

Sérgio França Danese Roberto Wazima Szatmari

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The book you hold is both the result of this initiative and the beginning of a longer-term discussion on rethinking the Council's role. We came to the end of our 2022-2023 mandate confident that what the Council needs is more diplomacy, not less. We also came away encouraged that there are many who share this view, as you will read in the pages of this book. And that there are many good examples and successful experiences to share and promote.

We hope it will be valuable both to the Council in its current form and to efforts aimed at shaping a reformed Security Council capable of preventing the outbreak of wars, de-escalating ongoing conflicts, and fostering lasting political solutions that underscore the importance of diplomacy.

> Ambassador Mauro Vieira Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil

PEACE THROUGH DIALOGUE

THE CONTRIBUTION OF **REGIONAL, SUBREGIONAL AND BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS** TO THE PREVENTION AND PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES

OPEN DEBATE HOSTED BY BRAZIL DURING ITS PRESIDENCY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL Остовек 20^{тн}, 2023

> Sérgio França Danese Roberto Wazima Szatmari

Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão BRASIL



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FUNDAÇÃO





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Foreword

Ambassador Mauro Vieira Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil

Brazil's most recent term at the Council began with the outbreak of the war in Ukraine in 2022 and ended with the devastating conflict launched in the Gaza Strip during Brazil's second presidency of that body, in October 2023.

A mandate deeply marked by two appalling conflicts could have left us cynical about the state of world affairs and convinced that, increasingly, might makes right and that there is no hope for diplomacy and political will in tackling international disputes. Yet it has done the opposite. It has convinced us that the Council is more important than ever, if used correctly. The Council can and must act as a counterweight to growing fragmentation, as a force for de-escalation, stabilization, and dialogue. In short, the Council must rediscover its role as a provider of political solutions—of sound and meaningful diplomacy.

To fully proceed on this track, the Council must be reformed, as part of the broad process of Charter reform put forward by President Lula in his statement to the 79th UN General Assembly. Yet, while considering the process of reform, there are also things the Council can do now, within its current mandate. We concluded our term in the Security Council more certain than ever that the Council's tools under Article VI remain woefully under-explored. If anything, they have been increasingly forgotten, as the Council seems trapped in a false dichotomy between imposing sanctions or doing nothing.

During our term, Brazil sought to overcome this dichotomy and show that there is much that the Charter empowers the Council to do between these two poles.

We have advocated for political action by the Council in all of the crises we faced during our term. In the Ukraine conflict, we have repeatedly called for a ceasefire and we have supported—and continue to support—any process towards de-escalation. On the Korean peninsula, we see a need for confidence-building and for ensuring the durability of any process of engagement. In Gaza and the broader Middle East, since the very first days of the war, we condemned the terrorist attacks of October 7th and equally called for the immediate release of hostages, for a ceasefire and stressed the urgency of facilitating humanitarian access. In all of these, the Council could play a crucial political role, to name but a few examples.

Two years is a short amount of time to fully explore the tools of Article VI, yet we hope to have at least reignited the interest of the international community in the topic. To this end, during our second presidency at the UN Security Council in its 2022-2023 mandate, Brazil organized a high-level debate on the experiences of prevention, mediation, and confidence-building developed by regional, sub-regional, and bilateral arrangements. Those experiences can inspire and create a positive feedback loop for improving the effectiveness of the Security Council. Examining the efforts at peaceful settlement of disputes that have been successful at the regional level can help the Council rediscover its own toolkit.

The book you hold is both the result of this initiative and the beginning of a longer-term discussion on rethinking the Council's role. We came to the end of our 2022-2023 mandate confident that what the Council needs is more diplomacy, not less. We also came away encouraged that there are many who share this view, as you will read in the pages of this book. And that there are many good examples and successful experiences to share and promote.

We hope it will be valuable both to the Council in its current form and to efforts aimed at shaping a reformed Security Council capable of preventing the outbreak of wars, de-escalating ongoing conflicts, and fostering lasting political solutions that underscore the importance of diplomacy.

I invite you to join us in this endeavor.

Introduction

Ambassador Sérgio França Danese Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations

The reader has in hands a collection of 60 statements made by different countries at the Open Debate held during the much tense, Gazadominated Brazilian presidency of the Security Council, in October 2023, under the title "Peace through dialogue: the contribution of regional, sub-regional and bilateral arrangements to the prevention and peaceful resolution of disputes."

Economists use the term "counter-cyclical" to describe actions taken to stop and reverse a crisis that could otherwise easily spiral out of control. They are "counter-cyclical" because they go in the opposite direction of the trends in the economic cycle. This might mean fiscal loosening, when the economy is slowing, or fiscal tightening, when it is overheating. The international politics lexicon has no easy equivalent to "counter-cyclical" measures. This is unfortunate, for they are sorely needed. Not a day goes by at the United Nations without some reference to the many internal or international ongoing conflicts, to a "worsening geopolitical environment," to "growing international divisions," or even to "an unbearable confrontation." Yet there is little talk of what the remedies might be to interrupt and reverse these trends, which, if left unattended, might lead us to the gravest of crises.

In the last semester of our 2022-2023 mandate in the Security Council, Brazil attempted to provide some "counter-cyclical" thinking, trying to explore approaches and mechanisms to bridge divides and find enough common ground to begin to reverse the current trends. During this process, we came to a few different conclusions, that lay at the heart of our decision to promote our Open Debate on this "outside of the UN topic." Firstly, we realized that the task of halting and reversing the current cycle of international division and numerous conflicts is too great for any single country and will require a broad coalition of motivated actors. An Open Debate in the Council seemed the adequate opportunity and format to begin generating critical mass from a range of actors on how to promote mechanisms of peaceful settlement of disputes, within or outside the United Nations.

Secondly, we realized that the international community has been over-emphasizing examples of division and of failure of diplomacy, particularly by the Security Council, which is, unfortunately, the face by which most of the world's public opinion identifies and judges the United Nations. This has caused us to lose sight of diplomatic initiatives that have in fact been successful at bridging divides and solving conflicts on a durable basis. Most of these initiatives have occurred at the regional or sub-regional level and many contain valuable lessons that could be "scaled up" to the global level. We therefore decided to look closer at bilateral and regional diplomacy to regain some perspective on what multilateral diplomacy at large can do.

Finally, we had to reexamine the role of the United Nations. Much like Finance Ministries and Central Banks had to act boldly to prevent spiraling economic crises, the United Nations will also have to be the main "catalyst" of counter-cyclical diplomatic measures in order to avert geopolitical crises. Again, much like economic actors had to think creatively and find new tools to fight the last financial crisis, so the UN and its Security Council must also find new tools in order to be this "countercyclical" diplomatic actor. Luckily, the Security Council has a formidable diplomatic toolkit in Chapter VI, which needs only to be rediscovered and effectively put to use.

Our Open Debate in October 2023 attempted to bring together these three realizations: the need for a broad coalition motivated to reverse current trends, the importance of learning from and building on successful regional and sub-regional diplomacy and the urgency of retooling the Security Council so that it may act as a forward-leaning diplomatic actor, able to prevent and reverse major crises or apt to encourage countries and regions to do so by themselves.

We were extremely encouraged by the outcome of the Open Debate, which highlighted very good examples of successful diplomacy from all regions of the world, giving us fresh perspective on just how much can be done by concerted international political action and good and sincere political will. Several countries referred to the importance of the Council's Chapter VI toolkit and to the need for the UN to act more effectively as a link between the regional and global levels.

Although the Open Debate came towards the conclusion of our 2022-2023 mandate at the UNSC, it can be seen as a point of departure. It served for us to gather some of our reflections from the previous two years and to present them as the start of a broader discussion about the role of the United Nations and of global diplomacy in an era of unprecedented challenge. More importantly: it served to enrich our own perspective with the different experiences from across the globe and it further convinced us that diplomatic tools—when applied correctly—can successfully solve, prevent or at least de-escalate crises. We must continue to work towards a UN that is not merely a mirror of existing geopolitical trends, but rather an active forum for providing creative remedies to the world's most pressing political crises, no matter where they may occur. It will take bold thinking, which is just what the sixty statements seek to provide in the following pages.

I express Brazil's deepest gratitude to each of the countries whose Representatives attended our Open Debate and hope that the reader will find their content as provocative and enriching as we all did in the Brazilian Mission to the United Nations that I had the privilege of heading during the six final months of our last mandate at the Security Council.

New York, May 3rd, 2024

Brazil

Presidency, Ambassador Sérgio França Danese, Permanent Representative

I would like to warmly welcome the Ministers and other high-level representatives present in the Security Council Chamber. Their presence today underscores the importance of the subject matter under discussion.

In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Chile, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cuba, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, Georgia, Germany, India, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Italy, Jamaica, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Liechtenstein, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, the Republic of Korea, Sierra Leone, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Türkiye and Ukraine to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the following to participate in this meeting: Mr. Khaled Khiari, Assistant Secretary-General for the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific in the Departments of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and Peace Operations; Her Excellency Ms. Michelle Bachelet, former President of Chile; His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa; and Ms. Josefina Echavarría Álvarez, Director of the Peace Accords Matrix.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I also invite His Excellency Mr. Olof Skoog, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to the United Nations, to participate in this meeting.

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

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2023/732, which contains the text of a letter dated 3 October 2023

from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Brazil to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting a concept note on the item under consideration.

1. Mohammed Khaled Khiari

Assistant Secretary-General for the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific

I would like to express my gratitude to Brazil for hosting this important open debate.

Today the stakes for preventive diplomacy and dialogue could not be higher. The dangerous and escalating situation in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territory is a bitter reminder of the urgent need for an end to the horrific violence, an immediate humanitarian ceasefire and a pathway to negotiations towards a just, lasting and comprehensive political solution. Absent a negotiated two-state solution, this vicious cycle of violence risks plunging the entire region into conflict for years and generations to come.

The world has entered a new era. The post-Cold War period is over, and a transition is underway to a new global order. As history teaches us, transition periods come with heightened risks. This new era is already marked by deepening divisions and retrenchment. Geopolitical tensions are at their highest in decades. Contestation and competition among States is increasingly testing the boundaries set in the Charter of the United Nations. The ensuing loss of trust—and the risks of escalation affect almost all regions.

At the same time, many States are sceptical, and have been for some time, of how the multilateral system is working for them. They have profound grievances regarding unmet commitments and double standards. Women and men everywhere also have a deep sense that Governments and international organizations are failing to deliver for them. With increasing geopolitical strife and challenges to international norms, negotiated settlements of conflicts have been harder to achieve. The pursuit of military solutions, sadly, has been a prominent feature of recent conflicts, for which civilians are paying a heavy toll. The deterioration of global and regional arms control frameworks and crisis management protocols, which had helped stabilize great-Power rivalries, has increased the possibility of dangerous standoffs, miscalculations and escalation. In some regions, polarized global politics are mirrored in the unravelling of integration efforts that had previously contributed to regional stability for decades.

Against that backdrop, the Secretary-General's policy brief on A New Agenda for Peace outlines how Member States can take action to re-engage, de-escalate, recommit to diplomacy for peace and rebuild trust. The driving force for a more effective collective security system must be diplomacy. Diplomacy requires risk-taking, persistence and creativity. Diplomatic engagement is important among countries that think alike, but it is crucial between those that disagree. Diplomacy demands, above all else, a commitment to the pacific settlement of disputes. Chapter VI of the Charter prescribes that all States should rely on peaceful means as their first option to resolve disputes. It offers a range of options to address our differences within the framework of the Security Council, within our respective regions or bilaterally. Adherence to the principles set out in the United Nations Charter remains an essential precondition.

It is our collective obligation under international law to prevent and resolve armed conflict. Regional organizations and frameworks have a critical role to play in that regard. They can bring credibility and legitimacy for preventive diplomacy. They can help to increase trust and reduce misperceptions. And they can enhance mechanisms for crisis management. In the face of growing competition at the global level and increasingly transnational threats, regional frameworks and organizations can offer avenues for trust-building and détente. Regional actions have successfully prevented conflicts and escalation throughout recent history.

Not all lessons are transferrable from one region to another, but their essence is important. Such lessons include how to initiate dialogue to overcome differences and how to seek assistance of a trusted intermediary when needed, sometimes from within the region and sometimes from outside; how to ensure that channels of communication remain open, even when the disputes escalate into violence; and how to take account of the fears and concerns of one's rival and actively work to reduce those by building frameworks that enhance trust. Strengthening, building or rebuilding regional frameworks and organizations is particularly important in regions in which long-standing security architectures are collapsing or mired in stalemate—or where they have never existed. We also need strong partnerships between the United Nations and regional organizations.

As the New Agenda for Peace recognizes, the States Members of the United Nations have both the responsibility and the means to meet the shared obligations entrusted to them by the United Nations Charter. The good offices of the Secretary-General and his envoys remain at Member States' disposal not only as a tool to prevent and mediate conflict, but as an impartial vehicle to bring Member States together to seek mutually acceptable solutions. Good offices can help to manage and reverse the deterioration of global and regional relations.

It is also the responsibility of the Secretariat to put forth proposals that can help enhance trust and increase space for cooperation. A shared understanding of challenges is an essential prerequisite for agreeing on potential solutions. That is why the New Agenda for Peace aims to provide a unifying analysis of the current geopolitical moment as the basis for joint problem solving. It is our duty to seize every moment to forge a common understanding of the threats and challenges before us. The impartiality of the Secretariat is vital. An impartial Secretariat can help forge common ground between States or conflict parties, even in the most complex of circumstances, and assist decision-making in the Council by providing analysis that takes into account divergent perspectives around this table. In this increasingly divided world, we need at least one institution in which all can trust.

We cannot afford to leave any stone unturned in search of avenues for de-escalation and trust-building. For that to work, we need courage to listen to the views of others and consider them in good faith. Regional frameworks and institutions play a key bridge-building conduit in that regard. I commend them and all those that expend tireless efforts every day in pursuit of building bridges across divides. At a time of heightened tensions, it is our shared responsibility to do everything in our power to maintain the system of collective security that our predecessors built.

2. Michelle Bachelet

Former President of Chile

I want to thank the Permanent Mission of Brazil for inviting me to participate in this important and timely open debate.

We must recognize that the world order is shifting. It must adjust to a more fragmented geopolitical landscape. We witness the growing complexity of the conflict environment, making the resolution of conflicts more difficult, as local and regional dynamics intersect in complex ways with the interests of external parties. To confront those new challenges, we must build a robust and universal approach to preventing conflict and violence that aligns with the approach guiding action across the human rights and sustainable development pillars. Prevention saves lives and safeguards development gains.

Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations describes the tools available to parties to conflict the purpose of prevention: negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement and other peaceful measures and means. Preventing crises is primarily the responsibility of Member States. We have to rebalance our approach to international peace and security and do everything to help countries avert the outbreak of crises that take a high toll on humankind. But in order for dialogue, mediation and the other tools I mentioned to be effective, they need to be planned ahead and implemented at early stages, and they need to be persistent and substantive. In order to truly build trust among parties to conflict, those parties need to respect and implement their agreements if they really want to prevent conflict. And even when conflicts have already arisen, those tools can be useful in terms of maintaining channels or bridges between the parties or through third parties.

The role of regional organizations and their work in cooperation with the United Nations are crucial. Regional and subregional intergovernmental security mechanisms are fundamental and relevant in that context. But they need to be effective. Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter contains provisions concerning regional arrangements and their role in maintaining peace, in addition to the Security Council's role in those arrangements. More than ever, the United Nations is called on to play a vital role in that regard by encouraging and promoting dialogue among its Members to achieve the goal of strengthening regional organizations and enabling them to play an increasing role in maintaining international peace and security.

In the Secretary-General's policy brief on the New Agenda for Peace published in July, he calls for robust regional frameworks and organizations in the face of growing competition at the global level and threats that are increasingly transnational. Those regional frameworks and organizations should promote trust building, transparency and détente. But we cannot forget that conflicts proliferate where there is poor governance, human rights abuses and grievances over the unequal distribution of resources, wealth and power.

As we mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, human rights are facing pushback in all regions. Painfully, we see a significant global retrenchment of human rights and an erosion of the rule of law, including in contexts of armed conflict. We urgently need to come back to the core principles. The United Nations is a norms-based organization. Rebuilding consensus among Member States is an essential task for the international system. Diplomacy should be a tool not only for reducing the risk of conflict but also for managing the heightened fractures that mark the geopolitical order today and carving out spaces for cooperation for shared interests.

Women's participation in mediation is essential for achieving lasting, positive peace, which goes well beyond just the silencing of guns. Women are crucial partners in economic recovery, social cohesion and political legitimacy, and women's participation in mediation processes can help ensure that a greater diversity of members of the community becomes engaged in peacemaking. Precipitating women's meaningful participation in all decision-making, eradicating all forms of violence against women, both online and offline, and upholding women's rights would not just help shift power but also result in giant steps forward in sustaining peace.

I want to highlight the positive experiences of bilateral, subregional and regional arrangements as a crucial part of our collective endeavor to build confidence and maintain international peace and security. In that regard, I would like to conclude by recalling that we are close to the twentyfifth anniversary of the signing of the Presidential Act of Brasilia on 26 October 1998, which marked a truly historic moment, ending a boundary dispute in the Americas, with the active participation, as guarantors, of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States. That is clear evidence of the value of the regional actors in building sustainable peace.

3. Thabo Mbeki

Former President of South Africa

Speaking as an African, I thank you most sincerely, Mr. President, both for placing the important question of peace through dialogue on the Security Council agenda and for inviting me to participate in the Council's open debate on various elements of the global struggle for peace in the world.

As the Council is well aware, for many decades an overwhelming majority of United Nations peacekeepers have been deployed in Africa, for the obvious reason that is the number of conflicts on our continent, compared to the rest of the world, that have been or are a threat to international peace and security. As the Council also knows, some years ago the African Union (AU) solemnly decided to silence the guns by 2020. Concrete reality, however, later obliged it to extend its target date to 2030. I say that to emphasize that it is obvious that Africa, and specifically the African Union, will continue to need to cooperate directly with the Security Council in addressing the challenge of securing peace on our continent of Africa.

Only three years ago, in September 2020, on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, Mark Cogan, a former United Nations staff member, made some observations about the cooperation between the United Nations and Africa on matters of peace. He wrote that "[s]ince the start, United Nations peacekeeping in Africa has been a miserable failure." He then cited a number of examples, including the 1960-1961 United Nations intervention in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; the intervention in Rwanda during the 1994 genocide; a second intervention in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1999, to stop a civil war that had already killed more than 3 million people; and interventions in South Sudan and Mali. Obviously, neither the United Nations nor the AU want to perpetuate any failures with regard to conflict

prevention and resolution in Africa. In that context, I would like to remind Council members of some elements of the 2015 report (see S/2015/446) of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO), one of which is what the Panel termed "the primacy of politics." In that regard, the report states,

Lasting peace is not achieved nor sustained by military and technical engagements, but through political solutions. The primacy of politics should be the hallmark of the approach of the United Nations to the resolution of conflict, during mediation, the monitoring of ceasefires, assistance to the implementation of peace accords, the management of violent conflicts and longer-term efforts at sustaining peace. (S/2015/446, para. 43)

The second element refers to what the HIPPO terms "global and regional partnership for peace and security," about which it states,

> The Panel fully endorses the Secretary-General's recent statement that "we have entered an era of partnership peacekeeping" (see S/2015/229) [...] With a new conviction, the United Nations and regional organizations must mobilize their comparative advantages in responding to emerging crises while sustaining support to long-running ones. A bold new agenda is required to build a strong global-regional framework to meet those challenges through responsible and principled strategic partnerships. (ibid., para. 53)

I mention those two elements in the HIPPO report because of their direct relevance to what needs to be done to strengthen peace efforts globally. Where our continent is concerned, it goes without saying that our continental organization, the African Union, which has a strong African Peace and Security Architecture, has the comparative advantage that it is best placed to ensure the primacy of politics in its area of jurisdiction, Africa, a primacy that the HIPPO report insists on in terms of the prevention and resolution of conflict, even where violent conflict has already broken out. It obviously follows that this observation would also apply to the various important international interventions for the prevention and resolution of conflict mentioned in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations. I would like to believe that this observation about the African Union applies equally to other regional organizations. All of that underscores HIPPO's important point that a bold new agenda is required to build a strong global and regional framework to meet such challenges through responsible and principled strategic partnerships.

It is in the vital interests of the Security Council to ensure that its regional partners such as the African Union are strong enough to discharge their responsibilities as part of the global peace architecture. In that regard, it will be important to reach an agreement to use some United Nations resources to fund AU-led peace operations, which would help elevate the practical importance of Chapter VIII of the Charter, as President Michelle Bachelet has just said. Nothing that I have said seeks to weaken the Security Council. On the contrary, for it to successfully discharge its solemn obligation to guarantee international peace and security, the Council requires strong regional partners capable of assisting it in the context of Chapters VI, VII and VIII of the Charter. I hope this important meeting will help to realize that objective.

4. Josefina Echavarría Álvarez

Director of the Peace Accords Matrix, University of Notre Dame

I want to thank Brazil for this invitation to speak to the Security Council, which is a great honour for me as a representative of the University of Notre Dame.

In these times of peril, tensions and the increased securitization of international relations, today's debate on peace through dialogue is urgent. Sustained dialogue is most needed when there are disagreements and political difficulties. They are the best times to deepen our understanding on how and when the implementation of peaceful arrangements fails—which is not an uncommon occurrence—and to focus our attention on how to design and implement peaceful arrangements that can succeed in the short, mid- and long term. At the Peace Accords Matrix (PAM) project at the Kroc Institute, we have researched more than 34 intra-State comprehensive peace accords since 1989. We have tracked the implementation process for up to 10 years following the signing of each agreement. We have designed a methodology specifically for monitoring the implementation of the commitments so that we can both compare accords to one another and look at the performance of the provisions in their own right.

The PAM data offers insights into the types of provisions that are more or less likely to be implemented; how implementation processes unfold over time; and how implementation affects different post-accord outcomes. We make use of that research-based knowledge to engage conflict parties, mediators, negotiators and civil-society organizations in dialogue, with technical advice on process and content issues. The findings from our database and analyses provide us with relevant insights into the reasons for peace accords' failure. Most accords fail when they are not comprehensive in relation to the issues that they cover, when not all actors and stakeholders are engaged in their negotiation and implementation, and, importantly, when the peace accord lacks a strong and independent verification and monitoring mechanism. Let me expand on each of those factors.

First, peace agreements are more likely to succeed when the commitments included in the accord go beyond military and security provisions, such as those dealing with the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants. They are also more likely to succeed when they incorporate questions of political and social development and gender and ethnic rights, as well as justice-related reforms that benefit society as a whole. More often than not, those reforms are brought to the negotiation table by the victims of the war and other representatives of civil society organizations.

Here we find a second key factor for successful peace accords—the actors and stakeholders sitting at the negotiation table must include those most affected by the war, such as women, youth and ethnic communities. Listening to the victims helps us to understand the deep transformations needed to overcome violence and their ownership of the accord further supports the implementation process. Hence, putting human dignity at the centre of peacemaking is not only an ethical decision but also a sound strategic decision for conflict parties, mediators and negotiators.

The third and final factor that contributes to the success and resilience of peace accords is having strong, independent and reliable monitoring and verification mechanisms. PAM's research shows that peace accords with third-party mechanisms have an almost 47 percent higher rate of implementation success than those that do not. Those mechanisms must be included in the design of a peace accord and should be chosen based on their validity, legitimacy and reliability. Their value to a peace accord underscores the importance of academic institutions and research centres lending their technical knowledge and credibility for independent monitoring.

Allow me to zoom in on the Final Agreement for Ending the Conflict and Building a Stable and Lasting Peace, signed by the Government of then-President Juan Manuel Santos and the former Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia–Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP) guerrillas in 2016. After providing technical support during the negotiations in Havana, the signatory parties gave a mandate to the Kroc Institute to be part of the international verification mechanism and monitor the implementation of the entire accord in real time. We created a matrix based on 578 concrete, observable and measurable commitments. More than 35 Colombian staff members in the capital and in rural areas gather information from public sources, and are in constant dialogue with the parties to the Agreement, implementation agencies, the international community and civil society. We rate the levels of implementation of the commitments from non-initiated to complete and highlight milestones, challenges and opportunities for improvement.

The Colombian peace accord's strong, independent and reliable mechanism of verification has a crucial component: the United Nations Verification Mission in Colombia, which has been vital for maintaining the momentum, support and resources of the United Nations and the international community on the peacebuilding process. I would like to take this opportunity to recognize the Security Council and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Verification Mission in Colombia, Carlos Ruiz Massieu, for their work. The hybrid monitoring mechanism is, without a doubt, a best practice with great potential for replication at regional and subregional levels.

Recently, the signatory parties to the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro in the Philippines invited the Kroc Institute to provide monitoring and verification support for implementation. Together with Catholic Relief Services and other civil society organizations, our aim is for PAM data to continue to be used as a centrepiece for conversation and peacebuilding.

I hope that the data-based evidence and concrete examples I have shared today serve as proof that sustained dialogue leading to peaceful arrangements can succeed when the issues included in the peace accord involve a wide range of policy domains, when the negotiation table is generous and includes victims of the war, and when independent mechanisms for verification and monitoring accompany the process of implementation. Peace through dialogue is possible and can be successful. The University of Notre Dame's commitment to peacebuilding is a permanent task. Let us never flag in our efforts to build peace in any and all environments.

5. Brazil (National Statement)

Presidency – Ambassador Sérgio França Danese, Permanent Representative

I thank Her Excellency former President Michelle Bachelet, His Excellency former President Thabo Mbeki, Assistant Secretary-General Khaled Khiari and Ms. Josefina Echavarría Álvarez for sharing their views and experiences with mediation and the peaceful settlement of disputes. I also welcome His Excellency Mr. Igli Hasani, Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania, and Her Excellency Ms. Noura Al Kaabi, Minister of State at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Emirates to the debate.

I would like to begin by conveying that His Excellency Ambassador Mauro Vieira, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, deeply regrets not being present here today. He was asked to represent Brazil at tomorrow's Cairo summit and rightly thought that the urgency and gravity of the situation required his presence there.

Brazil's current mandate at the Security Council coincided with significant turmoil in international politics, with many challenges to the maintenance of international peace and security. Our second presidency started with renewed violence in perhaps the oldest and most protracted situation of conflict since the United Nations was established. In some of the new conflict situations arising, just as in the very long conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, which is again claiming so many innocent lives, the Council has been ineffective, and it continues to lose its credibility and legitimacy. But the collective security system built upon the Charter of the United Nations remains our best option. Let us work to improve it.

There are several ways of doing so, but there is one that has not gotten the attention it should. The Council must dedicate more energy to revitalizing its role as a promoter of conflict prevention and peaceful solutions. We should talk more about peace and about how to achieve peace. We owe it to that quarter of humankind struggling to survive under conflict.

There are two things the Council can do to improve its effectiveness today: it should look inwards, and it should also look outwards. Looking inwards means revisiting its original mandate and rediscovering some of its own tools for fulfilling that mandate. Looking outwards means referring to initiatives that have been successful in other mechanisms at other levels of governance.

Chapter VI gave the Council wide latitude to be creative in its use of peaceful means. Beyond the long list of tools described in Article 33, Article 36 empowers the Council to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment, without limitations on what those may be. Unfortunately, creativity in providing political solutions has waned in the past several years, as the Council has focused increasingly on coercive measures. Over half of the resolutions adopted last year explicitly referenced Chapter VII, and others still included actions that would be best placed under Chapter VII.

