genuine negotiations."

Kuwait

"After two decades of discussions and in-depth negotiations to reform the Security Council, which in their majority were focused, in what relates to the expansions of its membership, on how many are needed, to achieve a reasonable amount of fairness in representation, and on putting forward ideas for improving the ways and methods of the Council's workings. The State of Kuwait reaffirms the need to reform the Security council to reflect the new international reality and guarantee the rights of Arab and Islamic states in being represented in conformity with their size, their contributions, and their role in advocating the objectives and the principles of the Charter."

Kyrgyzstan

"Reform of UN architecture is still a priority, as is its adaptation to the realities of the modern international situation. A top priority is reform of the UN's main bodies: the SC and ECOSOC. We should point out that the mission's carried out by the structures requires serious reform. In terms of UN reform, we propose to expand the membership of the SC to make it more representative, transparent and democratic. This reform should be based on principles of universality, efficiency and geographic representation."

Latvia

"The time has come to start real negotiations on the reform of the Security Council. We support the enlargement of the Council's membership in both permanent and non-permanent categories. Any enlargement of the Security Council should include at least one new non-permanent seat for the Eastern European Group."

Lebanon

"Should not Security Council's prerogative that is currently restricted to a limited number of countries controlling crucial decisions in particular those of war and peace. Out of this and in order to obtain greater justice and democracy the council's structure prerogatives and extensions should be revisited taking into account take new political economy global matters as well as the new economic social and political realities by extending membership to allow smaller countries to be more represented which would realize the UN's principle equality between nations."

Lesotho

The UN that has remained the same for the past 67 years cannot be effective in efficiently addressing the challenges of our time. The need for early reform of the UN, in particular the Security Council, was universally agreed by the International Community at the Millennium Summit in 2005. Yet, seven years later, negotiations on the reform of the Council are still without progress. As the status quo is maintained, the Council remains largely inept in the discharge of its mandate. Let us resolve to make the 67th Session one of action and less rhetoric.

Liberia

"The inter-governmental negotiations on Security Council reform need to come to an early and logical conclusion. My Government is encouraged that an increasing number of Member States support the enlargement of the Council in both the permanent and nonpermanent categories, which would ensure a fairer and more equitable participation reflective of the world demography. In this regard, Liberia supports the African Common Position, based upon the "Ezulwini Consensus" as adopted by the African Union."

Luxembourg

"If we are convinced of the relevance of a multilateral approach founded on the United Nations, we must give the Organisation the means to be at the centre of multilateral action and to be a true catalyst for change. We therefore need to continue to press ahead with UN Reform, including Security Council Reform by allowing new permanent and non-permanent members to serve on the Council. We are all conscious of the necessity to make the Security Council more inclusive and more representative of today's realities, and to make it more effective and transparent by continuing to improve its working methods. Africa should at last take its rightful place on the Council, in particular among the permanent members. It is also important to ensure adequate representation for small States, which represent the vast majority of the Member States of the Organisation."

Macedonia

"The longevity of the Security Council reform and the revitalization of the General Assembly, as well as the comprehensive process of reinforcement of the coherence and efficiency of the system, should not be discouraging. It should, on the contrary, be an impetus and an incentive for further mobilization."

Malawi

"Malawi fully supports the expansion of tile Security Council in both permanent and non-permanent categories. As you are aware, Mr. President, Africa makes the single largest region within the United Nations, and a very significant proportion of issues discussed in the Security Council concern the African continent. It is for these reasons, therefore, that Malawi joins the rest of African nations in demanding at least two seats in the permanent category and five seats in the non-permanent category as stipulated in the Ezulwini Consensus. Africa has to lead its own development, and this will be a step in ensuring it can."

Mexico

"As a global community we must strengthen the United Nations from the inside so that it can meet global challenges. An initial task is a reform the Security Council a democratic reform to make it more representative and to preserve its capacity for action by improving its working methods and by improving its accountability of its members."

Moldova

"I am particularly referring to the Security Council reform to which a compromise solution should be found. We believe that any proposal of its reform should take into account the legitimate aspirations of all regional groups, including granting an additional non-permanent seat to the Eastern-European Group."

Namibia

"The reform of the Security Council is at the core of the wider UN reform, given its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Namibia re-iterates its support for the Common African Position on the reform of the UN Security Council."