Such an over-reliance on Chapter VII has had negative effects. It has made consensus harder to reach, it has limited the Council's ability to adapt to specific crises, and it has made it more challenging to engage the parties on the ground, which has often led to less durable solutions. Yet, elsewhere, peaceful solutions have continued to be used creatively and effectively. That is why the Council must also turn outwards to examine where preventive diplomacy, mediation and other tools of peaceful settlement have proven successful and what lessons that might bring to the Council's own activities. We can find a wealth of examples of the peaceful resolution of conflicts in all regions of the world.

Sometimes solutions have been achieved through institutions, sometimes through direct bilateral or plurilateral action. In our region, Latin America, we have reached successful direct bilateral settlements on territorial disputes and trilateral diplomatic settlements on the use of rivers, for instance. The Brasilia Declaration between Peru and Ecuador, signed 25 years ago, putting an end to a long-standing territorial dispute, is a wonderful example of that kind of achievement. We have also developed successful bilateral confidence-building initiatives through the establishment of institutions, such as the Brazilian-Argentine Agency for Accounting and Control of Nuclear Materials, as well as broad regional confidence-building initiatives, such as the Rio Group and the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean, to name but a few examples. They are the product of the determination to put rivalries and disputes behind and to look ahead, while tackling our true common challenges, such as poverty, inequality, social and regional disparities, economic bottlenecks, sustainable development and the many other challenges that face our societies and defy our sovereignties.

Despite the many different contexts, regional experiences have one thing in common: the strengthening of trust, the good use of diplomacy, true political will and confidence-building. Trust and confidence-building are the common denominators of any successful process of a peaceful settlement or conflict resolution through peaceful means. When a trusted third party is available, it can act as mediator, making up for the lack of trust between the parties in conflict. When regional institutions are considered more reliable, they can step in and perform a similar role. When a trusted international institution, such as the International Court of Justice, is consensually chosen to help, it can decide effectively on a dispute.

The Security Council may use its reinvigorated tools under Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations in a variety of ways, supporting those regional and subregional processes more robustly. The establishment of special political missions is an example of action under Chapter VI that can be further explored and improved. For them to be more effective in their objective of sustaining peace, they require appropriate funding that is separate from the regular budget, under a mechanism that reflects the special responsibilities of the permanent members, as is the case with peacekeeping operations authorized by the Council. They also require realistic and achievable mandates that are carefully tailored to specific situations. They cannot be seen as a lower-cost version of peacekeeping operations. Finally, they would be strengthened by closer coordination between the Council and the Peacebuilding Commission, which in turn would contribute to more durable results. There is still room for more creativity. The Security Council has been prolific in creating subsidiary bodies to monitor sanction regimes; yet there is scarcely any subsidiary body dedicated to accompanying and supporting political processes under Chapter VI. Such bodies could be created today, under the Council's current powers.

The Council should look to regional experiences in the peaceful settlement of disputes with a healthy degree of humility. We must seek to actively learn from successful experiences elsewhere. We can find inspiration in different regions of the world for initiatives that complement United Nations efforts. Our briefers today have offered many examples.

We need to expand the Security Council in order for it to become more representative of the United Nations membership. More voices around the table can help overcome the logic of rivalry that periodically paralyses many decisions here—and not only during the almost two years that Brazil has been watching it again from the inside, but for many decades, as is the case when it comes to the conflict between Israel and Palestine. In the past, even amid fierce competition and deep-seated mistrust in several specific circumstances, political leaders and Governments could find space for cooperation and confidence-building by looking inward and outward. They came up with different types of tools to prevent or resolve conflicts. We now desperately need leaders and Governments to be courageous and far-sighted. While we continue to strive for the Council we want, we must not lose sight of how best to work with the Council as it is now. That was the reason behind the proposal for this debate. I hope it will offer us some thought-provoking ideas. I thank members for their participation and for the long list of speakers willing to share their views.

6. Albania

Igli Hasani, Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs

I thank the Brazilian presidency for organizing this open debate today. I also thank Presidents Bachelet and Mbeki and the other briefers for their valuable input to today's deliberations.

The timing for such a debate could not be more appropriate. In an ever-evolving global landscape, in which our collective commitment to peace remains steadfast, we find ourselves confronted with an array of serious challenges of historic proportions. The ongoing conflict in Ukraine and its disastrous consequences have marked a historic turning point for European security. It continues to have a detrimental effect beyond the continent and remains a stark reminder of the pressing need to return to dialogue and cooperation to deal with grievances and resolve disputes. The unbearable suffering of Ukrainians and the blatant breach of international law underscore the imperative of ending that unjust war and achieving a just and lasting peace.

Similarly, the recent dramatic escalation of the situation in the Middle East following the despicable terrorist attack by Hamas has turned into a source of immense human suffering for both the Israeli people and the Palestinian people and a threat for the entire Middle East. Furthermore, several severe human rights violations in various parts of the world, conflicts and power rivalries, terrorism, the return of authoritarianism, unconstitutional seizures of power by force and the strong polarization of the public sphere are affecting different societies, in particular minorities and women and children, who are often disproportionately affected by those aberrations of our shared vision for a peaceful and stable world.

Faced with complex and interlinked challenges, the rules-based international order serves as a foundation for addressing those issues through peaceful and cooperative means. It is not a panacea; it may require adaptation to address emerging threats and always serious engagement in good faith. But it remains nonetheless an essential tool for promoting peace and stability in the international system. The Secretary-General's New Agenda for Peace calls for strong partnerships between the United Nations and regional frameworks as part of networked multilateralism. Current geopolitical challenges make it imperative to reflect on how such partnerships should function.

What could be the most efficient form of cooperation between the Council and regional organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security? That becomes crucial, especially for small States, which sometimes have to struggle for their voice to be heard. Regional organizations offer small States a range of tools and platforms to enhance their visibility and influence in the international arena. By working collectively, advocating for shared interests and leveraging the resources and expertise provided by their regional organization, small States can have a more significant impact on global affairs and gain a stronger voice in international decision-making processes.

As a European Union (EU) candidate country, Albania underscores with conviction the undeniable role that the European Union plays on a wide range of issues, in full congruence with the work of the United Nations, including the Security Council, such as peace and security, meeting humanitarian and development needs in the world, the promotion of, and full respect for, human rights, mitigating climate change, ensuring full respect for international law and strengthening accountability for serious violations of international law.

Only a few days ago, we hosted the tenth Berlin Process Summit for the Western Balkans in Tirana, the first one held outside the EU and in the Western Balkans region. That initiative has put into motion a delicate yet irreversible process of reconciliation, the peaceful resolution of bilateral issues between countries, a better understanding among societies in the region, the improvement of regional economic cooperation and the creation of a basis for the sustainable growth of individual countries and the entire region. It has proved a win-win formula for all, because the European security architecture needs a stronger and more consolidated Europe. The accelerated EU enlargement process and the Berlin process are complementary mechanisms for bringing all six Western Balkans countries into the European Union. It has proved an efficient investment in strengthening the bonds among those States and the broader European community, promoting cooperation, peace and prosperity in the region.

The power play between rival powers and competing interests can either exacerbate conflicts or facilitate their resolution. It is always a matter of choice. Multilateral dialogue and cooperation are essential to prevent the manipulation of disputes for geopolitical gains. Dialogue is essential in dealing with and resolving any conflict, whether old or emerging.

In fact, dialogue is not just a better way. For us, it is the only way to deal with issues, however difficult they appear and however complex they are. Dialogue is what we have chosen in our part of the world. It is not always an easy path. It can prove difficult and frustrating, but there is no denying that it is a winning formula for everyone.

More than ever, today's shaken world reminds us of the need to commit to dialogue based on fundamental universal values and to acknowledge that we constitute a community of fate, despite our different national perspectives and interests. Our duty is to make them converge and, when they do not, to continue to seek—tirelessly—the ways and means to solve issues through peaceful means by using the mechanisms we have created for that purpose.

To that end, Albania strongly believes that regional and subregional organizations, as the transmitters of the unified voice of any given group of States, can play a pivotal role in ensuring that power politics do not hinder the pursuit of peace. Let me emphasize that by harnessing the potential of regional and subregional organizations and uniting in our resolve to uphold the values of multilateralism and international cooperation, which underpin the Charter of the United Nations, we can navigate the current global challenges and work towards a world where conflicts are prevented and peace is achieved, ensuring a brighter and more stable future for all.

7. United Arab Emirates

Noura Bint Mohammed Al Kaabi, Minister of State

I thank today's briefers—Assistant Secretary-General Khiari, President Bachelet, President Mbeki and Ms. Echavarría Álvarez—for their valuable statements.

Peacemaking is not the purview of the few alone, but a shared responsibility of the many. The Security Council has often spoken with a united voice on conflict prevention, and today's meeting presents us with the opportunity to reflect on how that shared responsibility can be best harnessed. Ultimately, the impact of our prevention work will be in its results, not in our statements.

In that connection, the United Arab Emirates would like to make three points today.

First, the diversity of the United Nations membership offers us entry points for conflict resolution when others have failed. The pursuit of peace is too important not to rally all stakeholders guided towards the same goal. Whether the Council, Member States or regional organizations are involved, the focus should not be on who leads or who follows, but who is best placed to build trust.

The path to peace is a difficult journey. The efforts of a broad range of actors should not be seen in opposition to one another when their end goal is the same. Rather, the work of both regional and international organizations should be mutually reinforcing. The endorsement of the Council of initiatives and outcomes from mediation efforts at the regional and bilateral levels can go a long way towards peace, for example. That is why it is so important for the Council to speak with a united voice on the catastrophic crisis unfolding in Gaza. Regional efforts are critical to provide immediate humanitarian assistance, as well as to prevent the risk of the conflict spilling over. Their voices are also crucial in reviving the political horizon that Israel and Palestine so desperately need. Secondly, trust must be in place as the foundation to build upon. Confidence-building measures can build crucial links during conflict when there is no end in sight. At times that means starting small.

Deconfliction efforts or the established hotlines among militaries can prevent miscalculations or escalation and begin to build confidence. Humanitarian agreements, such as the exchange of detainees, can also serve to open channels of communication that would otherwise be closed. That does not mean politicizing humanitarian issues but securing progress on humanitarian priorities, such as the protection of civilians or the safe delivery of humanitarian access. These measures, based in humanitarian principles, may one day contribute to a broader political discussion. And where multilateral institutions struggle or fail in that endeavor, trust can be built from the ground up through regional and subregional organizations.

Harnessing the nuanced knowledge surrounding local dynamics, the threads of the social fabric and the historical context are valuable resources that regional and subregional actors possess when it comes to peace efforts. Those can be leveraged for even greater impact.

The Secretary-General's New Agenda for Peace highlights the way in which local peace initiatives can foster this bottom-up approach. Resolution 2686 (2023), on tolerance and peace and security, encouraged the United Nations to involve local communities, women, youth, civil society and religious leaders in the mediation of peace agreements. In particular, we welcome the growing establishment of, and support for, women regional mediator networks, as well as the growing commitment to ensure the full, equal and meaningful participation of women in sustainable peace efforts.

Thirdly, coordination is critical. The benefit of a multilevel, multipronged approach is the reinforcement of efforts towards conflict prevention and mediation. But the multiplicity of mediators-to-be can give rise to mixed messages and risks undermining progress. Strengthening coordination mechanisms can help avoid forum shopping and much of the confusion, especially in scenarios where urgency is key, so that when crises arise, the Council and regional institutions are ready and able to leverage each other's strengths for the best possible outcome. For instance, United Nations support for the African Union Mission in Somalia and the work of the quintet on security-related matters are good examples of the potential of a coordinated approach to achieve results on the ground.

The raging crisis in the Middle East today is the result of the belief that conflict can be managed indefinitely, without addressing its root causes. That is not a solution, and it highlights the need to mobilize all the tools available to international and regional actors in order to prioritize preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution.

The tools are clear. So too are the best practices when it comes to preventive diplomacy. What we need is the political will to deploy them, even when the risks of failing are high.

8. Malta

Ambassador Vanessa Frazier, Permanent Representative

I too thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari, Ms. Bachelet, Mr. Mbeki and Ms. Echavarría Álvarez for enriching today's discussion with their thoughts and insights. I begin by thanking Brazil for organizing today's open debate on this important topic.

It is an increasingly interdependent, interconnected and rapidly changing world, and we now find ourselves at a critical juncture. Violations of the Charter of the United Nations and international law are increasing distrust among nations. Such actions are jeopardizing, perhaps irreparably, the multilateral system on which we all depend.

At the same time, the international community must also tackle new and evolving existential threats, such as climate change, terrorism, disinformation and misinformation and cybercrime. The pushback on human rights and, in particular, women's rights is evident across the world. The importance of human rights and an inclusive approach to civil society is key, especially in view of the shrinking space for civic participation. If left unaddressed, all those situations will have far-reaching negative effects.

The fact that conflicts are more likely to spill over to the region and beyond adds to the gravity and urgency of the situation. It further underlines the relevance of multilateralism and the United Nations in the contemporary world and the need to invest more in prevention.

Over the years, we have developed a wide array of mechanisms that can play a key role in the resolution of disputes. Now, more than ever, we must maximize the resources and tools at our disposal. We must explore innovative and creative ways to use them to their full potential and more effectively. Regional and subregional organizations are an integral part of the multilateral system. Their in-depth knowledge of their region is an invaluable and indispensable asset that can greatly help them in facilitating progress towards peace. Since its establishment, the European Union (EU) has played a fundamental role in ensuring peace and stability in Europe. Born from the ashes of the devastation of the Second World War, the EU is a living example of how multilateralism and regional integration bring peace, stability, prosperity and growth. The road has been a long and gradual one. Nevertheless, political will and sustained efforts aimed at building trust, facilitating trade and promoting solidarity among nations has led to tangible and lasting results. Furthermore, the existing comprehensive United Nations-EU approach to crisis management, mediation and peace operations, including support in various regions, has helped several countries navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace.

The efforts of the African Union (AU) are also remarkable and commendable. It is actively contributing to sustainable peace and security in Africa. The notion of the indivisibility of peace and security has led to the establishment of AU-led peace support operations such as the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia. The AU is also acting on key issues such as the women and peace and security agenda, the youth, peace and security agenda and children and armed conflict. Partnerships between international and regional organizations are also worth investing in. The trilateral United Nations-AU-EU cooperation on peace and security is an example. It is also fundamental to ensure that actions taken at the global level, including those agreed by the Security Council, are supported by action at the regional level.

Mirroring Malta's commitment to diplomacy and multilateralism, our belief in the peaceful resolution of disputes remains intact. The war in Ukraine, the conflicts in Africa and the Middle East and instability in other parts of the world highlight the challenges we continue to face. The United Nations—and more specifically the Security Council—must use all means and measures provided for in the Charter to prioritize the peaceful settlement of disputes and advance conflict prevention and resolution efforts. We reiterate how essential it is to enhance the capacity of the United Nations to act as a mediator and implement effective United Nations-led mediation. The New Agenda for Peace puts a strong focus on prevention and on further strengthening mediation capacities. The use of the good offices of the Secretary-General remains crucial to promoting the peaceful resolution of disputes. To further operationalize those efforts at various levels, Malta welcomes the increased exchanges between United Nations Special Envoys and Special Representatives and their regional, subregional and national equivalents. We also attach great importance to arbitration and judicial settlement. International and regional courts and tribunals are indispensable in maintaining peace and security. The Council could make better use of that tool by promoting the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice and ensuring compliance with its decisions, for example.

In conclusion, I want to emphasize our belief that cooperation through effective multilateralism remains the best way to advance our collective efforts. Malta remains deeply committed to an effective multilateral system that acts to address contemporary challenges and prevent future ones.

9. Gabon

Ambassador Michel Xavier Biang, Permanent Representative

I congratulate you, Mr. President, on the initiative to convene this high-level debate, offering us an opportunity to consider the contribution of regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements to the prevention and peaceful settlement of disputes. I thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari for his briefing, and former Presidents Bachelet and Mbeki for their enlightening contributions to this debate. I listened attentively to Ms. Echavarría Álvarez's presentation.

The United Nations was built and consolidated around a rejection of the worst atrocities, barbarism and hegemonic ambitions that inflicted unspeakable suffering on humankind during the Second World War. It was in order to spare future generations from the scourge of war that the peoples of the world undertook the responsibility to lay the foundations for harmonious coexistence, bolstered by a set of values articulated around peace, development and human rights.

Even today, peace and security remain threatened by pandemics, the recurrent effects of global warming, the rise of terrorism, particularly in the Sahel, and tensions in the Middle East, as well as a number of intra- and inter-State crises that undermine international relations and are reaching increasingly worrisome dimensions. We are witnessing risks of a shift into global instability with potentially chaotic consequences. The crisis in the Middle East between Israel and Hamas poses a challenge in terms of the scale of the risks created and the extent of the responsibilities to be assumed. That is the interest and scope of this important debate, which offers us an opportunity to revisit our values and commitments, restore trust, reinvigorate diplomacy and breathe new life into the prevention and peaceful resolution of disputes.

Beyond the maintenance of peace and the use of force, the Charter of the United Nations offers a range of tools, enshrined in particular in Chapters VI and VIII. We should explore their use in greater depth, especially in view of the rise in tensions in regions already weakened by recurring crises, notably in Africa and the Middle East, as well as the visible tumult in areas of Europe that seemed to have been spared until now.

Dialogue is a privileged means for the prevention and peaceful settlement of conflicts. However, as indicated in the Secretary-General's New Agenda for Peace, the mistrust and distrust that have gained a foothold over the course of clashes and violations of international law, international humanitarian law and human rights, combined with expansionist logic, have clearly contributed both to the atrophying of States' commitment to cooperating in favour of peaceful solutions to international crises and to reducing the potential of multilateral solutions. We all know that trust is the key to building a sustainable collective security system. In that regard, re-establishing bonds of trust has become an imperative in enabling diplomacy to strengthen and unite efforts aimed at effectively preventing and repelling threats to peace and security in our world.

Gabon continues to afford great importance to the role of regional and subregional organizations in the quest for peace, which is why we have established mechanisms in our subregion for the prevention and management of crises and conflicts. They include the Central African Early Warning System, which is headquartered in my country, and the Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa. The work of United Nations regional offices, whose mandate includes the mission of prevention, is crucial. The activities carried out by the United Nations Office for Central Africa, headquartered in Libreville, which are aimed at reducing tensions between States as well as sustaining peace, stability and development in the region, are particularly valuable. Likewise, the centrality of the Luanda and Nairobi processes in resolving the crisis in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo shows that subregional frameworks remain credible channels for international action. It is also important to underscore the leading role of the United Nations Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy for Central Asia, which serves as a platform for exchange and proposes coordinated solutions to such regional threats as the fight

against terrorism and extremism, transboundary water management and climate change, and the promotion of the youth, peace and security and women and peace and security agendas.

Regional and subregional arrangements thus appear to set the standard for peacebuilding partnerships, particularly as they incorporate the specificities of each situation and grasp the real needs of stakeholders, especially women, young people and the most vulnerable communities, whose participation in the peace process is a crucial element. Regional and subregional mechanisms also provide an ideal platform for peace negotiations and mediation.

The role of regional and subregional organizations in the peaceful settlement of disputes is increasingly valued, given the growing relationship between the United Nations and several organizations. The most emblematic of these is the cooperation between the United Nations and the African Union, whose highly evident achievements in several fields are well known and include the fight against terrorism, with the deployment in Somalia, for instance, of African contingents supported by the United Nations; peacebuilding in the Great Lakes region, which has its own dedicated United Nations regional office; and the trilateral United Nations-African Union-Intergovernmental Authority on Development mechanism, which was put in place to resolve the crisis in the Sudan.

Cooperation between the United Nations and the African Union is an essential tool to ensure the effectiveness of the peace and security agenda in Africa, because it is based on the vital complementarity and subsidiarity of the partnership between those two organizations. I would therefore like to stress once again the urgent need to provide predictable and adequate financial support, based on the United Nations' assessed contributions, to African Union peace operations.

Africa, which is ready to assume its share of responsibility for protecting and guaranteeing the peace and prosperity of the continent, eagerly awaits the Council's support in the form of the resources adequate to that end, because it is the Council that bears primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. I would like to conclude by reaffirming the importance my country attaches to regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements, and the need to enhance those important tools in service to international peace and security.

10. United States

Ambassador Robert A. Wood, Deputy Permanent Representative

Thank you, Mr. President, for convening today's important debate. I thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari, former President of Chile Michelle Bachelet and former President of South Africa Thabo Mbeki for their insightful briefings. I also want to thank Ms. Josefina Echavarría Álvarez for her important research on the implementation and verification of peace agreements.

We appreciate Brazil's work to strengthen the partnership between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations, including through the Organization of American States (OAS). Those partnerships, which often manifest themselves through regional peace operations, are essential to addressing new and emerging global and regional challenges arising from climate change, food and energy insecurity, conflict, violence and terrorism.

In the western hemisphere, we welcome cooperation between the United Nations, OAS, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), regional economic communities, regional mechanisms and other partners in support of conflict prevention and mediation, and we welcome further collaboration through United Nations peacebuilding efforts. Globally, and noting that the Council met most recently on 12 October (see S/PV.9435) to discuss African Union-United Nations cooperation efforts, we welcome United Nations cooperation with other regional and subregional organizations, including the European Union, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

The Security Council has a broad mandate with respect to the peaceful settlement of disputes, outlined in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations. That includes calling on parties to use the means listed in Article 33, namely, negotiations, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, and, as outlined in Article 36, recommending procedures and methods of adjustment. The Summit of the Future process, including the New Agenda for Peace, offers an important opportunity to take stock of United Nations tools in the maintenance of international peace and security, including those outlined in Chapter VI. In that regard, strengthening the United Nations Mediation Support Unit to allow for greater national and local work remains a priority.

As we prepare for next year's summit, the United States will continue to support the critical convening role of the United Nations at the regional, country and subnational levels in emerging and ongoing crises, bringing together civil society, major donors, local government and other key stakeholders to establish clearly defined, shared goals and to coordinate efforts across the range of actors. We welcome the New Agenda's focus on prevention and an expanded role of the Peacebuilding Commission. We would underscore the need for full integration of the promotion of respect for human rights and the advancement of national rule of law and international law into the Commission's context. Development and peace cannot advance without full consideration of these issues.

The Security Council must also be responsive to regional organizations' requests for support to help to address the conflicts they are working to resolve. ASEAN, for example, while playing an important role in addressing the situation in Burma, has, in parallel, called for the United Nations to support its efforts. To that end, the Council should look to use all tools at its disposal to support ASEAN in its efforts to facilitate peace in Burma. The New Agenda for Peace also recommends—and the United States supports—an enhanced role for regional and subregional organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security. In that regard, we reiterate our support to transition processes in Mali, Burkina Faso and Guinea and continue to call for a return to civilian-led, democratic governance. United Nations and ECOWAS leadership remains critical in holding transition Governments accountable to their stated timelines and in promoting stability in the region.

Separately, the worsening situation in Haiti underlines the critical need for robust and flexible policy responses to growing insecurity, including through regional partners. We reaffirm our commitment to working with Haitian partners, including local leaders and civil society, regional bodies and Governments, to support democratic institutions. CARICOM has been an essential partner in efforts aimed at restoring security in Haiti. The United States looks forward to working together as the Multinational Security Support Mission to Haiti begins plans to deploy.

Additionally, the United States is committed to working closely with multilateral organizations like the League of Arab States and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. We appreciate and support the work those organizations are undertaking to bring peace, stability and economic prosperity to all their Member States.

In conclusion, the United States will continue to support close cooperation among the United Nations, regional organizations—including ASEAN, the African Union, the League of Arab States, CARICOM, the European Union, OAS, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation—and subregional organizations to advance peace and security throughout the world.

11. Mozambique

Ambassador Pedro Comissário Afonso, Permanent Representative

Mozambique warmly commends Brazil for convening this important open debate. We thank the briefers, Mr. Khaled Khiari, Her Excellency former President Michelle Bachelet, His Excellency former President Thabo Mbeki and Ms. Josefina Echavarría Álvarez. Their briefings were important and insightful.

The theme selected by Brazil's presidency is of extreme importance to the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. Dialogue is at the heart of any conflict resolution. It bridges differences and leads to a mutual understanding, to shared values and to our common humanity. It is ultimately the source of peace and accommodation.

Peace through dialogue is in our view as important as peace through law. As a matter of fact, as a social construct, law can only be derived from dialogue and a common understanding of the values that are at stake or that embody a society. There can be no genuine dialogue without a degree of trust and no trust without dialogue.

In general, inter-State conflicts that appear as a surprise at the regional or international levels erupt where there was a clear deficit of dialogue and consequently a deficit of trust. We speak from our own experience in our region, Southern Africa, which is one of the regions that has suffered most in the past from the lack of dialogue. It is a region that evolved from a past that was affected with a multitude of tensions, conflicts and wars to a place of relative peace and a firm commitment to dialogue, reconciliation, cooperation and successful peace agreements. In Southern Africa, when dialogue became possible, colonialism ended. When dialogue was accepted, apartheid, a crime against humanity, disappeared from the map. When negotiations took centre stage to end conflicts that originated from the heritage of colonialism, plunder and aggression, the life of our populations was, as a consequence, normalized. All of that occurred

through the use of Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations and sometimes in combination with Chapters VII and VIII.

In that context, today's debate is particularly important, because it is being held at a moment of heightened geopolitical tensions, particularly at the regional and subregional levels. In that connection, resorting to Article 33 of the Charter at the regional and subregional levels, together with bilateral arrangements, is of paramount importance. They constitute a cornerstone of our joint global efforts to address conflicts, build confidence, nurture peace and promote sustainable development in Africa and around the world. In that process, we believe that bilateralism, regionalism and multilateralism are important mechanisms that are mutually reinforcing. In the light of our experience, there is no incompatibility between bilateralism and multilateralism, or for that matter between regionalism and multilateralism.

We believe the African Union's peace and security architecture, together with its Master Roadmap of Practical Steps to Silence the Guns in Africa by the Year 2020, known as the Lusaka Master Roadmap, is a clear testament to that interconnectedness. The very concept of African solutions to African problems is a clear recognition of the undeniable contribution of local, subregional and regional entities, as well as bilateral arrangements, to the attainment of sustainable peace and security. We therefore wholeheartedly agree with the concept note by Brazil when it says that "[t]he search for peace is a collective duty." (*S*/2023/732, annex. p.3)

That is because peace and security are a global and indivisible good. Therefore, they entail global responsibility and, as a consequence, responsibility sharing and solidarity in facing the threats to world peace and security. That is in our view the larger vision and content of the letter and spirit of Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter, but also of the charter as a whole.

We strongly believe that we must move in the same direction on the issue of financing African Union peace support operations, which need to be assessed with our collective contributions within the United Nations, as President Thabo Mbeki very wisely and clearly put it in today's meeting. Because they serve the cause of global peace and security, they serve a common cause of humankind. We wish to underscore the centrality of effective partnership among international, regional and subregional organizations, as well as bilateral arrangements, in ensuring global peace and security. We therefore call on all Member States to renew and honour their commitment to the foundational purposes and principles of the United Nations and to continue working resolutely, in the spirit of cooperation and unity of purpose.

12. Japan

Ambassador Ishikane Kimihiro, Permanent Representative

I thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari, former President Bachelet, former President Mbeki and Ms. Echavarría Álvarez for their briefings.

The world is in turmoil, with a series of severe geopolitical challenges, including the ongoing aggression against Ukraine, the increasingly tense situation surrounding the Gaza Strip, the repeated launches of intercontinental ballistic missiles by North Korea and the political unrest in several countries in Africa, to name just a few. Those challenges are seriously affecting international peace and security.

In order to cope with such varied and complex crises, it is imperative for the international community to stay united and mobilize every single tool at hand. In that sense, the measures available under Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations—ways and means for the pacific settlement of disputes, including negotiation, mediation, arbitration, judicial settlement and resort to regional arrangements—are important and should be fully exploited.

Bilateral, regional and subregional arrangements are formed based on mutual trust and common interest among parties with shared affinities and geographic specificities, and are aimed at resolving regional issues through dialogue. Indeed, we appreciate that those arrangements play an important role in addressing issues in each region. Those may include the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development for Somalia, the Economic Community of West African States for West Africa, the Southern African Development Community for Southern Africa, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the European Union for Europe, the Organization of American States for the Americas, and others. We should encourage further utilization of such important mechanisms to cope with local challenges and beyond. In that context, the role of the Peacebuilding Commission needs to be emphasized as a platform for strengthening partnerships with various actors, including regional organizations, sharing best practices and lessons learned across regions.

On the other hand, there remain some challenges with respect to which sufficient confidence among countries does not exist, and therefore little or no dialogue happens, or else dialogue fails and regrettably obligations under international law, including those flowing from Security Council resolutions, have not been respected time and again. Furthermore, since today's crises are often interconnected, an incident in one region tends to have a global impact. That is why the United Nations, especially the Security Council, should work together with regional organizations to tackle common challenges. The United Nations and regional arrangements must not be mutually exclusive, but rather complementary, consistent with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

The United Nations is the largest and last bulwark of multilateralism and can exercise significant convening power around its flag. In facing serious challenges threatening international peace and security, we must not exclude any choices in terms of measures or arrangements, whether they be bilateral, regional, subregional or multilateral. We should keep our options wide open so that we can utilize the right tools at the right time at the right place.

In particular, the Security Council must fulfil its responsibility. Among the many options available to the United Nations, peace operations are an essential tool at its disposal. The effective implementation of their mandates will be possible under unified support by the Council. Enforcement measures by regional organizations function well if they are utilized appropriately. United Nations sanctions are also a legitimate, effective and important tool under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations if they are used wisely and rigorously.

We recognize that these are all useful, but ex post, recovery measures. As the New Agenda for Peace stresses, the most important thing is to prevent the crisis from happening in the first place. Upholding the rule of law at the national, regional and international levels will increase predictability, advance economic and social development and ensure respect for human rights. Building upon such foundations, we must push peacebuilding forward to eradicate the root causes of crises. As we see it, the basic concepts behind initiatives such as the Sustainable Development Goals, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and human security are all consistent in that regard.

The current complex interrelated global challenges we are facing cannot be solved by any one country. They require cooperation and collaboration. In this collective endeavour, every country and group matters, and any arrangement—whether bilateral, regional, subregional or multilateral—can make a difference, as long as they act in the spirit of solidarity and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. We should strive to overcome divisions and differences among us to bring about a world that cares for human dignity, where vulnerable people can live safely and securely. Japan is fully committed to multilateralism. We have been and will always be ready to proactively contribute to world peace, security and prosperity.

13. Russian Federation

Ambassador Vasily Nebenzia, Permanent Representative

We would like to thank Mr. Khaled Khiari; Ms. Michelle Bachelet, former President of Chile; Mr. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa; and Ms. Josefina Echavarría Álvarez for their briefings. We are grateful to Brazil for taking the initiative to discuss such an exceptionally important topic as the contribution of regional arrangements to the prevention and peaceful resolution of disputes.

As we know, Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations give Member States the opportunity to avoid the use of force and to achieve sustainable and long-term solutions to conflicts based on mutual understanding and cooperation. The role of regional and subregional organizations in that context is undeniable. Regional and subregional organizations often have a deep understanding of local realities and cultural, economic and social characteristics. Those organizations can serve as a bridge between national and international initiatives, ensuring more targeted and efficient conflict resolution.

At the same time, mutually respectful and equal cooperation among Member States within those structures and in their relations with other members of the international community is also important. In that context, we would like to refer to the positive example of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), which has genuinely contributed to regional stability for more than 20 years. Work is continuously being undertaken to counter common threats and challenges, including those stemming from the territory of Afghanistan.

We intend to continue to contribute to the strengthening of the CSTO and to enhancing its capacity and authority on the international stage. We support further development of cooperation between the CSTO and the United Nations, including on peacekeeping, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations and based on the 2010 Joint Declaration.

Cooperation on the maintenance of international peace and security is also a priority in a broader format—within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). That imperative was once again reaffirmed in the CIS leaders' statement on international relations in a multipolar world, signed at the summit in Bishkek on 13 October. We also fully support the Shanghai Cooperation Organization's contribution to conflict prevention. The work of the Eurasian Economic Union also provides significant opportunities to develop international mutually beneficial cooperation.

With regard to the Latin American region, we can note the great potential of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) and the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA). CELAC brings together 33 countries from across the continent and is aimed at strengthening the political and socioeconomic unity of the region. It allows States with different interests and approaches to find common ground and joint solutions. ALBA is inspired by the Bolivarian principles of solidarity, justice and cooperation. The organization actively promotes the integration of the peoples of the region, based on respect for national sovereignty and the independence of each country.

We commend the more than five decades of effective functioning of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, the first international legal instrument establishing a nuclear-weapon-free status for the vast and densely populated region of Latin America and the Caribbean. We stand ready to engage in productive cooperation with the States in the region on strengthening the nuclear non-proliferation regime.

Despite the suspension of our country's observer status within the Organization of American States, where we used to enjoy productive cooperation, in particular through the Inter-American Committee against Terrorism and the Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission, we are ready to continue our specialized cooperation with some partners in Latin America and the Caribbean that continue to express interest in doing so.

We welcome the strengthening of the authority of the African Union as a leading continental organization in international affairs, as reflected in Africa's growing global role and influence as one of the most important pillars of the multipolar world. We commend the effective work of the African Union in countering threats posed by terrorist organizations, including the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, Al-Qaida, Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab.

We advocate the discussion of effective measures to increase the predictability, reliability, sustainability and flexibility of financing African peace operations under the auspices of the Security Council, in particular through assessed contributions to the United Nations budget. There is also great potential for strengthening regional stability through other regional organizations, such as the League of Arab States, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. That is more needed than ever given the efforts under way to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the national reconciliation process in Myanmar.

We deem the contribution to international peace and security of the European Union (EU) to be highly questionable. We are compelled to note that in recent years that organization has produced mainly destructive initiatives imbued with the logic of a zero-sum game and its own narrow self-interest. For years, the EU has been consistently preparing Ukraine for confrontation with Russia, turning a blind eye to all the phenomena happening in that country which would be unthinkable in its own member States. By debasing its own values, the EU is supplying Ukraine with offensive weapons and military equipment, violating its own standards with regard to the unacceptability of the supply of those kind of resources to conflict zones. The EU has not made a constructive contribution to the process of normalization between Armenia and Azerbaijan, rather it has only increased the divergences between those neighbouring States. During negotiations under the auspices of the EU in the framework of the Belgrade-Pristina dialogue, the EU went from being a neutral broker to openly supporting Kosovar Albanians. As a result, each new round of negotiations ends in failure time after time and another escalation of violence in the region. The list goes on and on.

It is clear that Brussels is motivated solely by geopolitical ambitions, the desire to develop new spheres of influence and to recolonize politically and economically vulnerable States. As a result, the EU's involvement in international efforts to maintain peace and security leads only to violence, chaos and disorder.

A similar neocolonial approach is being taken by the North Atlantic bloc, which is an obvious remnant of the Cold War. NATO operations have resulted in numerous civilian casualties, destroyed infrastructure, caused significant economic damage and led to the de jure or de facto collapse of States. For many years now, the alliance's activities have focused on the strategic defeat of Russia. That aim is stated explicitly in NATO's current doctrine documents. Much like the European Union, NATO today pays particular attention to Ukraine, which has become the main springboard for opposing Russia. Moreover, what has recently become noticeable is the alliance's desire to expand its activity to the Asia-Pacific region to contain another country identified by Washington and Brussels as a strategic adversary—China.

In the context of the confrontation pursued by the West, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which initially had a unique toolkit for conflict prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes, has significantly deteriorated. Today that organization, which to a large extent consists of members of the European Union and NATO, has unfortunately lost its compass. The efforts undertaken by last year's OSCE Chair, Poland, and this year's Chair, North Macedonia, to promote the West's agenda are blatantly flouting the OSCE's fundamental rule of consensus and the principle of the sovereign equality of States. They have been imposing a Ukrainianization of the entire agenda. As a result, the organization is now paralysed and risks completely losing its role as a backbone in the European space. Addressing that crisis will require serious work and a return to the roots of its structure. To date, we have not seen a readiness to do that on the part of our opponents.

Regional organizations can in principle make a very significant contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security. The key to their success lies in their efforts to resolve emerging problems through political and diplomatic methods, in compliance with the norms of international law, in which the United Nations plays the leading role, on the basis of the principles of the indivisibility of security, mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. We are ready to engage in constructive cooperation with all regional organizations and members of the international community that are interested in working within that positive coordination system.

14. China

Ambassador Zhang Jun, Permanent Representative

China commends Brazil for convening this open debate on the role of regional mechanisms. I thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari for his briefing. I also listened attentively to the statements made by Ms. Bachelet, Mr. Mbeki and the civil society representative.

The Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. At the same time, Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations encourages the pacific settlement of disputes through regional arrangements. Over the years, various regional arrangements have played an active role in promoting the settlement of conflicts and disputes, maintaining international peace and stability and complementing the role of the United Nations. In today's world, given the heightened turmoil at the international and regional levels and the continuous flare-ups of geopolitical conflicts and hotspot issues, the ways in which regional mechanisms can coordinate efforts with the United Nations to maintain common security deserve serious consideration and discussion. I would like to make the following points.

First, in compliance with the Charter, regional mechanisms must always abide by international law and the basic norms governing international relations, respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and respect the will and choices of the people of the countries concerned. Any enforcement actions must strictly comply with the authorization of the Council. Regional efforts must be guided by openness and tolerance. Confrontation between camps should be avoided.

Secondly, we need to strengthen communication and coordination. International and regional mechanisms should draw on and reinforce one another in trust-building, good offices and the maintenance of peace. Regional mechanisms are uniquely positioned to resolve regional issues through regional solutions. The United Nations should strengthen overall coordination, optimize resource allocation and enhance the capabilities of various mechanisms.

Thirdly, we need to prioritize preventive diplomacy. Regional mechanisms should embrace a common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security concept and peacefully resolve disputes through dialogue, consultation, mediation and good offices to prevent the escalation or proliferation of crises. Extreme caution must be exercised in the threat or use of force.

Fourthly, we need to eliminate the root causes of conflicts. Regional mechanisms should make coordinated efforts along the peace continuum in all three of its stages, namely, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and postconflict reconstruction. In particular, regional mechanisms should help developing countries and least developed countries to strengthen their capacity building and improve their living standards. It is also vital to help post-conflict countries to join regional cooperation processes and achieve lasting peace.

The Palestinian-Israeli situation is the most pressing issue before us. The eruption of renewed conflict between Palestine and Israel shows that piecemeal crisis management is unsustainable and that a comprehensive and just solution to the Palestinian question cannot be delayed. China supports the League of Arab States and the wider Arab world in playing a leading role on the Palestinian issue. The United Nations and its Security Council should heed the calls of Arab countries; strengthen coordination with regional mechanisms such as the Arab League and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation; take robust measures based on the relevant United Nations resolutions, the Arab Peace Initiative and other international consensuses in order to promote an immediate ceasefire; and make every effort to ensure the safety of civilians in order to prevent an even deadlier humanitarian disaster.

China supports the United Nations and the African Union in stepping up their cooperation, taking stock of the lessons learned in addressing hotspot issues in Africa and better promoting peace and development on the continent. The United Nations should help Africa improve its capabilities in peacekeeping, maintaining stability and combating terrorism, and should provide it with the necessary resources.

Afghanistan is at a critical juncture of peace and reconstruction. The countries of the region, especially Afghanistan's neighbours, have played a constructive role in promoting a smooth transition in the country. The United Nations should strengthen coordination and form synergies with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Afghanistan contact group and the neighbouring countries of Afghanistan mechanism to help the country achieve lasting security, development and prosperity.

Since its inception, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has been active in promoting regional economic integration and building a regional cooperation architecture with ASEAN at the centre. As such, ASEAN plays an increasingly important role in maintaining regional peace, stability, development and prosperity. As a dialogue partner of ASEAN, the United Nations should support ASEAN's leadership and its methods for resolving the situation in Myanmar and other regional issues and should create conditions for ASEAN to garner consensus and bring its weight to bear.

The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) has set up a platform for inclusive dialogue among all parties and actors in Haiti and has made active efforts in support of a Haitian-owned and Haitian-led political solution. We support the United Nations and CARICOM in strengthening their interaction and jointly promoting a settlement of the crisis in Haiti.

The European Union (EU) is an active advocate of multilateralism. We hope that the EU will practice true multilateralism, uphold the principle of sovereign equality, pay equal attention to the legitimate security concerns of all countries and respect the development path chosen independently by each country. The EU should leverage its resource advantages, respond to the needs of developing countries and increase targeted financial and technical support to the global South. At the same time, we firmly oppose the use of human rights as a pretext for interfering in the internal affairs of States.

These times call for unity and cooperation, without which an effective response to various global challenges will be impossible. Ten years ago,

President Xi Jinping proposed the Belt and Road Initiative. The third Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation just concluded successfully in Beijing, with constructive outcomes. Over the past decade the Initiative has grown from a vision into reality, with more than 3,000 joint projects, while mobilizing almost \$1 trillion in investment, lifting 40 million people out of poverty and turbocharging the connectivity and common development of all partner countries. Inspired by the Silk Road spirit of peace, cooperation, openness, inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefits, we will continue to deepen cooperation with other countries and regional mechanisms around the world, join hands to build a community with a shared future for humankind and renew our contributions to promoting common development and safeguarding common security.

15. Switzerland

Ambassador Pascale Baeriswyl, Permanent Representative

War and violence often erupt suddenly, with a painful bang, causing casualties—often civilian casualties—on all sides, as we have sadly been reminded by the tragic events in the Middle East since Hamas' launch of rockets and attacks against Israel on 7 October. War often erupts without warning, but how do we build peace? This debate is providing us with the opportunity to address that question, and I thank Brazil for having brought us together for that purpose. I would like to join my colleagues in thanking Assistant Secretary-General Khiari, former Presidents Bachelet and Mbeki and Ms. Echavarría Álvarez for their briefings.

Colombian peacebuilder Genith Quitiaquez recently spoke on this subject. She said:

Peace is the common construction of a river. It may seem to take a complex path, with stones, and many settlers, and we women will be the foam that always seeks to reach peace and undertake transformative actions.

Those words remind us that peace is a collective endeavour. As early as 1945, that conviction was firmly enshrined in the Charter of United Nations by its authors. Any joint construction effort, and certainly that of peace, requires trust, which was the subject of our open debate in May (see S/PV.9315). It is also an observation that Switzerland has made in all its mediation experiences, in particular in the mediation process in Colombia, which we have been supporting for more than 20 years.

Of course, trust is not a given. It has to be built and earned. Trust often finds fertile ground in regional organizations that encourage continued dialogue and technical cooperation. Accordingly, over the years, hundreds of frank exchanges, promises kept and good faith gestures mutually reinforce one another to form a solid basis for ambitious cooperation. It is therefore hardly surprising that regional organizations often manage to stay the course even in troubled waters. Switzerland is a member of the oldest regional organization, the Central Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine, one of Europe's major rivers. As a child of the Rhine city of Basel, I myself have always been impressed to see how that river artery has become a source of cross-border cooperation and trust.

Regional organizations are therefore well placed to take the lead in mediating conflicts. International discussions taking place in Geneva on the subject of Georgia provide a good example in that regard. Under the auspices of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the European Union and the United Nations, critical and practical issues related to conflict-affected populations are being addressed. That cooperation is crucial to maintaining peace and stability in Georgia, given the challenges that are still not resolved, 15 years after the war.

What role should the Security Council play, then, when regional organizations take the lead? The Council has a triple role to play: a role as the guardian of norms, a catalyst role and a preventive role. I will explain.

First of all, the Security Council must ensure that regional arrangements are in line with universal norms, such as human rights. As United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Volker Türk underscored in this Chamber on 3 May (see S/PV.9315), upholding norms promotes trust. That is the Council's role as the guardian of norms.

Secondly, the Council can bolster regional efforts to mediate conflicts. A significant tool in this respect is the sharing of perspectives and recommendations. The Council's field visits and informal interactive dialogues provide opportunities for such exchanges to enable all players to play a more effective role in promoting peace. That is the Council's role as a catalyst. It is along those lines, moreover, that the Peacebuilding Commission can play its unifying role.

Lastly, it is crucial that the Council play its preventive role in focusing on cooperation in general. On the one hand, that involves the role of United Nations special political missions. We must ensure that such missions become more involved in prevention, including by strengthening regional efforts. On the other hand, the Secretary-General should make full use of all his mediation tools, as he has pledged to do in his New Agenda for Peace.

As the Assistant Secretary-General said earlier, the New Agenda for Peace can serve as a common point of reference for all of us—the Security Council, the United Nations and regional, subregional and local actors. It is said that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. That also applies to the vectors of peace at the local, regional and global levels, but only if those vectors point in the same direction and converge towards the same goal, as small streams form large rivers. That brings me back to the Central Commission for the Rhine, which I mentioned earlier. It remains a living testimony to the power of cooperation, which enables us to achieve shared goals, even as, at times, we are against the current, and, at others, the wind is in our sails. Above all, the peaceful settlement of disputes remains an obligation for all Member States, guided by the shared conviction that every conflict avoided benefits the whole of humankind.

16. United Kingdom

Ambassador James Kariuki, Deputy Permanent Representative

I thank you, Sir, for convening this important meeting. I also thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari, former Presidents Bachelet and Mbeki, and Ms. Echavarría Álvarez for their briefings.

The Secretary-General's analysis in his New Agenda for Peace should strike a chord with us all. People around the world are living and dying through a period of conflict unmatched in decades. Last year, according to the Peace Research Institute Oslo, there were 55 active conflicts, and there were more battle-related deaths than in any year since 1984. For more than a decade now, conflict has been trending relentlessly in the wrong direction. How is it that we seem, at times, so powerless to shift that tide? And what is it that the Security Council, the wider United Nations membership and other actors can do to change the trend?

Let me offer three reflections.

First, we can do more, and in a more coordinated manner, to support national actors in preventing and resolving conflict. Indeed, that should be our first port of call. It is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, which looks first to conflict parties to settle their disputes by peaceful means. Achieving peace is rarely easy, and lasting peace can be sustained only with true and inclusive national ownership. That often requires hard decisions and the help of good-faith friends. The United Kingdom has had the privilege of being such a friend through several peace processes. And we continue to actively support conflict resolution efforts bilaterally and through multilateral partners, including as a major voluntary donor to global United Nations peace programmes.

Secondly, we can support, help to strengthen and coordinate better with regional organizations. The Council's annual dialogue with the African Union Peace and Security Council is a model that has borne fruit. But it can be further deepened and extended, including through stronger linkages between early warning mechanisms, better use of the wider United Nations and regional peacebuilding architectures and more coordinated support to nationally led prevention strategies. Our engagement with the Caribbean Community on Haiti and with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations on Myanmar are other examples in which regional bodies play an important role and are partners of the Council. The United Kingdom has always been a strong advocate of Chapter VI of the Charter. At times of deep geopolitical division, it is even more important that regional organizations play an active role.

Thirdly, where national and regional efforts fail, it is the duty of the Council to take action to safeguard international peace and security. That is a last resort that we can better avoid by marshalling all the tools at our disposal for effective prevention, mediation and peacebuilding in order to avoid escalation.

17. Ecuador

Ambassador Hernán Pérez Loose, Permanent Representative

I thank Mr. Khiari, Assistant Secretary-General for the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific in the Departments of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, former Presidents Bachelet and Mbeki and Ms. Echavarría Álvarez for their briefings.

In 1992, when Ecuador held a seat on the Security Council, we were still involved in a territorial dispute with Peru. It was one of the oldest border disputes in South America, and it pushed two brother peoples apart for many years. On 26 October, we will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Brasilia Declaration, signed by my country and Peru in 1998.

Historically, Ecuador has promoted peace and the pacific settlement of disputes, and it has rejected the threat and the use of force—principles on which our foreign policy is based and that have been priorities for us during our membership in the Council. That is why I would like to thank Brazil for organizing this important debate and the briefers for their contributions.

The peaceful settlement of disputes, as enshrined in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations, is one of the essential principles of international law. The importance that the international community attributes to that principle can be seen in its reaffirmation in subsequent instruments such as the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the 1982 Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes and the General Assembly's 1992 resolution 47/120 B, on an Agenda for Peace. Chapter VI, Article 33, of the Charter, on the pacific settlement of disputes, establishes the means that States can use to achieve such a settlement. Nevertheless, as pointed out in the Secretary-General's New Agenda for Peace, the underutilization of those means is one of the greatest shortcomings of the international community where achieving peaceful settlements are concerned.

My country believes that regional, subregional and bilateral agreements can complement and strengthen the efforts of the United Nations in the prevention and peaceful resolution of disputes. Regional actors are the first to recognize the signs of an emerging conflict. They can also guarantee the implementation of peace agreements through the creation of demilitarized zones and ceasefires and by supporting political and negotiating processes, among other means. The experience of Latin America in that area is instructive. Our region, with a history marked by armed conflicts and civil wars, has in recent decades demonstrated its ability to prevent and resolve conflicts peacefully and its political willingness to become a nuclear-weapon-free zone. Ecuador recognizes the value of regional mechanisms for the pacific settlement of disputes.

As I mentioned earlier, Ecuador and Peru signed the Brasilia Declaration in 1998 following the Cenepa armed conflict, which started at the beginning of 1995. In February of that year, the two countries agreed on the Itamaraty peace accord, paving the way for a negotiating process in which they were supported by Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States in their capacity as guarantor countries of the process. The Ecuador-Peru Military Observer Mission was established in accordance with the Itamaraty agreement and with the full commitment of the guarantor countries. That made it possible to establish a demilitarized zone, which became a key foundation of the peace process. Several rounds of negotiations were held between the parties over the course of more than three years, first in Brasilia and then in the guarantor countries' various capitals. A negotiating delegation and subsequently four committees were formed to deal with issues of trade and navigation, border integration, the marking of the common land border on the ground and measures aimed at mutual confidence-building and security and the use of the Canal de Zarumilla. On 26 October 1998, with the signing of the Presidential Act of Brasilia, we established an indissoluble peace and confirmed the historic importance of the understandings reached by the two Governments for the development and welfare of the fraternal peoples of Ecuador and Peru. The pacific settlement of the conflict through diplomacy and the mediation of international actors proved that conflicts between nations can be resolved. In addition, it established a valuable precedent in the region, including the Brasilia Declaration, as I mentioned.

To conclude, I would like to recall that in his first statement before the Council in 2017 (see S/PV.7857), Secretary-General António Guterres called for diplomacy for peace, stressing the importance of regional organizations. Ecuador shares that vision and calls on the Council to implement actions that are aimed at fulfilling its primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security. That is why we must remember that matters relating to Chapters VI, VII, VIII and XII also fall under the remit of the Council, whose decision-making power is binding on all Member States, in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter. In Ecuador's view, that obligation also applies to Article 27, paragraph 3, of the Charter, which states that "a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting." That constitutes a legal obligation that not only must be fulfilled but must also be carried out in good faith.

18. France

Ambassador Nicolas de Rivière, Permanent Representative

I thank former Presidents Bachelet and Thabo Mbeki, Assistant Secretary-General Khiari and Ms. Echavarría Álvarez for their briefings.

I would like to stress three points. France, as a member of the European Union, believes firmly that regional integration serves the maintenance of international peace and security. That logic has been at the heart of the European Union from the outset. European construction began in 1951 with the establishment of a common market for coal and steel, which were strategic sectors during the two world wars. That vision continues to be the driving force behind the construction of Europe today. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the expansion of the European Union was the response to the democratic aspirations of millions of Europeans. It was also a factor of stability. That is the model that we continue to advocate through the European perspective recognized in Ukraine since the war of aggression unleashed by Russia. It is a model that respects the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, namely, sovereignty, the right of peoples to self-determination and the peaceful resolution of disputes. We support all regional actors who share that vision.

In Africa, the African Union and subregional organizations have a decisive role, including recently in the face of the proliferation of coups d'état. The European Union is by far the largest donor to the African Union and will remain mobilized alongside it. Support for the African Union via the European Peace Facility amounts to \in 600 million for the period 2022–2024. President Mbeki's participation today reminds us of his work for peace in the Sudan and South Sudan over the past 15 years. We reiterate our support for the efforts of the African Union and all stakeholders in the region, as the conflict in the Sudan that has been raging for six months continues.

In Latin America, the Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States and the European Union held in July demonstrated the closeness between the two organizations. That partnership is essential to confront that common challenges that go beyond international peace and security, in particular the fight against climate change.

In Asia, cooperation with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is also an integral part of France's Indo-Pacific strategy to jointly confront multilateral challenges and strengthen regional stability. That is also the spirit of the strategic partnership between the European Union and ASEAN.

Finally, we must not lose sight of the fact that complementarity is a condition for effectiveness. Action at the regional level must continue to complement the action of the Security Council. That is the spirit of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. The Security Council retains the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. That is imperative as regional Powers increasingly attempt to use their influence to impose fait accompli situations and thwart regional mediation efforts. The principle of complementarity also governs the New Agenda for Peace presented by the Secretary-General. That initiative basically reiterates that the United Nations needs collective action from its Member States to effectively fulfil its mandate, whether it concern the good offices of the Secretary-General, the defence of human rights or peacekeeping. France contributed to the development of that strategy and calls on all Member States to take advantage of it. We particularly support the Secretary-General's call for the sustainable financing of African peace operations, in particular through assessed contributions to the United Nations.

19. Ghana

Ambassador Harold Adlai Agyeman, Permanent Representative

Ghana is grateful to Brazil for spotlighting during this open debate of its presidency the importance of dialogue and peaceful means in preventing and resolving disputes. We thank Assistant Secretary-General Khaled Khiari for his briefing and Ms. Michelle Bachelet and Mr. Thabo Mbeki for their remarks, which highlighted the need for greater resort to the tools of pacific settlement at the national, regional and international levels. We equally note the perspectives of Ms. Josefina Echavarría Álvarez, in particular the reminder to us of the meaningful contributions that academia can make in highlighting the significant role of dialogue in stabilizing societies.