Nigeria

"We must now commit ourselves to accelerate the long overdue reforms of the Security Council. This will no doubt make the Council more equitable, more inclusive and more effective."

Paraguay

Those who aspire to becoming leading actors in the international community will have to recognize that this is impossible in the absence of regional unity. Leadership is demonstrated by respecting International Law. Only in this manner will it be possible to have a common position regarding Security Council reform, a longstanding wish of the universal institution that embraces us.

Republic of the Congo

"The reform of the Security Council continued to be of an important priority on our agenda."

Russia

"These are the key principles of the UN Charter, which confers the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security on the Security Council. In advancing the reform of the United Nations, it is necessary to preserve the capacity of the Security Council to perform these functions. Their erosion would deprive the international community of an essential mechanism for elaboration of joint approaches to the settlement of crisis situations."

Samoa

"Samoa remains firm in its position that the permanent and nonpermanent membership categories of the Security Council should be expanded. Member states with appropriate credentials and the disposition to contribute to the Council's work

and resources should be encouraged to stake their claims for membership of this important organ of our organization."

San Marino

"The reform of the Security Council is part of a wider reform of the United Nations and remains a central theme of the activity of the General Assembly. Over the last few years, the Security Council has approved a growing number of peace-keeping operations and has been increasingly involved in extremely important issues concerning international peace and security. A reform of such body based on the widest possible political consensus is therefore necessary and must be carried out with the utmost commitment by a Member State.

...

San Marino believes that the reform should lead to an enlarged, more representative, transparent and efficient Security Council. Moreover, it believes that the five strongly interconnected fundamental themes of the reform need to be considered as a whole."

Sao Tome and Principe

"Sadly, our organization continues to suffer from the roadblock that prevent urgent decisions that cannot be postponed from being taken and that undermine this forum's credibility; this sanctions the impunity of the leaders that martyrize their own people, paving the way to more international disorder, despair, and the sentiment of injustice that gives preference to the rule of different treatment between peoples. We need no further evidence of the urgency for in-depth reforms of our institution, primarily the Security Council, to put an end to the horrific images of children that are symbols of purity and innocence who are killed daily in Syria, to prevent the destruction of the world historic and cultural heritage by gangs of destructive criminals in Mali and in Afghanistan, and to prevent coups d'etat or obvious attempts to destabilize States and democratically elected Governments which, in fact, solves nothing and irreparably delays the lengthy process of building democracy and fighting poverty, and generates the cost of the international mobilization of human and financial resources that today are increasingly scarce."

Saudi Arabia

"We maintain our firm belief that the United Nations ability to carry out its duties is mainly dependent on its members' political will to practically implement those principles. It also requires the modernization and development of the UN principal organs in order to increase its representativeness and response to the changes and developments occurring in the world during its recent history. In particular, this requires enhancing the role of the General Assembly, reforming the Security Council, and strengthening the Economic and Social Council so as to contribute to the achievement of the Millennium Goals and development issues." (In statement but not delivered)

Senegal

"With respect to the reform of the Security Council, Senegal reaffirms its attachment to the African position expressed in the Ezulwini Consensus. Africa, a continent which counts the largest number of countries at the United Nations and whose problems take up most of the work of the Council, should be represented therein fairly, is a matter of justice and common sense. Indeed, the democracy required from States is also requisite for the Organization that embodies them."

Sierra Leone

"As Coordinator of the African Union Committee of Ten on the United Nations Reforms, I am pleased to report to this Assembly that at the last AU Summit held in Addis Ababa, African Heads of State reaffirmed their strong commitment to the Ezulwini Consensus and Sirte Declaration containing the African common position on the reform of the United Nations Security Council. To that end, we are committed to building alliances in support of the African common position with diverse interest groups and member states engaged in the Intergovernmental Negotiations with the view of achieving an early reform of the Security Council."

Solomon Islands

"On Security Council reform, reform must keep pace with the changing global realities. We support the call to make the Security Council more representative, relevant and effective. After four sessions, we are concerned about the slow progress

of negotiations. We hope to see progress during this session."

South Africa

"The Security Council has to be expanded in both categories, with at least two seats for Africa in the permanent category and five in the non-permanent category."