As indicated in your concept note for this meeting (S/2023/732, annex), Mr. President, the benefits of pacific tools in preventing and resolving conflicts at the national, regional and international levels are many. Yet, as ironic as it may seem, we have often not resorted to their use as the first option, even though in national mechanisms, regional protocols and international treaties, including the Charter of the United Nations, such provisions abound, anticipating that interactions within, between and among States are likely to create disputes. We therefore believe that the challenge, including for the Security Council, is how we can shift our collective will at the current time away from measures that require force towards means that are peaceful. In saying so, we are mindful of the notion some hold that resorting to peaceful means will not always produce the outcomes they desire, or that the results they seek from such a means will not necessarily be swift or without delay. However, it is quite evident, especially in matters of peace and security, that pacific means have usually been just and have had enduring outcomes.

We therefore encourage all Member States, in particular the members of the Council, to deepen their utilization of the provisions of Chapter VI of

the United Nations Charter in dealing with the many disputes that currently confront us. As a Council and among all Member States, we should seize the opportunity of the Secretary-General's policy brief on the New Agenda for Peace to rethink our approach to conflict prevention, management and resolution, and embrace even more the pacific approaches, which are time-tested and have proven to be sustainable in maintaining peace.

In response to the guiding question that your concept note raised, Sir, we believe that there is no better way to enhance the use of Chapter VI of the Charter of this Organization than simply doing just that—enhancing its use. As Member States, we need to recommit to the various peaceful methods for settling disputes, and as a Council we should strengthen our role in exercising our mandate by calling on disputing parties to settle by peaceful means and follow up that call with strong facilitative support. In saying that, it is important that we strengthen the Secretary-General's dedicated capacity within the United Nations to support disputing States, which would help them to have greater confidence in the peace support architecture of this Organization. We acknowledge in that context the Secretary-General's good offices and the work of United Nations mediation, including the High-Level Advisory Board on Mediation and the Standby Team of Senior Mediation Advisers, which remain critical to the preventive diplomacy agenda. We urge the interlocking of those mediation capacities with those of regional arrangements in ways that can leverage regional knowledge and experience with the global resources of the United Nations in order to reinforce the impact of the pacific tools.

The experience of many regional arrangements, including those in Africa, demonstrate a rich array of useful preventive and conflict resolution mechanisms, such as the Economic Community of West African States and the African Union early-warning systems, the African Union Panel of the Wise and the Southern African Development Community Panel of Elders, as well as other ad hoc mechanisms that are deployed to defuse tensions, elicit commitments to peaceful settlement and resolve disputes. While most of those preventive mechanisms remain largely effective, the gap between intentions and impact still requires some bridging to reduce the number of instances in which disputes that have been flagged get out of control and become violent. Additional resources in support of the effective functioning of such mechanisms could therefore be useful to enable them to respond in a timely and effective manner on behalf of the international system, as envisaged in Chapter VIII of the Charter.

To improve the Security Council's cooperation with regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements, we encourage, in addition to focused field visits by the Council, periodic informal interactive dialogues with arrangements that are making exceptional contributions to the peaceful settlement of disputes. Such dialogues should aim to explore how the unique strengths and successful experiences of the arrangements could be adapted and replicated in cross-regional contexts to support the resolution of other disputes on the agenda of the Council. The Colombian peace process and the Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission experiences are worthy examples.

Before concluding, while welcoming the Secretary-General's emphasis on preventive diplomacy in his New Agenda for Peace, we underscore the saliency of mobilizing support to address the governance and development deficits that lie at the root of many of the intra-State crises we are witnessing. Investing in people, including women and young people, enhances their resilience to cope with complex challenges and helps to build and sustain peace, break the cycles of instability and reverse the drivers of fragility. Equally important, we need to encourage different nations to embrace all of their society, including their community and religious leaders, whose local wisdom has often proven beneficial in resolving many conflicts.

Finally, the emphasis being placed in the current circumstances on prevention and the need for strong partnerships between the United Nations and regional organizations is the right one. Underpinned by a strong recommitment to international law, it should strengthen our collective resolve in championing the peaceful route in addressing the myriad crises of our time. For those of us from the continent of Africa, that approach also represents one of the surest ways of silencing the guns by 2030 and achieving a peaceful and prosperous continent. In looking at all the emerging challenges across the world at the present moment, which a number of the members of the Council discussed this morning, it is certain that time is not on our side, and we must take action to turbocharge the use of pacific settlements in preventing disputes and resolving them.

20. Cuba

Ambassador Gerardo Peñalver Portal, Permanent Representative

We welcome your presence, Sir, in your capacity as President of the Security Council, as well as the relevance of the topic selected for this open debate, which is all the more important now in view of the dangerous escalation of actions in the international arena that threaten multilateralism and peace.

The most recent such action, Israel's indiscriminate bombardment of the Palestinian population and the destruction of homes, hospitals and civilian infrastructure, as well as the deprivation of water, electricity and fuel to the Palestinian population, must be stopped immediately.

Nothing can justify such actions, which constitute grave breaches of international humanitarian law. It is imperative to ensure an immediate ceasefire and civilian access to humanitarian aid, as well as to prevent the forced displacement of Palestinians from the land that is rightfully theirs.

There can be no peace if we allow egregious violations of international humanitarian law, such as those perpetrated by Israel, the occupying Power, against Palestine. The complicity of the United States in the commission of those war crimes is shameful and sets a very dangerous precedent on the road to peace. We reaffirm the resolute aspiration of the historic leader of the Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro Ruz, for peace with respect, rights, independence and security for all the peoples of the world. The way to guarantee peaceful coexistence and maintain international peace and security is to ensure multilateralism and full respect for the Charter of the United Nations and the principles and norms of international law.

It is vital to promote the peaceful settlement of conflicts through negotiation and dialogue, in accordance with Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter, so as to ensure the security and sovereignty of all, as well as regional and international peace, stability and security. We note with concern the threatening rhetoric, the imposition of unilateral sanctions and coercive measures, interventionist policies and double standards. The manipulation of facts based on media orchestrated lies, the demonization of Governments in order to provoke regime change and the use of hybrid technologies in so-called "fourth-generation warfare" for political destabilization have become the unacceptable practices of some States.

Attempts to impose monolithic thinking in multilateral arenas are not conducive to peace. When there is talk about building a world governed by rules, it is an attempt to replace the norms recognized by international law and the purposes and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter—a selective and biased approach that we do not share. A world of peace can be built only on the foundations of justice, by adopting multilateralism as the only possible way to resolve conflicts and by settling our differences in full compliance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law.

Almost a decade after the Proclamation of Latin America and the Caribbean as a Zone of Peace, adopted in Havana during the Second Summit of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, this instrument maintains its relevance and validity. The document endorses the commitment of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean to the peaceful settlement of disputes in order to banish forever the use and threat of force in their international relations and in their relations with one another.

That is the context for regional efforts to put an end to the last armed conflict in Latin America, which has persisted for half a century in Colombia. Cuba is proud of its contribution as guarantor and host of the peace talks to reach a political solution to this conflict, which is evidence of my country's commitment to the promotion of peace in our region and in the world.

Any international peace effort must start with the commitment of Member States to comply with multilaterally negotiated intergovernmental instruments and agreements and the observance of the mandates of the relevant United Nations organs. The idea of applying a preventive approach to the peace and security pillar, as outlined in the Secretary-General's New Agenda for Peace, requires strict respect for the United Nations Charter, in particular the principles of national sovereignty, territorial integrity, the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination, political independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of States in order to ensure that such approaches are not used as a pretext to justify the advancement of geopolitical agendas and interests.

A New Agenda for Peace also requires a comprehensive and profound reform of the Security Council; greater representation of the countries of the South; more democracy, transparency and inclusiveness in its work and procedures; and an end to its interference in the mandate and functions of the General Assembly and other organs in order to preserve the effectiveness and credibility of the Organization.

The world today, perhaps as never before, is in need of a new civilized coexistence based on a just and equitable international order, in which solidarity, cooperation, dialogue and integration among countries prevail. Let us make it happen.

21. Austria

Ambassador Alexander Marschik, Permanent Representative

I thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this open debate.

As we move closer to the Summit of the Future next year, we welcome this opportunity to discuss the New Agenda for Peace with Council members. Today's debate also touches on two key priorities for Austria—conflict prevention and building strong partnerships.

First, I would like to talk about prevention. In the increasingly challenging environment for peace, the work of the United Nations can be effective only if we invest in prevention and in building sustainable peace. We are convinced that the New Agenda for Peace can be the basis for a unique opportunity to shift attention to its preventive diplomacy, mediation and peacebuilding in order to build resilience within societies and address the underlying drivers of conflict.

It is our firm belief that prevention concerns all of us, not only certain fragile States. Just like human rights are universal, all countries need to do their share to build inclusive, just and, ultimately, peaceful societies. We therefore endorse the call contained in the Secretary-General's policy brief on the New Agenda for Peace for a shift in approach by which all States agree to recognize prevention and sustaining peace as goals that all commit to achieve.

In the run-up to the Summit of the Future, it will be crucial to discuss how we can operationalize that call and, potentially, use existing structures such as the voluntary national reviews on the Sustainable Development Goals or the Peacebuilding Commission. We encourage the Secretariat to provide guidance to Member States in that regard.

Secondly, we must focus on building partnerships. Conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peacebuilding require strong partnerships, and the United Nations and the Security Council must foster even stronger partnerships with regional and subregional organizations. Leveraging each other's strengths is the only way that multilateralism can bring the sheer heft that is needed to tackle humankind's most fundamental challenges.

Austria has been advocating for a new understanding of networked multilateralism on a global level for a United Nations that coordinates and cooperates with regional, subregional or thematic organizations much more strongly. The sustainable financing of the operations of regional partners plays a key role, including the African Union peace support operations mandated by the Council. Austria hopes to see progress in that regard during this year, but let me be very clear—networked multilateralism and more partnerships does not mean a reduction of, or a departure from, classic United Nations peacekeeping.

For Austria, peacekeeping must remain a core function of the United Nations. Closer cooperation with partners will require the Secretariat to provide even more essential services, whether in coordinating and establishing standards, ensuring interoperability, providing information for the mandate and formulation, assisting the establishment of missions on the ground, providing mission elements and possibly over-the-horizon forces if a regional organization leaves, constant monitoring and ensuring accountability and evaluations. Clearly, more partnerships mean a new form of United Nations peacekeeping, more diverse possibilities and a wider menu of peacekeeping operations, but by no means less peacekeeping.

Finally, allow me to touch on an issue very much at the centre of that, especially during the meeting on peacekeeping held last month in the context of the high-level week: the need for more trust. Trust is at the core of peaceful and inclusive societies but also the lifeline of multilateralism. As pointed out in the concept note (S/2023/732, annex), distrust hinders cooperation and dialogue. How do we rebuild trust in these challenging times? We see two key factors: cooperation and the rule of law.

We strongly believe that cooperating with each other and strengthening partnerships can increase trust in the international system at the grassroots level. Regional organizations may serve as trust-building entities themselves. An example is the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which we know well, because we host it in Vienna. The OSCE was never a club of like-minded countries but has served as a platform for trust-building measures and dialogue to advance collective security.

Similarly, the rule of law and compliance with international law, treaties and customary law generates predictability and thereby trust. Austria supports efforts to ensure that all avenues are explored to strengthen the rule of law, especially as regards ensuring appropriate reactions to violations of the most important norms of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. Ensuring strong and possibly even automatic consequences to norm violations may also serve as an effective means of prevention.

Dialogue, cooperation and strict adherence to international law will help to generate the trust and confidence that we need to enable us to use our multilateral organizations in the way that they were conceived to be used.

22. Egypt

Ambassador Osama Mahmoud Abdelkhalek Mahmoud, Permanent Representative

At the outset, I would like to thank Brazil for convening this important meeting at such a critical juncture. It puts the Security Council and the United Nations to the test and reveals the Council's credibility and its ability to stop conflicts and maintain security and peace.

We cannot separate regional mechanisms and initiatives for conflict resolution from developments on the African continent and in the Middle East. Such developments pose a significant danger that could have extremely serious repercussions if they are not dealt with prudently and with the aim of achieving peace and justice. I would therefore like to focus on the situations on the African continent and the Middle East along with the role that the Council could play in strengthening regional and subregional mechanisms for resolving conflicts. That is all the more relevant as we discuss the New Agenda for Peace, the importance of preventive diplomacy and granting a more important role to regional mechanisms in the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

First of all, Africa has always been aware of the importance of developing its own mechanisms to resolve conflicts in accordance with the principle of African solutions to African problems, while benefiting from our experiences and taking into consideration the specificities of African States and societies. Those African mechanisms that are directly linked to the African Union or which work under its auspices or in cooperation with its organs and other African subregional mechanisms have achieved notable successes. However, those mechanisms also face significant challenges, foremost among which is multiple approaches and poor coordination among them.

Egypt therefore appreciates the efforts by the Security Council to coordinate with those African mechanisms, including the Security Council's

annual meeting with the Peace and Security Council of the African Union and the regular briefings that the Council receives from those mechanisms on African issues. We reaffirm the need to strengthen and support such coordination and grant a greater role to those mechanisms when it comes to addressing African issues in order to ensure that the Council can take decisions based on the realities in Africa. Likewise, the Security Council should bolster the continent's efforts for the maintenance of peace and peacebuilding, including by financing African Union peace operations and providing resources to the Secretary-General's Peacebuilding Fund from the assessed contributions of Member States, given the importance of peacebuilding efforts by regional stakeholders aimed at preventing the outbreak and aggravation of conflicts.

Egypt is well aware of the need to coordinate regional efforts, initiatives and mechanisms and their implementation on the ground. As an example, I would cite the summit of the Sudan's neighbouring countries held in Cairo in July and the two ministerial-level meetings held in New York and N'Djamena aimed at coordinating regional and international efforts to resolve the crisis in the Sudan.

Secondly, the Palestinian question remains the primary cause of instability and the absence of peace in the Middle East. The Security Council is no doubt aware of the causes of the conflict and its evolution, as the Council has been considering that conflict for many decades, including the current catastrophic situation facing the Palestinian people in Gaza today. Discussing the role of regional initiatives and others to resolve the Palestinian question is useless at a time when the Council finds itself incapable of carrying out its duty and taking a decision to put an end to the current aggression, to maintain peace and security in the region and to enable the delivery of humanitarian aid to the Gaza Strip.

Israel continues to refuse any initiative to defuse the situation and resume the peace process owing to its delusional belief that it will be able to prolong the occupation and gradually eradicate the Palestinian question altogether. Nonetheless, Egypt has spared no effort in recent years to prevent successive rounds of escalation based on its historic role in dealing with the Palestinian question. Egypt was the first country to have a peace agreement with Israel, and all parties have confidence in our vision for achieving peace in the Middle East. We will therefore continue in our efforts to realize a ceasefire and take effective decisions to ensure the mobilization and delivery of urgently needed humanitarian aid to Gaza.

Today the Secretary-General was at the Rafah crossing, working alongside Egyptian and other stakeholders. Egypt is shouldering its responsibility to guarantee the urgent delivery of humanitarian aid to our Palestinian brothers in the Gaza Strip. Likewise, the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt called for the convening of an emergency summit, which will take place tomorrow in Cairo, with the participation of relevant regional and international stakeholders, to try to defuse the current crisis and reach a just, comprehensive and sustainable settlement. Egypt believes that the international community's current approach towards the Palestinian question is limited to managing the crisis and containing the aspirations of the Palestinian people through applying an analgesic policy. That approach is outdated and inefficient.

In conclusion, we reaffirm that the Security Council should be able to benefit from regional initiatives and from the important experiences of the countries concerned. However, that depends on the ability of the Council to develop working mechanisms that allow those countries to play a greater role in the Council's decision-making process. We stress that the many challenges the world is currently facing categorically confirm that it is time to reform the Security Council to make it more representative, more fair, more democratic and better able to respond to international challenges and crises. We need a permanent Arab and African presence within the Security Council, with all the prerogatives of permanent members, including the right of veto.

23. South Africa

Ambassador Mathu Joyini, Permanent Representative

Let me start by congratulating the Federative Republic of Brazil on its assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. Allow me to thank the briefers—Mr. Khaled Khiari, Her Excellency Ms. Michelle Bachelet, His Excellency Mr. Thabo Mbeki and Ms. Josefina Echavarría Álvarez—for the information they shared with us.

We are pleased by the convening of this pertinent open debate on the contributions of regional and subregional organizations and bilateral arrangements to the maintenance of global peace and security. We find it apt that our discussion is not limited to regional mechanisms only but includes the efficacy and impact of bilateral arrangements in resolving disputes—a subject we seldom discuss in the Council. I will also add the role of coalitions to that list of arrangements, because at times such mechanisms have been effective in supporting efforts aimed at the peaceful settlement of disputes, and they should be encouraged, as appropriate, if they are permissible under the relevant provisions of international law. An example of that is the role of the troika in South Sudan.

This open debate could not have been held at a more appropriate time, just as we are continuing to explore ways of dealing with a surge in destabilizing events that range from armed conflict, unconstitutional changes of Government and terrorism and violent extremism to Governments' failure to govern and manage diversity. In many cases, the causes and drivers of those conflicts could have been prevented or resolved peacefully. The proliferation of conflicts in recent years underscores that it is important for the international community to prioritize preventive diplomacy. But it is important that we do not merely talk about preventive diplomacy because it is fashionable to do so. We should rather continually ask why it is that preventive diplomacy and the measures outlined in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations are seldom utilized. We must also determine what we need to do to improve on the status quo.

In addition to Chapter VI, myriad tools exist to conduct preventive diplomacy at the bilateral, subregional and regional levels. However, in order to make use of them, political will and visionary leadership are vital. Another requirement is patience on the part of the international community in allowing efforts undertaken by regional arrangements to come to fruition, especially when there is a deficit of trust. Restoring and building trust among conflicting parties is a cumbersome process that must be approached delicately.

Owing to our own political history, in which we successfully avoided a civil war, South Africa believes in the peaceful resolution of conflict through dialogue and diplomacy. That position has enabled us to be part of bilateral, subregional and regional engagements that have contributed to finding political solutions to disputes in many countries, particularly on the African continent, including in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi and recently in Tigray, in Ethiopia, to name a few. We continue to participate in the efforts of the Southern African Development Community and the African Union aimed at the prevention and peaceful resolution of disputes, which are underpinned by the principles of subsidiarity and complementarity.

By virtue of their proximity, regional organizations are often best placed to mediate conflicts within their geographical scope, and they need to be supported accordingly. We are therefore pleased that the Secretary-General's policy brief on the New Agenda for Peace, which we as Member States continue to study and discuss, emphasizes the fundamental role of regional organizations in support of the mandate of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and security, in line with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, which provides a framework for relations between the United Nations and regional arrangements.

In conclusion, we should take advantage of the opportunity provided by the Summit of the Future and the New Agenda for Peace to strengthen the role of various arrangements in advancing global peace and security.

24. Croatia

Ambassador Ivan Šimonović, Permanent Representative

I have the honour of delivering this statement on behalf of the Group of Friends of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), consisting of 55 Member States and the European Union, and co-chaired this year by Botswana, Costa Rica and Croatia.

The peaceful settlement of disputes lies at the heart of the principle of the responsibility to protect. Paragraph 139 of the 2005 World Summit Outcome document opens with the assertion that

> the international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.

Recognizing the value of bilateral, subregional, regional and multilateral efforts to achieve those aims, the Group of Friends of R2P would like to stress the following points.

First, the World Summit Outcome document specified a number of distinct roles for regional arrangements, including those that relate to the use of peaceful means to protect populations such as diplomacy, early warning and rapid response, and technical assistance and capacity building. Regional organizations are often well placed to guide multilateral action on emerging atrocity situations and threats to peace and security in their regions, because they may have a better political understanding of the dynamics within the countries where atrocities or conflicts are taking place.

Institutional mechanisms for providing technical assistance to Member States, building confidence in the security sector, promoting fair

and accountable governance, and supporting economic development and various regional field operations, including regional mediation processes, contribute to preventing conflicts and atrocities. They are not mere aspirational goals for regional organizations. We have witnessed concrete situations in which the concerted efforts of subregional organizations and their member States to address imminent risks made the difference between prolonged conflict and the successful prevention of further atrocities. We call on all regional and subregional organizations to help protect populations from atrocities in their regions and facilitate their prevention.

Secondly, atrocity prevention and the effective implementation of the agenda for the responsibility to protect can contribute to implementing the Secretary-General's *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/986) and the related New Agenda for Peace. In its submission to the New Agenda for Peace, the Group of Friends of R2P underlined that the effective strengthening of prevention should be predicated on early-warning signs and clarity on what early action, including peaceful means, can be taken in response to such alarms. Effective early warning, including by regional and subregional organizations, should be rooted in the accurate identification of all factors that increase the risks of violence, including those associated with atrocity crimes, rather than focusing solely on the risk of conflict.

Lastly, we would like to underline that the Secretary-General also has an important role to play in prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes, including through preventive diplomacy, fact-finding and reporting, and the exercise of good offices in response to risks of conflicts and atrocity crimes. In that context, we encourage the Secretary-General to use his powers under Article 99 of the Charter to bring to the Council's attention any risk of the commission of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing or crimes against humanity that in his opinion might threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. We also call on Security Council members to respond to and address the risk of the commission of mass atrocities, noting in that context initiatives such as the code of conduct of the Accountability, Coherence and Transparency group and the French-Mexican initiative on the use of the veto in cases of mass atrocities.

25. Republic of Korea

Ambassador Cho Hyun-woo, Deputy Permanent Representative

I would like to commend you, Mr. President, for convening this timely and important open debate, and to thank the briefers for their insightful remarks.

Today the world is faced with increasingly multifaceted and crosscutting challenges all around the globe. On top of that, it continues to be affected by intensifying traditional conflict situations and violence, just as we have seen in the ongoing war against Ukraine and the current situation in Israel and Gaza.

As Secretary-General Guterres pointed out in his New Agenda for Peace, those interlocking and transnational threats go well beyond the ability of any single State to manage. It is therefore imperative that we find ways to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

Regional and subregional mechanisms are well positioned—not only to understand the root causes of conflict owing to their intimate knowledge of the region but also to promote confidence, trust and dialogue among the parties concerned in their respective regions. Those tools lay the foundation for the peaceful settlement of disputes, as stipulated in Chapter VI of the Charter.

That is why the Security Council should make full use of its comparative advantage of proximity and the existing mechanisms for the promotion of confidence-building and dialogue in its ongoing efforts to prevent and peacefully resolve conflicts, under the principle of regional ownership. In that regard, the Republic of Korea welcomes the results of the seventeenth annual joint consultative meeting between the Security Council and the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, which was held in Addis Ababa on 6 October. We believe that such efforts by the Council should continue, in line with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, bearing in mind the three following points.

First, the Security Council should enhance its cooperation with regional mechanisms and organizations. In addition to demands for a stronger United Nations-African Union partnership, we should also shed light on other regions and organizations, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and subregional mechanisms, such as the Economic Community of West African States, whose tools of prevention and peaceful settlement have also been developed. The Peacebuilding Commission can also play a bridging role in that regard.

Secondly, adequate resources and financing are key to building robust regional frameworks and organizations. As such, Korea supports the need for predictable, sustainable and flexible funding for African Union-led peace support operations, including access to United Nations-assessed contributions, where needed. At the same time, we will also need to find ways to ensure accountability, transparency and the effective use of those funds. As an incoming member of the Security Council, we look forward to upcoming negotiations on that issue.

Thirdly, inclusivity should be guaranteed at all levels of the process. Civil society actors, including women and young people, play a crucial role in building trust in societies. Partnership with regional mechanisms must always place people at the centre so that diverse and unique voices from each and every corner of our societies can enrich the path towards sustainable peace and development.

In recent years, the Republic of Korea has actively expanded its horizon of engagement through regular consultations with various regional mechanisms. We hosted the first-ever summit with Pacific Island leaders last May. We are also working with our partners in Africa in preparation for a successful Korea-Africa summit, which will be held next year. Through such engagements, Korea hopes to contribute to the efforts of regional mechanisms, as well as of the international community, in building sustainable peace for all.

26. Ukraine Counselor Serhii Dvornyk

Ukraine highly appreciates the initiative of the Brazilian presidency to hold today's important debate and would like to thank the briefers for their briefings.

Ukraine has always been a staunch proponent of strengthening cooperation between the United Nations and regional and other organizations, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. They have been an important tool for the effective settlement of conflicts and the promotion of peace and security, humanitarian assistance, development and human rights across the globe. We therefore support the fact that the New Agenda for Peace places particular focus on robust regional frameworks and organizations as critical building blocks for the networked multilateralism that is needed, especially in regions in which the long-standing security architecture is collapsing.

One can hardly doubt the need to further enhance partnerships between the United Nations and those regional organizations that strive for peace, security and development in their respective regions. There are many examples of such valuable and results-oriented United Nations partnerships with the European Union, the African Union, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the League of Arab States and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), to name just a few.

In the case of my own country, the OSCE was quite active on the ground from the beginning of the Russian aggression in 2014 until the invasion last February. At the same time, there are other organizations such as the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), the de facto Russia-led military bloc, which has become a clear example of the destructive policy tools that Russia employs in the region. It is our common task to uphold United Nations credibility and resist attempts

to bring organizations such as CSTO onto the United Nations platform, under the guise of Chapter VIII.

We support the idea of the Brazilian presidency to broaden the scope of discussion by addressing the role of bilateral arrangements in peaceful conflict resolution. Current security developments in our region, especially Russia's ongoing war against my country, have highlighted the important role and contribution of the ad hoc frameworks and networks established to support the victims of aggression in defending themselves against invasion.

At the same time, those developments have once again brought our attention to the problem of the aggressor's presence in the permanent seat of the Security Council, which is to say the least legally dubious. That presence has affected the genuine response of the Council and a similar situation has been observed at the regional level in the framework of the OSCE, whose decision-making is based on consensus.

The presidency has identified the issue of the reform of collective security mechanisms as one of the guiding questions for today's open debate. We consider that addressing the problem that I just mentioned concerning the illegal occupation by the aggressor of the permanent seat of the Council, along with Russia's unwillingness to act like a peace-loving State in accordance with Article 4 of the United Nations Charter, should be part of the answer.

27. Denmark

Ambassador Erik Laursen, Deputy Permanent Representative

I thank you, Mr. President, for calling today's meeting on peace through dialogue in this difficult time of unfolding wars and conflicts. I also thank the briefers.

It is my privilege to deliver this statement on behalf of the five Nordic countries—Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and my own country, Denmark.

Evidently, sustainable peace can be achieved only by the parties to conflict. Third parties, whether international actors, neighbouring countries or regional organizations, can provide support for the parties to find mutually acceptable solutions. In today's open debate, the Nordic countries want to make four points.

First, dialogue is a key tool for resolving conflicts, but it is also a conflict-prevention tool, and we encourage the Council to better utilize its potential preventive role under Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations. We also suggest leveraging the potential of the Peacebuilding Commission to facilitate inclusive conflict prevention and resolution.

The United Nations has a unique role in supporting parties in the peaceful settlements of disputes. The Secretary-General's New Agenda for Peace is an opportunity to strengthen the role of Member States in addressing the current security challenges and evolving threats. It is an opportunity to further develop preventive non-violent conflict resolution mechanisms and the United Nations diplomatic toolbox across the humanitarian-development-peace nexus.

My second point concerns the role of regional and subregional organizations, which can play a significant role with their local knowledge and potential personal relationships. The United Nations Charter is clear on that role for regional organizations in Chapter VIII. We encourage more frequent use of that Chapter, including by deepening cooperation and information-sharing between the Security Council and regional organizations. The importance of local ownership of any process is clear.

That brings me to my third point. As clearly set out in the New Agenda for Peace, ownership is essential to any process of conflict prevention and conflict resolution. The parties need to come up with and take ownership of solutions, and that ownership must be inclusive.

That brings me to my fourth point, which has to do with inclusion. Peace processes should always reflect the needs and perspectives of stakeholders affected by conflict. Strengthening the full, equal and meaningful participation of women, youth and civil society at large is critical. Indeed, adding seats to the table pays off. If a process is not inclusive, it is very difficult to reach sustainable peace.

I thank you, Mr. President, for convening the debate today on a topic that is now more critical than ever. We, the Nordics, want to stress that we stand together with the United Nations and Member States committed to a future that brings peace, stability and development for all.

Let me conclude with a message from the late President of Finland Ahtisaari, who passed away this week.

"If we work together, we can find solutions. We should not accept any excuses from those in power. Peace is a question of will." (*Nobel Lecture, 10 December 2008*).

28. Chile

Ambassador René Alfonso Ruidíaz Pérez, Deputy Permanent Representative

Chile thanks Brazil for convening this open debate, and we have taken note of the statements delivered so far.

According to Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, which we all adopted at San Francisco, regional organizations whose activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations may act in support of the maintenance of international peace and security. Strengthening regional bodies is also part of the Secretary-General's New Agenda for Peace, in connection with our preparations to ensure that next year's Summit of the Future is transformational. In that regard, we value the crucial role that regional organizations can play in the maintenance of international peace and security by functioning as natural platforms for meetings, cooperation and exchanges among their members. That fosters trust among the members of those organizations and promotes institutionalized and predictable behaviours, which reduces uncertainty and the risks of confrontation.

In the face of current world events, we need innovative measures to address the dangers of war and threats to security, many of which are transnational in nature, such as organized crime and its various ramifications. We think the most useful way to address them is by learning from the existing regional and subregional mechanisms for cooperation, mutual trust, knowledge and assistance. Specifically, we believe that when we engage in cooperation and exchanges within regional organizations on areas of mutual interest, such as disarmament, crisis management, environmental protection and economic development, we contribute to building stability within regions, establishing positive long-term relations, fostering the peaceful resolution of disputes and discouraging the use of violence to settle disputes.

In the same vein, we believe that the Security Council can actively promote the development and strengthening of regional agreements aimed at fostering peace and security by offering political and diplomatic support to the parties involved in negotiating and realizing those agreements. At the same time, in the context of regional agreements, the Council can also act as a mediator and facilitator in the resolution of disputes by promoting the effective implementation of agreements and encouraging the parties to fulfil their commitments. That role can include providing good offices and visiting areas affected by conflict. In that context, my own region, together with the efforts of the United Nations, has participated, as required, in initiatives that have led to important peace agreements. I would therefore like to highlight what my country's former Head of State and other speakers mentioned this morning with regard to the signing of the Presidential Act of Brasilia. In that regard, it is notable that historically speaking, the Council has shown us that it is capable of coordinating its action with relevant regional and subregional bodies, such as the African Union, to jointly address conflicts and threats to peace.

On the other hand, it should also be noted that ad hoc and thematic mechanisms, such as the various groups of friends and working groups involved in promoting the agenda on women and peace and security, can also serve as a driving force for promoting significant change and consolidating peace. Those entities have shed light on the root causes of the discrimination and oppression of women in many parts of the world, providing guidelines for the various actors involved to establish action plans aimed at appointing women to relevant decision-making positions.

In conclusion, in the context of the gravity of the tragic situation currently unfolding in the Gaza Strip, we hope that regional bodies will have an opportunity to demonstrate their crucial role in safeguarding international law and the principles of the Charter.

29. Italy

Ambassador Maurizio Massari, Permanent Representative

Italy aligns itself with the statement to be delivered on behalf of the European Union, and I would like to add the following comments in my national capacity.

The current devastating crisis scenarios confirm the urgency of finding a way to change the paradigm from crisis management to conflict prevention. They also show the importance of working on three levels of trust in relations—between States, between institutions and citizens and between the United Nations and Member States. Regional organizations are able to strengthen the circle of trust on all those levels, filling the gaps between societies, national authorities and the United Nations system. I would like to highlight four points.

First, solid partnerships between the United Nations and regional organizations are essential to effective multilateralism. Engaging regional organizations in the prevention and peaceful settlement of disputes is in the interests of the United Nations and the Security Council. Italy therefore fully supports the vision of the New Agenda for Peace—a bottom-up, widespread system of conflict prevention based on the development of national strategies that are anchored in human rights and the rule of law, that take advantage of the role of regional organizations and receive effective and concrete support from the United Nations, acting in solidarity and complementarity.

Secondly, regional organizations can make a difference in all the building blocks of crisis prevention and sustainable peace, including development, the rule of law, inclusiveness, human rights, gender equality and empowerment. Coordination among regional organizations makes that action even more effective. The cooperation between the European Union and African Union is a leading example in that regard. Thirdly, the Peacebuilding Commission is in a unique position to support the United Nations and regional organizations. To untap that potential, the Peacebuilding Fund must be able to offer concrete help and solutions to the regional organizations that turn to it, including adequate funding for peacebuilding activities. Italy has just doubled its annual contribution to the Fund and is committed to ensuring adequate, predictable and sustained financing for peacebuilding, including through its United Nations-assessed contributions.

Fourthly, regional and subregional organizations' contribution to peace must be recognized and supported. African countries that participate in peacebuilding and peacekeeping are assuming increasing responsibility for international peace and security. Italy will continue to support the African Peace and Security Architecture through financial assistance, training and capacity-building programmes, as well as to stress the importance of securing predictable resources for African-led peace operations.

Finally, the issue of Africa's presence within the United Nations institutions should be addressed with specific reference to the Security Council, as part of the overarching objective of making the Council more representative, democratic, accountable, transparent and effective.

30. Iran

Ambassador Amir Saeid Iravani, Permanent Representative

We congratulate Brazil on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October, and we thank the briefers for their insights.

In our ever-changing world, in which the repercussions of armed conflict continue to grow both in scope and intensity, the tools of diplomacy and dialogue stand out as the most effective instruments we have for conflict resolution. Ensuring peace through dialogue hinges on a steadfast commitment to international law and an unwavering dedication to the principles outlined in the Charter of the United Nations.

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is anchored in a deep commitment to international law and the Charter. We prioritize mutual respect, cultivating neighbourly relations, fostering collaboration and, importantly, positioning dialogue as a cornerstone in safeguarding international and regional peace and security. Iran's proactive engagement in diplomatic affairs, particularly its meaningful participation in the negotiations on the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), is a testament to our unwavering commitment in that regard. However, the unlawful and irresponsible withdrawal of the United States from the JCPOA, followed by the subsequent actions of the United States and Germany, France and the United Kingdom (E3), in violation of their obligations under the JCPOA and resolution 2231 (2015), presented a significant and fundamental challenge to the agreement. That challenge has sadly endured, owing to the Western parties' excessive demands and introduction of unrelated issues. However, a return to the full implementation of the agreement is still possible if the United States and the E3 can demonstrate responsibility and a pragmatic approach.

We are pleased to announce that as of two days ago, all the remaining restrictions on missile activities, the export and import of weapons and

financial transactions involving certain Iranian individuals and entities have been completely terminated and are no longer subject to any restrictions by the Council. We trust that Member States will diligently fulfil their commitments under Article 25 of the Charter and honour the termination of the restrictions, as laid out in resolution 2231 (2015).

The Palestinian situation demands urgent international attention. For decades Palestinians have suffered occupation, aggression, discrimination and apartheid policies at the hands of the Israeli regime. Today the international community is witnessing yet another horrific surge in atrocities and collective punishment of the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip by the Israeli regime, particularly the heinous terrorist attack on the Al Ahli Hospital. The deliberate targeting of a hospital, in clear violation of international humanitarian law, is nothing short of a war crime. Equally, the indiscriminate killing of innocent people in Gaza, including women and children, during the 14-day aerial bombardment, which has devastated critical and civilian infrastructure, amounts to war crimes of the gravest nature.

We are very disappointed by the Council's inability to adopt a basic draft resolution calling for an immediate ceasefire and addressing the catastrophic humanitarian situation in Palestine. We urge the United Nations and the Security Council to take urgent action to end to the unfolding tragedy, which amounts to genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. After seven decades of inertia, the Security Council must now shoulder its responsibility and take decisive action to address the ongoing plight of the Palestinian people.

In conclusion, the Security Council must ensure that its decisions comply with international law and the Charter and reflect the best interests of the international community as a whole. It is essential to ensure that the Council's measures, especially those under Chapter VII, are utilized as a last resort and are safeguarded from political exploitation and manipulation. Those measures should be invoked only when genuinely necessary to preserve international peace and security, in the pursuit of the peaceful resolution of disputes, as outlined in Chapter VI of the Charter.

31. Ethiopia

Ambassador Tesfaye Yilma Sabo, Permanent Representative

We thank Brazil for organizing this important open debate on the topic of the contributions of regional mechanisms to peace and security. I would also like to thank the briefers and representatives who spoke before us this morning.

We appreciate the framing of today's topic in a manner that encompasses a wide range of activities covering peace and security. With regard to the role of regional mechanisms in peace and security, I would like primarily to mention the fundamental feature that distinguishes regional mechanisms and organizations. Regional organizations and their decision-making processes are mainly guided by solidarity and equal participation. In addition, regional organizations allow for sufficient consideration of local contexts and relevant policies and programmes. Concerning the specific aspects of peace and security, we believe that the eradication of poverty and a governance system that is rooted in basic freedoms and the principles of inclusivity and equal participation are the foundation for peace and security. Peace endures when development is sustainable and all segments of society, in particular women and young people, are involved in the affairs of their countries.

Turning to our region, the African Peace and Security Architecture has been set up with the African Union (AU) Peace and Security Council at its core and with both diplomatic and military components, including the African Standby Force. That architecture is also underpinned by treaties that encompass normative frameworks, including regional instruments on subversion, mercenaries, terrorism, cybersecurity, refugees and displacement-related problems. The African Peace and Security Architecture incorporates the Continental Early Warning System, the Mediation Support Unit and the Panel of the Wise. On that basis, the architecture sets forth the continent's plans to enhance regional capacity to prevent and resolve conflicts in the continent.

It is important to note that the African Union Peace and Security Council was established in compliance with the normative requirements of the Charter of the United Nations. As acknowledged by the United Nations in several instances, the African Union, through those mechanisms, has demonstrated a clear comparative advantage in peace enforcement. With adequate financial and other resources, that mechanism can further excel in conflict prevention, peacemaking, peace support operations, peacebuilding and post conflict reconstruction. Therefore, the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, which is responsible for global peace and security, should assume its rightful role and responsibility to help bridge the resource gap by making financing available from assessed contributions. That is a position that is long overdue. Supporting regional mechanisms such as the African Union Peace and Security Council, which adopts its decisions with the full ownership and participation of its member States, will help the Security Council achieve its lofty objective of maintaining international peace and security.

32. Spain

Ambassador Ana Jimenez De La Hoz, Deputy Permanent Representative

We are grateful to Brazil for convening this open debate on the role of regional and subregional institutions and organizations and bilateral agreements in conflict prevention and conflict resolution.

Organizations and agreements at the regional and subregional levels, as well as bilateral agreements, are complementary to efforts in the multilateral arena and can provide a platform from which to accelerate the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in order to address the underlying causes of violence and insecurity, as well as the links among climate, peace and security. The comprehensive approach to conflict prevention and peacebuilding that underpins the New Agenda for Peace also has ramifications at the regional and subregional levels. With regard to the Security Council, we appreciate the ongoing efforts to strengthen cooperation with regional organizations. Moreover, an enlarged Security Council, with a larger number of elected members, would be more legitimate and would better represent the strategic, regional and subregional realities and concerns of the day.

In line with Spain's foreign policy, its 2021–2024 Foreign Action Strategy and its recently adopted Humanitarian Diplomacy Strategy, conflict prevention and mediation are given priority in our actions abroad. In addition, Spain is committed to the reform and strengthening of multilateralism and regional integration in order to improve global governance.

In recent years, Spain has been working on developing regional projects for mediation focused on the role of women. At the Ibero-American level, together with Mexico and a dozen other countries in the region, we have established the Ibero-American network of women mediators, which seeks to provide training and set up a committee of women mediation experts. Similarly, we have been working with the Economic Community of West African States and the African Union Peace and Security Council. I would also like to mention the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations, the founding of which was co-sponsored by Spain and Türkiye, and which in its 2019–2023 action plan highlights the importance of intercultural and interfaith dialogue in conflict prevention, as well as the role of women mediators in that context.

We therefore believe that the issues discussed at today's debate provide an important opportunity for defining the contributions that can be made at the regional, subregional and bilateral levels to underpin the multilateral architecture, which in past decades has proven to be an indispensable framework for ensuring stability, peace and development.

33. Thailand

Ambassador Suriya Chindawongse, Permanent Representative

As I take the floor on behalf of Thailand for the first time this month, I would like to congratulate Brazil on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October and thank Albania for its presidency last month.

As we look forward to reinvigorating the United Nations through *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982), the New Agenda for Peace and the Summit of the Future, and against the backdrop of conflicts and confrontation in various regions, my delegation welcomes this important open debate to discuss how regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements can further contribute to peace and security, as part of our efforts to strengthen multilateralism. The Charter of the United Nations envisages such roles for regional arrangements. We need only look at Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter. How, therefore, do we take those roles forward? Let me make three points.

First and foremost, the fundamental cornerstone of peace and security and stability in any region—and indeed in the global system is peaceful and mutually beneficial bilateral relations, especially among neighbours. It is often said that good fences make good neighbours, but it is actually peaceful and friendly relations among States, peoples and stakeholders that generate mutual benefit, trust and stability. That is what makes good neighbours in the long term. The primary focus of Thai diplomacy has therefore always been the promotion of friendly relations with all States—and especially our neighbours—being friends to all and enemies to none. Beyond our region, it is our sincere hope that friendly neighbourly relations will continue to be nurtured where they already exist and cultivated where they may be lacking.

Secondly, the voices, views and vision of the region matter. The countries of the region understand very well the reasons for their common

challenges and the appropriate solutions to them, and their wisdom should be heeded. The added value of regional organizations cannot be underestimated, whether we are talking about the African Union, the Caribbean Community or the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Their experience should be taken into account. Let me touch briefly on ASEAN. Forged in the time of the Cold War and of conflict in Southeast Asia, ASEAN was born in Bangkok and has become a foundation for peace, stability and progress. It is based on shared norms and values, anchored in the ASEAN Charter and the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, among other things. At the same time, ASEAN is driven by pragmatic and shared interests. We believe in a comprehensive approach to security where economic and social progress are just as vital as political stability to our peoples' well-being, from which derive the three pillars of the ASEAN community. We respect our diversity as we build consensus. All of that has contributed to peace, security and stability in Southeast Asia. We therefore respect and welcome any region charting its own path to achieving regional peace, security and stability through peaceful means, and we see great value in closer engagement between regional organizations, not only to generate mutual benefit but also to contribute to global stability and prosperity. The ASEAN-Gulf Cooperation Council Summit in Saudi Arabia is a significant example of that.

Thirdly and lastly, a strong multilateral regional interface anchored in close partnerships between the United Nations and regional organizations can make important contributions to international peace, security and stability. We welcome the strong ASEAN-United Nations comprehensive partnership, as we welcome closer partnerships between the United Nations and other regional organizations. But more needs to be done. The United Nations, especially the Security Council, should reinforce regionally driven processes by engaging the countries and regions affected as well as other relevant stakeholders, including host countries and troop- and police-contributing countries, for example. We welcome the recommendations of the High-Level Advisory Board for Effective Multilateralism on more effective and multi-pillared cooperation between the United Nations and regional bodies, although not necessarily within a strict collective-security framework and mindset. And while we had hoped to see the role of regional

organizations elaborated on further in the Secretary-General's New Agenda for Peace, we look forward to developing ideas within the United Nations on how to bring together global and regional actors to design new models for diplomatic engagement that can address the interests of all actors and deliver mutually beneficial outcomes.

In conclusion, promoting international peace, security and stability requires an all-out effort. We have no choice. Regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements can make a difference. Let us embrace their ideas and contributions.

34. Armenia

Ambassador Mher Margaryan, Permanent Representative

I thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting. I would also like to express my appreciation to the briefers for their contribution to today's debate. Regional arrangements can play an essential role in the maintenance of international peace and security, as prescribed in Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, by acting in support of the peaceful resolution of disputes and addressing and preventing conflict situations. Such arrangements often have a better understanding of the historical context, root causes and complexities of the conflicts in their respective regions, where their access and proximity can offer more immediate and customized tools for dialogue and mediation.

It was in line with those very principles that in 1992 the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which became the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), proposed a specific initiative aimed at resolving the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, with the endorsement of the Security Council. Co-chaired by France, Russia and the United States, the OSCE Minsk Group was established with an international mandate for conducting mediation and negotiations in a regional arrangement, as prescribed by the Charter. The OSCE Minsk Group co-chairmanship has been essential since its inception in mobilizing diplomacy, skills and expertise for a peaceful settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. That internationally mandated arrangement came under major attack when Azerbaijan chose to launch a destructive war amid a global pandemic in September 2020, in grave violation of the existing ceasefire agreements of 1994 and 1995 and of the Charter. Despite Azerbaijan's efforts to justify the military aggression it had unleashed, it was in reality the product of an intentional decision to walk away from the negotiations under the Minsk Group co-chairmanship, opting instead for unprovoked, large-scale violence with multiple verified reports of atrocities, including against civilians.

In his policy brief on the New Agenda for Peace, the Secretary-General stresses that "some States have embraced the uncertainties of the moment as an opportunity to reassert their influence or to address long-standing disputes through coercive means."

That is indeed what has happened in our region. We had been consistently warning the United Nations and the Security Council itself that Azerbaijan, emboldened by the results of its use of force in the past, had been seeking to normalize violence and aggression in order to impose unilateral solutions and finalize its policy of ethnic cleansing in Nagorno-Karabakh. In December 2022, Azerbaijan deliberately disrupted the movement of people, goods and vehicles along the Lachin corridor, effectively imposing medieval siege conditions on the entire Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh and using starvation as a method of warfare. In a manifest violation of its obligations under the legally binding orders of the International Court of Justice—including a provisional measure to ensure unimpeded movement along the Lachin corridor, as well as the preeminent obligation not to aggravate the dispute—Azerbaijan carried out a premeditated act of ethnic cleansing involving the imposition of a 10-month blockade targeting a population of 120,000 people, with the subsequent use of large-scale military force that took the lives of innocent civilians, including children, and eventually drove the entire population of Nagorno-Karabakh into mass displacement. Notably, it was only after the area was completely depopulated that Azerbaijan allowed the United Nations to conduct its first visit to Nagorno-Karabakh, obviously with the sole purpose of manipulating the United Nations mission in its work, in an effort to whitewash the massive violations of the rights of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh, who have been starved, bombed and forcibly displaced.

The major representative bodies of Europe, the European Parliament and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, have all adopted resolutions strongly condemning the recent military aggression by Azerbaijan against Nagorno-Karabakh, referring to the use of coercive practices to remove civilian populations from their territory as amounting to a crime against humanity. In the face of a situation where regional and bilateral security arrangements have regrettably failed to prevent military aggression or protect the lives of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh from devastation, the United Nations and the Security Council have a particular responsibility to live up to their mandate to uphold justice and accountability and to establish an effective international framework for the safe and dignified return of the displaced population in line with the norms and principles of international law.

35. Portugal Ambassador Ana Paula Zacarias, Permanent Representative

I would like to thank Brazil for convening this very important debate, which is even more timely now in the light of the recent developments in the Middle East, as well as other geopolitical tensions and conflicts around the world. I would also like to thank the briefers that we heard this morning for their valuable inputs and views.

Portugal aligns itself with the statement to be delivered by the representative of the European Union, and I would like to add the following remarks in my national capacity.

For my country, the contribution of regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements to the prevention and peaceful resolution of disputes is glaringly evident. From the centuries of peace and genuine friendship with our neighbours, to our membership in the European Union, to the growing vitality of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries, we know and cherish the value of such arrangements—because regional and subregional integration processes are themselves key drivers of peace and security that promote dialogue, trust, cooperation, development, social stability and democracy, reinforcing global governance and effective multilateralism.

In a moment when conflicts have become more numerous and deadly and harder to resolve, the need to reinforce cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in order to foster peace and security is obvious. The complexity of the integrated crisis we are facing renders the need for such cooperation even more evident. Those organizations provide fundamental insights from the ground, help to address the root causes of conflict in a preventive manner and operationalize the links between peace, development and human rights.

The Secretary-General's New Agenda for Peace outlines an extensive and ambitious set of recommendations that recognize the interlinked nature of those many challenges. Subscribing to those recommendations, we would like to underline four points.

First, regional and subregional arrangements should take up the recommendations of the New Agenda for Peace on the development of their own prevention strategies with cross-regional dimensions to address transboundary threats. We need more complementarity and coordination of preventive peace efforts.

Secondly, both in this endeavour and in helping Member States establish and strengthen national infrastructure for peace, we believe that the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) can play a very important role. On the other hand, we would encourage regional and subregional arrangements to consider the possibility of engaging with the PBC to share best practices and present their strategies, as a way to also identify how the United Nations can best support those efforts.

Thirdly, we once again highlight the need to strengthen cooperation between the Council and the PBC. Making that a priority means ensuring, in practice, the predictability and sustainable financing of the PBC.

Fourthly, as the guardian of international law and the guarantor of international peace and security, the Council should more systematically address the questions of early warning, prevention, mediation and peacebuilding. Alongside the security implications of climate change and the intrinsic value of respect for human rights, other issues like institutional capacity building, both at the national and regional level, merit greater attention from the Council.

Finally, at the level of peacekeeping, the Council should look into ways of authorizing peace-enforcement actions by regional and subregional organizations.

In conclusion, let me reiterate that we fully concur with you, Mr. President—we need dialogue among national, regional and subregional organizations, as well as dialogue between them and the United Nations, in addition to the much-needed involvement of civil society. It is through dialogue, indeed, that we can build trust and, thus, hope for lasting peace.

36. Germany

Ambassador Thomas Peter Zahneisen, Deputy Permanent Representative

I want to thank my colleagues from Portugal and Brazil for organizing this timely and important debate. I would also like to echo other delegations in thanking today's briefers for their insights and thoughts.

Germany is a strong and long-time supporter of United Nations-led prevention and mediation efforts. Over the past years, we have consistently contributed to the Organization's work in this field as a major—often the biggest—donor, be it to the United Nations Mediation Support Unit, the Peacebuilding Commission and its Fund or the Secretary-General's good offices.

I would like to briefly make three points with regard to today's debate.

First, I would like to touch upon peaceful dispute resolution, under Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations. In his New Agenda for Peace, the Secretary-General is very explicit. He calls for a better utilization of Chapter VI tools by the Security Council. This comprehensive toolbox is already in place, but it must be more systematically and frequently reflected in Security Council mandates. We hope that today's debate is a starting point of an in-depth collective reflection on how to achieve that collective objective.

Of course, regional organizations play a pivotal role in that connection. The Security Council should explore new avenues to foster cooperation and dialogue with regional organizations in order to make the best use of their experience with regard to regional and subnational mediation and dialogue facilitation, as well as prevention efforts.

Secondly, Germany firmly believes that we will not explore the full potential of peaceful conflict resolution unless we start collectively investing more in the development of national and regional prevention plans. For that purpose, we support the deployment by the Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and the United Nations Development Programme of Peace and Development Advisors, who assist national Governments on prevention, including the development and implementation of national prevention strategies. Germany was an early supporter of that idea and has been a top contributor in this field for many years.

That approach, however, cannot and should not focus exclusively on Governments. We must also look at societies at large, especially minorities and marginalized groups. Inclusion, ownership and effectiveness go hand in hand, and those affected by conflict should definitely be participating in its resolution.

Naturally, that includes women. That is why the German Government strives to use 100 percent of its funding for conflict prevention, peace consolidation and stabilization in a gender-sensitive and—where appropriate—gender-targeted manner. That is also an integral part of our feminist foreign policy approach.

Thirdly, we are of the firm conviction that the Peacebuilding Commission is one of the most adequate forums to implement inclusive, nationally owned and regionally supported conflict prevention and resolution. We would welcome a more systematic exchange between the Council and the Peacebuilding Commission in that field. However, to be effective, United Nations peacebuilding efforts require adequate, predictable and sustained funding. We therefore call on all Member States to listen to the great majority of the United Nations membership, especially to countries from conflict-stricken regions, and to stop blocking consensus in the Fifth Committee on assessed contributions for the Peacebuilding Fund.

Let my conclude by saying that, as co-facilitator of the Summit of the Future process, Germany is looking forward to hearing the ideas of Member States on the topic being discussed today in the Security Council. I have no doubt that this will help us to hammer out what, we believe, is our common objective—an ambitious peace and security chapter in the Pact for the Future.

37. Morocco

Ambassador Omar Hilale, Permanent Representative

Allow me, at the outset, to congratulate you, Mr. President, for convening this open debate on the role of regional and subregional mechanisms, under Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. This theme once again requires the ongoing commitment of Brazil to the maintenance of international peace and security. I would also like to thank the briefers for their statements.

The holding of this open debate is part and parcel of the third priority of the New Agenda for Peace. It offers the Member States a unique opportunity to adapt multilateral peace efforts to today's world by considering the realities of current conflicts. Recourse to Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter for the pacific settlement of disputes, specifically through prevention, mediation and negotiation, must remain at the heart of international efforts to maintain international peace and security. In that connection, we reiterate our support for the absolute priority afforded by the United Nations Secretary-General to promoting the primacy of political solutions to conflicts and disputes.

Furthermore, the international community is working to find complementary solutions for the maintenance of peace and security, bringing together, among others, regional and subregional mechanisms, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations—all while recognizing the primary responsibility of the Security Council in terms of peace and security. Indeed, regional and subregional arrangements can, when necessary, provide support to the efforts of the United Nations. However, to ensure the effectiveness of the international community's efforts, regional and subregional mechanisms must in no way replace or collide with the efforts of the Security Council and must obtain the prior agreement of the parties involved in the process. The Kingdom of Morocco has always made the maintenance of international peace and security a priority of its efforts at the regional and international level. In that context, and in accordance with the instructions of His Majesty King Mohammed VI, the Kingdom of Morocco is currently deploying more than 1,700 soldiers and police officers in United Nations peacekeeping operations, thereby demonstrating its firm and lasting commitment to peace and security and to the promotion of universal values of solidarity and dignity, as well as humanitarian assistance, particularly in Africa. In addition, Morocco has undertaken and continues to undertake specific mediation initiatives, particularly on the African continent, which have yielded fruitful results for conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

On the humanitarian track, Morocco continually contributes to humanitarian appeals around the world, including through the deployment of medical and surgical hospitals in the field, at the instruction of His Majesty the King. A total of 19 field hospitals have thus far provided 2.065 million medical services for the benefit of local populations and refugees in 14 countries, across four continents. That is in addition to continual financial humanitarian support, which reached \$1.5 million throughout 2022.