St. Lucia

"Mr. President, Saint Lucia also wishes to support the calls that Africa needs permanent representation on the Security Council, as supported by the Presidents of Mali and South Africa. As we recognize the perils of conflict and warfare in Africa, so too should we recognise the ability of Africa to bring peace to itself. The voice of one billion people and that of an entire continent should no longer go unheard."

Sudan

"The reform of Security Council is a fundamental part of the reform the United Nations. The Security Council no longer represents the modern international situation, without an enlargement of membership, without reform of its methods and procedures, unless it can take its resolution in a democratic and transparent way, reform will not be comprehensive and will merely be partial or transitional."

Swaziland

"We wish to reiterated the African position on the Security Council, that of having two seats in the permanent category and five seats in the non-permanent category. The full representation of all the regions in the Council will ensure that we all own the decisions of this important security organ. We should all be given equal treatment. No region or country should impose its influence over others. We wish to see finality to this urgent matter since it has dragged on for a very long time now."

Switzerland

"Resorting to the use of veto within the Security Council is difficult to justify in the case of genocide, war crimes or in the event of crimes against humanity that is why Switzerland along with other countries continues to clamor for reforms of working methods of the Security Council. Indeed transparency and the Security Council's collaboration with other bodies within the organization should be improved and the right to veto limited."

Tanzania

"The reforms of the United Nations are long overdue. The United Nations is us - Member States, without which there is no United Nations. If we Member States cannot agree on the reforms then the UN will never be reformed. It is a fact that we have had long discussions without concrete agreements. The time has come to walk the talk. It is important to remind ourselves that Africa is the largest Group in the United Nations and the only continent that does not have a Permanent Seat in the Security Council. This situation equally overlooks the fact that most discussions in the Security Council are about Africa. We, the African Leaders and the African Union have voiced our sentiments and agreed to have two Permanent Seats with the Veto powers. We will continue working together based on the agreed Ezulwini Consensus and Sirte Declaration which we all subscribed to. I therefore appeal to Africa to maintain its solidarity."

The Comoros

The many hot beds of tension still raging throughout the world, the violation of fundamental human rights, the growth of piracy and terrorism all speak to the need for the urgent and in depth reform of the United Nations Security Council. Thus my country reiterates the support for the African Unions position regarding the need for the Security Council reform for better representation of the international community and greater effectiveness in the settlement and management of conflict.

Timor Leste

"It can also start with the reform of the Security Council, which should be more representative. There is an imperative need to renew mindsets, by the incorporation of new members, so as to energize new commitments and new

responsibilities that reflect the current situations of today's world."

Trinidad and Tobago

"Member States must move with haste to restructure the Security Council. For Trinidad and Tobago the status quo is unacceptable. The Council must be reformed to represent the current geopolitical realities of the 21st Century. The legitimacy of this body can only be reaffirmed if the new dynamics of global power are reflected in its composition and operation."

Ukraine

"I am deeply confident that global advances in each of the key areas I mentioned are impossible without more efficient, capable and updated to the realities of the 21st century United Nations. The key to this is to deepen UN reform, primarily, the reform of the Security Council. Ukraine's position is well-known: we are ready to discuss all progressive concepts of the Security Council reform capable of achieving maximum consent among UN Member States."

Venezuela.

"The re-foundation of the United Nations is necessary. The Security Council must be democratized in order to express the will of all countries."

Zambia

"In addition, I wish to reiterate that despite the slow process of the reform of the Security Council, Africa should not relent or get frustrated. We should stand up and be counted, as enshrined in the Ezulwini Consensus and Sirte Declaration, Africa must be given two permanent seats with a veto immediately exercisable and two non-permanent seats to correct the historical injustice that the continent has suffered and also adhere to the geopolitical realities of modern times. Further, the Council should improve its working methods."

Zimbabwe

"Zimbabwe stands by Africa's demand for two permanent seats complete with a veto, if the veto is to be retained, plus two additional non-permanent seats, as clearly articulated in the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration. For how long, Mr President, will the international community continue to ignore the aspirations of a whole continent of fifty-four countries? We shall not be bought-off with empty promises, nor shall we accept some cosmetic tinkering of the Security Council disguised as reform. It is indeed a travesty of justice that the African continent, which accounts for almost a third of the membership represented in this august Assembly, has no permanent representation in the Security Council. Is this good governance? Is this democracy? And, is this justice?"