The Kingdom of Morocco is an active member of the African Union Peace and Security Council. As part of its Peace and Security Council presidency, the Kingdom of Morocco hosted the first session of the Tangier process in October 2022, under the auspices of the African Union and in collaboration with regional partners, to promote the peace and security and development nexus in Africa in order to combat the root causes of conflicts on the continent.

Moreover, the Kingdom of Morocco works tirelessly to promote the roles of and cooperation within and between regional and subregional organizations. We contributed to the revitalization of the Community of Sahelo-Saharan States by organizing the twenty-first ordinary session of its Executive Council in March 2022, with the participation of 25 member States, to tackle security challenges in the Sahel region. Furthermore, and under the leadership of His Majesty King Mohammed VI, Morocco has made the African Atlantic into an identity, an opportunity, a place of introspection and an area of projection. Morocco initiated the process of Atlantic African States—a regional grouping to support the integration and joint development of the African Atlantic coast and to promote political and security dialogue around the fight against terrorism, transnational organized crime, maritime piracy and illegal migration. That partnership framework establishes synergies with other cooperation initiatives and processes in the South and North Atlantic countries.

Before concluding, I would like to say that the Kingdom of Morocco, under the leadership of His Majesty the King, is committed to strengthening regional and subregional spaces for cooperation and dialogue and the primacy of peaceful means in the settlement of disputes, in strict respect for the principles of State sovereignty and territorial integrity, good-neighbourliness and non-interference—cardinal principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Confidence in international and regional multilateralism will be rebuilt through the maintenance of peace and security, but also through the promotion of development and respect for human rights.

38. European Union

Ambassador Björn Olof Skoog

I have the honour to deliver this statement on behalf of the European Union (EU) and its member States. The candidate countries North Macedonia, Montenegro, Albania, the Republic of Moldova and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as Georgia and Andorra, align themselves with this statement.

I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity to speak this afternoon.

We are unfortunately witnessing an era in which conflicts and crises are on the rise on all continents. Political dynamics are more unpredictable and tensions between countries more palpable. The United Nations is often sidelined, and mediation efforts are discarded. Against that background, the international community needs to do more to prevent crises, strengthen efforts towards peaceful resolutions and avoid that conflicts spiral out of control. Regional organizations can play a key role in that regard. The European Union, as a regional organization, has contributed and is still contributing to many mediation efforts on the ground across the world, and we would like to share a few thoughts based on our experience. Let me also highlight that this topic is all the more relevant in the light of the Secretary-General's New Agenda for Peace, which we strongly support. We need to protect and reinvigorate multilateral efforts and recall the unique legitimacy of the United Nations.

First of all, complementarity and the coordination of peace efforts is of paramount importance. There is no predetermined format—most of the time, mediation on the ground involves a number of different actors, be they national, subregional or regional, and/or the United Nations. The coherence, coordination and complementarity of initiatives are key for peace efforts to be successful. The diversity of actors can be an asset if the division of tasks between the various actors is clear. However, it can also jeopardize the prospects for peace if those efforts are competing with each other.

Regional organizations can provide space for dialogue and compromise and should be the first ones to ring the alarm bell, take prevention measures and facilitate mediation. Thanks to their geographical proximity and culture, they are more likely to be familiar with local issues, the situation and the parties to conflict. They also have the greatest interest in managing or mitigating a conflict to avoid a spillover into the region. We have seen during the past decades an increased number of regionally led mediation initiatives, some of which were successful—among them are the mediation efforts led by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

But as said before, regional initiatives are not exclusive and can be complemented or supported by the United Nations when needed. Very often, regional organizations are reluctant to have a country of their region discussed at the Security Council, as they fear it would diminish their control over the situation. We see it differently: sometimes regional efforts struggle to be heard by the parties and need additional support from the international community. That does not mean that the Security Council is substituting regional efforts—on the contrary, it reinforces them.

Cooperation between regional organizations is also key. The EU enjoys strong cooperation with the main regional and subregional organizations, including the African Union (AU), the League of Arab States, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Gulf Cooperation Council, et cetera. On African crises, for instance, we cooperate closely with the AU, ECOWAS and the Southern African Development Community on the situations in Somalia, Mozambique, Mali and the Niger, et cetera. Such cooperation is important to exchange information, assess the situation and join efforts in the same direction, for instance to put pressure on the parties.

Finally, regional organizations can play an important role, even in countries that are not part of their constituencies. The EU is a major supporter of conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts outside of Europe, and we do that based on our peacebuilding experience at home. Our network of special envoys and mediators is working around the world to enhance trust between local populations and national authorities. In Somalia, for example, we support communities that have been liberated from Al-Shabaab and have suffered from its punitive actions and drought. In the Central African Republic, our mission there supported the Government in creating a reliable legal framework to restructure the police and gendarmerie to better meet the needs of the population. We are also supporting international peace efforts in Yemen and Libya.

Some of our support is channelled through the United Nations, for example, to the United Nations Standby Team of Senior Mediation Advisers and the United Nations Peacebuilding Fund. One concrete example of operational United Nations-EU collaboration is Yemen, where the EU—at the request of the United Nations—is coordinating Track II mediation in support of the ceasefire. Another example is the EU-United Nations Development Programme partnership on Insider Mediation, which has enabled building and piloting critical insider mediation capacities in 14 countries. In Afghanistan, we support the Afghan Women Leaders Forum to raise women's voices in peacebuilding, as an inclusive approach is paramount for sustainable peace.

I believe Mozambique's peacebuilding efforts can serve as inspiration, as a process characterized by strong national ownership, continued and open dialogue between the parties, effective community engagement and support from regional and international partners, while mainstreaming a gender perspective throughout. The promotion of development and community resilience to prevent violent extremism is commendable and demonstrates the importance of building peace from the bottom up, promoting a positive rights based agenda based on inclusion, and the benefits of working closely with United Nations agencies and regional organizations.

I can assure the Council of the European Union's continued support for conflict prevention, peacebuilding and sustaining peace. We will continue to work to strengthen those aspects of the Security Council's work and of the United Nations system more broadly, including by accelerating the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals and engaging actively in the Peacebuilding Commission and in the formulation of a new agenda for peace.

39. Kazakhstan

Ambassador Akan Rakhmetullin, Permanent Representative

I thank the Brazilian presidency for convening today's open debate.

The urgency of today's global problems threatens all of us and our civilization. Therefore, we must create the conditions to unite efforts aimed at ensuring universal security, stability and sustainable development across the world. Kazakhstan holds the deep conviction that regional and subregional organizations, of which it is an integral and dependable member, are well placed to understand the root causes of conflicts; the unique and specific histories, cultures and politics; and the material circumstances of development in individual countries.

In times of global crisis and sweeping paradigm shifts in the area of security, multilateralism and inclusiveness have become the only possible approaches to peace and security at the regional and global levels. In that context, Kazakhstan would like to highlight the emerging role of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-building Measures in Asia (CICA), which it established in 1992 here at the United Nations, as an important partner of the Organization.

The principles enshrined in CICA's founding document, the Almaty Act, converge with those of the Charter of the United Nations. Those principles include respect for sovereign equality and rights; territorial integrity; the peaceful settlement of conflicts; and economic, social and cultural cooperation. The second founding document is the CICA Catalogue of Confidence Building Measures, which is updated regularly by its member States to address newly emerging tensions, such as epidemiological security, climate change, food and water insecurity, public health, information and communications technology, money-laundering and counter-terrorism, to mention a few. There is thus a great commonality of mutually reinforcing goals and direction. In addition, CICA covers key security baskets addressing the military political dimension to ensure lasting stability and to strengthen mutual confidence through information exchange, inviting observers to military exercises and holding consultations on unexpected and hazardous incidents of a military nature, along with other forms of cooperation that the member States deem necessary.

Another distinctive aspect of CICA lies in its membership. CICA today unites 28 countries. As such, it is the only pan-Asian organization that covers a vast territory from the Pacific Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea and from the Ural Mountains to the Indian Ocean. It is the only institution where both Israel and Palestine have a seat at the table as full and equal members. It also brings together countries that do not have diplomatic relations.

The growing engagement of member States has been a positive driver behind CICA's transformation into a full-fledged international organization capable of contributing to continental mediation and peacemaking. The last meeting of the Ministerial Council of CICA, held on 21 September in New York, endorsed the Road Map for CICA Transformation, which outlines eight areas of reform. CICA therefore offers an excellent platform for addressing current issues with bold, innovative, interlocking and multidimensional solutions.

To conclude, I wish to stress the importance of ensuring dynamic synergy between the United Nations system and regional organizations, in particular with transcontinental organizations.

40. Türkiye

Ambassador Sedat Önal, Permanent Representative

We thank the Brazilian presidency for organizing this timely debate.

Peace through dialogue is indeed a pertinent topic to tackle, especially in view of recent developments. At a time of multiple crises in the world, there is an urgent need for the international community to act, and to do so with reason, common sense and integrity. Such an attitude requires dialogue and diplomacy to be prioritized in order to achieve the de-escalation of tensions and pave the way for durable solutions. In that connection, allowing conflict dynamics to run their full course and making believe that elements of peace will naturally emerge after military means have been exhausted is a fundamentally wrong and untenable proposition.

Our contemporary multilateral system and its heart, the United Nations, were created to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. It is difficult to say that we have succeeded in fulfilling that objective. Obviously, we need to analyse the underlying reasons for that difficulty well. One of the basic conclusions such an analysis might yield is that no crisis can be resolved sustainably without addressing its root causes. There is a growing need to emphasize conflict resolution instead of having to contend with crisis management. Respect for the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and human rights should serve as our compass at all times. In doing so, it is equally important to avoid double standards and to ensure that rights and laws are applied equally and equitably to all.

As the saying goes, geography determines destiny. Situated in a geostrategic location, Türkiye has been a strong advocate of regional ownership and proactive diplomacy as important components of multilateralism. Accordingly, we have launched regional initiatives and peace mediation efforts aimed at bringing about peaceful resolutions to conflicts. Together with Russia and Iran, we established the Astana platform, which helped de-escalate the Syrian crisis and made meaningful contributions to the political process. As an active member of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, we are now exerting efforts with other member States to help de-escalate the situation in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by prioritizing an immediate and unconditional ceasefire, sustainable humanitarian access to Gaza and the revitalization of the peace process based on a two State vision.

In Ukraine, we continue to be an honest broker between the parties. We have facilitated prisoner exchanges and hosted peace talks and negotiations on humanitarian issues in Türkiye, demonstrating our commitment to helping to end that war at an early stage. Our dialogue with the parties allowed us to launch and implement the Black Sea Grain Initiative, in partnership with the United Nations.

In the South Caucasus, we have initiated various trilateral mechanisms to enhance regional cooperation. The 3+3 regional consultative platform proposed by Türkiye and Azerbaijan aims to strengthen dialogue, confidence-building and mutually beneficial cooperation in the South Caucasus. We continue to fully support the peace process launched between Azerbaijan and Armenia, in addition to our own normalization process with Armenia. A window of opportunity for sustainable peace and cooperation has opened in the Caucasus, and it is the responsibility of all stakeholders to seize it now.

At the global scale, Security Council reform is an absolute and urgent necessity. We support the United Nations reinvigorated multilateralism efforts and welcome the Secretary-General's call for a New Agenda for Peace. Its objectives require a United Nations that is strong, effective and compatible with today's realities. Türkiye will continue its active cooperation with the United Nations and other partners towards those objectives.

41. Poland

Ambassador Krzysztof Maria Szczerski, Permanent Representative

Let me begin by thanking Brazil for organizing today's debate on such an important topic as the contributions of regional mechanisms to international peace and security.

Poland attaches great importance to conflict prevention and mediation through the activities of regional frameworks, echoing the words of the Secretary-General, who named them the critical building blocks for networked multilateralism. Poland fully subscribes to the tasks enumerated for regional arrangements in Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. We firmly support the complementarity of their efforts with the efforts of the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, in maintaining international peace and security.

Taking all the aforementioned into consideration, Poland is very active in multiple regional cooperation formats. Those include not only the European Union and NATO, but also the Three Seas Initiative, the Visegrad Group and the Central European Initiative, to name just a few. We believe that regional groupings around the world should be attractive partners for each other, bringing their region-specific expertise on development and resilience issues together. We encourage regional organizations from around the globe to become interested in each other's work.

With regard to the specific topics of peacebuilding and peacekeeping, I would like to touch upon the following three aspects.

First, as has been mentioned today, regional security arrangements have great expertise in pinpointing the root causes of instabilities in their constituent areas. Their narrower scope of operation and hence more detailed understanding often allows for early detection of brewing disputes before they erupt into open conflicts. That significantly enhances the chances of conflict prevention, which is always more desirable than conflict resolution. In the latter case, intimate knowledge of the background of the conflict lends itself to finding a more tailor-made approach to a peace enforcement action when such a necessity arises, which is also very productive.

On the other hand, it is worth underlining that some regional groupings may lack the required resources and capabilities, making the task of peacekeeping or peace enforcement too burdensome for some of them. That is important to keep in mind when discussing the current trend of "outsourcing" peace operations to regional organizations and country groupings. Having said that, vital contributions of organizations such as the African Union, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the Caribbean Community, the Economic Community of West African States or the Southern African Development Community, to name just a few, when dealing with numerous political and humanitarian crises in their statutory areas, are undeniable.

Secondly, regional organizations and partnerships' contributions can be very constructive in mitigating the contemporary drivers of conflict. Climate change, scarcity of water, human trafficking, illicit weapons trade, terrorism and many others are usually of a transboundary nature. Regional and subregional organizations have the mandate to flag them and then pool national and regional perspectives and expertise together to tackle them effectively, thus neutralizing their potential as eventual triggers of destabilization.

Finally, let me share with participants some points from the recent Polish chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which ended only last year. Owing to its comprehensive security concept and a special set of confidence-building measures, the OSCE has a great potential for meaningful contribution to the European security architecture. One of the greatest achievements of Poland's OSCE chairmanship was the mobilization of supraregional public opinion on conflicts in the organization's statutory area by clearly defining who is the aggressor and who is the aggressed. We were successful despite Moscow's continuous violation of OSCE rules, including the constant abuse of the consensus principle, aimed at paralysing the organization's decisionmaking process—which we have all witnessed here in the Security Council as well. Poland strongly believes that regional organizations are capable of preventing, deterring and responding to armed conflict, in supporting the Security Council in its main task of maintaining international peace and security. In order to do so, there is a need for better coordination between the Council and regional arrangements in addressing potential and current conflicts. For that collective task to be fulfilled, it is necessary that all peace enforcement actions are fully in line with the Charter of the United Nations and international humanitarian and human rights law.

42. Liechtenstein Counselor Myriam Oehri

I thank you, Mr. President, for convening today's open debate.

While much of the reputation of the Security Council, for better or worse, rests on the actual or potential use of its Chapter VII powers, the acid test of its performance is how well it is able to exercise its functions under Chapters VI and VIII. The Council's strong relationships with regional organizations, including with the aim of reinforcing preventive diplomacy, exemplifies the ideal of a healthy multilateral system that addresses issues of peace and security at the source and in such a way that prevents and ends violence at the earliest possible juncture. We therefore believe that today's debate can reinforce the call of the Secretary-General in the New Agenda for Peace to support preventive diplomacy.

A quick look at the Charter of the United Nations demonstrates the mutually reinforcing nature of Chapters VI and VIII. Article 52, paragraph 3, requests the Security Council to encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through regional arrangements. It is clear, taking into account paragraph 4 of the same Article, that Chapters VI and VIII must be read together.

The question for the Council, of course, is how to apply that normative framework in practice. We see lessons for the implementation of both Chapter VI and Chapter VIII. The Council must continue to strengthen the implementation of Chapter VIII by strengthening its relationships with regional organizations, including and in particular their peacemaking, peacebuilding and mediation capacities, and in so doing, making clear that the Council should be seen as a credible backstop to regional efforts.

As one example, we were pleased to see appreciation for United Nations support in the most recent review of the leaders of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) on the implementation of the five-point consensus relating to Myanmar. While the situation on the ground in Myanmar has deteriorated, the ongoing crisis illustrates the importance of the two organizations working together, including through the support expressed for ASEAN in resolution 2669 (2022) last year. A complementary approach between the Security Council and regional organizations should include Council action as appropriate, in particular where its authority can bolster regional efforts to mediate disputes. We also note the strong relationship between the Security Council and the African Union Peace and Security Council, as exemplified by the Councils' trip to Addis Ababa earlier this month.

As for Chapter VI, the Council should clarify when it acts under that Chapter, as opposed to under Chapter VII. At the same time, we note in that respect that Article 25, key to the understanding that Council decisions are legally binding on Member States at large, does not specify whether relevant decisions should be taken under Chapter VI or Chapter VII of the Charter. More relevant to that determination must be that the Council takes a decision.

Finally, the Council's practice under Chapters VI and VIII should faithfully reflect Article 27, paragraph 3, of the Charter. That article clearly establishes a limitation to a Council member participating in a vote in the Security Council, by stating that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under Article 52, paragraph 3, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting. Although that limitation applies in equal measure to all Council members, it is notable that the very article that enshrines the veto for permanent members also institutes an explicit restriction on its use.

A Council member carrying out an aggression against another Member State of the United Nations is clearly a party to a dispute for the purposes of Article 27, paragraph 3. The effectiveness of the Council would greatly benefit from the practical application of that provision, which is legally accurate and in line with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as a whole.

43. Indonesia

Ambassador Arrmanatha Christiawan Nasir, Permanent Representative

I have the honour to deliver this statement on behalf of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Let me begin by conveying ASEAN's grave concern about the recent escalation of armed conflicts in the Middle East region. We call for the immediate end of violence to avoid further human casualties.

Fifty-six years since its establishment, ASEAN shares the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace, stability and security and the promotion of economic growth, social progress and prosperity in the region. However, nothing is to be taken for granted. ASEAN has made great efforts to overcome challenges to pursue common goals towards a peaceful, stable and prosperous ASEAN community.

Through our transformative journey, we have continued to build strategic trust and mutual confidence through continued dialogue, win-win cooperation and practical confidence-building measures to create a peaceful environment conducive to sustainable growth. In that regard, the Security Council has underscored the role of States, regional and subregional organizations and relevant stakeholders in promoting confidence-building measures and dialogue at various levels, while ensuring synergy, coherence and the complementarity of such efforts. We reaffirm our strong commitment to upholding regionalism and multilateralism and emphasize the importance of adhering to key principles and shared values and norms enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations; the ASEAN Charter; the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality Declaration; the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia; the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea; the Treaty on the South-East Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone and the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific. We recognize the strategic importance of our region for our peace, security, stability and prosperity, as well as that of our external partners. Given the increasingly complex and cross-cutting challenges, including challenges to the rule of law among nations, the need to uphold the rule of law has never been more urgent. Therefore, ASEAN and ASEAN-led mechanisms shall remain inclusive and open avenues that facilitate constructive dialogue and constructive cooperation that will contribute to the development of the evolving regional architecture.

Closer to home, ASEAN is committed to assisting Myanmar through the implementation of the five-point consensus in finding a peaceful and durable solution to the ongoing crisis, as Myanmar remains an integral part of the ASEAN family. We are united in our position to put forward the five-point consensus as our main reference in addressing the political crisis in Myanmar. We are committed to intensifying engagement with all relevant stakeholders in Myanmar to build trust and confidence, create a conducive environment and bridge gaps and differences leading towards an inclusive dialogue for a comprehensive political solution.

ASEAN remains concerned about the intensifying geopolitical tension in the region. We further underline the value and relevance of the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific to ASEAN's peace, security, stability and prosperity. We are determined to promote the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific through concrete projects and activities, particularly in four key areas, namely, maritime cooperation, connectivity, the Sustainable Development Goals and economic and other possible areas of cooperation. Such principles have been manifested most prominently through the East Asia Summit (EAS), the ASEAN Plus Three and the ASEAN Regional Forum.

Through the East Asia Summit, ASEAN underscored the need for the East Asian region to promote an enabling environment for peace, stability and prosperous development for all through a culture of dialogue and cooperation, instead of rivalry, and by enhancing mutual trust and confidence and respect for international law with ASEAN as the driving force. ASEAN is committed to working together with EAS participating countries in promoting common goals and interests and maintaining the region at the epicentre of growth by building resilience against emerging challenges and future shocks. ASEAN reaffirms the important role of the ASEAN Plus Three cooperation framework in promoting peace, stability and prosperity in the East Asian region with ASEAN as the driving force.

Meanwhile, the ASEAN Regional Forum, as a key platform for building mutual trust and confidence, continues to foster constructive dialogue and consultation on political and security issues of common interest and concern in the Asia-Pacific region. Going forward, ASEAN looks forward to working together to revitalizing the ASEAN Regional Forum so that it continues to function as the leading regional security forum in the Indo-Pacific region.

For such regional efforts to reach their full potential, stronger cooperation with United Nations bodies is paramount. It is time that the United Nations strengthen the role of regional and subregional mechanisms by actively supporting and collaborating with them. In that context, ASEAN underlines the significance of ASEAN-United Nations comprehensive partnership towards ASEAN community-building efforts and in our collective efforts in addressing global and regional concerns.

With the support of all partners, including the United Nations, ASEAN will continue to contribute as an important building block for global peace, stability and prosperity.

44. Pakistan

Ambassador Munir Akram, Permanent Representative

The delegation of Pakistan thanks you, Mr. President, and the Brazilian presidency for organizing this timely debate. We also thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari, Ms. Michelle Bachelet, Mr. Thabo Mbeki and Ms. Josefina Echavarría Álvarez for their insights.

We are living in dangerous times. International peace and security are confronted with multiple threats, marked by violations of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, unilateral use or threat of use of force, foreign interventions, foreign occupation, the suppression of legitimate freedom struggles, proliferating conflicts and disputes, new manifestations of terrorism, rising great Power tensions, expanding military alliances, a new nuclear and conventional arms race and the resurgence of fascist ideologies of hate and Islamophobia. We must respond to those challenges collectively and effectively within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations.

The primary responsibility to promote peace through dialogue rests with the Security Council. The General Assembly shares that responsibility, especially when the Security Council is unable to act.

It is widely felt that the Security Council has failed to perform the role envisaged for it under the Charter of the United Nations. And we have heard of the Council's paralysis on Ukraine, and now the Security Council has failed again to stop the slaughter in Gaza. Pakistan hopes that the General Assembly will take action and demand an immediate ceasefire in Gaza and full, unhindered and sustainable humanitarian access to the suffering people of Gaza and ensure that they are not displaced within or outside Gaza. Thereafter, we should seek to resuscitate the two-State solution, the only option for a durable peace in the Holy Land.

There are of course several other instances in which the Security Council has failed to live up to the Charter's vision, such as in the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir. The Council's resolutions, which call for a plebiscite to enable the people of Jammu and Kashmir to determine their own political destiny, remain to be implemented. Like Israel in occupied Palestine, India's massive occupation army of 900,000 troops has sought to brutally suppress the freedom struggle of the Kashmiri people and to impose what its extremist leaders ominously call a final solution for Kashmir.

The Council's failures must be addressed. Pakistan believes that can be done by making the Council more representative of the United Nations membership, more democratic by enlarging the voice of the majority of small and medium-sized States and more accountable through the democratic method of holding periodic elections. It is crystal clear that the main source of Council's shortcomings is the veto power of its five permanent members, whether exercised directly or indirectly. It is therefore difficult to comprehend the logic of those who advocate for the expansion of the number of the Council's permanent members. The problem cannot be the solution.

Regional and subregional organizations can play a role in promoting peace and security and resolving disputes. However, their role remains subsidiary to that of the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretary-General and other relevant United Nations entities, and their actions must remain consistent with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. The role of those organizations varies in each region. Some regions, such as the European Union, have developed advanced political, legislative and judicial mechanisms to address regional, security and economic issues. The African Union, too, has established important mechanisms, including through the African Union Peace and Security Council, to address issues of peace and security. Those regional organizations could effectively represent their members on the Council as they do in the Group of 20 now and are a model for other regions as well. The Uniting for Consensus Group has consistently proposed that regional representation could offer the basis for an agreement on the issue of Security Council reform.

In our region, it is unfortunate that the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation has been prevented by its largest member from realizing its potential. But fortunately, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization has established itself as a credible platform for Eurasian regional cooperation, including on security issues—as has the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, as we just heard. There are also promising crossregional forums, such as the League of Arab States and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, which have the capacity to contribute to the resolution of disputes among their members and other States and entities.

My delegation would be prepared, following this discussion, first, to explore the potential of that regional approach for reforming the Council, and secondly, to develop norms and guidelines that could be utilized in various regional and cross-regional organizations to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security.

45. Panama

Zoraya Del Carmen Cano Franco, Deputy Permanent Representative

Panama believes that the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations constitute the legal framework for governing relations among States. We are required under the provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter to seek peaceful ways to resolve conflicts, and as highlighted in the provisions of Chapter VIII, regional arrangements can contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security. Regional, subregional and bilateral agreements have proven to be effective tools for preventing and resolving conflicts, and it is essential to recognize their importance in the current international context. Bilateral, regional and subregional agreements can foster cooperation among countries that share geographic, cultural or economic interests. Promoting cooperation creates environments that are conducive to conflict prevention. Working together in sectors such as trade, security or the management of shared resources enables countries to build stronger relationships, which in addition to preventing future disagreements fosters transparency and mutual trust, two crucial elements of conflict prevention.

Panama firmly believes that regional agreements can contribute to the peaceful settlement of disputes. We recall with admiration the experience in our region of the Contadora Group, formed by Panama, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela in 1983. That group played a decisive role in the peace negotiation process in Central America during the 1980s. It later evolved into the Rio Group, of which Panama was also a member, providing the basis for the creation of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States.

Subregional alliances also play a crucial role in conflict prevention and resolution. Such coalitions can work to address specific problems affecting a group of geographically close countries, which can help to identify appropriate solutions and facilitate the implementation of joint measures. A successful example of that is the Caribbean Community, which promotes peace and stability in the Caribbean through dialogue and cooperation in areas such as trade, security and sustainable development. Using those instruments reflects a proactive and effective approach to addressing the peace and security challenges facing the international community. In all those cases, political will, dialogue and diplomacy play a central role. In addition, strengthening trust among States must involve eliminating the factors that undermine it, such as the possession of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, and that is why it is vital to continue to work towards their elimination.

On the international stage, where voices are diverse and perspectives may differ, listening to others is a fundamental pillar of effective diplomacy and the peaceful resolution of disputes. It is in our differences that we find the richness of humankind and the opportunity to learn and move forward together. To achieve peace and security, we must adopt collaborative approaches that start by acknowledging our diversity, and we must put ourselves in a position to understand the realities of others. We must continue to support and strengthen efforts to use peaceful means for the settlement of disputes, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, recognizing that peace is a precious commodity that requires a constant and sustained commitment. In that regard, the United Nations plays a crucial role in supporting and facilitating peace processes. Panama reaffirms its commitment to contributing to the work of the Security Council in promoting the international peace and security agenda, in line with its aspiration to be elected as a non-permanent member of the Council for the 2025–2026 term. We are optimistic that we can find common goals, because we believe firmly that more than anything else, humankind wants to live in peace.

46. Slovenia

Ambassador Boštjan Malovrh, Permanent Representative

First, I am very grateful to Brazil's presidency of the Council for organizing today's debate.

At the outset, I want to align myself with the statement delivered earlier by Ambassador Skoog on behalf of the European Union.

While the primary responsibility for the peaceful settlement of disputes rests with the parties themselves, the Security Council could do more to identify and address crises early, when the opportunities for constructive dialogue and the use of peaceful means are greatest. The complexity of crises and their increasingly transnational nature call for a greater level of engagement by regional and subregional organizations. In some instances they are the best suited to preventing, managing and resolving conflicts, and they have proved highly successful. Let me address three issues.

First, preventing conflicts is far more effective and less costly than responding to them, especially in terms of preventing human suffering. As we have heard, regional organizations such as the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the African Union, the League of Arab States, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the Caribbean Community and others possess an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the situations on the ground and have an important role to play. Many of them have developed innovative early-warning mechanisms in areas ranging from the rule of law, security and stability to equality and human rights. They have evolved a number of good practices in confidence-building, cross-border cooperation and, consequently, conflict prevention. One can imagine a toolbox with all the good practices, mechanisms and lessons learned from different regional organizations made available for global use. That is why we strongly support partnerships between the United Nations and regional organizations and call for strengthening them.

Secondly, one of the ways to address the underlying causes of conflict remains inclusion. Despite the many Security Council resolutions addressing the issue, women's full, equal and meaningful participation in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding remains an aspiration rather than a political priority. That needs to change. Simply put, we cannot leave half of the population out of the decision-making process. Gender equality contributes to political and economic security and stability. The Security Council has already reaffirmed that the empowerment of women and girls, together with gender equality, is critical to efforts to maintain international peace and security. The comprehensive implementation of the women and peace and security agenda is pivotal in that regard.

Thirdly, a good example of a transnational challenge that can act as a threat multiplier is the effects of climate change. They increase societies' vulnerability and exacerbate the potential for conflicts. There is a role for the Security Council to play in discussing climate security in the context of conflict prevention. Closer cooperation with regional and subregional organizations and mechanisms can help us better understand the specific linkages between climate and peace and security and devise climate-sensitive responses for preventing or mitigating potential conflicts. The stabilizing potential of transboundary cooperation is often demonstrated in the area of water issues. A good example is the International Sava River Basin Commission, which was established 20 years ago under a regional initiative, with the goal of consolidating peace and preventing a recurrence of conflict in the Western Balkans. Cooperation on a shared water policy helped build trust and paved the way for other forms of cooperation among former adversaries.

Let me conclude by saying that in an era of new and more complex threats, preventing conflict is essential. It is also the best investment for the future of any society. We must not overlook the potential of regional and subregional organizations in that regard, and we should continue to look for synergies, avoid duplication and work in a mutually supportive way.

47. India

Ambassador Ruchira Kamboj, Permanent Representative

I want to warmly congratulate you, Sir, on your country's presidency of the Security Council.

The basic premise underlying our discussions today is the erosion of trust in multilateral institutions and the need for reform. And it is indeed important for us to have an honest conversation on how to rebuild trust in multilateral institutions. Let me make four quick points as suggestions in the context.

First, the Charter of the United Nations calls for resolving any dispute through negotiations. Where there are bilateral agreements on ways to resolve any dispute pending between parties, the best way forward is for the international community to recognize the existence of such means and encourage them. We have seen several examples in the past in which bilateral discussions and regional and subregional mechanisms have been more effective in achieving mutually acceptable solutions to resolve disputes.

Secondly, with their deep knowledge of local factors and complexities, regional and subregional organizations, particularly in Africa, are uniquely positioned to find better solutions to conflict in their respective regions. We therefore support engagement between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations, in line with the Charter.

Thirdly, in the context of peacekeeping, these forces need to be reconfigured to actively liaise with regional forces. It is equally important to build the capacities and capabilities of potential regional partners, as well as those of host States. For our part, we have done so with several partners, especially in Africa. We also need to support African-led peace operations with resources and well-defined mandates that from their very inception also factor in exit strategies. Fourthly, none of that will matter if we do not address the elephant in the room, which is that we are currently unable to peacefully resolve disputes through the United Nations, because its core body—the Security Council itself—has been rendered ineffective. Unless we undertake comprehensive reforms and get this house in order, we will continue to face a continuing crisis of credibility. The new orientation for reformed multilateralism, which India advocates, flows from the idea that there can be no genuine solidarity without trust. An overwhelming majority of countries from the global South share our belief that reform of the United Nations architecture is no longer a question of why, but rather when and how soon. The opportunity provided by the Summit of the Future next year should drive us to work for change in the direction of reformed multilateralism, including through the expansion of the Council in both categories of its membership.

Lastly and regrettably, I am compelled to point out that Pakistan has once again stooped to misuse of the forum of the Security Council. Its observations are baseless and unfounded, and we therefore reject them in their entirety. The union territories of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh are an integral part of India, as a result of Jammu and Kashmir's legal, complete and irrevocable accession to India in 1947.

48. Australia

Ambassador James Martin Larsen, Permanent Representative

I thank you, Sir, for convening this important open debate on peace through dialogue.

Australia has always pursued a world where differences and disputes are settled not by power and size, but through institutions and agreed rules and norms. The United Nations remains the only forum in which all 193 countries have agreed to come together to navigate our differences through dialogue. We have built this institution recognizing that peace is our shared purpose. Yet, notwithstanding those efforts, the world is facing an extraordinary rise in instability, violence and armed conflict. Successive coups in the Sahel have seen the displacement of tens of millions. Russia's immoral and illegal war in Ukraine continues to cause death and destruction. And most recently, we have witnessed Hamas attacks in Israel, including abhorrent acts of terror against innocent civilians, which Australia unequivocally condemns. In the face of all such circumstances, we reiterate our call for full respect of international humanitarian law, including protection of civilians and provision of humanitarian access.

Effective and sustainable conflict prevention and resolution requires the knowledge, capabilities and engagement of regional and subregional groups. The Security Council has an important role to play by facilitating dialogue, mediation and conciliation through its convening power under Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations. That includes working with regional and subregional groups to leverage their expertise and facilitate the peaceful resolution of disputes. Not only will that enhance the effectiveness of conflict resolution, but it will also empower nations and regions—to lead their own peacebuilding processes and foster more sustainable and lasting peace.

Regional groups can be instrumental in the protection of civilians and in ensuring humanitarian access during times of conflict, acting as first responders and intermediaries. They can also contribute to the active protection of vital health services and health workers on the ground. And regional groups can be highly effective in negotiating safe access and facilitating the delivery of critical supplies. Australia urges the Council to continue to support regional groups' vital role in mitigating human suffering during conflict and contributing to the restoration of stability and peace in affected regions.

We support the call in the New Agenda for Peace to strengthen the role, funding and inclusivity of the Peacebuilding Commission. A stronger and more proactive Peacebuilding Commission will help mobilize political support and promote reconciliation and build on the women and peace and security agenda. And, importantly, it will support the contribution of regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements to the prevention and peaceful resolution of disputes. We support the call for more effective collaboration between the Peacebuilding Commission and the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Human Rights Council. We also support the call to formalize participation by regional organizations in the Peacebuilding Commission, to make its deliberations more holistic and inclusive. We look forward to progressing on these issues and contributing to efforts to build sustainable peace, when our Peacebuilding Commission term commences in 2025. We support regional leadership in peacekeeping. We welcome Fiji's proposal to establish a new Pacific peacekeeping association to strengthen our region's capacity and cooperation. We also support the call from African States for United Nations assessed contributions for African Union-led peace support operations.

The prevention of disputes and prevention of atrocities go hand in hand. Many of the risk factors for conflict and atrocities are the same. The new responsibility to protect framework for action developed by the Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect and the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect is a useful tool for States. It outlines a wide range of actions that States and regional actors can take to prevent and respond to atrocities and build more peaceful societies. Our commitment to international peace and security is why Australia seeks a seat on the Security Council for 2029–2030. Australia stands ready to work with Member States as we develop the Pact for the Future and serve on a Security Council that effectively addresses our shared challenges.

49. Malaysia

Ambassador Khairi Omar, Representative of Malaysia and Ambassador of Malaysia to Iran $^{\rm 1}$

Malaysia thanks Brazil, President of the Council, for organizing today's open debate, and the briefers for their valuable insights.

Our delegation aligns itself with the statement delivered by Indonesia on behalf of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Today's topic on the contribution of regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements to the prevention and peaceful resolution of disputes is of utmost importance and relevance to what the world is facing today. Prolonged conflicts around the world have long cast a shadow over global peace, with disastrous spillover effects that continue to threaten international peace and security. These conflicts unfortunately devastate lives, weaken institutions, disrupt economies and fuel further instability. The detrimental impacts of conflicts often persist for many years. Against that background, conflict prevention and peaceful resolution are imperative.

Malaysia is committed to the pacific settlement of disputes through peaceful means, firmly advocated in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations. Sustaining peace is a collective effort that requires the active involvement of all relevant actors. Towards that aspiration, the role of regional and subregional organizations is vital. In fact, many regional and subregional organizations have long histories of engagement in conflict prevention and mediation, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, which accord them useful insights and mechanisms to facilitate constructive dialogue and concrete cooperation.

¹ Ambassador Khairi Omar is the Ambassador of Malaysia to Iran and was present as a member of the Malaysian delegation to the United Nations during the month of October.

As a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, Malaysia regards the role of ASEAN in promoting peace, security and stability in the region as crucial. ASEAN was established in 1967, and ASEAN solidarity is built on mutual understanding, trust and confidence among its members. We share the same goal: to live in peace with one another and with the world at large in a just, democratic and harmonious environment, as clearly envisaged in the ASEAN Political-Security Community blueprint. To that end, the spirit of negotiation and mediation, based on our own ASEAN values, remains the bedrock of ASEAN's dispute resolution system, firmly guided by the ASEAN Charter.

Malaysia is convinced that a strengthened cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations is indispensable for the maintenance of international peace and security. The active involvement of regional and subregional organizations as reliable partners of the United Nations is crucial in delivering the Organization's mandate. Malaysia welcomes in particular the continued cooperation between the United Nations and other organizations, particularly the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), of which Malaysia is a member.

Myanmar remains one of the most challenging issues confronting our region. In that regard, Malaysia welcomes landmark resolution 2669 (2022) on the situation in Myanmar, adopted by the Security Council on 21 December 2022. Malaysia in that regard will continue to work closely and constructively with fellow ASEAN member States and the Council in efforts to achieve a peaceful and sustainable solution to the Myanmar political crisis. In that connection, we stress the need for a full and effective implementation of the five-point consensus.

We also recognize the tireless effort by the OIC in its solidarity to address the dire situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question. We endorse the final communiqué of the open-ended emergency extraordinary meeting of the OIC Executive Committee, held on 18 October 2023, on finding ways for the Palestinian people to attain their inalienable right to self-determination, in an independent and sovereign State of Palestine. The call by the Secretary-General through a New Agenda for Peace for robust regional frameworks and organizations ought to be supported and advanced. Malaysia will continue to contribute and participate actively in regional efforts to strengthen dialogue and cooperation in the maintenance of peace and security.

50. Qatar

Ambassador Alya Ahmed Saif Al-Thani, Permanent Representative

I would like at the outset to congratulate you, Mr. President, and Brazil on your presidency of the Security Council this month. I thank you for convening this important open debate. We also thank the briefers who have enriched our meeting this morning.

This meeting is held as humanitarian crises and armed conflicts are on the rise in the world, even as their nature and dimensions are constantly changing, including in the Middle East. That is specifically true regarding the latest developments and their humanitarian repercussions in the Gaza Strip, which require intense coordination of regional and international efforts in the light of the exceptional circumstances in the region. Those protracted conflicts and their implosion, from time to time, as well as their threat to regional and international peace and security, make it inevitable for all of us to adopt a more inclusive approach to achieve a just, comprehensive and sustainable peace by addressing the root causes of conflicts, especially the conflict in the Middle East.

It is also important in this open debate to think about the aspirations of the Summit of the Future, to be held next year, and to take into consideration the 2025 Review of the Peacebuilding Architecture, as well as to follow up the outcomes of the Sustainable Development Goals Summit, held in September. In that context, the State of Qatar reiterates its support for the Secretary-General's *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982) and the New Agenda for Peace. We note brief 11 of the New Agenda for Peace, which stressed the need for strong partnerships between the United Nations and regional organizations and for investing in diplomacy and preventive measures in order to stop violence and conflicts, while supporting peacemaking efforts through dialogue and mediation.

The State of Qatar is proud that preventive diplomacy, dialogue and mediation are the cornerstones of our foreign policy and strategy. That has

helped us establish a long record of successful mediation at the regional and international levels. Our efforts contributed to de-escalation and the maintenance of international peace and security. The State of Qatar maintains a comprehensive approach to the concept of peace. In our view, peace is not just stopping fighting or violence. Comprehensive and sustainable peace is based on prevention and addressing the root causes of conflicts. That includes development and humanitarian interventions and providing opportunities for the economic empowerment of women and children.

The State of Qatar believes that the Charter of the United Nations is a good framework for the peaceful resolution of conflicts, specifically its Chapter VI, while Chapter VIII also supports the role of regional and subregional organizations in the promotion of dialogue and preventive diplomacy for resolving conflicts peacefully, in the context of maintaining international peace and security. In addition, certain Security Council resolutions, including resolution 1625 (2005), stress the importance of building United Nations capabilities to prevent conflicts by supporting regional mediation initiatives through close engagement with regional and subregional organizations. Moreover, resolution 2171 (2014) called for the promotion of cooperation and building capacities with regional and subregional organizations and arrangements to help in preventing conflicts and their consequences, especially since those regional and subregional organizations and arrangements are more aware of what is happening in their region.

In that regard, we welcome the progress made in forging partnerships between the Security Council and regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements and organizations so as to promote conflict prevention, preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

Addressing new conflicts and their rapid changes require the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities in accordance with the Charter and relevant resolutions, which call for the promotion of partnerships and joint initiatives with regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements and organizations in the context of preventive diplomacy, conflict prevention and conflict resolution through peaceful means. We also call for investing in early warning systems and in peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations as part of a comprehensive reform agenda. We also call for adopting a comprehensive approach that ensures adaptation with changes in conflicts, as part of the New Agenda for Peace, led by the Secretary-General.

51. Namibia

Ambassador Neville Gertze, Permanent Representative

Today we meet in the Security Council Chamber in a state of heightened tension amid a perilous war raging in the Middle East. Let us recall that it is this same Chamber that was created with a primary mandate to oversee and pursue the maintenance of international peace and security. This is the organ we look to, to do its best to ensure that dialogue through diplomacy and the facilitation of compromises between parties in conflict situations are the best armaments of peace.

I thank the delegation of Brazil for organizing this open debate on the topic "Peace through dialogue: the contribution of regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements to the prevention and peaceful resolution of disputes." I also wish to thank the briefers on the important topic.

Our own experience in Namibia has taught us the value of multiple approaches for the attainment of freedom and bringing about an end to colonial rule and occupation. For us, that anchoring is the key example etched in our minds of how diplomacy can facilitate the transition from tension to negotiation and, eventually, lead to peace and reconciliation. That process was neither easy nor swift, but it inculcated in us a spirit of openness to the notion that dialogue and diplomacy can work.

For that reason, article 96 of the Namibian Constitution encourages the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. That is the general disposition of Namibia in any conflict, and we have remained fervent advocates for the peaceful settlement of disputes. In instances where that has proved difficult, we have resorted to the use of systems, processes and institutions at the national, regional and subregional levels. Similarly, we have consented to the jurisdiction of institutions such as the International Court of Justice. On one occasion, the Court ruled in our favour as it determined the need for the immediate end to our occupation. On another occasion, the Court did not rule in our favour, and we were required to be magnanimous and accept its decision.

The Secretary-General's New Agenda for Peace is commendable. It puts forward several ways in which the driving force for a new multilateralism must be diplomacy. It further recognizes the value of diplomacy as a tool for reducing risks in conflict, on the one hand, and managing heightened fractures, on the other.

Our world continues to evolve through ebbs and flows of polarization. In such a context, we look to the Charter of the United Nations for guidance on how best to embark on the pacific settlement of disputes. When we find ourselves in times of trouble, we should revert to the deployment of the tools enumerated in Chapter VI as our first line of defence to prevent armed conflict.

Namibia wishes to highlight, however, that the peaceful settlement of disputes is not a mere lofty ambition. Instead, it requires the setting of conditions that enable dialogue. Additionally, the correct set of players, enablers and interlocutors form the bedrock of success through diplomatic mediation efforts.

For that reason, we commend the efforts of the Egyptian Government and all stakeholders, including the Secretary-General, to initiate the Cairo Peace Summit, to be held tomorrow, bringing to the table a multitude of voices and perspectives on the ongoing crisis in the Middle East. To that end, my delegation encourages regular information-sharing between the Security Council and regional actors to enhance situational awareness and have clarity on nuances that are not obvious.

In conclusion, the events of this week were a stark reminder of the urgent need for the reform of the Security Council, as it is untenable that the Council fails to respond appropriately and with a sense of urgency in times of crisis, especially when civilian lives are at stake.

52. Argentina

Ambassador María Del Carmen Squeff, Permanent Representative

At the outset, we would like to congratulate you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Security Council this month and to commend you and your delegation for the efforts being undertaken at such a difficult time. In that vein, we welcome the convening of this important open debate.

Conflict prevention is the cornerstone of the peace architecture. The United Nations has long recognized the importance of regional and subregional organizations in conflict prevention, because they have the capacity to complement the work of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, as provided for under Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, in which the international community is called on to resort to those fundamental tools in the promotion of and search for peace.

Regional and subregional organizations are in an optimal position to understand the root causes of conflicts and to seek to open the doors for dialogue, given their thorough knowledge of the realities of the region in which they operate. It is within those organizations that the cultural affinities shared by neighbouring countries are best projected, and it is through them that a better framework for the dialogue that is necessary to reach understandings and resolve conflicts can be facilitated. We can reaffirm that with first-hand knowledge in the light of our own history and reality. The subregional processes for building trust in Latin America have allowed us to move from a logic of confrontation to a logic of cooperation, making South America a zone of peace.

The organizations of Latin America and the Caribbean have repeatedly expressed the region's interest in reaching, as soon as possible, a solution to the prolonged sovereignty dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland over the Malvinas Islands and South Georgia and the Sandwich Islands and the surrounding maritime spaces, in accordance with the relevant resolutions, and they have supported the legitimate rights of Argentina in that dispute.

Argentina highlights the relevance of the various alternatives adopted at the regional and subregional levels in matters of peace and security, in particular the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace and the positive contribution that those can make to the global peace architecture. Argentina is part of the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone, which is composed of three South American States —Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina—and 21 African States, and is recognized as such by General Assembly resolution 41/11, of 1986.

Similarly, Latin America and the Caribbean is a zone of peace, which was formally proclaimed during the second Summit of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, held in Havana in January 2014, as well as a zone free of nuclear weapons. It advocates the peaceful resolution of controversies and promotes the application of a system based on friendly relations and cooperation among its member States and with other regions and countries on a reciprocal basis in order to eliminate once and for all the threat and use of force.

Argentina also actively participates in the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean, which has maintained a strong commitment to disarmament and nuclear nonproliferation since its creation on the basis of the Treaty of Tlatelolco. It also supports the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the understanding that they make an effective contribution to international peace and security. We also wish to highlight the Brazilian-Argentine Agency for Accounting and Control of Nuclear Materials, which celebrates its thirty-second anniversary this year. The Agency is the corollary of a strategic approach and a trust-building process through which Argentina and Brazil signed an agreement on the exclusively peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The creation of that binational safeguards institution is unique in the world and allowed the vision of a nuclear-weapon-free Latin America to be consolidated.

While the Council has improved its interactions with regional and subregional organizations over the past two decades, those contacts have

not always been utilized in the context of conflict prevention. It is therefore our responsibility to deepen the Council's contribution. The survival of humankind depends on us working together. We need cooperation, not confrontation. Argentina has been and will continue to be a firm supporter of multilateralism and a defender of the use of diplomacy for peace.

53. Bangladesh

Ambassador Muhammad Abdul Muhith, Permanent Representative

I congratulate Brazil on assuming the presidency of the Security Council this month and commend its successful steering of the work of the Council. I thank the briefers for their insightful presentations.

The debate on peace through dialogue and the contribution of regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements to the prevention and peaceful resolution of disputes could not be timelier, as the Council is convening back-to-back urgent meetings to stop the further escalation of the crisis in Palestine and to save millions of civilians in the Gaza Strip. We have also been witnessing conflicts in different parts of the world that have brought misery to billions of people, especially by causing the deepening financial, food and fuel crises, among other crises.

Our collective experiences show that that there should be no other way to tangibly settle disputes except the approaches mentioned in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations, entitled "Pacific Settlement of Disputes." Therefore, regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements have a critical role to play in the effective implementation of those means of dispute settlement. Allow me to highlight a few points in that regard.

First, regional and subregional arrangements have the potential to find common ground and build trust among the parties to disputes and enable them to meet and continue the necessary dialogue. Regional and subregional organizations remain inherently in a better position to understand the regional and local dynamics and environment in which to promote the best solution and address the root causes of conflict.

In that regard, we wish to make particular reference to resolution 2669 (2022), which acknowledges the role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in helping to find a peaceful solution to the crisis in Myanmar in the interests of the people of Myanmar. We urge ASEAN to redouble its efforts in the implementation of its five-point consensus,

and to find a sustainable solution to address the root causes of crisis in Rakhine state and create a conducive environment for the safe, voluntary and sustainable return of the Rohingyas to their homeland of Myanmar.

Secondly, regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements bolster the socioeconomic, cultural and political ties among parties and nations, thereby further contributing to preventive diplomacy, the development of early-warning systems and the creation of environments that are conducive to stability. For example, the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States play a critical role in the peaceful settlement of disputes in the region. We also underscore the potential contribution of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation to enhancing confidence-building measures among nations.

Thirdly, the Security Council should enhance its engagement with, and support for, regional and subregional organizations in the settlement of disputes. Special political missions also play an important role in connecting regional and subregional organizations with the United Nations and strengthening cooperation in a meaningful way.

Fourthly, the Peacebuilding Commission is a potential platform for transmitting the words and actions of regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements to the Security Council and the General Assembly. It also enables the parties to share their views and opinions and subsequently contribute to building a stronger collective security machinery—one of the action points contained in the New Agenda for Peace.

Finally, I would say that the current dynamics in the world have given a clear indication that strong and effective regional, subregional and bilateral arrangements are indispensable for an effective multilateralism.

54. Kenya

Ambassador Martin Kimani, Permanent Representative

I would like to congratulate Brazil warmly on its assumption of the presidency for this month. I also thank your delegation, Mr. President, for its determined, cooperative and timely effort to negotiate a resolution on the situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question.

We value the Secretary-General's strong endorsement of regional frameworks and entities for maintaining peace. However, let me add a layer of nuance to that applause. The success of arrangements under Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations largely hinges on Security Council members' fulfilment of their obligation under the Charter to focus solely on resolving specific threats to international peace. When the Council is fragmented by national interests or is used as a platform for geopolitical rivalries, regional peace initiatives can be weakened or even brought to a standstill. In simpler terms, the Council's internal divisions can sometimes be transferred to those regional efforts, leaving them much like a boat that cannot move forward because its rowers are pulling in different directions. It is also important to recognize that not all regional and defence frameworks contribute positively to international peace and security. Some may actually heighten risks. We must therefore be discerning in our support, endorsing only those regional arrangements that align with the fundamental values and international laws that underpin the United Nations.

Allow me to make four further recommendations. First, the Security Council presidency can foreground regional experiences and perspectives. Presidents can encourage the Council to conduct on-the-ground assessments jointly with regional entities to generate joint diagnoses of the complex factors leading to conflict. Secondly, the Council should be a learning environment. More regions should consider adopting a model similar to the Ad Hoc Working Group on Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa.

Thirdly, the Council should deepen its cooperation with the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), whose inclusive peacebuilding dialogue with regional mechanisms and national actors can produce useful insights. The existing role of informal coordinator between the Council and the PBC should be leveraged ambitiously to enhance the quality of advice that the Commission produces.

Fourthly, in its deliberations and decisions, the Council should consistently consider the interplay between diversity and State-building in the quest for sustainable peace, which represents a key area of alignment between the Council and the PBC. That was the central focus of an open debate we initiated during Kenya's most recent Council presidency in October 2021 (see S/PV.8877). It is imperative that both the Council and regional actors recognize that identity-based conflict is a significant catalyst for violence and that sustainable peace is most achievable when prevention, mediation and post-conflict initiatives actively incorporate the inclusive management of social and cultural differences as a core competence for any effective State.

In conclusion, I commend the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) for its admirable efforts to foster a Haitian-led political process that can lead to an orderly transition for preparing free, fair and credible elections in Haiti. I strongly urge the Council and its individual members to extend their full support to CARICOM and Haiti.

55. Sierra Leone

Ambassador Michael Imran Kanu, Permanent Representative

I thank you, Mr. President, for providing strong leadership of the Security Council, and I would like to commend the presidency of Brazil for its efforts during this difficult moment for the maintenance of international peace and security. Let me also thank the briefers, Assistant Secretary-General Khaled Khiari, former Presidents Michelle Bachelet and Thabo Mbeki, and Ms. Josefina Echavarría Álvarez, for their important contributions, enriching our understanding of the topic of today's debate.

The deepening mistrust of the role of collective security, as that role was envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations, has profoundly diminished faith in the ability of the United Nations to respond to the myriad conflicts around the world. The Charter is a living document that provides a forward-looking framework for preventing conflict and the escalation of disputes through various mechanisms for the pacific settlement of disputes, as set out in its Chapter VI.

The catastrophic toll of conflict on human lives—with conflicts unfolding in the Middle East, Ukraine, Somalia, the Sahel, the Great Lakes, the Horn of Africa, the Lake Chad basin and elsewhere—underscores the primacy of dialogue in the search for global peace and security. The path to peace is forged by dialogue and cooperation, which is shaped by mutual trust and a common understanding of the specific concerns and threats from the perspectives of the parties involved in conflicts. To achieve that objective, we need to restore the multilateral rules based order, underlining the paradigm of coexistence and cooperation, in order to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security.

The complexities and the current frequency of conflicts are requiring actors at the regional, subregional and bilateral levels to take on a greatly enhanced role in the prevention of conflicts and conflict mediation, as provided for in Chapter VIII of the Charter. While the Security Council does bear the primary responsibility for the maintenance of global peace and security, as stipulated in Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations, in these times the Council has been unable to act promptly, effectively or with unity of purpose. We must therefore reinforce the involvement of regional and subregional arrangements in the peaceful settlement of disputes, including through conflict prevention, confidence-building and mediation, in view of their existing and potential capabilities and their understanding of the dynamics of regional conflicts. In our subregion, the successful engagements of the Economic Community of West African States in the conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, for instance, illustrate the viability of utilizing subregional frameworks in the search for peace in a particular region. The growing role of the African Union (AU) in peace support operations across Africa, the limitations on its resources notwithstanding, lends credence to the argument in favour of developing effective partnerships between the United Nations and regional arrangements to enable early responses to disputes and emerging crises.

Regional and subregional organizations are well positioned to understand the causes of conflicts, owing to their knowledge of the interests and concerns of the parties to a conflict in their region. They have a better understanding of bilateral relations between countries and are best placed to act as credible mediators in conflict situations. That is further buttressed by the Secretary-General in his policy brief on the New Agenda for Peace, in which he says,

> Regional frameworks and organizations are critical building blocks for the networked multilateralism that I envisage. They are particularly urgent in regions where long-standing security architectures are collapsing or where they have never been built.

In that regard, the regional economic communities in Africa and the African Union itself have clearly contributed to the maintenance of peace and security in the continent by providing troops for peace support operations, as was the case with the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group in West Africa and the African Union Mission in Somalia. The African Union has also supported mediation efforts in conflicts in Africa through such bodies as UN-Women Africa and the Panel of the Wise. Furthermore, the African Union has set up a peace fund to support peace operations, and the Africa Facility to Support Inclusive Transitions on the continent.

Despite those efforts, the missing link in the puzzle has been and is still the lack of adequate, predictable and sustainable financing for regionally and subregionally led peace support initiatives. We therefore fully subscribe to the proposal of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union, adopted as a consensus paper, on predictable, adequate and sustainable financing, based on its suggested tripartite actionable funding models, which are United Nations assessed contributions for hybrid missions, assessed contributions through a United Nations support office model and direct support to African Union subregional peace support operations.

There is a need to deepen the cooperation and partnership between the United Nations and the African Union, and in particular between the Security Council and the African Union Peace and Security Council. That should be done across the range of available tools that can make peace sustainable, including conflict prevention, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, sustaining peace and addressing the request for the sustainable financing of AU-led peace support operations, whose importance cannot be overemphasized.

Sierra Leone further underscores the need for continued improvement of the working methods between the two Councils to facilitate regular dialogue and cooperation on capacity-building and mutual strategies for achieving sustainable peace and stability in Africa, especially through regular monthly coordination meetings between the Chair of the AU Peace and Security Council and the President of the United Nations Security Council, as well as undertaking joint field and assessment missions. The consolidation of avenues of cooperation between the United Nations and the African Union is not only needed to sustain peace and security in Africa, but, more broadly, to also address the complex nature of the socioeconomic and other thematic security risks, including climate-induced insecurity, which continues to disproportionately affect Africa. In Africa's search for home-grown solutions to African challenges, the African Union, in collaboration with subregional organizations in Africa, should continue to focus efforts on the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the AU Agenda 2063 in order to address the root causes of conflict, silence the guns in Africa, address the adverse impact of climate change and build a better and secure future for all Africans.

In conclusion, Sierra Leone is convinced that one of the approaches to resolving ongoing conflicts around the world is to reform the Security Council to reflect present-day geopolitical and regional realities. Its rules and practices should rekindle trust in the United Nations to make it fit for purpose. There is urgency to redress the historical injustice done to Africa, as that questions the very structural legitimacy of the Security Council.

56. Peru

Ambassador Luis Ugarelli, Deputy Permanent Representative

Peru thanks Brazil for organizing today's open debate and for its mention in the concept note (S/2023/732, annex) of the comprehensive and definitive peace agreement signed between Peru and Ecuador in 1998, as a successful example of the peaceful settlement of disputes. We will mark its twenty-fifth anniversary on 26 October. In a process that lasted more than three and a half years, which began with the 1995 Itamaraty Peace Accord and culminated with the signing of the 1998 Brasilia Declaration, we used various tools listed in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations and confidence-building mechanisms. We negotiated directly and bilaterally, and when we were unsuccessful in making progress that way, we turned to the guarantor countries—Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States. They assumed mediation, reconciliation and, towards the end of the process, arbitration roles, always within the context of the provisions of the 1942 Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Boundaries.

The first stage was the establishment of the Ecuador-Peru Military Observer Mission, comprising officials from the guarantor countries, to supervise the ceasefire agreed in 1995 and to prevent future escalation. We then defined the remaining points of impasse and a framework for the substantive discussions required to resolve them. When negotiations stalled, a creative proposal from the guarantor countries allowed us to broaden our perspectives so that, in addition to the issue of the shared land border, we also addressed other issues, such as the freedom of navigation on waterways, border integration and military cooperation. That allowed us to overcome zero-sum logic and reach several agreements in those areas.

Finally, to finalize the demarcation of our shared land border, we requested the guarantor countries to submit a proposal that would help to achieve the objectives of peace, friendship, understanding and goodwill. To that end, our Governments accepted the binding nature of that proposal, with the approval of our respective congresses. That is how we achieved the peace that our peoples now enjoy. We can list several lessons we can draw from that process that are relevant to today's open debate.

First, it should be recalled that, as Member States, we conferred on the Security Council the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. It is imperative to underscore the fact that the commitment to resolving our international disputes by peaceful means has been assumed by each of the States Members of the United Nations. To that end, we have, first of all, the tools listed in Chapter VI of the Charter, which we can use without the need for our case to be placed on the agenda of the Security Council.

Secondly, in his policy brief entitled "A New Agenda for Peace," the Secretary-General rightly diagnosed the fact that one of our greatest collective shortcomings is the underutilization of the tools for peaceful dispute settlement referred to in Chapter VI of the Charter, specifically in Article 33. But for those tools to be effective, the political will of Member States is required.

Thirdly, bilateral conflicts have a regional impact that can roll back progress made in various areas. The guarantor countries understood that and made every effort to fulfil their role.

The experience of Peru and Ecuador, above and beyond it being a bilateral and regional achievement, shows the entire world what can be achieved when there is political will. Peru reaffirms its commitment to peace and the pacific settlement of disputes and offers its experience in that area. We call upon all Member States to take action in line with the purposes and principles to which we committed when we adopted the Charter. Only in that way can we build a more harmonious and prosperous future for our peoples.

57. Jamaica

Ambassador Brian Christopher Manley Wallace, Permanent Representative

I have the honour to speak today on behalf of the 14 member States of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

We thank you, Mr. President, for convening today's open discussion on the contributions of regional mechanisms for peace and security.

The increased number of conflicts underlies an imperative to ensure that solutions to conflicts, including preventive measures, are durable and inclusive, allowing for pertinent inputs from regional organizations, regional security mechanisms and other appropriate stakeholders. That is critical for CARICOM. The Latin American and the Caribbean region is known as a "zone of peace," not merely for its proud status as a denuclearized zone but also for its collaborative initiatives, aimed at preserving international peace and security.

Peace and security are important pillars in the foreign policy of CARICOM member States. Within that context, CARICOM continues to seize opportunities within the United Nations and with its bilateral and regional partners to contribute to the global peace and security agenda. Within CARICOM, we regularly convene official ministerial-level and Heads-of-Government-level meetings to discuss issues related to peace and security. Our regional mechanisms include the Implementation Agency for Crime and Security, which has direct responsibility for research, monitoring and evaluation, analysis and project development relating to the implementation of CARICOM's regional security agenda.

In addition to regional cooperation on peace and security, CARICOM member States have collaborated, bilaterally and as a region, with third parties to develop common positions in the First Committee of the General Assembly, as well as in the Security Council, on matters related to peace and security. Our contribution to the international peace and security agenda is evident in the areas of counterterrorism, nuclear disarmament, small arms and light weapons, weapons of mass destruction and intelligencesharing with regional and third-party authorities. Our engagements with third parties have also elicited technical assistance and capacity-building for our security systems and infrastructure.

Importantly, we ensure that our approach to pursuing the regional peace and security agenda, including through partnerships with external stakeholders, respects our democratic values and adheres to the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

One of the key security issues for CARICOM is our work with the international community to bring peace, stability and sustainable development to Haiti, our sister member State. Through collaboration within CARICOM, we have pursued advocacy for the adoption of resolution 2699 (2023), which, among other things, authorizes the deployment of a Multinational Security Support Mission to Haiti to assist the Haitian National Police in re-establishing security and bringing a reasonable level of stability to the situation on the ground, and we thank our partners in Kenya for their leadership on that issue.

In that regard, we once again thank members of the Security Council for heeding that call. Not only has that critical decision provided valuable support to the Government of Haiti, but it also assists all CARICOM members in safeguarding the regional security environment from those who may seek to exploit security loopholes in conflict areas. As small island developing States, we are very cognizant that instability in one CARICOM country can destabilize the entire region.

I take this opportunity to underscore the importance of deepening cooperation between the international community and regional security mechanisms in CARICOM and the provision of technical assistance and capacity-building to our regional mechanisms, with a view to sustaining our collective objective of securing peace and security in the region.

58. Mexico

Secretary Natalia Jiménez Alegría

It is through dialogue, the exchange of ideas, the exercise of listening to other points of view, that peace is built. The peaceful settlement of disputes is nothing other than the acceptance of the other as one accepts oneself.

Latin America and the Caribbean is a region characterized by its commitment to multilateral diplomacy and the use of good offices, mediation and jurisdictional institutions to settle its differences.

To give one example, it was in Central America that the first standing international tribunal, the Central American Court of Justice, was created at the beginning of the twentieth century by the Washington Peace Conference to resolve conflicts in the subregion. That position in favour of the peaceful settlement of disputes was further consolidated in 1948 with the signing of the American Treaty on Pacific Settlement, known as the Pact of Bogota.

Similarly, in the past decade, our region has appealed 15 times to the International Court of Justice, which demonstrates the confidence placed in the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. In the inter-American context, solid institutions have been established, especially for the protection of human rights. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights have become indispensable points of reference at the national, regional and international levels and guarantors of democracy and the rule of law.

Mexico reiterates its support for the work of the International Court of Justice, which, as a universal tribunal, plays a fundamental role in the peaceful settlement of disputes. Therefore, since 1947, we have recognized its compulsory jurisdiction. Taking into account the central role of the International Court of Justice, both in contentious and advisory matters, it is surprising that, to date, only 74 States have accepted the jurisdiction of the Court, including only one permanent member of the Security Council. We therefore solemnly call on those that have not yet done so to take that important step in favour of ensuring peace through the law.

In that connection, Mexico supports the declaration on promoting the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, an initiative of Romania. And we will continue to promote the inclusion of jurisdictional clauses in favour of the International Court of Justice in the multilateral treaties that we are negotiating. A cursory review of the most recent cases that have been referred to the International Court of Justice shows the importance of having such jurisdictional clauses to activate the jurisdiction of the supreme global tribunal.

In line with its desire to serve the best causes of humankind, Mexico has offered its evidence and its experience in the peaceful settlement of disputes, which in the 1980s brought extremely positive results for the pacification of Central America within the framework of the efforts of the Contadora Group. In recent years, as host of the agreement signed in 2021 with the facilitation of Norway, Mexico has reactivated the negotiation and dialogue process between the Government of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the opposition grouped in the Unitary Platform of Venezuela which resulted, just a few days ago, in very important agreements. Mexico is also one of the guarantor countries of the peace dialogue between the Government of Colombia and the Ejército de Liberación Nacional and will host the fifth round of talks.

The international community is at a historic juncture in which today more than ever it must reaffirm and strengthen the rule of law and commit to the peaceful settlement of disputes. Mexico once again reaffirms its commitment to international law, multilateralism and dialogue. Ultimately, it is by talking to one another that people can reach an understanding.

59. Algeria

Ambassador Amar Bendjama, Permanent Representative

I would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, once again on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I would also like to thank Mr. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa; Ms. Michelle Bachelet, former President of Chile; Mr. Khaled Khiari, Assistant Secretary-General for the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific; and Ms. Josefina Echavarría Álvarez for their introductory briefings for our open debate today.

My delegation would like to underscore the following.

First, the resolution of conflicts by peaceful means has always been rooted in the founding principles of Algerian diplomacy. We are convinced that dialogue, mediation and negotiation are not just tools for resolving conflicts but also a means of preventing other crises. Algeria's contribution to crisis resolution in its immediate environment—be it within the framework of the African Union, the United Nations or even bilateral—has always been based on the primacy of dialogue and negotiation.

As is well known, in 2015, my country embarked on an arduous mediation process between the Malian parties, which culminated in the signing of the Agreement on Peace and Reconciliation in Mali. The Agreement Monitoring Committee was able to establish direct and regular channels of communication between the Malian parties, which have preserved the cessation of hostilities for eight long years. That framework remains available and at the disposal of our Malian brothers when they wish to resolve their current differences and resume the path of dialogue, in particular in the context of the withdrawal of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali. Algeria will always remain at the disposal of its Malian brothers.

As part of the African Union's efforts, Algeria is also advocating a process of national reconciliation in Libya. My country, through the African

Union Ad Hoc High-level Committee on Libya, is working to contribute to efforts to organize a Libyan national reconciliation conference, which will be essential to unifying the structures of the Libyan State and healing the wounds of its people.

Similarly, my country, faithful to the founding principles of its diplomacy, has advocated a political solution to the institutional crisis in the Niger and has rejected all foreign military intervention in the country. My country will always extend its hand to its brothers in the Niger to return to the path of national reconciliation.

Cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter, is key to the success of our joint action. In that regard, the partnership between the African Union and the United Nations is a strategic one based on complementarity and comparative advantages. The signing of the Common Framework for an Enhanced Partnership for Peace and Security in 2017 contributed to the intensification of joint efforts to address complex peace and security challenges on our continent.

The annual consultations between the two main organs responsible for peace and security, namely, the United Nations Security Council and the African Union Peace and Security Council, on all current issues is the embodiment of the desire, on both sides, to move forward to strengthen common understanding and joint responses. Those consultations are expected to be strengthened to go beyond their role of factual and descriptive observation of developments in the security situation on the continent.

The theme chosen for this open debate provides us with an opportunity to discuss the crucial issue of financing peace support operations led by the African Union. On that point, I would like to refer to the remarks of the Secretary-General, Mr. António Guterres, to the Council last April, who underlined: "the need for a new generation of peace-enforcement missions and counter-terrorist operations, led by regional forces, with guaranteed, predictable funding."

In saying that, he also noted that the African Union is an obvious partner in that regard. My country fully supports that vision, which adheres to the spirit of the African consensus document. The current challenge for the African Union and for the United Nations lies in agreeing on a common interpretation of the spirit of Chapter VIII, while enshrining the primacy of the role of the Security Council in preserving peace and international security. Such a principle should give African peace support operations, authorized by the Security Council, full access to statutory contributions from the United Nations.

In conclusion, our joint efforts must not lose sight of the essential nature of investing more in crisis prevention. On that subject, my country is convinced that underdevelopment is the root cause of internal conflicts. It is with that objective that my country is working to organize an international conference on development in the Sahel. In that fraternal effort to eradicate poverty and underdevelopment, the President of the Republic, Mr. Abdelmadjid Tebboune, decided to mobilize \$1 billion for the financing of development projects on the African continent as a strong signal of Algeria's commitment to lasting peace in Africa.

60. Azerbaijan

Ambassador Tofig Musayev, Deputy Permanent Representative

At the outset, we would like to commend Brazil for having convened this important meeting.

Cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional arrangements under Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations is essential for the promotion of the purposes and principles of the Organization. Such cooperation does not take place in a legal vacuum. Regional, subregional and bilateral efforts should be based, first and foremost, on respect for international law, impartiality and the consent of the parties concerned.

Azerbaijan's experience of nearly 30 years of occupation of its sovereign territories by neighbouring Armenia, in blatant violation of the United Nations Charter, international law and the relevant Security Council resolutions, is an illustration and reminder of the need to do much more at the regional and international levels to confront the misinterpretation of international law and to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

The international community failed to prevent the aggression, ethnic cleansing and atrocity crimes against Azerbaijan and our people and to ensure the implementation of its own decisions. The mediation efforts conducted within the framework of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe yielded no results. Double standards and selectivity with regard to international law and attempts to maintain "a reasonable balance," instead of calling a spade a spade, only emboldened the aggressor.

Hoping for endless impunity, Armenia never engaged faithfully in the peace process and instead directed all its efforts at colonizing the occupied territories of Azerbaijan, under the cover of the ceasefire and the peace process, and effectively prevented international access to those territories for almost 30 years. The defeat of that policy was inevitable. By the fall of 2020, when the hostilities resumed, the situation was indicative of the absence of other reasonable means of bringing the aggression and occupation to an end, rendering the use of force in self-defence the *ultima ratio*. As a result of the 44-day war, Azerbaijan liberated more than 300 cities, towns and villages from occupation. Azerbaijan fought not against a fictitious entity or civilian residents, as Armenia falsely claims, but against the regular armed forces of Armenia, as well as terrorist and mercenary groups under its command and control.

Despite the post-conflict peace prospects and the efforts made to that end with the facilitation of international partners, Armenia has opted for maintaining territorial claims, refusing to completely withdraw its armed forces from the territory of Azerbaijan, further inciting violent ethnic separatism in my country and increasing armed provocations on the ground. On 19 and 20 September, following new deadly terrorist acts that caused numerous casualties among our civilians and military, Azerbaijan undertook local counter-terrorism measures against the Armenian armed forces illegally deployed and present on the territory of Azerbaijan. Those measures were carried out in full accordance with the rights and responsibilities vested in States under the United Nations Charter and international law, and in strict compliance with international humanitarian law. They lasted less than 24 hours and culminated in the dissolution of the former occupation regime and its structures and the surrender and disarmament of the Armenian armed forces on the territory of Azerbaijan.

At this critical juncture, we expect the international community to encourage Armenia to strictly abide by its international obligations, cease and desist from disinformation and misinformation and engage faithfully in efforts to build peace and stability in the region.

Attempts by some non-regional States to impose the experience of their colonial past and present on the South Caucasus and expand their xenophobic policies in the region, including by arming Armenia and supporting its hate propaganda, do not serve peace. Azerbaijan is firm in its determination to further advance peacebuilding, reconciliation, reintegration and development in the region, as well as to ensure justice and prevent and repel any threats to the safety and well-being of its people and the State's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

61. Sri Lanka

Ambassador Mohan Pieris, Permanent Representative

The founding fathers of the United Nations established the Organization with the purposes of maintaining international peace and security, of developing friendly relations among nations and of taking other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace. They also wished to achieve international cooperation in solving economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and to promote respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedoms for all. The political, military, economic, ecological, social and cultural environment in which the United Nations operates has changed considerably over the years and continues to evolve, both globally and regionally.

The maintenance of international peace and security is a critical objective of the United Nations and of the Security Council, its principal body for such action. In pursuing that objective of maintaining international peace and regional security, we see the United Nations feverishly working to prevent and resolve conflicts, promote disarmament and non-proliferation and support post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation.

Overall, the maintenance of international peace and security including regional security—is essential for the promotion of human rights, sustainable development and the well-being of people around the world. It is therefore noteworthy that the United Nations has been seen to continuously strive to promote world peace and security through its various programmes and initiatives by way of its numerous agencies. We appreciate that it is impossible to completely eradicate conflict and violence in the world. However, the United Nations has made significant efforts to address various global challenges and promote peaceful resolutions to conflicts through its regional mechanisms, including alternative methods of dispute resolution, as part of its mandate for the pacific settlement of disputes. Article 52 of the Charter of the United Nations makes it incumbent upon the Security Council to encourage the pacific settlement of disputes through regional agencies, either on the initiative of the State concerned or by a referral by the Council itself—the principal organ being the International Court of Justice, which settles disputes or delivers advisory opinions, which have contributed to peace among nations.

The question has been asked as to whether the Security Council can do more to promote world peace and security, particularly as the main organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. It has been said that the Security Council can do more by taking a proactive approach to conflict prevention, rather than just responding to already ongoing conflicts. That could involve early-warning mechanisms and preventative diplomacy to address conflicts before they escalate. It is believed that, in addition, the Security Council and regional mechanisms could work to address the root causes of conflict, such as poverty, inequality and political instability, through long-term development initiatives.

In the final analysis, it must be accepted—without demur—that while the Security Council has made significant efforts to promote world peace and security, there is always room for improvement, and the Council can do more to address the changing nature of conflict and security threats in the world.

The permanent members of the Security Council cannot be seen as derogating from their sacred obligation and trust to ensure world peace. As we know, they command unparalleled influence over global security issues and the ability to veto draft resolutions. They indeed have a critical role as trustees of global security to play that central part in bringing about a settlement of global and regional conflicts. To that end, we hold the Security Council to that sacred duty to engage in proactive diplomacy; to offer its expertise and resources to mediate; to offer incentives to the parties to encourage them to engage in negotiations and make concessions; to provide financial and technical support to initiatives aimed at peacebuilding and reconciliation, which can help strengthen local and regional mechanisms, promote civil society engagement and facilitate people-to-people dialogue; and finally, to collectively and individually reaffirm their commitment to international law, including the relevant United Nations resolutions, and ensure their implementation.

We therefore call upon the five permanent members to collectively and individually demonstrate a strong commitment to the resolution of global conflicts and work constructively towards negotiated settlements of global disputes. Their leadership, influence and resources can make a significant contribution to creating conditions for just and lasting peace.

It has been said that the world is in need of an all-encompassing and, of course, just and humane—order in the light of which the rights of all are preserved and peace and security are safeguarded. It is in our interest, and for the sake of our survival, that the Security Council does not lose sight of that goal.

As someone said, when it comes to geopolitics or local politics, conflict resolution and peacekeeping skills, it is best to forget about such illusory abstractions as east and west or north and south, race and sexual orientation, and to realize who we really are and why we are really here. All of us here are really here to ensure peace for the global community. We owe it to ourselves and to the global communities we represent.

62. Pakistan

Ambassador Munir Akram, Further Statement

My delegation is compelled to take the floor again to make a brief comment in response to the statement made by the representative of India.

The greatest falsehood we just heard is that Jammu and Kashmir is part of India. Jammu and Kashmir is an internationally recognized disputed territory and is not at all a so-called "integral part of India." Repeating a wrong position will not make it acceptable at any point or in any forum. In all its resolutions on the subject, the Security Council has decided that the final disposition of Kashmir shall be determined by its people through a United Nations-supervised plebiscite. India accepted that decision and is bound to comply with it in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Contrary to the comment made, Jammu and Kashmir is completely relevant to today's debate in the Council. The Jammu and Kashmir dispute has been on the Council's agenda for more than 75 years. It is the responsibility of the Council to implement its own resolutions.

Instead of crying foul all the time—if India had any respect for the United Nations Charter and international law, or moral courage—it should stop its reign of terror, withdraw its troops and let the Kashmiris freely decide their future in accordance with Security Council resolutions. Pakistan has and will continue to highlight the continued repression against the people of the Indian illegally occupied Jammu and Kashmir.

63. Brazil

Ambassador Sérgio França Danese, Further Statement

I would like to thank all Council members and other delegations for their participation at today's signature event proposed by the Brazilian presidency. I think we had an extensive and valuable presentation of multiple views and good experiences as regards the topic proposed for our discussion—a very timely debate on the contributions of regional, subregional and bilateral mechanisms and initiatives that help enhance peace and security. We say today from various angles that there is hope for peace and security around the world. Let us hope that this discussion will enlighten our debates in the Council and, most of all, drive our actions in facing the growing challenges to peace and security in our times.

About the Editors

Ambassador Sérgio França Danese (São Paulo, Brazil, 1954), a career diplomat, is, since June 28th, 2023, the Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations in New York. A former high school student in the Colégio de Aplicação of the University of São Paulo, he graduated at that University in 1976 with a major in Modern Languages, and was a graduate student in Hispanic American Literature at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (1977-1979). He entered the Instituto Rio Branco, Brazil's Diplomatic Academy, in 1980, and graduated as a Third Secretary of Embassy in December 1981, having received the Rio Branco Award and the Vermeil Medal. He was promoted to Second Secretary in June 1984, First Secretary in June 1989, Counselor in December 1994, Minister in June 2000, and Ambassador in December 2008.

In Brazil, he was the assistant to the Director of the Department of Americas at the Ministry of External Relations (1981-1985), assistant to the Diplomatic Advisor to the President (1985-1987), assistant to the Secretary-General for External Relations (1992-1993), Secretary-General to the Brazilian Delegation to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Rio-92), speaker for the Ministry of the Environment and the Amazon Region (1993-1994), Special Counselor and Speaker for the Minister at the Ministry of Finance (1994), Political Counselor and Speaker for the Minister at the Ministry of External Relations (1995-1998), Director of the Bureau for Congressional and Federative Affairs in the Ministry of External Relations (2009-2012), Undersecretary General for Brazilian Communities Abroad in the Ministry of External Relations, in charge of consular affairs, international legal cooperation, immigration and international treaties (2012-2015), and Secretary-General of Foreign Affairs (Vice Minister, 2015-2016, and acting Foreign Minister during the absences of the Minister). Abroad, he was Secretary of the Embassies in Washington (1987-1990) and Mexico (1990-1992), Counselor and Representative to the Point of Contact of the MTCR at the Embassy in

Paris (1998-2000), Minister-Counselor and DCM in Buenos Aires (2000-2005), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Algiers, Algeria (2005-2009), in Buenos Aires, Argentina (2016-2020), in Pretoria, South Africa (2020-2022), and in Lima, Peru (2022-2023).

At the Rio Branco Institute, he was Professor of Brazilian Diplomatic History (1982-1987 and 1994-1996), and of Brazilian Contemporary Foreign Policy (1993-1996). He has published Diplomacia presidencial ("Presidential diplomacy", diplomatic history and Brazilian foreign policy, Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 1999, and Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2017), A escola da liderança ("The school of leadership", diplomatic history and Brazilian foreign policy, Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2009), A história verdadeira do Pássaro-Dodô ("The true story of the Dodo Bird", children's fiction, São Paulo: Saraiva, 1998), A sombra do meio-dia ("The shadow of noon", fiction, Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2003), and O outro lado da Lua ("The other side of the moon", fiction, Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2018). He has published articles on foreign affairs and Brazilian foreign policy in different media in Brazil and abroad. He received decorations from France, Germany, Italy, Lebanon, Venezuela, Argentina, Portugal, Surinam, Uruguay, Chile, Mexico and Peru. He speaks Portuguese, French, Spanish and English. He is married and has two children.

Roberto Szatmari (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1985) is a career diplomat posted to the Mission of Brazil to the United Nations in New York since July 2022. He studied at the British School of Rio de Janeiro and holds a B.A. in International Relations from the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro and an M.A. in Japanese Studies from Sophia University, Tokyo. He worked as a journalist at Brazil's *Folha de S.Paulo* before joining the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2014 and was posted to the Brazilian Embassy in Tokyo between 2019 and 2022. He is the author of a Master's thesis on representations of the United Nations in Japanese animation and co-author of a chapter on Brazil-Japan relations in the "Handbook of Japan's Foreign and Domestic Policies in the 2010s" (forthcoming, Japan Documents).

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During our second presidency at the UN Security Council in its 2022-2023 mandate, Brazil organized a high-level debate on the experiences of prevention, mediation, and confidence-building developed by regional, sub-regional, and bilateral arrangements. Those experiences can inspire and create a positive feedback loop for improving the effectiveness of the Security Council. Examining the efforts at peaceful settlement of disputes that have been successful at the regional level can help the Council rediscover its own toolkit.

The book you hold is both the result of this initiative and the beginning of a longer-term discussion on rethinking the Council's role. We came to the end of our 2022-2023 mandate confident that what the Council needs is more diplomacy, not less. We also came away encouraged that there are many who share this view, as you will read in the pages of this book. And that there are many good examples and successful experiences to share and promote.

We hope it will be valuable both to the Council in its current form and to efforts aimed at shaping a reformed Security Council capable of preventing the outbreak of wars, de-escalating ongoing conflicts, and fostering lasting political solutions that underscore the importance of diplomacy.

> Ambassador Mauro Vieira Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil



