



# Security Council

Seventy-seventh year

*Provisional*

**9220**<sup>th</sup> meeting

Wednesday, 14 December 2022, 3 p.m.

New York

*President:* Mr. Ravindran/Mr. Mathur . . . . . (India)

*Members:*

Albania . . . . .	Mr. Spasse
Brazil . . . . .	Mr. Burkhardt
China . . . . .	Mr. Gong Cheng
France . . . . .	Mr. Wavrin
Gabon . . . . .	Ms. Betoe Ndojombouet
Ghana . . . . .	Ms. Kesse Antwi
Ireland . . . . .	Ms. Dowling
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Mexico . . . . .	Mr. Sánchez Kiesslich
Norway . . . . .	Ms. Kristmoen
Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Suprunenko
United Arab Emirates . . . . .	Ms. Alshamsi
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . .	Ms. O'Kelly
United States of America . . . . .	Ms. Hoey

## Agenda

Maintenance of international peace and security

New orientation for reformed multilateralism

Letter dated 25 November 2022 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2022/880)

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*The meeting was resumed at 3.10 p.m.*

**The President:** I would like to remind all speakers to limit their statements to no more than four minutes in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously. Flashing lights on the collars of the microphones will prompt speakers to bring their remarks to a close after four minutes.

I now give the floor to the representative of Italy.

**Mr. Massari (Italy):** The core issues of this open debate are at the very heart of the increasing demand for reforming and strengthening the entire set of multilateral institutions on which the international system is based today. The discussion of how to reform multilateral institutions is urgent and needs to be inclusive, involving all Member States in the appropriate negotiating forums.

We strongly believe in a rules-based international order, with the United Nations at its core, for ensuring peace and security, human rights and sustainable development. As stated in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, there can be no peace without sustainable development and no sustainable development without peace or human rights. It is therefore essential that the New Agenda for Peace be anchored in those principles. In order to do that, we have to strengthen global cooperation among all regions and Member States, giving priority to the needs of the most vulnerable countries and regions and the means to address the specific challenges they face. The Secretary-General has already offered his vision for a reformed multilateralism, as presented in his report on *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982). Member States should actively consider the report's key proposals, which deserve our full attention if we are to build a more effective, efficient, inclusive and networked multilateralism across all three pillars of the United Nations.

With the ultimate goal of strengthening multilateralism, Italy underscores the urgency and importance of Security Council reform. Italy and the partners in the Uniting for Consensus group have a very clear vision of how to achieve that goal, and our position is well known. We have made it clear in the intergovernmental negotiations, which remain the only credible platform for achieving comprehensive reform of the Security Council and — let me stress — the only natural forum where reform is to be discussed among Member States. That said, I want to reiterate here that in

our view, a satisfactory reform of the Security Council is one that will enable it to be more representative, democratic, efficient, transparent and accountable, and ultimately more fit to face new global challenges and today's realities.

A more transparent Council means that decisions are taken not by an exclusive few who hold ultimate power, but by all Security Council members in a fully inclusive way. A more representative Council means going beyond a simple increase in the number of members. It means increasing the opportunities for all Member States and thereby the role and voices of those currently underrepresented, in particular Africa and small island developing States. A more accountable Council means that every member should answer to the entire United Nations membership. The vetoes cast in the Council in recent months in relation to Russia's aggression against Ukraine have provided further confirmation of the paralysing effect of the veto on the Council's ability to act. That is why we support initiatives aimed at self-restraint when it comes to the exercise of the veto. A more democratic Council simply means that every new member of a reformed Security Council must be elected. Democracy as we know it is based on regular elections. A more effective Council means one that can act expeditiously, that enjoys more credibility in the eyes of all Member States and whose decisions are fully observed and implemented, enabling it to better deliver on its mandate.

A reformed Security Council is well within our reach. It is not the absence of a text that is hampering progress towards a more effective Council. Unfortunately, to this day, the debate is often derailed by an insistence on process and procedural matters instead of a focus on substance and finding true convergence on the important issues at hand, such as regional representation within the Council.

Italy will continue to engage in a constructive and committed manner in the new session of the intergovernmental negotiations starting in January. We hope that the rest of the membership will do the same with a view to reaching further areas of convergence and moving the reform process forward. Furthermore, we believe we ought to improve the Council's working methods. For that to happen, there is no need to go through the process of amending the Charter of the United Nations — it can be done here and now.

In conclusion, the serious international crises under way have highlighted even more dramatically the need for an effective multilateral system. Italy will continue to do its part to contribute to advancing towards a reformed, effective, accountable and democratic multilateralism.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Switzerland.

**Mr. Hauri** (Switzerland) (*spoke in French*): We thank India for organizing this debate and the speakers for their contributions. We congratulate India on the successful conclusion of its term on the Council with its presidency this month. The participation of the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly in this meeting underlines the importance of close collaboration between United Nations organs.

“A world gone mad” was the observation shared by the Chief Emergency Relief Coordinator, Mr. Martin Griffiths, in this Chamber recently (see S/PV.9208), underlining the devastating figure of 339 million people who will need humanitarian assistance in 2023 — equivalent to 1 in 23 people on the planet. Our world is adrift, marked by record numbers of displaced people, famine, climate change, armed conflict and daily violations of human rights and international humanitarian law that are reflected in many contexts on the Council’s agenda.

That bleak picture calls for common, sustainable responses anchored in international law and inspired by the values and principles of this Organization. Effective multilateralism must translate into tangible results, with the protection of civilians being one of its highest priorities. As our President stressed in the General Assembly, the United Nations offers a unique framework for joining forces to maintain international peace and security as partners and not adversaries (see A/77/PV.4). Responses to complex challenges can only be collective and require a focused strengthening of multilateralism, as well as a strong and effective United Nations. I would like to highlight three aspects.

First, Switzerland joins the calls for reforming the Security Council to render it more representative, accountable and effective. We are committed, together with our partners in the Accountability, Coherence and Transparency (ACT) group, to strengthening the Council’s working methods. Advocacy for a more responsible and restricted use of the veto is an integral part of that endeavour. The veto must not prevent

the Council from fulfilling its mandate to protect civilians, prevent conflicts and ensure accountability for atrocities. We call on all States to adhere to the code of conduct that the ACT group has developed with a view to achieving those ends. General Assembly resolution 76/262 promotes complementarity between United Nations organs in the event of blockages created by the use of the veto. Consensus-building that allows the Council to speak with one voice remains equally important.

Secondly, effective multilateralism must take into account the diversity of the actors involved and promote inclusive approaches while avoiding duplication. The density and diversity of organizations in Geneva — the secondary Headquarters of the United Nations and its operational engine — make it a place of innovation and anticipation that is open and responsive to Member States, non-governmental organizations, the private sector, data science and science diplomacy. In responding to global challenges, we can further leverage that centre of global governance and Geneva-style multilateralism.

Thirdly, we will remain committed to the implementation of *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982). We welcome the New Agenda for Peace, of which the Secretary-General presented a broad outline this morning. We commend the proposals to strengthen conflict prevention and foresight, reduce strategic risks and respond to new threats to peace. In that context, let us continue to use science, research and technology as tools for achieving peace.

In the Security Council, Switzerland will work to foster decisive multilateral action and respect for international law. We will work for and in partnership with all Member States. In conclusion, I would like to thank the outgoing members of the Council — India, Ireland, Kenya, Mexico and Norway — for their contribution to international peace and security.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Austria.

**Mr. Marschik** (Austria): Let me commend India for convening today’s debate, as well as to thank all the representatives who are here right now instead of watching the World Cup semi-final in the Delegates’ Lounge.

Sir, I would like to say that the topic you have chosen for today’s open debate should be at the core

of our efforts: how we can assist the United Nations to be as credible and effective as possible in order to deliver on our aspirations for a more peaceful, just and prosperous world. I also thank you for your concept note (see S/2022/880), which was very useful. Allow me now to make some comments regarding the Security Council, the relevance of the rule of law and the state of multilateralism at the United Nations in general.

As a staunch supporter of multilateralism and member of the Accountability, Coherence and Transparency (ACT) group, Austria has consistently advocated for a more transparent, accountable and inclusive Security Council. We are guided by our belief that the Council must better reflect the realities of the twenty-first century in order to address today's challenges. That entails a more representative membership that reflects today's world and its diversity. It is crucial to ensure the full participation of small and medium-sized States in the work of the Council. Smaller States make vital contributions to peace and security precisely because they — like Austria — are highly aware of their dependence on the international system for security and for the safety of their citizens. Smaller States therefore have a keen interest in universal respect for the Charter of the United Nations — our Charter — and compliance with international law.

It is indeed hard to overemphasize the role of the Security Council in defending and upholding the rule of law and the primacy of international law over unilateral acts. It is our strong conviction that the Council, in carrying out its mandate to maintain international peace and security, has to step up to defend the Charter and support compliance with international law. That may seem obvious in view of the Council's clear mandate under the Charter. Unfortunately, however, it must be spelled out clearly, in a year when we have seen Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter violated by one of the five permanent members of the Council — by Russia's aggression against Ukraine. Such acts shake the very foundation on which our system of collective security at the United Nations rests. They sow doubt as to the effectiveness of our international system based on law.

Let me be very clear: there is no lack of international norms. There is, however, an appalling disregard for the rules, as well as a lack of compliance and implementation. We clearly need to seek new ways to enhance compliance in order to increase the political and legal costs of violations of the Charter. We could therefore perhaps look at creating a mechanism

whereby massively illegal acts or acts entailing grave risks for humankind would automatically — or almost automatically — trigger a clearly defined set of serious consequences. Such automaticity of consequences could contribute to the prevention and deterrence of breaches of international law. That could help the United Nations react promptly to challenges to the system, enabling the Organization to stay fit for purpose, as outlined in the concept note.

Today's debate seeks a new orientation for multilateralism. Over the years, many options have been proposed to render our United Nations more effective. For example, last month (see S/PV.9181), Austria emphasized that the Council should foster stronger links with other parts of the United Nations, such as the Peacebuilding Commission and specialized organizations, in order to tackle the interlinked nature of peace and security and acknowledge the link between climate and security, poverty, human rights and development and peace. We also support addressing the use of the veto, particularly when it is used to halt action against a member that violates the Charter. We welcome the impact of the veto initiative on the work of the Council and continue to support the ACT code of conduct and the French-Mexican initiative.

Austria also consistently advocates for a Security Council that acts in recognition of the fact that it draws its legitimacy from the wider membership of the United Nations. Whether elected or permanently mandated through the Charter, Council members shoulder their responsibilities on behalf of all Member States. Everyone here around this table serves on the Council for all of us — not for national interests. Ultimately, a State deserves to be on the Council not because of its size, population or power, but because it contributes to the maintenance of international peace and security. That — and that only — is the legitimate reason to be on the Council. That also means that members of the Council should take clear positions on issues and act in the best interest of the United Nations — not out of national interest. They should demand compliance with the principles and rules of the Charter and international law, speak out against violations, condemn wrongdoing, demand compliance and enforce the law. That is their mandate. That is what we want all of them to do.

The ability of the United Nations — and other multilateral institutions — to be effective and deliver on its mandate ultimately depends on the Member

States using the Organization appropriately. The United Nations was not designed solely as a stage for political messages. It was established to allow States to come together to find solutions to challenges together. At the United Nations, effective multilateralism requires not only speaking, but also listening; and not only demanding, but also offering. Multilateralism only works if there is a willingness to compromise. We live in a world where individual or national interests often dominate. Approaches of “my State first”, “take it or leave it” and “with me or against me” do not permit multilateralism to work particularly effectively. Of course, we all have national ambitions and interests that we pursue. But at the United Nations we must also, in parallel, pursue the interests of the world and our global United Nations community.

Let me therefore conclude with a strong appeal to everyone here, as well as the current and future members of the Security Council, to let ourselves be guided by the purposes of the Charter and the interests of the United Nations as a whole. Austria is fully committed to acting on those principles when it next has the honour to serve as a member of the Security Council, and we of course hope to count on everyone’s support at the elections in 2026 for a term in 2027–2028.

Austria joined the United Nations 67 years ago on this day, 14 December 1955. And after 67 years, we have no regrets. The United Nations is a large and very diverse family of nations, and like in all large families, we sometimes disagree, argue and fight, and sometimes we fail in our efforts and goals. But the concept of bringing all the nations of our planet together in one forum to discuss the challenges of our times, seek solutions together and help and support each other — that concept remains brilliant. And when we adhere to the rules, serve the purposes and contribute constructively to the Organization, we enable our United Nations to be effective and successful, which benefits all of us. Austria remains honoured to be a Member of this family and will continue to abide by the rules, serve the purposes and contribute constructively where we can, with mind, heart and soul.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of the Philippines.

**Mr. Lagdameo** (Philippines): The Philippines aligns itself with the statement to be delivered by the representative of Viet Nam on behalf of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

We congratulate India for its twin leadership this month of the presidency of the Security Council and of the Group of 20.

We see that the concept note for today’s open debate (see S/2022/880) refers primarily to the reform of the Security Council, with the premise that there is a need for a new orientation for a reformed multilateralism. While the Security Council has had significant achievements in maintaining peace and security over the years, with the current geopolitical environment, it has to contend with a great deal of setbacks. The President of the General Assembly stated earlier today that not a single Council resolution has been adopted to address the war in Ukraine. There have been no concrete outcomes achieved so far in the matters that have been brought to the General Assembly by virtue of the veto initiative.

In order to instil new life in the discussions on Security Council reform, it is imperative that we go beyond what has been practiced for decades in the intergovernmental negotiations on Security Council reform. A number of States are in favour of negotiating a single text with attribution and timelines that offers a package of possible agreements on reform. On the other hand, a number of States prefer that we respect the passage of time and first build consensus on contentious issues that require more discussion.

Unfortunately, none of the intergovernmental negotiations documents produced in the past six years have led to real and actual progress. There is a fundamental disagreement on the purpose of Security Council reform, especially on whether an expansion of the Council should include new permanent members and non-permanent members or only non-permanent members.

As there has been no agreement on how we are going to orient ourselves, we could look at three elements that can contribute to the Security Council becoming reflective of contemporary global realities, which would make it more effective in discharging its primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security.

First, a focus on improving the working methods of the Security Council is crucial. That does not require amending the Charter of the United Nations. The Council’s working methods should be aimed at increasing participation by non-members of the Council in the Council’s decision-making process and increasing



the Council's transparency and accountability to non-members. In the intergovernmental negotiations, the Philippines addressed in some detail the question of how we might build on the areas of convergence in the working methods. Specific recommendations to the Council would in the end, if adopted, lead to greater transparency and predictability.

Secondly, as an extension of the first element just referred to, an improved consultation mechanism between the Security Council and regional and subregional groups would be beneficial. We highlight the General Assembly resolution on cooperation between the United Nations and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, which reaffirmed the commitment to reinvigorated multilateralism to tackle global challenges and strengthen United Nations partnership with regional and subregional organizations. The Council should recognize the need to consistently and thoroughly consult regional groups on pressing and delicate matters that are specific to a particular region.

Thirdly, one of the key elements of a reformed multilateral system is having an organization in which all Member States, big and small, respect the rule of law and comply with the positive obligation at all times of peacefully resolving disputes in accordance with international law. Thus, we reaffirm the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, which was adopted 40 years ago.

Multilateral reform is two-pronged. Reforming the Security Council requires us to discharge our respective responsibilities towards that end as well. The Manila Declaration presents a way forward. It reaffirms the role of the Security Council in preventing and settling disputes and, in recognition of that mandate, also enumerates important mechanisms with regard to that role. The Manila Declaration also highlights the role of the International Court of Justice as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations and draws attention to the facilities offered by the Court, including advisory opinions on legal questions.

We support the Secretary-General's call for a new agenda for peace that seeks to allocate a greater role to the Security Council in conflict prevention. The summit of the future in 2024 will be an appropriate venue for further discussions on the security aspects of a reformed multilateralism.

The Security Council must not be outpaced by a global security landscape that has been changing

rapidly before our eyes. Now is the moment for change. At the same time, Member States must ensure that a reformed Council does not lead to more deadlock. Instead, it must be agile, responsive and relevant.

**The President:** I now give the floor the representative of Slovenia.

**Mr. Malovrh (Slovenia):** I thank you, Mr. President, for holding this timely debate. I would like to make three main observations on the topic at hand.

First, adept global governance must mirror the interconnectedness of the world today. The most recent crises, such as the coronavirus disease pandemic, the global food crisis and climate change, are a stark reminder that today's complex challenges are not those of one State or one region but of the entire world. To effectively tackle those challenges, we need to overcome the current fragmentation of our multilateral work, which remains entrenched in the traditional silos approach. Only by working in synergy will we find comprehensive and sustainable collective solutions to ongoing challenges and the challenges of the future.

We are therefore pleased that today the President of the General Assembly has addressed the Security Council. We should also use the work that the Secretary-General has done in his report entitled *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982), which provides good orientation in our search for a reinvigorated and reformed multilateralism.

Secondly, the world today is not the same as it was 77 years ago. There is a growing understanding among the Member States that the multilateral architecture must remain a living mechanism, able to adapt to the new realities of our world. In the past two decades, Member States have already recognized such opportunities. They have taken steps to adapt parts of the United Nations system by establishing the Human Rights Council, the Peacebuilding Commission and, most recently, the adoption of the landmark resolution on the veto initiative (General Assembly resolution 76/262).

While there is a need to continue our efforts for overall reform of the United Nations system, there is a clear urgency to reform the body that holds the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Only a more representative Security Council that reflects the realities and diversity of the contemporary international community can

effectively deliver on its mandate. It needs stronger and more permanent voices of the regions that have been overlooked and underrepresented, in particular Africa and small island States.

We are encouraged by the many speakers who highlighted the need for a reformed Council during this year's general debate and hope we can build on that momentum, but it is time to go beyond discussions and deliver concrete results. We need tangible progress. We are therefore calling for efficient and results-oriented intergovernmental negotiations.

Thirdly, the failures and successes of multilateralism are reflective of our joint efforts. We, the Member States, hold the key to its success. Trust and constructive dialogue are essential elements of our efforts towards reformed multilateralism. We have the power and the tools, but do we also possess the collective political will to go the distance and deliver on our promises?

In conclusion, as we continue to respond to a volatile world and concurrent crises, we all depend on a functional multilateral system with the United Nations at its core being by far our best bet.

Slovenia celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of its membership of the United Nations earlier this year. As a small State, we will do our part to strengthen the cooperation among Member States and improve the multilateral rules-based system. We will actively contribute to ensuring a more peaceful, safer and greener world.

**The President:** I now give the floor the representative of Singapore.

**Mr. Gafoor** (Singapore): Singapore deeply appreciates India's leadership in convening this timely debate on multilateralism. We wish to thank Mr. Subrahmanyam Jaishankar, Minister for External Affairs of the Republic of India, for his opening remarks.

For more than seven decades, the United Nations and its network of specialized agencies, funds and programmes have worked hard to keep the peace and bring about sustainable development. We can be proud of the many achievements of the United Nations, and yet we must also acknowledge the many areas of unfulfilled hopes and ambitions.

We are meeting today in the midst of several violent conflicts around the world. Approximately 2 billion people live in conflict-affected areas. At the same time,

the world has become more multipolar, with many new emerging Powers and many centres of economic growth and technological excellence. The case for reforming the United Nations and our multilateral system has never been more urgent.

Singapore supports the need for reform in order to strengthen the multilateral system based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. We also support the need for Security Council reform, and we look forward to advancing discussions in the intergovernmental negotiations process. As this debate seeks to hear members' views on new orientations for reformed multilateralism, Singapore would like to identify some guiding principles to address the question of reform of the multilateral system.

First, the foundation of the multilateral system is the Charter of the United Nations and international law. Any reform exercise must strengthen respect for the Charter and for international law. All members of the United Nations have a responsibility to respect the principles of the Charter and international law. Accordingly, whenever international law and the principles of the Charter are violated, the international community must respond swiftly and take a collective stand. To put it differently, reform must lead to greater accountability whenever the principles of the Charter and international law are violated.

Secondly, the Security Council is charged with the primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security, and the Council itself must live up to its responsibilities. The Security Council must become a platform for open dialogue, active mediation and preventive diplomacy. In particular, its permanent members must demonstrate exemplary leadership and be net contributors to peace and security, rather than a source of tension and instability. Increasingly, the very nature of security is changing, and the Security Council should also address security challenges arising from non-traditional issues, such as climate change.

As I said earlier, Singapore supports the need for Security Council reform to reflect contemporary realities. Equally important is that any reform of the Council should not marginalize the needs and interests of small countries, many of which have never served on the Council.

Thirdly, a robust multilateral system requires a strengthened role for the General Assembly. In recent

months, the General Assembly has shown clearly that it has the capacity and will to act when the Security Council is unable or unwilling to make decisions. In that regard, the adoption of General Assembly resolution 76/262 in April, which stipulated that the General Assembly would meet whenever a veto is cast in the Security Council, is a significant decision. It is precisely that kind of reform and innovation that can help to strengthen the multilateral system.

Fourthly, we need to consider reform in a comprehensive manner, rather than piecemeal. We need to look at reform beyond the United Nations system by addressing the overall architecture of the multilateral system. In that regard, there is a clear need to reform the international financial institutions and ensure that they work more closely with the United Nations. We support the idea put forward by the Secretary-General, calling for a biennial summit between the members of the Group of 20, the United Nations system and international financial institutions. Such a summit would take place with the United Nations as a platform. We do not need to create new institutions, but we do need to ensure that existing institutions work better, coherently and in a coordinated manner.

Singapore also supports the Secretary-General's report, *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982), which aims to strengthen global governance across areas such as climate change and sustainable development beyond 2030, the international financial system and the interests of future generations. The Summit of the Future, of 2024, will be a major milestone for multilateralism, and it gives us the opportunity to address new issues on global governance. In that regard, the Global Digital Compact will be an important contribution. We look forward to receiving the recommendations from the High-level Advisory Board on Effective Multilateralism, which was appointed by the Secretary-General, in order to help build a more effective, networked and inclusive multilateral system. We also wish to place on record our support for the Secretary-General's proposal for a new agenda for peace.

Finally, any reform exercise should leverage and empower the good offices of the Secretary-General. Article 99 of the United Nations Charter states that the Secretary-General "may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security". We support a greater role for the Secretary-General in mediation and conflict prevention. A recent

concrete example of the Secretary-General using his good offices is the Black Sea Grain Initiative, which has helped ensure food supplies and stabilize food prices globally.

In conclusion, let me say that the multilateral system has served us fairly well, but there is much to be done. The world has changed dramatically, and we need to adapt the multilateral system to reflect contemporary realities. As the declaration on the commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the United Nations (General Assembly resolution 75/1) reminds us, our world is not yet the world that the founders of the United Nations envisaged. We should work together to strengthen the multilateral system, promote respect for international law and make our multilateral system fit-for-purpose and future-ready. Singapore will be an active participant in this urgent and necessary endeavour.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Egypt.

**Mr. Mahmoud** (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): My country's delegation welcomes the good initiative of the Indian presidency of the Security Council to organize this debate, and we also welcome the participation of His Excellency Mr. Jaishankar, Minister for External Affairs of India, in presiding over this meeting.

At the outset, I would like to stress Egypt's adherence to multilateral action, at the heart of which is the United Nations system as a main tool for ensuring understanding, peaceful coexistence and brotherhood among peoples. In that context, Egypt's delegation would like to note the following points:

First, the Charter of the United Nations represents the pillar of multilateral action, including the principles of sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, good neighbourliness, refraining from the use of force and the resolution of disputes by peaceful means, all of which are the foundations for stable and peaceful relations among States. Consequently, we need to protect and preserve those principles.

Second, talking about reforming the United Nations is a new and an old issue, brought to the surface by circumstances and interactions whenever international crises intensify. That reflects, in Egypt's opinion, the failure of current international governance to meet the aspirations of our countries and peoples, especially developing countries.



Third, the reform of the international multilateral system should be addressed from a comprehensive perspective. Developing countries demand climate justice, financial fairness and genuine participation in decision-making at the international level. That will only be achieved through reforming the United Nations, the international financial organizations and the Bretton Woods institutions while meeting the requirements of addressing climate change. As the international community faces interlocking crises, the reform should also be coordinated. I affirm in that regard Egypt's determination to make efforts, during its presidency of the twenty-seventh Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, to provide the appropriate conditions for activating the mechanisms of the historic agreement achieved at the Sharm El-Sheikh conference and establishing the loss and damage fund.

Fourth, it is important to address the imbalance in international dealings between the dimensions of peace and security and the dimension of sustainable development. Peace and security issues enjoy powerful mechanisms and tools, such as the Security Council and a large allocated budget. But when we touch on issues of sustainable development, of which the vast majority of the general membership is in dire need, we find that the matters are voluntary and without specific funding or clear implementation tools.

Fifth, it is useful to engage with various groups of society, especially to empower women and support youth to achieve social inclusion and realize development. At the same time, Egypt's delegation is of the view that heightened unjustified politicization of human rights issues has transformed international action and international cooperation into persistent confrontation, which does not lead to the achievement of the noble goals of peaceful coexistence or the establishment of relations based on mutual respect among countries.

Sixth, before considering integrated reform, the Security Council needs also to discharge its responsibilities fully. It must address violations of international resolutions in a decisive manner. It is incumbent upon the Security Council to tackle conflicts through an approach that takes into account the various stages of conflict, beginning with peacebuilding as the first step in the peace continuum. It is important to support peacebuilding activities and allocate the necessary funding for them, including through the Secretary-General's proposal to finance

the Peacebuilding Fund from the regular budget of the United Nations.

Seventh, the delegation of Egypt welcomes the strengthening of the relationship between the Security Council and regional organizations, in line with Chapter VIII of the Charter. The goal is to ensure harmony between the work of the United Nations and that of regional frameworks, particularly the League of Arab States and the African Union, by building on the comparative advantages of each organization while having the mother Organization, namely, the United Nations, shoulder the primary responsibility. The aim is to support the efforts in favour of conflict prevention and finance peacekeeping operations, including African operations, through United Nations assessed contributions.

Eighth, Security Council reform cannot be achieved through partial or phased solutions. African countries can see the historical injustices imposed on their continent redressed only through the Ezulwini Consensus which calls, *inter alia*, for abolishing the right to veto or granting it to new permanent members of the Security Council, in order to correct the genuine imbalance in the work of the Council. Failing to address the veto, there will be no reform; without such reform, one or more permanent members of the Security Council would continue to act to the prejudice of an entire continent, and Africa cannot forever be sidelined as a mere observer or spectator.

In conclusion, given the current situation, Egypt calls for embracing a realistic approach. Adopting relevant steps guarantees that the United Nations will continue to provide an organizational context in we all can participate in maintaining the security and safety of humankind and in meeting the needs of all citizens seeking a decent life. In that context, Egypt stresses its full support for the Secretary-General's report entitled *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982), which notes the need for a new agenda for peace.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Guatemala.

**Ms. Rodríguez Mancia** (Guatemala) (*spoke in Spanish*): Guatemala thanks the delegation of India for convening today's open debate, the theme of which is more than relevant for today's world: "New orientation for reformed multilateralism".

We agree with the concept note in that

“[t]he world is not the same as it was 77 years ago” and that

“the composition of the Security Council, responsible for international peace and security, was last fixed in 1965 and is far from reflecting the true diversity of the wider membership of the United Nations” (*S/2022/880, annex, para. 3*).

Current reality highlights the challenges related to the full implementation of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly with respect to Chapter VII. We are concerned, in particular, that the Charter itself, a product of the post-Second World War era, is being substantively undermined because a permanent member of the Security Council, the Russian Federation, continues its aggression against Ukraine, violating all norms of international law and international humanitarian law. Guatemala reiterates its position that it is essential that the Security Council respond adequately to this growing threat, which remains an ongoing danger to international peace and security.

Guatemala believes that we cannot continue to postpone responding to the necessity of bringing about profound changes in the United Nations, particularly in the Security Council, where the right of veto needs to be exercised with greater responsibility, thereby preventing the worsening of international crises. The Security Council must be more transparent and represent the interests of the entire membership in order to make the Organization more agile and better at serving the most vulnerable countries.

The United Nations is all of our States. Accordingly, we must redouble our commitment to strengthening the system so as to regain confidence in it. In doing so, we would address emerging shared challenges and fulfil the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. To this end, we must work with greater coherence when implementing the pillars of the Organization and adopt an integrated approach that recognizes that peace and security, development and human rights are interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

We must also strengthen preventive diplomacy. Conflict prevention should have a long-term perspective and requires that action on risks be taken before they become crises. In Guatemala’s view, the Security Council can and should still work to prevent conflicts and not wait to react to them.

Guatemala strongly supports the role of the Peacebuilding Commission and its integrated approach. We believe that it is necessary to strengthen environmental action in the Commission’s activities and ensure that they are sensitive to environmental and social conflict and humanitarian needs such as food insecurity and migratory flows. We must also ensure that its interventions are mindful of natural resources. Furthermore, given the Council’s primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, it is important that it integrate climate-security assessments into all situation reports on its agenda and that it be able to identify vulnerabilities and determine risks with the help of climate outlooks and robust early-warning systems.

We must remember that there is an intrinsically symbiotic relationship between climate change and security: each threat exacerbates the other. Just as environmental degradation, climate change and biodiversity loss can contribute to conflicts, so they can also play an important role in the resolution of conflicts. We therefore call for greater efforts to be made in terms of climate action and sustainable development, which provide unparalleled opportunities to build more equitable, resilient and peaceful societies.

Finally, Guatemala will continue to participate constructively in future discussions on the reform of the Security Council and take concrete and necessary steps to achieve a more effective and efficient Council, and one that is more representative of the international community. We commend the important role that the delegation of India is playing in making the Security Council a body more responsive to our times.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Estonia.

**Mr. Tammsaar** (Estonia): Estonia aligns itself with the statement to be delivered by the observer of the European Union later this afternoon. I would like to add just a few words in my national capacity.

We thank India for organizing today’s important and timely debate. We also thank the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly for their briefings.

Estonia fully supports the rules-based international multilateral system with the United Nations at its core, which is a system that has served us well. We therefore need to strengthen it, as we recognize that the

world is not the same today as it was in 1945. There are numerous global, regional and local challenges in its way, and these challenges are more complex and interconnected — from climate change to cybersecurity to widening inequalities.

The ways in which we respond to those challenges must also change. The Secretary-General has outlined his vision for the next 25 years of global cooperation in his *Our Common Agenda* report (A/75/982). We fully support his initiative to agree on how to reinvigorate multilateralism and achieve the Sustainable Development Goals. We also thank him for the details shared today on the New Agenda for Peace. The question, however, is how to reform multilateralism and strengthen international peace and security when one country — a permanent member of the Security Council — has launched an aggression and is conducting a bloody colonial and imperial war against its neighbour. Unfortunately, today we are all witnessing the most brutal violation of the Charter of the United Nations and its core principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity. The inability of the Security Council to take any substantive decisions on Russia's unprovoked, unlawful and unjustified aggression against Ukraine demonstrates the urgency of Security Council reform more clearly than ever.

It is vital that the Security Council remain relevant as a place where we can take action against aggressors, action to strengthen global peace and security and action to prevent or end wars — the founding idea behind the Council. We therefore still believe that the Charter in its entirety should be at the core of any attempt to renew and revitalize multilateralism, especially on matters of global peace and security, but also on issues related to human rights, the rule of law, gender equality, human dignity and equality among and within nations.

Security Council members, especially permanent members, have a special responsibility. Any permanent member of the Council that exercises the veto to defend its own acts of aggression against another Member State most seriously undermines the credibility of the Charter, the United Nations itself and the entire multilateral international rules-based system, and should therefore be held fully accountable. As a member of the Accountability, Coherence and Transparency (ACT) group and a supporter of the ACT code of conduct, Estonia insists that permanent members of the Security Council should not use their veto power to block Council actions aimed at preventing or ending

mass atrocities. In the spring, Estonia was also a proud co-sponsor of the initiative that requires the General Assembly to convene a meeting after any veto has been cast (resolution 76/262). It was our important decision that has enabled the General Assembly to take a more active stance on international peace and security issues in cases where the Security Council is paralysed, as well as increasing the Council's accountability and transparency.

Estonia continues to advocate for a meaningful, results-oriented process for reforming the Security Council. The main goal of the reform endeavours should be a revitalized United Nations, with increased transparency and ownership of the Security Council's work and greater accountability of the Council to the United Nations membership. There is a clear need for enlarging the membership of the Security Council based on equitable representation.

In conclusion, I want to stress that in our view, one of the main threats to international peace and security at the moment is Russia's full-scale aggression against its neighbour and Russia's reckless nuclear blackmail. We need to stop the aggressor before it is too late and before the global consequences for us all and for multilateralism are much worse. That in itself would be an indispensable and urgent contribution to the reinforcement of an international rules-based system with the United Nations at its core. Let me take this opportunity to assure the Council that Estonia is fully committed to contributing to a renewed multilateralism that will make us better able to respond decisively to today's numerous threats and challenges.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of the Republic of Korea.

**Mr. Hwang** (Republic of Korea): My delegation thanks India for convening today's open debate on this overarching topic. We also appreciate the briefings by the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly.

Let me begin by congratulating the United Nations on having endured 77 years, especially considering the short-lived span of its predecessor, the League of Nations. The United Nations has indeed played a significant role in making the world a safer and better place. However, faced with multidimensional challenges and new threat multipliers such as the coronavirus disease pandemic and climate change, people around the world are now looking to the United Nations to play a bigger role and

deliver more effective responses. As the President of the Republic of Korea stated when he addressed the General Assembly in September, our priority is to promote peace and prosperity by defending universal values such as human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law (see A/77/PV.4). We believe that this should also underpin the new orientation for the United Nations and multilateralism. Against that backdrop, I would like to cover the following four points.

First, my delegation believes that the General Assembly embodies the very essence of multilateralism, with its convening power able to gather all Member States on an equal footing on issues across all sectors. We should redouble our efforts to revitalize the Assembly, including by streamlining its agenda and discussions and devising a monitoring and review mechanism for General Assembly resolutions. In that regard, my delegation suggests that the Ad Hoc Working Group on the Revitalization of the Work of the General Assembly should focus more on the implementation aspects of Assembly resolutions and come up with some pragmatic recommendations.

Secondly, we reiterate our support for the New Agenda for Peace proposed by the Secretary-General. United Nations reform, whether organizational or financial, should continue to be aimed at conflict prevention and peacebuilding. In that context, we welcome the ongoing cooperation between the United Nations and the African Union.

Thirdly, we envision the United Nations expanding its role into new areas and taking the lead in a data-driven world. The Republic of Korea will engage actively in discussions on a global digital compact. Our focus includes supporting the digital transformation of developing countries, contributing to global capacity-building on data collection, utilization and sharing, and filling the normative vacuum to ensure that the use of digital technologies does not undermine human rights.

Lastly, on Security Council reform, our position was made clear in my statement to the General Assembly a few weeks ago (see A/77/PV.37). Expanding the permanent membership, with or without the veto power, would be a significant obstacle to the United Nations in adapting to our constantly evolving international realities. Moreover, it would be made possible only at the expense of other countries' opportunities to serve on the Council.

As a result of 30 years of intensive discussions among Member States, it has been made clear by now that most of us do not oppose an increase in non-permanent elected members. However, no meaningful action has been taken so far, mainly due to some confusion about the basic concept and terms of permanent membership, as well as disagreements on who the new permanent members would be, assuming that permanent members can never be replaced. My delegation doubts whether those questions surrounding permanent membership can be resolved in the coming years, given the acute national interests at stake for each country or group of countries. Considering the urgency of Security Council reform, and being mindful that Security Council reform efforts should not create further division in the United Nations, we must strive to proceed with realistic perceptions and a more reasonable approach.

In addition, the Security Council should work to modernize its agenda. There are growing threats in new domains such as cyberspace and outer space. A certain State Member of the United Nations even trains cyber warriors to launch cyber attacks on other countries for the purposes of destroying infrastructure, stealing information and even generating revenue to fund nuclear and weapons of mass destruction programmes.

A true reform of the United Nations must have an actual impact on the ground. With that in mind, the Republic of Korea will cooperate with other countries to make the Organization more agile and effective, while firmly upholding the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Ethiopia.

**Mr. Amde (Ethiopia):** I would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your presidency of the Security Council during the final month of India's non-permanent membership of the Council. I would also like to take this opportunity to commend your country for its outstanding contribution and your team for its successful work over the past two years. We also thank His Excellency the Minister for External Affairs of India for presiding over the Council during today's open debate and the Secretary-General for his briefing this morning. We believe the topic of today's meeting concerns important subject matter with regard to the current state of multilateralism and how we envision its betterment.



The principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations are timeless. It is incumbent upon Member States to ensure that those principles are not eroded by our action or inaction. No regional groupings or alliances should be allowed to undermine our principles of sovereignty and sovereign equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the prohibition of the use of force and the peaceful resolution of disputes.

On the other hand, there are many areas in which the United Nations has already become a victim of its own success. The representation of States, especially African States, in the organs and Organization of the United Nations, remains lacking. It is high time to revisit the status quo, which is perpetuating inequality. The working methods we follow buttress the hegemony of the few and put the majority of States under undesirable guardianship. That gaping inequity is discrediting the United Nations and its decisions. Therefore, our reform of multilateralism must rectify those vestiges of colonialism and bring a sense of justice to the system.

Secondly, the political dynamics between the most powerful countries pose the greatest of dangers to humankind. Currently, what we consider to be a world order that consists of ambiguous understanding and consensus between the powerful States is unravelling and nearing imminent disintegration. Such arrangements, which are not inclusive or transparent for the majority of the community of States, become apparent when they are violated. Although humankind faces the brunt of war and arms races as a result of that fallout, our discussions and decisions at the United Nations are not being informed by the most significant underlying causes of tensions and rivalry. As a result, multilateralism and the United Nations are viewed as rhetorical and ineffective in addressing core issues in global politics. In that context, we need arrangements between States and blocs of States to be able to prevent wars that are forming in the shadows. This is a situation in which we have no option but to rely on the goodwill of the most powerful to choose adherence to international law, and the rest of the community of States must persistently work to bring sense to the prevailing Power-oriented multilateral system.

As an African country and a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Ethiopia believes that the great majority of the community of States can and must assert our norms and unite towards maintaining our United Nations Charter-based global

order. In that connection, the role of the United Nations, which ought to be at the centre of multilateralism, is indispensable. The United Nations must overcome the influence of Power blocs and groupings that are based on national and selective interests. The Organization should not appear to be partial or discredited as to its neutrality or its capability to provide a safe and trusted convening platform with respect to contentious issues. The reform of multilateralism therefore entails ensuring the political independence, impartiality and practical capability of the United Nations to preside over global affairs.

My final point has to do with non-State groupings, including commercial entities and extraterritorial spaces, which have proven consequential in international relations. Those actors influence economic and trade policies and measures, exercise control over public goods, affect the movement of wealth and distributive justice and play a growing role in questions of national and international security. Moreover, we have a fully formed cyberspace, in which a great deal of economic, political and social interplay occurs, in which States play the most nominal role. In that context, non-State entities and extraterritorial spaces can use their capabilities to help correct inequality and the misguided foundation of the international economic order. Conversely, they can also serve as tools of exploitation, hostility and zero-sum global interaction. That, we believe, depends on whether States are able to regulate the conduct of those actors to ensure that they are a force for good. The reform of the multilateral order must put forth a clear path for the place of non-State actors and the regulation of their conduct, in full compliance with national sovereignty.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate our belief in the cause of equal representation, recognition of cultural and civilizational diversity, solidarity, good faith cooperation and respect for national sovereignty, and a credible and capable United Nations that must form the core of reformed multilateralism.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Ecuador.

**Mr. Espinosa Cañizares** (Ecuador) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like to thank India for convening today's open debate on an issue of vital importance for the Organization and global governance. I also take this opportunity to commend India for its work as President of the Security Council during the month

of December. As this is my delegation's final formal opportunity to address the Council this year, I also wish to commend India, Norway, Ireland, Kenya and Mexico, which will soon complete their Council terms, for the substantial contributions they have made. I would also like to highlight the briefings delivered this morning by the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly.

Ecuador will continue to infuse new life in the processes aimed at reform of the Organization, including the Security Council. We are not starting from scratch. The reforms undertaken by Secretary-General António Guterres are taking us in the right direction. We have also made great progress in revitalizing the work of the General Assembly and other organs of the system. However, as an Organization, we have unfinished business, precisely with respect to the reform of the Council. Owing to the delay in the enlargement of the Council, we remain anchored to the institutional format that has been in place since 1966. In just three days, we will mark 59 years since the General Assembly decided to increase the number of members of the Council from 11 to 15.

Ecuador will continue to support the urgent reform of the Council so that it can reflect the contemporary world, both in terms of composition and values. To achieve that, we support a realistic reform. Today, however, I would like to focus on five points concerning what the Council can indeed do to contribute to the reformed multilateralism we seek, without being subject to the challenges posed by Article 108 of the Charter of the United Nations, concerning amendments to the Charter.

First, the members of the Security Council must lead by example and respect the Charter, the document by which they act on behalf of the other members of the Organization in their primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. It is vital to ensure the full implementation of the provisions of the Charter, including paragraph 3 of Article 27, whereby parties to a dispute must abstain from voting. Moreover, Security Council members must refrain from the threat or use of force in any manner that violates the precepts of the Charter and international law.

Secondly, Council members should encourage and promote a genuine modernization of the Council's working methods in order to achieve a more inclusive, transparent and effective body. The 10 elected members

continue to play a special role in constructively advancing such changes. We must continue to work to achieve a fair distribution of responsibilities with regard to the subsidiary bodies and to those who take the leadership role in facilitating resolutions, also known as penholders.

Thirdly, we should continue to strengthen the Council's synergy with every entity in the United Nations system, including the General Assembly. Resolution 76/262 of the General Assembly has revitalized the dynamics of the Assembly's efforts in that area by enabling a discussion among Member States every time a veto is cast in the Council. Those General Assembly debates should not be considered a final step but rather a message of guidance from the international community.

Fourthly, there should be greater support for the French-Mexican initiative to suspend the use of the veto in cases of mass atrocities, as well as for the Accountability, Coherence and Transparency group's code of conduct with regard to the Council's response in cases of genocide and crimes against humanity.

Fifthly and lastly, the Council should support the Secretary-General's efforts to promote a preventive approach that addresses the root causes of conflict and prioritizes peacebuilding, accelerating disarmament and strengthening non-proliferation, as well as countering corrosive anti-institutional narratives which contribute to violent extremism.

In 2023 and 2024, Ecuador will support joint efforts to usher in the New Agenda for Peace, with the full participation of women, reflected in a renewed multilateralism in which Member States practice tolerance and live side by side as good neighbours.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Bulgaria.

**Ms. Stoeva (Bulgaria):** At the outset, I would like to thank India for organizing this very timely and important open debate.

Bulgaria aligns itself with the statement to be delivered by the European Union, and I would like to make a few additional remarks in our national capacity.

Today is a special day for Bulgaria. We are celebrating the sixty-seventh anniversary of our membership of the United Nations. Having the opportunity to reflect on reforming multilateralism makes it even more special.

Today's discussion is happening against a backdrop of multiple crises and challenges, and one thing is clear — none of them can be successfully addressed by unilateral actions or military means.

The Russian aggression against Ukraine, which began almost nine months ago, constitutes the gravest and most blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, and yet the Council is unable to perform its duties. All too often the Security Council has been unable to rise to the occasion, and we have collectively expressed regret, shrugged our shoulders and ultimately accepted it as a fact of life. The aggression of the Russian Federation in Ukraine, however, has demonstrated that we cannot continue to be complacent, and that reform of the Security Council really cannot wait. And not just any reform, but a reform that can make the Security Council fit for purpose — a reform that would enable it to exercise its primary responsibility, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security.

Bulgaria was among the initial sponsors of General Assembly resolution 76/262 on the use of the veto, also known as the veto initiative. The resolution provides us all with the opportunity to hold a Security Council member that casts a veto more accountable for the reasons why it has chosen to prevent the Council from acting. It empowers us all to be more responsible members of the United Nations, and it strengthens multilateralism and the international rules-based order. It is a step in the right direction, but it is not nearly enough.

A reformed multilateralism starts at home. The strength of our democracies lies in their inclusiveness, and they will thrive as long as human beings have the freedom to choose their personal happiness and as long as political leaders believe in majority rule, minority rights, respect for human rights for all and transparent decision-making, in line with the principle of the rule of law. At home, we must also honour our international obligations and therefore promote and uphold a rules-based order that is built on the solid foundation of international law. While upholding international law, we must also address its weakest point — how to effectively address violations and the lack of accountability. The war in Ukraine has brought a renewed and urgent focus to numerous and well-known legal challenges such as the immunity of perpetrators holding leadership positions from criminal jurisdiction, for example. A reformed, representative and effective Security Council should pursue accountability for

serious violations of international humanitarian law and other international crimes and should ensure that those crimes do not go unpunished.

A commitment to peace is a commitment to development and to saving the planet. The expectations for multilateralism are highest in the area of socioeconomic development. A new orientation for a reformed multilateralism would therefore begin with a change of perspective and with a mobilization of the instruments of multilateral diplomacy for solutions in the areas of disaster risk reduction, climate change, food insecurity and infrastructure resilience. Such an approach would foster a situation where we would have a Security Council that does not shy away from looking beyond hard security issues, a General Assembly whose members engage more in dialogue with one another and a United Nations development system that delivers for all.

Reform is at the centre of the Secretary-General's agenda. We all need the United Nations — our United Nations — to be more productive, more efficient and better funded. Multilateral institutions must be reformed and must work in synergy with one another, and the Security Council is no exception. They should be equipped to adapt to an evolving international environment and to fulfil their mandates in a responsive manner on a basis of equality and inclusiveness in which no one is left behind.

Today we are entering a conversation about the future with the resolve that the future should not resemble the past. It should be a future that is anchored in a sound social contract and responsible citizenship of this planet and is deeply rooted in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations in its entirety.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Argentina.

**Ms. Squeff** (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): The United Nations is at the heart of the international system. The fact that the world has united to create an organization that seeks to resolve international disputes through multilateralism is extraordinary in and of itself. However, even more astonishing is that the Organization, despite its challenges and shortcomings, has stood the test of time. It has demonstrated that the path to a better, more peaceful and sustainable future can be achieved only through more multilateralism. However, the classic multilateral system was built primarily to resolve inter-State challenges, not

problems that cross boundaries, such as financial crises, pandemics, terrorism, organized crime and climate change. We must therefore modernize our multilateral institutions and make them fit for purpose and better equipped to address the global and intergenerational challenges that we are facing.

We have learned from the coronavirus disease pandemic that we must strengthen our collective capacity to anticipate, prevent and manage complex risks. The pandemic laid bare the reality that renewed multilateralism continues to be an urgent moral, political and existential imperative, but it must also be anchored in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which are the pillars of the multilateral architecture agreed on in 1945 and today are more relevant than ever.

One of the central functions of the multilateral system is avoiding disputes and, when that is not possible, resolving them. The only way to resolve conflicts in today's world is amicably, through dialogue, diplomacy and other participatory approaches. Unilateral or coercive methods are illegal. Any deviation from these universally accepted norms, wherever and by whomever committed, seriously undermines the ideals of multilateralism enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

The United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, has a unique legitimacy for the maintenance of international peace and security. There is a great expectation that the Security Council will deliver on bringing stability, peace and security to the world. At the same time, there is a growing demand for the Council to adapt to new political realities and improve its working methods. In this regard, Argentina continues to advocate a reform of the Security Council to make it more democratic, transparent and effective.

Enlarging the Security Council seems to be one of the most reasonable ways to improve its representative nature and thereby strengthen its legitimacy. Enlargement of the Security Council is necessary, but it is only an increase in non-permanent members that could foster a new working dynamic and give elected members greater influence within the Council and greater participation in the decision-making process. This is what we mean by a reform of the Security Council that is focused on non-permanent elected seats, and which enhances rather than diminishes the

democratic character, accountability and effectiveness of the Council.

Council reform, however, is part of a broader reform of the multilateral system as a whole. In this regard, Argentina reiterates its commitment to a stronger, reformed and revitalized multilateralism, with a United Nations at its core that is more agile, effective and better able to serve those most in need on the ground. The survival of humankind depends on us working together. We need cooperation and not confrontation.

Argentina has been and will continue to be a strong supporter of multilateralism and an advocate for the use of diplomacy for peace. To this end, we remain committed to upholding the rule of law and the rules-based international order and to supporting international cooperation.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of South Africa.

**Ms. Joyini** (South Africa): Thank you, Mr. President, for convening this timely open debate. We congratulate India for its able stewardship of and work in the Security Council this month. South Africa expresses its gratitude to the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly for their insightful briefings this morning.

South Africa remains firmly committed to the rules-based multilateral system rooted in international law as the most sustainable and effective approach to managing international relations and addressing the common challenges confronting the world today. We can acknowledge that the international political and economic system remains unequal, unfair and unjust, representing the world created in the aftermath of the Second World War. Current global developments, such as the resurgence of geopolitical rivalries, which had not been experienced since the cold war era, the climate crisis, the triple challenges of finance, energy and food security, the multiplication of conflict, the governance to avoid the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, health emergencies and the global refugee-protection regime are deeply concerning.

These issues have huge implications for the maintenance of international peace and security, in general, and for the herculean task with which the Security Council is charged. There is therefore an urgent need to reform the basis on which we are engaged to



achieve the peace to which we aspire. Multilateralism must be at the heart of the engagement between Member States, including in reform of the Security Council, which is limited in its ability to respond to current security challenges by the nature of its perceived lack of accountability, structure and composition, which is outdated and does not reflect global realities.

Consequently, the Council is suffering from a crisis of credibility and legitimacy. We fully agree with India when Foreign Minister Jaishankar highlighted in his statement this morning that we need a new reorientation, a new momentum and political will to transform the United Nations into a global tool fit for purpose, effective, agile, action-oriented, forward-looking and representative of current geopolitical relations and the membership of the United Nations. These ideas are immanent in the Secretary-General's proposal for his New Agenda for Peace, to which all Member States have an opportunity to contribute.

South Africa believes that, to address challenges to multilateralism, we need innovative and proactive approaches through collaborative efforts by all relevant entities of the United Nations, including the Security Council. We need to strengthen the rules-based international system and move with speed to transform other multilateral institutions and global governance structures to be in line with the current realities of the twenty-first century. We believe that there is an opportunity for world leaders, international organizations and civil society to work together to restore the primacy and relevance of multilateralism.

The United Nations remains the most relevant global and international platform for tackling challenges and threats to peace and security, addressing poverty and underdevelopment and ensuring the protection of human rights. Similarly, in acknowledging the need to reform the Organization, especially the Security Council, we recognize that the Organization has contributed immensely to progress in these three important areas. However, the importance and priority given to development must be equal to that given to peace and security, as the nexus between the two has been well established.

In conclusion, South Africa wishes to emphasize that to reform and transform the existing global institutions of governance, paying attention to preventive diplomacy, enhanced coordination and partnerships between the United Nations and such regional organizations

as the African Union, and strengthening the rules-based international system with networked, inclusive and fit-for-purpose multilateralism is fundamental to achieving one of the key principles set forth in the United Nations Charter: to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Malta.

**Mrs. Frazier** (Malta): I thank India for convening today's high-level open debate, as it gives us the opportunity to reiterate the importance of multilateralism. It is our duty — and it is also in our interest — to make sure that institutions remain relevant and that they are given the necessary flexibility to adapt to a rapidly changing world. I also thank the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly for enriching this discussion with their views and insights.

For multilateralism to remain effective, reform is paramount. We need to equip the United Nations with the right tools to address and react to a transformative global agenda. Multilateralism is not static, and new powerful international actors have to be recognized as such. It is a living system, which should be allowed to grow to adjust and renovate itself to ensure that the principles and values of the United Nations that we hold dear are respected and held in due regard.

The independence and sovereignty of States underpins the international legal order as a whole and clearly defines the interaction of States within the multilateral system. In this context, the violation of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity remains a flagrant breach of the United Nations Charter and is illegal under international law. We call for a return to Ukraine's internationally recognized borders and the universal upholding of the United Nations Charter.

Violations of the United Nations Charter and international law not only affect the parties to the conflict or their region, but they also have far-reaching negative effects, as we are seeing with the food and energy crises. The lasting humanitarian consequences of conflict must not be underestimated, either.

While peace, security, sustainable development and human rights are mutually reinforcing, peace must be relentlessly pursued, along with expanding the scope of prevention, conflict resolution and peacekeeping to peacebuilding and long-term development. Furthermore, the proliferation of conflicts shows

that we must rethink our approach and make greater investment in prevention and in addressing root causes. The international community must also tackle new and evolving existential threats such as climate change, terrorism, and cybersecurity. The principles enshrined in the Charter must serve as the cornerstone of our work on the New Agenda for Peace. It must promote the peaceful resolution of disputes and ensure accountability.

Specifically on Security Council reform, Malta has always been clear in its position that the composition of the Security Council does not reflect today's world. Current circumstances and dynamics underline the need for a Council that is more inclusive, and which gives all Member States more space to contribute to solutions to the maintenance of international peace and security. In this regard, we urge all delegations to engage in the work of the intergovernmental negotiations, which remains a legitimate platform for our discussions. As part of the group Uniting for Consensus, Malta remains committed to this endeavour.

Accordingly, we welcome the adoption of General Assembly resolution 76/262, which provides a standing mandate for a General Assembly debate when a veto is cast in the Security Council. As part of the core group since the origin of the initiative, Malta is firm in its belief that this new mechanism strengthens the link between the General Assembly and the Security Council and brings more transparency, accountability and relevance on veto use to the wider United Nations membership. Malta also fully subscribes to the French-Mexican initiative, which calls for restrictions on the use of the veto in cases of mass atrocities.

We fundamentally believe that multilateralism will remain indispensable to addressing major global challenges. But, more broadly, we must seek to ensure to the greatest possible extent — and despite all the difficulties — that multilateral cooperation prevails over unilateral action to prevent escalation into violence and military conflicts.

I conclude by emphasizing Malta's belief that cooperation through effective multilateralism remains the best way to advance our collective efforts towards responding to today's global realities and preventing tomorrow's global challenges.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Saint Lucia.

**Ms. Rambally** (Saint Lucia): I have the honour to deliver today's statement on behalf of the following like-minded States: Bahamas, Barbados, Bhutan, Brazil, Cabo Verde, Grenada, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Malawi, Mauritius, Micronesia, Mongolia, Nauru, Nigeria, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, South Africa, the Gambia, Timor-Leste and Vanuatu. We wish to thank India in its capacity as President of the Security Council for convening today's open debate and welcome the remarks made by the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly.

Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations sets out the purposes of the Organization, which capture the objectives of multilateralism. However, a fractured Security Council at the helm of the peace and security pillar challenges the ability of the Organization to discharge its mandate. The United Nations nevertheless remains our best chance at peace. Its existence still represents our greatest multilateral feat.

Today's meeting is convened at a time when our world is assailed by traditional threats to international peace and security and rapidly evolving risks that have transcended our original understanding of peace and security. The only way to address these common challenges is through strengthened and enduring multilateralism. We therefore welcome the notion of a new orientation for reformed multilateralism, which we believe requires three key elements.

First, we need to rebuild trust among States. Today the fissures in our multilateral architecture have been entrenched through division and mistrust. We must revert to the peaceful settlement of disputes based on the principles of sovereignty and equality, recognizing the need for mutual respect for differences while refraining from unilateralism.

Secondly, we need to make progress on the issue of Security Council reform. This is a sentiment that was expressed by over 70 world leaders at this year's general debate at the General Assembly. It is impossible to safeguard multilateralism when the voices of peoples from regions across the globe are being excluded from decisions on their futures and deliberations on shared challenges. Additionally, in order for the Security Council to be fit for purpose, it is imperative that, through periodic evaluation, its working methods remain relevant. Council members must therefore

continue to engage constructively within the Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions to secure an efficient effective and transparent Council.

Finally, we need political will. Exceptionalism of States comes not from subterfuge or their ability to wage wars, including proxy wars, but from their willingness to prioritize multilateralism in the most harrowing of times. The necessity of this commitment was recognized in the Declaration on the Commemoration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations.

At the margins of the seventy-seventh session of the General Assembly, 35 like-minded Member States issued a call to action for reform of the Security Council in which they renewed their commitment to effective multilateralism and recognized the need for comprehensive reform of the Security Council, including through its enhanced representativeness and legitimacy. This call to action was echoed at the general debate of the seventy-seventh session of the General Assembly by one of the leaders of our Caribbean region, Prime Minister Ralph E. Gonsalves of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, who profoundly captured our *raison d'être*:

“we must construct the best possible partnership between all nations, whatever our differences, to take care of yesterday’s heritage, to accommodate and reasonably address today’s interests and to pursue effectively, in peace and security, tomorrow’s hopes.” (A/77/PV.12, p.13)

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Qatar.

**Ms. Al-Thani (Qatar) (spoke in Arabic):** The State of Qatar highly appreciates India’s holding of today’s important open debate. We would also like to thank the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly for their important briefings this morning.

The State of Qatar stresses that multilateralism needs to be enhanced and adapted to be able to address the current issues and challenges threatening international peace and security. In the Declaration on the Commemoration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, Member States acknowledged that global challenges are interconnected and can only be addressed through active multilateralism. Multilateralism is therefore not an option; rather, it is necessary for building a more equitable, resilient and

sustainable world, with the United Nations playing a central and leading role. In that regard, Member States agreed to support the Secretary-General’s ongoing reform efforts, instilling a new spirit in the discussions on Security Council reform, moving forward with the revitalization of the General Assembly and reforming and strengthening the Economic and Social Council.

The State of Qatar affirms that the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is the most inclusive vision and strategy so far to eliminate abject poverty, limit inequality and protect our planet. We believe that the new vision of future global cooperation developed by those main and reference documents is strengthened by the Secretary-General’s report, *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982), which advocates effective multilateralism to better address the more urgent challenges facing humanity.

Regarding the United Nations collective security reform in particular, we would like to make the following points. The New Agenda for Peace calls for investing in preventive efforts and peacebuilding at the domestic, regional and international levels. It is important to invest smartly and preventively to address the root causes of conflicts now more than ever before. That means we need an effective, well-staffed Peacebuilding Commission that enjoys adequate, sustainable and predictable funding. There is an urgent need to uphold the values of justice, the rule of law, equality, human rights, sustainable development, environmental conservation and international cooperation.

We are greatly encouraged by an effective role for the Security Council. Thus, the Council reform is more urgent than ever before. A successful and holistic United Nations reform fundamentally depends on Security Council reform as one of the main pillars of the international Organization.

The intergovernmental negotiation process on Security Council reform, which I was honoured to co-facilitate over the past two years, is one of the most significant United Nations intergovernmental negotiation processes. We managed, notwithstanding the difficulties on that track, with the support of Member States, to achieve progress by reducing areas of divergence and promoting areas of convergence.

There is no doubt, however, that the delayed Security Council reform, which is long overdue, requires a new way of thinking to accelerate the achievement of the goal to which we aspire and to reach consensus on the

package of proposals that strikes the desired balance in the new Security Council. Having said that, any attempt to reform the Security Council will fail if it focuses on one factor only while overlooking other factors, as all five reform factors are interlinked, pursuant to General Assembly decision 62/557, and the reform will not succeed if the principle of equality among all Member States is not taken into account in the Security Council's decisions. We look forward to achieving positive results in the upcoming intergovernmental negotiation round, which will be co-facilitated by Kuwait and Slovakia.

In conclusion, effective multilateral efforts are the only way to achieve the success that is long-awaited by present and future generations, for the benefit of humankind.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of the European Union, in its capacity as observer.

**Mr. Skoog:** I speak on behalf of the European Union (EU) and its member States. The candidate countries Montenegro, Albania and the Republic of Moldova, as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina align themselves with this statement.

I would like to thank India for convening this important meeting and for giving us the opportunity to speak. I think there is a sense that the level of energy has gone down a little bit since this morning, on this very important topic, but I do think it is very important that everyone has the opportunity to speak. I will therefore abbreviate my statement a little bit and ensure that the full statement is circulated by other means.

This is a very timely debate amid the multiple conflicts and the accumulation of challenges we face across the globe, from Russia's aggression against Ukraine to the situation in the Sahel and Haiti, the climate emergency and the growing debt crisis and widening inequalities, to name just a few. Those crises, as has been repeated again and again, can only be addressed and resolved collectively.

We also need to be aware that if we do not take the collective responsibility to address the vulnerabilities and inequalities that have been exacerbated since the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) pandemic, this will inevitably fuel new crises. Hence the need to build a fairer, more inclusive and sustainable world, a world in which the interests of all nations and people are adequately represented. This is our perception of

multilateralism and why we remain heavily invested, politically and financially, in the United Nations. It is also why we support an African seat in the Group of 20, as an example of a global system which is fair, effective and more legitimate.

First of all, we need to go back to the basics, which is a well-functioning, rules-based international order, with an effective United Nations at the core. The Secretary-General laid bare the shortcomings of the current system in his report entitled *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982) 15 months ago, providing a sober analysis of what is holding us back from delivering on our agreed priorities, including on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Failing on their implementation means failing our people. As he said this morning, our toolbox needs upgrading.

At the core of a renewed multilateralism remain the basic principles set out in the Charter of the United Nations: a commitment to maintaining international peace and security, upholding international law, promoting sustainable development, defending and promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, and respecting obligations arising from mutually agreed commitments and treaties. The defence of the Charter is therefore the *sine qua non*.

The notion of conflict prevention is at the very core of the Charter and must be brought back as a priority. Unfortunately, we are currently witnessing what happens when some decide to pick and choose among those principles and norms and to abuse their powers and the United Nations system as a whole. The Security Council must reflect contemporary realities and be more effective. The EU backs the comprehensive reform of the Security Council to make it more effective, transparent, democratic, representative and accountable.

Security Council members must fulfil the highest standards of conduct by upholding international law, including international humanitarian law. For permanent members, this means refraining from using the veto when there is a risk of mass atrocity crimes and not abusing veto power when they are party to a conflict.

The adoption last April of a "standing mandate" for a General Assembly debate when a veto is cast in the Security Council has contributed to the efforts aimed at revitalizing and empowering the General Assembly, ensuring that the United Nations is not voiceless when the Council — as the primary organ



charged with the maintenance of international peace and security — is deadlocked.

But this is not enough. We have a responsibility to improve the functioning of the Council. The EU fully supports the French and Mexican initiative on veto restraint in cases of mass atrocities, as well as the Code of Conduct regarding Security Council action against genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes, calling upon all members of the Security Council — elected and permanent — not to vote against any credible draft resolution intended to prevent or halt mass atrocities.

On the ground, challenges to peace and security have also evolved. We live in an increasingly violent environment, in which traditional threats and risks coexist with new types of threats such as climate change, cyberattacks, information manipulation, new types of weapons and new or newly emboldened actors such as terrorist groups or mercenaries, to name a few. In such a context, the United Nations tools aimed at responding to crises, including peacekeeping operations, are under severe strain, and they need to be fit for the twenty-first century.

We support the Secretary-General's call for a new agenda for peace, and we recall that regional organizations can also play a key role in preventing and addressing crises. The European Union is committed to continuing its support to African-led peace support operations and to the ongoing discussions to use United Nations assessed contributions for operations authorized by the Security Council. The European Union is also funding the African Union compliance and accountability framework to that end.

Global issues are today so complex that they require all stakeholders to be around the table and think outside of the box, in order to be able to identify innovative solutions. The COVID-19 pandemic, for instance, has shown us that no efficient response would have been possible without a dialogue involving non-traditional actors such as manufacturers, scientists and philanthropists, as the Access to COVID-19 Tools (ACT) Accelerator did. No crisis in the world can seriously be addressed today without the immense contribution of civil society organizations, including women and youth.

The EU and its member States, as major donors, know that we also need to do better to ensure the complementarity of our own efforts. The EU Global

Gateway initiative is being rolled out as we speak. It offers strategic autonomy to partners for investments in infrastructure, health, education, and digital and energy transitions, thus accelerating the implementation of the SDGs and bridging funding gaps. It is a sustainable offer for the environment, for financing and with regard to debt. We are also strong promoters of multilateral initiatives on global finance, including to enhance and improve debt treatment and transparency, reallocation of International Monetary Fund special drawing rights and implementation of minimum tax standards.

To conclude, let me assure the Council that the EU is fully committed to contributing to renewed and reinvigorated multilateralism and to get there by working closely with the Council members and the wider United Nations membership, but also with civil society, academia and other interested stakeholders to address the pressing challenges of the present and the future.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Liechtenstein.

**Mr. Wenaweser** (Liechtenstein): Effective multilateralism, with the United Nations at its centre, is indispensable to addressing the defining crises of our time, from climate change to pandemic preparedness. The Security Council has a central role in that respect, as it is mandated to be guardian of international peace and security on behalf of the United Nations membership as a whole. A prerequisite for that is certainly full respect for the Charter of the United Nations and effective action when its provisions are violated, especially its core provisions on the use of force. The prevention of the scourge of war is the reason why the peoples of the world created the United Nations in 1945, and to this day it is the place where people all over the globe expect to see effective action when the international order is under attack.

At its core, the United Nations is a peace and security organization, and, as we meet today, its ability to carry out that function is being severely jeopardized. The New Agenda for Peace set out in *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982) offers us an opportunity to address that challenge urgently. We welcomed the presence of Secretary-General Guterres at this debate and the comments he made earlier. We therefore wholeheartedly agree that the Security Council must be made more effective. It should not just reflect today's geopolitical realities but should function in a way that

upholds its primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security. That certainly includes the ability to respond to the complex ways in which peace and security are threatened today and the need to embrace a comprehensive concept of peace and security that includes human security.

With regard to the world's most brutal conflicts, we see the Council often unable to act as innocent civilians are killed — including in Ukraine, as the result of the aggression of one of its permanent members — which is very often owing to the ability of the veto-wielding members to prevent the Council from taking action or even from putting products forward. We were proud to have adopted General Assembly resolution 76/262, on the veto initiative, which has resonated so strongly in this debate today. It is an essential step towards addressing the challenges that the use of the veto poses to the effectiveness of the Council and the public perception of the United Nations as a whole. It is a key measure for recalibrating the balance between the Security Council and the General Assembly and a prompt to empower the Assembly to make full use of the authority conferred on it by the Charter and to step in when the Council is unable to act.

We are also gratified to see that the veto initiative is already having an impact on the use of the veto in practice. We must ensure that the right of the veto is no longer exercised in a way that is at odds with the purposes and principles of the Charter. We are keen to examine in particular the application of paragraph 3 of Article 27 of the Charter, which stipulates that “a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting”, which is contrary to what we have seen in this Chamber in the context of decision-making on Ukraine in particular. We will also continue asking for the implementation of the code of conduct of the Accountability, Coherence and Transparency group, which to date commits its 124 signatories, who as of 1 January 2023 include 11 members of the Council, to taking effective action to prevent and address atrocity crimes. And we look forward to further statements from permanent members on how they interpret their role in the Security Council, their future use of the veto and additional wide-ranging self-declarations with respect to their principles and commitments — something we believe States aspiring to be granted the right to the veto should also do. We believe that in the meantime, adding more members to those who hold veto power in the Council is counter-intuitive, given the vast negative impact that the use of

the veto already has on the effectiveness of the Council and its decision-making.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Indonesia.

**Mr. Nasir** (Indonesia): We thank you, Sir, for convening this open debate. Indonesia aligns itself with the statement to be made by the representative of Vietnam on behalf of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Our discussion today is taking place against a backdrop of a geopolitical situation marked by multiple crises and challenges. At a time when we most need solidarity and cooperation, we are unfortunately seeing increasing self-interest, division and mistrust. Against that backdrop, we must renew our commitment to multilateralism and build anew. In that context, allow me to share three points.

First, we need a new multilateral paradigm — a paradigm of win-win, not zero sum; of engagement and dialogue, not containment or a take-it-or-leave-it approach; of collaboration and solidarity, not competition; and a paradigm where respect for international law and the Charter of the United Nations is consistently upheld, including the fundamental principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and the peaceful settlement of conflicts.

Secondly, we need a United Nations that is fit for its time and purpose. Today's world was unimaginable 77 years ago. The United Nations must always be able to adapt to the latest developments, including in technology, science and work culture. United Nations reform, including the Secretariat, must be a continuous work in progress and be undertaken in a holistic manner. In that regard, *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982) provides an important blueprint for a strong and effective United Nations. We also see the Summit of the Future as an opportunity to make concrete progress on reform and make the United Nations system relevant. The Security Council desperately needs to adapt to our new global realities. It should be more inclusive, transparent and democratic in discharging its mandate. In order to make progress, the political will to achieve reform on the part of all States, including the five permanent members of the Security Council, is a prerequisite. We need a clear timeline and practical targets for reforming the Council. Meanwhile, the Council must continue to deliver. We cannot let the “uniting for peace” process become a new normal; unity must be embedded within

the Council itself. After all, membership on the Security Council is not a right but a responsibility, particularly where those in the permanent seats are concerned.

Thirdly, we need to promote partnerships, particularly with regional organizations. They serve an important role in bridging regional perspectives and best practices. Furthermore, regional architectures can serve as building blocks and foundations for strong global stability. It is therefore relevant for the United Nations to nurture synergy with regional organizations, including ASEAN. As the representative of a total population of more than 650 million people, ASEAN is among the key prominent partners of the United Nations in the areas of peace, stability and sustainable development. That partnership must be fostered to ensure that multilateral and regional efforts are mutually reinforcing.

In conclusion, Indonesia believe that multilateralism remains the best pathway to solving our current and future global challenges. Guided by the spirit of multilateralism, we look forward to collaborating and working together with all States in achieving our common goals.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Bangladesh.

**Mr. Muhith** (Bangladesh): I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the Permanent Mission of India for convening this open debate of the Security Council on a new orientation for reformed multilateralism. In the light of the ongoing global challenges, it is indeed very timely. We thank the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly for their insightful briefings this morning.

The world today is confronting multidimensional challenges such as climate change, the coronavirus disease, conflict and the food, energy and financial crises, among others. Those challenges, and the conflict in Ukraine in particular, have shaken the very foundations of international peace and security. Our common hope for peace and development is in serious jeopardy. As an ardent supporter of multilateralism, Bangladesh considers the United Nations to be the centre of people's hopes and aspirations at this crossroads in history. We believe that today's interconnected challenges can be addressed only through reinvigorated multilateralism.

As the most representative multilateral forum in the world, the United Nations needs to be further

strengthened to meet the challenges we face in the twenty-first century. Allow me to highlight a few points in that regard.

First, we have repeated time and again that the time is right to reform the most powerful organ of the United Nations — the Security Council. We all agree that the Council's membership and structure are not in tune with the current realities on the ground. The most recent reform of the Council took place 57 years ago. In order for it to be fully representative, relevant, effective, democratic, transparent and fit for purpose, it must be reformed.

Unfortunately, we have spent far too long on the question of Security Council reform. We must do something that is concrete, and we must do it now. We believe that there should be enlargement in both categories of membership of the Council. As for its size, anything in the region of the mid-twenties would perhaps do justice to the larger membership. Due representation of all regions and groups of membership, the question of the judicious use of the veto and the call for text-based negotiations warrant due consideration. In that regard, we also note the necessity of inclusivity and in-depth dialogue among Member States.

Secondly, the General Assembly is a symbol and demonstration of multilateralism. Its work better reflects the will of the world's peoples than does the Security Council. We stress the need for a much bolder and more decisive approach in order to bring the General Assembly closer to the people. In that regard, the revitalization of the work of the General Assembly remains an integral part of the wider efforts to reform the United Nations as a whole.

We must all do our part to preserve the inclusive, consultative and democratic intergovernmental nature of the General Assembly. It is important to bridge the power gap between the General Assembly and the Security Council as a matter of priority. Member States need to devise an effective mechanism to assess the implementation of General Assembly resolutions. We need to seek more innovations to ensure the central role of the United Nations and to ensure that the voice of the general membership is heard on important and urgent global issues.

Thirdly, we subscribe to the initiative aimed at ensuring the proper implementation of the Charter of the United Nations with respect to the functional relationship between its main organs, in particular

the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. It is imperative to enhance synergy, coherence and complementarity among the agendas of the Assembly and its Committees and the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies. Interaction with the Security Council must also be improved.

Finally, there is no reason more significant than the current global realities to dictate the urgency of the reform of the United Nations, including the Security Council, so that we can best deliver for those we serve. If we cannot achieve those much-needed reforms now, we may not be able to do so in the near or distant future.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Türkiye.

**Mr. Kayalar (Türkiye):** The international rules-based system is experiencing perhaps its gravest crisis since its emergence after the Second World War. For some, multilateralism is no longer considered the best way to work for global security and prosperity. Consensus-building and compromise are viewed not as virtues of strength, but as signs of weakness. Long-standing legal norms have been eroded. As a result, people are losing faith in international institutions, including the United Nations. Indeed, the United Nations is hardly the perfect institution, it is structurally flawed and operationally cumbersome. While it might serve as a source of excellent ideas, it often lacks the means for their effective implementation. Its various bodies and mechanisms frequently duplicate work, hence the need for a reform of the United Nations.

Although the concept note (see S/2022/880) focuses only on one aspect of United Nations reform, some other major elements of the matter should not be overlooked in today's debate. The process of the revitalization of the General Assembly has gained traction throughout the past decade with the commendable work of the Ad Hoc Working Group on the Revitalization of the Work of the General Assembly. There are, however, many avenues remaining for the General Assembly to explore in order to fulfil its mandate.

Furthermore, the United Nations and the membership should work on improving and supporting more peace operations. In terms of development, there has been much progress in recent decades to reform the United Nations development system and ensure that United Nations activities in that field are more coherent and consolidated. We ought to continue in that direction in line with the principle of country ownership at all

levels and the establishment of appropriate governance, managerial and funding mechanisms to ensure such consolidation is the main guiding element. With regard to human rights, we need to prevent any impression of politicization or double standards. We must ensure that our actions are in line with our words.

As for the Security Council, the question tends to focus on two intertwined issues, namely, the veto and membership. We ought to remind ourselves that we must not make the same mistake twice and claim that all members are equal when, indeed, some are more equal than others. What we need is a more democratic, representative, effective, transparent, legitimate and accountable Council. In addition, other key issues that are identified by General Assembly decision 62/557 must receive due consideration.

I support the remarks made by the Permanent Representative of Italy regarding the approach of the Uniting for Consensus group, which Türkiye is part of. We believe that the group has outlined points of convergence with potential for consensus. We look forward to engaging in a constructive manner in the next round of intergovernmental negotiations. We trust that the membership will overcome the obstructions created by maximalist demands, especially those of an individual nature. The Security Council needs to fulfil its mission as the primary United Nations organ for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Council must serve all of humankind, not the interests of a few Member States.

We must take up the multilateral agenda with a renewed commitment, relaunch the narrative of multilateralism and show the added value of international cooperation. That effort must be centred upon the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter is resilient and remains visionary. Through its articulation of universal values, it is grounded in peace, development, human rights and the rule of law, with a vision of countries living as good neighbours and sharing a common fate and future.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Spain.

**Ms. Jimenez de la Hoz (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*):** The world today faces a number of interconnected challenges, including pandemic recovery; the accelerating effects of Russia's aggression against Ukraine on the food, energy and financial security crises; and climate change and an increase in armed



conflict, which have driven more than 100 million people into forced displacement, with humanitarian needs on the rise. If we are to address those common challenges with confidence, we need a stronger, more effective and more balanced multilateralism. Strengthening multilateralism and the rules-based international order underpinning it necessarily requires a stronger United Nations.

The Declaration on the Commemoration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations and the Secretary-General's *Our Common Agenda* report (A/75/982) point the way towards a more effective, sustainable, transparent and coherent United Nations. Dimensions such as prevention and mediation, digitization, synergies and partnerships with regional organizations and other multilateral initiatives, as well as a greater role for women and girls, must be an integral part of the future of multilateralism.

My country has contributed on several fronts to the Secretary-General's proposals, ranging from our support for mediation initiatives such as the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations to our commitment to digitization as host of the United Nations Information and Communications Technology Facility, Valencia and our promotion of a feminist foreign policy. We also actively support the Leaders' Network Reinforcing Multilateralism Together, through which we have launched urgent and necessary initiatives such as the Leaders' Summit on Global Food Security, which took place in September.

Strengthening multilateralism must involve a greater integration of the three pillars of the United Nations, consolidating the triple nexus between peace and security, development and humanitarian action. Beyond that, it is important to approach the reform of multilateralism taking all its elements, not just some of them, into account.

With regard to the reform of United Nations organs, recent months have shown that we need a Security Council adapted to today's world, one that is more representative, transparent, effective and with greater legitimacy. Council action cannot be paralysed by the use of the veto, as in the case of mass atrocities or Russia's aggression against Ukraine.

We must seek consensus solutions through possible and realistic reform if it is to take effect. In that context, Uniting for Consensus has made proposals for more Member States to opt to serve on the Security Council,

with the possibility of longer or successive terms and greater weight for elected members. "Elected" is a key word in the Uniting for Consensus proposal, since elections provide a greater degree of legitimacy to Security Council members and allow for scrutiny of their work. Elections also enable the Council to better adapt to change.

Without prejudice to our participation in this open debate, we believe that the natural venue for the debate on Security Council reform is the intergovernmental negotiations established by the General Assembly. The past three years show that we must be prepared for the unthinkable. Security Council reform must, on the one hand, respond to current realities and, on the other hand, provide flexibility and adaptability so that the organ in charge of maintaining international peace and security is prepared to respond to the challenges ahead.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Germany.

**Ms. Leendertse (Germany):** I thank India for organizing today's meeting on this highly relevant topic, which is very close to our heart.

Germany strongly believes that multilateralism is the best framework to guarantee peace and stability. It is the best tool to discuss and find joint solutions for challenges to humankind and to settle disputes peacefully. We take pride in investing not only money but also significant personnel and political capacities into multilateral organizations.

However, we cannot ignore that multilateralism is under pressure. And we do not deny that there are questions that we need to answer urgently. Does multilateralism deliver? How do we adapt the existing international organizations to an ever-changing world? And how do we deal with Member States like Russia, which, as a permanent member of the Council bears a special responsibility but flagrantly violates the Charter of the United Nations?

All of this calls for reform.

First, on peace and security, we see a reform of the Council as long overdue. It is untenable that one of the Organization's central pillars mirrors the geopolitical situation of 80 years ago and is not representative of the present. A future Security Council should include additional permanent and non-permanent members. That is our shared Group of Four position, together with

Brazil, India and Japan. It is also clear that Africa must be permanently represented in the Council.

This year's general debate showed that a large majority of Member States is in favour of reforming the Security Council. However, a formal negotiation process, as is practised almost everywhere else in the United Nations, is still not in place. That must be changed, and it is urgent that we start negotiating a text now. We also consider the veto to be an instrument prone to abuse and urge Council members to restrict its use as much as possible.

Secondly, many global commons are under immense pressure — climate, global health and others. The implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is stalling. Food and energy security are strained, and humanitarian needs are ever-growing. Technology outpaces regulation, threatening the cohesion of societies.

The Secretary-General, in putting forward his *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982), outlined his vision on how to shape a peaceful, just and sustainable future. By doing so, he mobilized the wider United Nations membership. We agree with the Secretary-General, and we will support him. Mahatma Gandhi said: "The future depends on what you do today." We expect the Summit of the Future, in 2024, to be a crucial milestone to advance multilateralism and boost the SDGs. Having the honour of co-facilitating that process, together with my colleague Ambassador Neville Melvin Gertze from Namibia, I want to assure everyone that the two of us will conduct the process in an open, inclusive, transparent and consultative manner. I would like to ask all Member States to contribute in good faith.

Much-needed reforms and adjustments are within reach if there is collective political will. Now is the time to embark on United Nations reform. Let us make this our New Year's resolution for next year. There is no time to lose.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Thailand.

**Mr. Chindawongse** (Thailand): I wish to take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this important open debate on a "New orientation for reformed multilateralism", an issue that will continue to have important ramifications for the United Nations and its Member States now and in future. We wish to commend India for its leadership as President of the

Security Council during this month and for its fruitful contributions to the Council's work during the past two years.

Our appreciation goes to the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly for sharing their views and important insights on how to further strengthen multilateralism in these trying times.

Thailand aligns itself with the statement to be delivered by the representative of Viet Nam on behalf of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and I wish to make the following statement in my national capacity.

Time and time again, the past has shown that at critical points in human history when humankind is confronted with existential crises and challenges, they are ultimately addressed through either large-scale conflict, with all its destructive force and consequences or, hopefully, through unprecedented international cooperation and joint endeavours, with all its implications for continued progress. The United Nations, and indeed the entire multilateral system, was established to help ensure that humankind would choose the latter rather than the former as it seeks to address and ultimately overcome such crises and challenges.

So it is on the coming together of nations, large and small, in a collective effort, based on the principles that underpin multilateralism, on the architecture provided by the United Nations and on the rules that govern peaceful inter-State relations that humankind has pinned its hopes as the best way to find sustainable and effective solutions to the crises and challenges of our times. From the pandemic to poverty, from armed conflict to global tensions, from planetary crises to food and energy crises, the multilateral system anchored on the United Nations and international law has no small role to play in helping find the best possible path forward for humankind as a whole, while serving to guarantee that all voices are heard and that the interests of the smallest States and the smallest stakeholders are taken into account.

But there has been a crisis in trust and confidence in whether the United Nations, and indeed the entire multilateral system, can deliver when it matters most. The perfect-storm scenario that we have all witnessed in the past 12 months has put the United Nations and the multilateral system to its ultimate test. The verdict is still out. But rather than to passively wait for such a verdict, it is far better for us to proactively take steps now in order to help ensure that the United Nations

and the multilateral system will continue to find relevance — today and in the years to come. And that is why today's meeting assumes such great significance.

To that end, there are three points that we should seriously consider as we seek to pursue reformed multilateralism and develop a more effective United Nations to better confront the crises and challenges of our times.

First, the United Nations must put its full attention to its core missions. Ultimately, that is how to use peaceful means to solve the myriad crises and challenges that test humankind's resolve. The United Nations is all about diplomacy. And that is where the United Nations should refocus its efforts: on putting peaceful means at the front and centre of multilateralism in addressing problems, including conflict — whether through diplomacy, dialogue, negotiation or other means — rather than confrontation. The United Nations must seek to build bridges of understanding among dissenting and even conflicting parties, against the backdrop of trends of polarization and fragmentation in the international community and must strive to become an even stronger and more respected platform for nations to come together peacefully in order to find shared and mutually beneficial sustainable solutions and, in so doing, exercise the Organization's inherent strength in its convening power to the fullest.

That is what the United Nations is about. That is what multilateralism is all about. And that is where reformed multilateralism should be heading. That should be one of the critical elements in the ongoing discussions for a new agenda for peace and other ideas under the Secretary-General's *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982).

Secondly, reformed multilateralism and a reformed United Nations must be able to address effectively and in an integrated and holistic manner the holy trinity of key strategic goals — maintaining international peace, security and stability, promoting sustainable development and growth and preventing the violation, abuse and disregard of universal human rights, while reinforcing human security for all. To achieve that trinity, it is absolutely essential that the United Nations work across organizations and silos, linking the work of the Security Council with that of the Economic and Social Council, the General Assembly and the Peacebuilding Commission, and all specialized agencies and other bodies within the United Nations

system. Neither peace and security nor stability will be sustainable if there is poverty and social discord, or vice versa. If we do not have the timely attainment of the Sustainable Development Goals, it will not be practical to talk about attaining sustainable peace, security or stability.

Added to that is the need to more effectively integrate the ideas of key organizations and institutions outside the United Nations system, especially the international financial institutions and the Group of 20, for example, as well as initiatives of key stakeholders, including civil-society organizations, and the input and participation of women and young people. All those ideas should be incorporated into ongoing discussions of a more networked United Nations system, along with greater early-warning capabilities and strategic foresight for the United Nations, including within the context of the Summit of the Future, to be held in 2024.

Thirdly, and finally, our reform of multilateralism and the United Nations must increasingly strengthen the all-important global-regional interface and partnership, whether in dealing with key global challenges that have specific regional consequences, such as global agreements related to climate financing and development financing, or with regional problems that may have spillover effects in the global arena. That is because the voices of regions and their peoples, States and organizations matter. That is also why the Association of Southeast Asian Nations is represented among today's speakers. That is why it continues to promote a close partnership with the United Nations and why we hope that a more robust engagement between the United Nations and regional organizations will be realized so that regional and local wisdom can be accessed and utilized as part of a body of best practices that could be useful for other regions or even the international community as a whole. It is our hope that as the United Nations engages in multiple tracks at international conferences over the next couple of years, from universal health coverage to sustainable development and from climate change to disaster relief, the expertise of regional organizations and institutions will be fully utilized. Such a global regional interface will make solutions more sustainable and ensure that they enjoy wider support, especially at the regional level.

In conclusion, an effective multilateral system, with the United Nations at its core, is more essential than ever and deserves our support more than ever. As Thailand celebrates its seventy-sixth anniversary of its

United Nations membership and more than a century of engagement in multilateral diplomacy, from the Universal Postal Union of the nineteenth century to The Hague conferences of the twentieth, our long-standing commitment and support to multilateralism remain as strong now as they were then, because multilateralism and its most recent reincarnation in the United Nations system remain important guarantors of the rights of small States and a vital framework giving all States the requisite diplomatic space to peacefully advance their constructive interests in a mutually beneficial manner. Is that not in the interests of humankind as a whole?

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

**Mr. Pérez Ayestarán** (Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow us to thank you, Mr. President, for convening today's meeting to discuss an issue of enormous importance, given the current international situation.

We also thank your delegation for its efforts in drafting the concept note circulated beforehand to guide today's discussion (see S/2022/880).

The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela firmly believes that the world needs more multilateralism and diplomacy, not less, and the United Nations has a central and indisputable role to play in such efforts. We understand multilateralism to be cooperative action — the sum of all efforts made by each and every member of the international community, without exception or exclusion of any kind, to together address our multiple, emerging and complex challenges, many of which are common to all of us.

Among other things, the coronavirus disease pandemic confirmed that we live in an increasingly interconnected world, which means that we must come together to bridge gaps, not widen or deepen them. We must come together to strengthen solidarity, expand international cooperation and recognize that even amid the differences that might exist, only through multilateralism will we be able to forge the necessary consensus to together take the decisions and champion the reforms that will enable us to overcome the multifaceted crises we are dealing with and the challenges that may arise in the future. Isolationism, exceptionalism and unilateralism have no place whatsoever in the twenty-first century. The United Nations is an intergovernmental organization that prioritizes the principle of the legal equality of States

above all. The United Nations is not a mere club of friends with similar ideologies. If that principle is understood, embraced and practised in line with the diversity that underpins our Organization, each national contribution then becomes essential to achieving the goals that prompted the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. Today the maintenance of international peace and security must be a priority on our agenda. We understand that there can be no development until genuine and lasting peace is achieved in the world.

The crisis facing humankind affects every area of life. It can be seen in issues related to the environment, health, food, economics, finance and energy, and it has significantly rolled back development gains. What is even more serious is that today we are facing a crisis of trust, leadership and values, which is weakening multilateralism and threatening the very survival of the human species. Solving that problem means eliminating unilateralism. Instead, we must strengthen and revitalize a genuinely effective, representative, inclusive and participatory multilateralism. That will not be possible without democratizing international relations and strengthening the multipolar system, grounded in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We therefore affirm with absolute certainty that this is the path to a more peaceful and prosperous world, in which all our peoples can live a decent life and enjoy a future of peace and development. We acknowledge that to make genuine progress that benefits our peoples, we must correct the imbalances in the global financial architecture and reform the Bretton Woods institutions.

Perhaps the upcoming fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations Declaration for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order can provide a unique opportunity to improve coherence and consistency within the international monetary, financial and trade system. It might also enable us to put an end to prevailing asymmetries that over time have perpetuated the underdevelopment and dependency of our countries in the South, especially at what is a critical moment in our ability to achieve the timely realization of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its Sustainable Development Goals.

The United Nations is called on to play a crucial role. It provides a platform with the greatest legitimacy and representativeness for jointly addressing pressing challenges and threats in a coordinated and determined manner, using dialogue, understanding, mutual



respect, cooperation and solidarity. We want to take this opportunity to reaffirm our full commitment to the revitalization and strengthening of the role of the United Nations in today's world.

We agree with many of the statements made by your delegation, Mr. President, in the concept note for today's important open debate. Indeed, today's world is not the same as it was 77 years ago. However, many of the challenges we had back then still exist today. The decolonization process has not been completed. Peace, sustainable development and the full enjoyment of human rights, as key pillars of our Organization, also continue to evade the peoples of the United Nations. Considering that, we believe that any proposal aimed at making progress on challenges common to us all must not only propose a holistic vision but also ensure full and ongoing compliance with and respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter. They are the basis of international law, and they are shields that guard against the aggressions of those who have not only created a systemic crisis in international relations but have also deliberately undermined multilateralism, the United Nations and everything they represent.

That is why we are sounding the alarm about the continuing efforts of a handful of countries to impose group unilateralism and a so-called international rules-based order. Those rules are in fact unknown, and therefore do not enjoy consensus or form part of international law. Nor can they be seen as substitutes for the genuine multilateralism that humankind needs.

In conclusion, we emphasize that it is up to us, as representatives of our peoples and Governments, to preserve the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the commitments undertaken therein, to realize our peoples' aspirations for peace, security, sustainable development and human rights and to ensure that the United Nations continues to be a beacon of light in our shared efforts to make the world better for all. For our part, we have the political will and firm commitment to work actively, purposefully and constructively to that end, in order to ensure that the Organization will be able to adapt to the realities of today's world and to fulfil the commitments contained in the preamble to its founding Charter.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Chile.

**Mrs. Narváez Ojeda (Chile)** (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation thanks India for convening this timely

debate on the theme of reformed multilateralism at a time when it is clear that, despite its merit, our system has fallen woefully short in responding to the enormous threats facing us. These threats include climate change, which especially affects those who are most vulnerable; the area of health, given the pandemic that has underscored the unequal distribution of our resources; the uneven and insufficient progress towards the fulfilment of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Sustainable Development Goals, with clear setbacks, as seen in Latin America and the Caribbean; and a war that could not be prevented and that we have failed to end, as we mourn its devastating humanitarian consequences, the suffering it has caused and the repercussions it has had, which extend far beyond the invaded country of Ukraine.

Sadly, the aforementioned factors translate into a decline in the confidence of the people of the world in multilateralism. When the United Nations recently commemorated its seventy-fifth anniversary, they were still expressing through the voices of their youth their hopes in the mission of the United Nations and our work, but that is now spilling over into a dangerous level of scepticism with regard to the goals that have been set, a weakening of the principles and norms of the Charter of the United Nations, democracy and human rights, and damage to the collective will to cooperate as a community and to come together as a majority to achieve development. Faced with this, we cannot idly or indifferently stand by.

In that context, the questions guiding this debate (see S/2022/880) highlight the central issues that we must address at this critical juncture for humankind so that we can transform it into a time of achievements and progress, not of collapse, as the Secretary-General judiciously warns us in *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982).

Chile certainly does not have all the answers. We listened very closely to members of the Security Council, briefers and colleagues, but we would also like to offer up several ideas.

Although it is hard to believe, beyond the crises we are facing, particularly with regard to the peace and security pillar, together with the necessary reform process, we will have to reaffirm and uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter — international law, human rights and international humanitarian law — as the basis for additional efforts to respond to

new arising global challenges. That can no longer be taken for granted and applies especially to countries with greater stature and power, which lead by example. The legitimacy of our system depends on it.

Security must be addressed in a multidimensional manner, with the appropriate mechanisms, while acknowledging, for example, that phenomena such as climate change and extreme inequality and poverty create or increase vulnerabilities that affect livelihoods and weaken social cohesion and trust in institutions. Therefore, the three pillars of the Organization are important and mutually influence one another.

With regard to the role played by regional mechanisms, we have seen in the Security Council itself useful experiences of cooperation between regional organizations, such as the African Union, with the Council's establishment of peacekeeping missions in the region. Regional bodies can create an effective environment for fostering prevention, peacebuilding and agreements by providing greater knowledge of the realities on the ground and valuable input for the work of a global body.

Inclusion is a critical key to multilateral work today. In maintaining the intergovernmental nature of the Organization, the participation of stakeholders — for example, members of civil society, the private sector and academia — in our debates to provide information and share their experiences is a must. It is critical to involve youth more closely in our work, delegations and processes in order to take advantage of their perspectives and expertise. They are the ones who will live in the future that we are struggling to build, improve and even imagine. The cost of not doing so will be to remain locked in our ivory towers, speaking in incomprehensible jargon and having little knowledge or understanding of those who will have to live and deal with our legacy, which should be to ensure that our Organization is vigorously relevant when it turns 100.

Accountability for serious crimes must be an enshrined mechanism of the multilateral system that applies to all so as to avoid the perpetration and repetition of Charter violations that are encouraged by impunity.

The Organization is the multilateral body par excellence, and we are concerned that, for various reasons, generally owing to budgetary limitations, Member States cannot count on significant participation or greater representation in it, which has a direct effect

on the legitimacy of its discussions and decisions. That is particularly the case concerning the composition of the Security Council, the reform of which we have been working towards for years, with practically no progress. We know that we need a more representative, responsible and democratic Council. Therefore, as part of reformed multilateralism, Chile advocates for the comprehensive reform of this organ, while updating its working methods in order to make it more transparent and accountable in its decision-making. That is key to fostering confidence in the system, ownership of its decisions and cooperation among all in the face of common challenges.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

**Mr. Ahmadi** (Islamic Republic of Iran): I thank India for convening this meeting. This is a timely open debate because multilateralism is under threat at a time when it is most needed.

Multilateralism continues to be the most successful approach for tackling the challenges facing the international community today. However, genuine multilateralism must be founded on inclusiveness rather than exclusion, collaboration rather than confrontation and the rule of law instead of the rule of power. The effective application of international law and strict adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations are two main pillars of multilateralism. Yet the international community is plagued today by double standards in the application of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

The United Nations authority and powers have been repeatedly abused by certain Member States that regard the United Nations system as their preferred tool for exerting pressure on independent countries in pursuit of their own illegitimate political agendas. While the United States representative made a statement in support of multilateralism and in defence of the Charter in this Chamber, we saw the unmasked and true face of the United States at the Economic and Social Council meeting that took place right next door. In hypocritical behaviour, the United States has launched a propaganda and misinformation campaign against my country and pursued an illegal request to deprive Iran of its membership privileges as an elected member of the Commission on the Status of Women, which Iran joined via a transparent and democratic election process. Regrettably, such a politically motivated decision

was carried out unlawfully by lawless and bullying United Nations members who resorted to the rule of power and placed maximum political pressure on the Economic and Social Council's independent members to agree with and further its political agenda.

The exclusion of Iran from the Commission was yet another stark indication of the return to unilateralism. The United States action today was a blatant attack on the rules-based foundation of the United Nations system and a mockery of multilateralism. It has breached the Charter, including the essential concept of the sovereign equality of States in membership, with meaningful and equal participation in all multilateral forums, which has been regarded as the key foundation of multilateralism and the United Nations system.

This is not the first time the United States has insulted the United Nations system and multilateralism. Indeed, the United States is well known for such violations of the Charter and international law. Another detrimental practice that demonstrates how the United States has fought multilateralism is its withdrawal from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action in 2018. That deal was a remarkable outcome of multilateralism, endorsed by resolution 2231 (2015) and widely acknowledged as a collaborative diplomatic achievement by the international community. Furthermore, the United States has openly avoided implementing the unanimous judgment of the International Court of Justice requesting the immediate removal of its sanctions. We believe that when such illegal and aggressive unilateral actions threaten multilateralism, we must defend it, confront its challenges and promote its relevance and effectiveness, as required by a rules-based international order. The United Nations must take strong measures to protect and promote multilateralism. It should not allow the United States to pursue its unilateral, arrogant and egocentric agenda indefinitely or take advantage of loopholes in the norms and procedures of United Nations organs. The international community should not allow Member States to succumb to pressure from the United States. Such resolve will provide multilateralism and international law with essential support.

We continue to believe that the United Nations must act as the main centre for the coordination of activities because it is the foundation of the contemporary world order and represents all sovereign Governments. Its distinctive validity and exceptional capabilities are needed more than ever. We call on all Member States to adhere unwaveringly to the principles and purposes

of the Charter of the United Nations, including respect for the sovereign equality of States, non-interference in their internal affairs, settling disputes by political and diplomatic means and rejecting the threat or use of force.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Nepal.

**Ms. Gohiwar Aryal (Nepal):** I would like to begin by thanking the Indian presidency for convening this very timely debate. I also thank the briefers for their comprehensive and insightful briefings this morning.

We are living through one of the most perilous periods the world has seen since the end of the Second World War. The peace and progress achieved since the creation of the United Nations are in jeopardy due to the complex interplay of geopolitics and parochial national interests. The world is facing alarming common challenges. Poorer and conflict-affected countries have suffered the most, and the impacts are vastly disproportionate. Addressing those problems requires collective action by the international community in a spirit of multilateralism.

If world history has taught us anything, it is that rules-based multilateralism is crucial to addressing the complex challenges of today's interdependent world. We therefore have no option other than to promote rules-based, equitable and inclusive multilateralism to make this world peaceful and prosperous. While there can be no doubt that national interests are the top priority for every nation, we must remember that pursuing national interests to the detriment of our common global cause does not pay.

Multilateralism, with the United Nations at its core, is central to Nepal's foreign policy and to our efforts to maintain international peace and stability and tackle global challenges. For small nations like ours, the United Nations is a bulwark of sovereignty and a driver of peace, progress and justice in the realm of the international community. The United Nations must prepare itself to remain relevant through a process of continued reform that reflects the current landscapes of geopolitics and geo-economics. That reform should promote fairness, equality, inclusivity and justice for all States, big or small, powerful or weak, rich or poor. We need a strong and effective multilateralism that promotes peace and security, human rights and sustainable development alike, because they are mutually reinforcing.

Nepal supports the ongoing efforts for United Nations reform, including reform of the Security Council and revitalization of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. It is essential for all countries to show strong political will in forging consensus on Security Council reform. We need a broadly representative, democratic, transparent and accountable Council to enhance the effectiveness and legitimacy of the work of the United Nations. However, we should prioritize enhancing the role of the United Nations in the area of economic and social development, with a view to achieving the Goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and mitigating the climate crisis, which are critical to current as well as future generations.

In conclusion, whenever we have diverged from rules-based multilateralism, we have been ravaged by unprecedented perils and catastrophes. Reform of the current multilateral system is indispensable to strengthening global partnerships for international peace, security and development. Let us unite for a reform process that can lead to a multilateralism capable of delivering enduring solutions to the global problems of our time.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Latvia.

**Mr. Pildegovičs (Latvia):** I thank the briefers for their presentations and the Indian presidency for convening this meeting.

Latvia aligns itself with the statement delivered on behalf of the European Union.

Russia's military aggression against a sovereign neighbouring country has shaken the very foundations on which the current international system stands. That system is a hard-won achievement and the result of two world wars, after which the world decided that a "might makes right" attitude is in no one's interests. While aggressors like Russia are attempting to throw the rules-based international order into disarray, Latvia remains a strong supporter of effective multilateralism, with the United Nations at its core. The international community has taken concrete steps towards upholding the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and supporting the right of Ukraine to defend itself, including through General Assembly resolutions. The strong global response to that flagrant breach of international norms sends a powerful message that multilateralism and the international rules-based order

must prevail. We created it together and we must defend it together. The changing of borders by force has no place in our twenty-first-century world.

Recent shocks such as Russia's aggression and the coronavirus disease pandemic have demonstrated that certain aspects of the multilateral system urgently need revisiting. When the United Nations was established, world leaders conferred a particular responsibility on five major global players for the preservation and advancement of international peace and security. Most regrettably, it is one of those five countries that has chosen to utterly disregard the most basic principles of the international system that it helped to create. The current situation whereby one of the permanent members of the Council is committing mass atrocities in a neighbouring country and is able to veto resolutions that would allow the Council to take action is an oxymoron.

People all over the globe are watching as the Security Council fails to act decisively. We cannot expect faith in the United Nations system to last if the Security Council's hands are tied and its voices silenced. Russia's aggression proves that reform of the Security Council is not just long overdue but more essential than ever if we are to respond adequately to our current and future challenges. We fully support the French-Mexican initiative on veto restraint in cases of mass atrocities, as well as the Accountability, Coherency and Transparency (ACT) group's code of conduct regarding Security Council action against genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. The adoption of the so-called veto initiative (resolution 76/262) has contributed to efforts aimed at empowering the General Assembly and ensuring that the United Nations is not voiceless when the Council appears deadlocked. As a member of the ACT group, Latvia believes that the Council would better represent the interests of the United Nations membership if we could demand more accountability, legitimacy and transparency, including regarding its working methods.

Furthermore, as a co-founder of the Group of Friends of Accountability, Latvia is dedicated to strengthening accountability, fighting impunity and gathering the support of the international community for establishing a special tribunal that will bring justice to Ukraine. We are currently witnessing the most serious crimes of international concern being committed in Ukraine, with unimaginable consequences that should horrify the international community. While the investigation



opened by the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court regarding alleged atrocity crimes in Ukraine proves the Court's commitment to supporting the rules-based international order, the Court is unable to exercise jurisdiction over the crime of Russia's aggression against Ukraine. To prevent impunity, that accountability gap must be closed. We therefore believe that an ad hoc special tribunal would be the most appropriate tool for complementing the Court's jurisdiction.

While making our strong contribution to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, we also need to address key areas such as gender equality, climate change and the fight against disinformation as crucial parts of effective multilateralism.

First, it is necessary to take a multi-stakeholder approach. Latvia recognizes the strong link between the equal participation of women and global security and remains steadfast in its support for the women and peace and security agenda. As a current member of the Peacebuilding Commission and the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women and its Bureau and a member-elect of the UN-Women Executive Board, Latvia has been an active participant in international efforts to promote gender equality.

Secondly, climate change is increasingly becoming an international peace and security issue that multilateralism has to address in order to remain effective. Therefore, combating climate change will continue to be a strategic priority in diplomacy for the coming decades. We regret that in 2021 the Security Council, with two votes against, failed to adopt a draft resolution (S/2021/990) that would have been a historic achievement (see S/PV.8926) by integrating climate-related security risk as a central component of United Nations conflict-prevention strategies.

Thirdly, the information space is increasingly becoming a part of global peace and security. Disinformation has become a global phenomenon used to undermine a scientific approach to information, but also to question the validity of the current international order. Building resilience to disinformation by supporting independent and pluralistic media, as well as fostering media literacy, becomes increasingly important in international peace and security efforts.

We strongly believe that effective multilateralism is about more than just interaction among States and stakeholders. While dialogue has value in itself, in our

view, multilateralism is — first and foremost — about collective good faith efforts to achieve concrete goals. It is possible only when actors are credible and their words match their deeds.

The task ahead of us might seem daunting at times, but respecting the Charter of the United Nations means that we step up to defend it during times of instability. We must reject any attempt to erase sovereign States from the map or to use threats to bully the international community. Our discussion today is an opportunity for us to look deeper into our common interests deriving from our common appreciation of the multilateral system. In that regard, Latvia is presenting its candidacy for a 2026–2027 term on the Security Council. It is our collective task and duty to strengthen the effectiveness of our multilateral system so that it is ready to address various security challenges.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Viet Nam.

**Mr. Dang** (Viet Nam): I have the honour to deliver this statement on behalf of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

We thank India for convening this debate at a precarious time for multilateralism. The establishment and development of the United Nations system since 1945, through its ups and downs, have shown the critical role of multilateralism. The achievements that the international community has made in the past 77 years on peace and security, development, human rights and the rule of law could not have been possible without the continued strengthening of multilateralism. History has also taught us another lesson: whenever multilateralism was ignored and unilateralism was allowed to take over, the world witnessed more conflicts and instability.

Indeed, our world today is facing increasingly complex and cross-cutting challenges arising from geopolitical tension, protectionism, complex transnational threats, regional conflicts, climate change, cybersecurity and rapid technological change. In that context, the need for concerted global cooperation has never been greater. There is no other way forward than to uphold the inclusive and rules-based multilateral system that we have today and transform it to respond better to the current and emerging challenges.

In ASEAN there is a strong consensus among our members that multilateralism is not an option but a necessity. On the occasion of the thirty-eighth

ASEAN Summit, held in Brunei Darussalam in October 2021, our leaders issued a declaration on upholding multilateralism. We are committed to upholding the principles stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations and those of international law, which is the indispensable foundation of a more peaceful, prosperous and just world. We continue to emphasize the need for a committed multilateral approach in order to respond to emerging opportunities and challenges and to actively shape a rules-based regional architecture that is capable of tackling pressing common regional and global issues.

ASEAN members also share a commitment to maintaining and promoting peace, security and stability in our region, with the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia as one of the bedrocks, as well as to the peaceful resolution of disputes in accordance with the universally recognized principles of international law. In that regard, we welcome the fortieth anniversary of the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes.

We also recognize the importance of building and strengthening ASEAN's partnerships with other external partners, including regional and international organizations, such as the United Nations, in order to address global concerns, pursue shared goals and complementary initiatives, narrow the development gap, enhance subregional development and promote sustainable development and inclusive growth for the benefit of our peoples.

In that regard, we stress the importance of the effective realization of the complementarities between the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 and the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and advancing the ASEAN-United Nations comprehensive partnership based on the 2021–2025 Plan of Action to Implement the Joint Declaration on Comprehensive Partnership between ASEAN and the United Nations.

In order to do so and in the face of the challenges I referred to, multilateralism today should be re-energized. In that regard, we would like to emphasize the following.

First, a reformed multilateralism must go hand in hand with renewed commitment by the States Members of the United Nations and the entire international community to a multilateral approach, in accordance with international law, including the United Nations

Charter, in seeking collective solutions to our common challenges.

Secondly, the multilateral system must be further reformed, with concrete results. Many components of the existing multilateral system are not sufficiently equipped to meet the complex challenges of the twenty-first century. They no longer reflect the new global context.

With regard to the Security Council, we fully support the reform of this United Nations organ in order to make it more equitable, representative, democratic, transparent, effective and efficient, with a view to better responding to current and future global challenges.

Thirdly, the voice of relevant parties should be adequately reflected in such a reformed multilateral system. Developing countries should be better represented and take greater part in the global decision-making process. Regional organizations, including ASEAN, can and should be inherent partners in collective efforts to address global challenges. At a broader level, it is important to promote an effective multilateral-regional interface for cooperation on global issues, particularly those that have implications for regions, that will make best use of regional initiatives and approaches.

Fourthly, our approach to multilateral issues should be based on common principles that are conducive to dialogue, cooperation and development. Those include upholding international law, promoting areas of mutual interest and avoiding actions that may aggravate tensions.

The ASEAN way of consensus-building, sustained constructive engagement, respect for the views of all parties concerned and the fundamental principles of international law, including respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-interference in internal affairs and peaceful settlement of disputes, is the best way to address common challenges.

Let me conclude by reiterating ASEAN's commitment to working closely together with other Member States in preparing for successful outcomes in the time to come on a number of important summits that may help lay the foundation for a new era of successful and reinvigorated multilateralism.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Morocco.

**Mr. Kadiri** (Morocco) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I would like to thank the Indian presidency of the Security Council during this month for having organized this open debate on the theme “A new orientation for the reform of multilateralism.” I would like to express the Kingdom of Morocco’s great appreciation for the active and positive contribution of India towards the maintenance of international peace and security during its term on the Security Council in 2021 and 2022.

Today more than ever before, humankind is at a turning point for its future. The challenges faced by the international community require greater solidarity, cooperation, justice and equality — the very principles of multilateralism, to which Morocco remains firmly committed.

The adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its Sustainable Development Goals was a milestone for multilateralism and the United Nations. Their implementation and realization must continue to benefit from the continuing renewal and revitalization of multilateralism, which is part and parcel of the United Nations system, especially in order to respond to the devastating effects of the coronavirus disease pandemic and other current crises, such as those in the areas of climate, energy, food and security.

In his report on *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982), the Secretary-General discussed his vision and five-year plan for renewed global cooperation and inclusive, networked and effective multilateralism. Morocco affirms its full support for *Our Common Agenda*, which is a road map for revitalizing our Organization so that it can continue to be ready to meet our current challenges. We must all take the opportunity provided by *Our Common Agenda*, in particular the Summit of the Future, to reaffirm our tireless commitment to the United Nations, as the global centre of multilateralism, and to respect its founding principles, including the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

Needless to say, reforming our Organization must remain a priority so that it can continue to play its role in a way that addresses the changes that this century has brought and meets their challenges. It is therefore unacceptable that 77 years after the establishment of our Organization, Africa is the only continent that is not represented among the permanent members of the Security Council and yet is overrepresented in its non-permanent category. It is in that context that we

call for a reformed Security Council that can enable Africa to take its rightful place. In that regard, I want to reiterate that Morocco fully supports the Common African Position, the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte Declaration. We call for Africa’s fair and equitable representation in both categories of seats, with at least two permanent seats and five non-permanent seats, in order to do justice to our continent. It would then be up to Africa to select its representatives within a reformed Security Council. In addition, we reaffirm our support for the revitalization of the work of the General Assembly and for strengthening the Economic and Social Council.

Multilateralism, collective action and shared responsibility are key elements in the debate on reforming the United Nations. To that end, Morocco supports effective, inclusive, preventive and cooperative multilateralism, which would promote greater solidarity among Member States in order to implement the three pillars of our Organization — peace and security, development and human rights. Morocco advocates for greater international and regional cooperation, as well as effective multilateralism, to address the multifaceted crises facing the international community. Similarly, South-South cooperation, in particular with our brother African countries, is a major pillar of the foreign policy of the Kingdom of Morocco, in accordance with the leadership of His Majesty King Mohammed VI. We support multilateralism that also promotes mutual respect and interreligious, intercultural, intercivilizational, intergenerational and intercontinental dialogue. At the ninth Global Forum of the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations, which took place in Fez, Morocco, on 22 and 23 November, King Mohammed said,

“At this special time in history, as we fight climate change and terrorism; as we seek to promote sustainable development and ensure water, energy and food security — indeed, development in general — we must go back to that which is paramount, that is, living together. There is really no point in carrying out major projects if we cannot go beyond this first link in the chain of living together, for the sake of a single humankind, which restores human beings to the centre of its concerns”.

Lastly, I would like to underscore that Morocco will remain a strong partner in implementing the common objectives outlined in the Charter of the United Nations and for strengthening multilateralism. We also believe

that is the best way to chart a present and a future that benefit us and future generations.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Kazakhstan.

**Ms. Bakytbekkyzy (Kazakhstan):** I commend the presidency of India for focusing on a new orientation for reformed multilateralism in order to address traditional and unprecedented multifaceted crises, which are further threat multipliers confronting us today.

In his statement to the General Assembly at its seventy-fifth session, in 2020, President Tokayev of Kazakhstan stated that Member States have a moral obligation to reflect on the paradigm of building a new world, as we are at a make-or-break moment for humankind (see A/75/PV.6). We must therefore rally around a modern and reformed United Nations. In the light of the shifting political and global security landscape, we must endeavour to resolve the critical questions of membership categories and size, geographical representation, working methods, transparency and the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly. Demonstrating political will, finding common ground despite differences and achieving momentum are therefore essential if we are to move ahead. Multilateralism means that individual and collective responsibility for people and for the planet must take precedence over narrow national perspectives, in accordance with international treaties and obligations.

All our current crises are increasingly transnational. A new orientation for multilateralism also implies holistic, multidimensional and intersectoral action across countries both by the United Nations and its Member States, together with regional organizations and all stakeholders, with their special expertise. Their efforts should underscore the centrality of the peace-security-development nexus, with the United Nations delivering as one, in order to ensure coherence and consistency in our operations and response. The engagement of the private sector and civil society, especially women, young people and other vulnerable groups, is imperative for greater impact. Such accountability also calls for greater global cooperation in early-warning efforts, mediation, peaceful negotiations, rapid-response mechanisms, peace operations with clear mandates, qualified personnel, the use of new technologies and predictable funding under the umbrella of the United Nations.

Efforts at the global level must be reinforced nationally. In Kazakhstan, multilateralism has been relevant and diverse on many fronts — nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation; the Astana process on Syria reinforcing the United Nations process in Geneva; humanitarian aid for and human capacity-building in Afghanistan and support for the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action process. The code of conduct in combating terrorism, the proposed establishment of an international agency for biological safety, advocacy for primary health care as the foundation for World Health Organization universal health coverage and the founding of the Kazakhstan Agency for International Development are further initiatives.

Kazakhstan is committed to strong political and economic integration in Central Asia for greater regional and global stability. To promote the regional approach in ensuring multilateralism, my country has proposed setting up a United Nations regional centre in Almaty for the Sustainable Development Goals in Central Asia and Afghanistan. The Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia, initiated by Kazakhstan, is turning into a full-fledged international organization that contributes to global mediation and peacemaking with the support of its 28 member States. To support United Nations peacekeeping, we plan to develop the Kazakhstan Peacekeeping Training Centre and turn it into Central Asia's regional training hub. We are now ready to deploy quick-reaction forces and unmanned aerial vehicle units next year, followed by field hospital, military police and explosive ordnance detection units in 2024.

The Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions, which has been held triennially in Astana since 2003 and is attended by the heads and representatives of major faiths, has been promoting interfaith harmony, globally as well as regionally. The seventh Congress, held in September, saw the presence of His Holiness Pope Francis, Sheikh Ahmad Muhammad Al-Tayyeb, the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar, Israel's Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi David Lau and other eminent spiritual leaders, who gave messages focused on finding answers to our current challenges.

In conclusion, my country pledges to strengthen regional and global multilateralism to keep pace with the changing geopolitical, social and economic realities, at present and in the future.



**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Portugal.

**Ms. Grade Zacarias** (Portugal): I would like to commend India for convening this timely debate and congratulate you, Sir, on your able presidency of the Security Council. I would also like to extend our gratitude to the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General for their insightful statements this morning.

Portugal strongly supports effective multilateralism. We align ourselves with the statement made earlier on behalf of the European Union, and we consider this debate as a timely occasion for a thorough overview of the challenges that multilateralism faces and for acknowledging the need of reviewed impetus to our common approach to global issues. The scope of the challenges and the scale of the need have seldom been greater, in a context that remains marked by the illegal and unjustified aggression of Russia against Ukraine.

The path towards a reformed, more participatory and inclusive multilateralism, which accelerates the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals, is the very objective that underpins the report of the Secretary-General, *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982), which we support. A new orientation for a reformed multilateral system will profit from the implementation of the recommendations contained in the report, such as the enhancement of United Nations engagement with non-State stakeholders, from regional organizations to international financial institutions, regional development banks, Parliaments, subnational authorities, civil society and the private sector. That would contribute to prioritizing and strengthening the focus on prevention. More voices and perspectives around the table increase the capacity to anticipate and tackle global risks.

A global vision of security is essential, and the New Agenda for Peace advocated by the Secretary-General may be an important step in that direction — an agenda focused on conflict prevention, peacebuilding and sustaining peace, addressing new and emerging risks through holistic approaches. Furthermore, that would also contribute to ensuring that a reformed multilateral system would maintain human rights at its core, namely by upholding their universality. And the Security Council is one of the main stages where that approach to multilateralism must be brought about. The Council can do more and better, be more effective in its working

methods and systematically engage with a broader range of actors, such as regional and subregional organizations, as well as the Peacebuilding Commission.

As many have said before, Portugal agrees that the current Council composition does not adequately reflect the international community's diversity or today's geopolitical reality. We have argued for the increase of the number of both non-permanent and permanent members, including, but not limited to, India and Brazil, with better representation for Africa in both categories. Other regions and specific groups of countries also require better and more stable representation. More opportunities must be given for the participation of small- and medium-sized countries, considering the principle of geographic balance. In our view, the Council needs increased balance and representation, which would boost its ability to face the growing threats to international peace and security. Portugal stands ready to participate in a constructive way in this debate.

In conclusion, allow me to express my thanks for the commitment of and remarkable work done by the five outgoing non-permanent members of the Council: India, Ireland, Kenya, Mexico and Norway.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Lebanon.

**Mr. Hitti** (Lebanon) (*spoke in French*): I should like to congratulate India on its assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for December, and I also commend Ghana on its active presidency last month. On behalf of my delegation, I would like to thank you, Sir, for convening this debate on a central theme at a time when the rules-based multilateral system continues to be put to the test.

Yet, despite its imperfections, it must remain the framework of choice, as no country alone can deal with the multitude of global, and often existential, challenges facing us — armed conflicts, pandemics, food insecurity, human rights violations and the climate emergency, among many others. As the Secretary-General reminded us in 2020 while we were in the middle of the coronavirus disease pandemic, "It is not enough to proclaim the virtues of multilateralism; we must continue to show its added value. International cooperation must adapt to changing times".

Such international cooperation must be more agile, effective and inclusive so that we can be better prepared

to respond to the global challenges that affect the people of the world and ultimately prevent many more. In that regard, the Charter of the United Nations must remain the cornerstone of multilateralism. Lebanon therefore advocates all forms of institutional reform to increase the credibility of the United Nations and reduce the often-legitimate feeling of mistrust vis-à-vis international institutions. In that regard, I reaffirm Lebanon's support for the work of the Secretary-General, as set out in his report, *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982), as well as the New Agenda for Peace, to adapt the United Nations to the new era.

As we have begun living in a multipolar world, institutions of governance must be more representative and democratic, which, of course, applies to the Security Council. Lebanon therefore continues to support reform for a balanced and more equitable Security Council within the intergovernmental negotiations and reaffirms its support for the position of the Group of Arab States.

Lebanon has also endorsed several initiatives aimed at strengthening transparency and accountability with regard to the use of the veto. In that context, we have supported two complementary initiatives — the code of conduct of the Accountability, Coherence and Transparency Group, which calls for not voting against any credible draft resolution intended to prevent or halt atrocity crimes, and the initiative by France and Mexico on limiting the right of the veto in case of mass atrocity crimes. This year, Lebanon also co-sponsored General Assembly resolution 76/262, which establishes a standing mandate for a General Assembly debate when a veto is cast in the Security Council.

Finally, we must always ensure the harmonious and consistent implementation of our international obligations and to reject selective approaches. For Lebanon, a small State and founding member of the United Nations, multilateralism is a protective shield. It was a lifeline for my country as it experienced past conflicts and remains vital in the face of today's crises. An international order based on the primacy of the rule of law cannot be optional but is necessary as a vehicle for international peace, stability and security. The time for lessons learned has passed. It is time to act decisively.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Australia.

**Mr. Fifield (Australia):** I thank you, Sir, for convening this debate on a topic, which has been highlighted by recent events, on how to make the Organization stronger, more effective and more representative.

We can only solve our biggest problems together. No one here needs reminding of the challenges that we all face — climate change, food insecurity, sustainable development and economic headwinds — all of which is against the backdrop of increased geostrategic competition and Russia's illegal and immoral invasion of Ukraine, which is causing immense human suffering and has exacerbated existing fragilities in the global economy.

We need a United Nations and other international institutions that are fit for purpose and equipped to address those challenges, as well as challenges yet to emerge. The multilateral system must protect the sovereign equality and the rights of small- and medium-sized countries like Australia. All countries must uphold the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Australia is in favour of reforming the Security Council, which is central to preserving international peace and security. Member States must have confidence that the Council can respond effectively to threats to and breaches of international peace and security. The Council's inability to respond to Russia's attack on Ukraine is a stark reminder of the need for Security Council reform. The Council needs to be more reflective of the world today, not the world of 1945. We need greater representation from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The United Nations must be accountable to Members, transparent, inclusive and led by high quality individuals representative of all peoples and groups. While we recognize that United Nations agencies have made efforts to address and prevent sexual exploitation, abuse and harassment, there is also room for reforms to make United Nations workplaces safer and more inclusive.

Central to Australia's reform agenda and to any refreshed multilateral system are the protection and promotion of universal human rights and upholding the multilateral human rights system. We must strengthen accountability and transparency mechanisms if we are to realize that key purpose of the United Nations. Australia was an early proponent of United Nations development system reform. We need a United Nations

development system that is fit for purpose, transparent, accountable, effective, results-oriented and modern in order to deliver on the commitments we all made under the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. There have been some commendable gains, for example, in providing more tailored support to emerging economies — including small island developing States, like those across the Pacific — through the reinvigorated resident coordinator system.

The Summit of the Future in 2024 represents an opportunity to work together towards a multilateral system that ensures no one is left behind. It is an opportunity we must take.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Cuba.

**Mr. Romero Puentes** (Cuba) (*spoke in Spanish*): We congratulate India on its presidency of the Security Council and wish it every success during its mandate. We thank you, Sir, for convening this opening debate, which is all the more pertinent in the light of the serious and growing threats to international peace and security and the progressive erosion of multilateralism.

The prevailing international order is unjust and unsustainable and has caused multidimensional crises to impact our planet, aggravated by the coronavirus disease pandemic. It has deepened inequalities, social exclusion and poverty. It has exacerbated regional and international conflicts and worsened the crises and challenges with which humankind was already confronted. We are witnessing the proliferation of acts of aggression and non-conventional wars, the implementation of regime change policies and attempts to re-impose a unipolar world order emanating from a lack of knowledge or understanding of international treaties, as well as the multiplication of unilateral sanctions and many other frequent violations of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. The use of unilateral coercive measures and punitive actions against developing countries runs counter to multilateralism itself. Such measures contravene international law and should cease immediately.

Multilateralism and full respect for the principles and norms of international law are the bases upon which we can advance towards a democratic, fair and equitable world where the sovereignty of States is respected. They serve as a path to guarantee peaceful co-existence, to preserve international peace and security and to find sustainable solutions to systemic problems.

We reaffirm the importance of the role of the United Nations as the principal bulwark against the global threats that attempt to undermine multilateralism. A profound reform of the Organization is urgently needed. The General Assembly must be revitalized and strengthened. It should be able to fully exercise all functions conferred upon it by the Charter of the United Nations without the interference of the Security Council in its work or any of its Committees. There needs to be a comprehensive reform of the Security Council, with greater transparency and inclusiveness in its work. The Council should be more democratic and representative and should act without double standards so as to preserve the credibility of the Organization.

The world needs solidarity, cooperation and mutual respect, not embargoes or sanctions, if we are to overcome the current crises. We need an international order that is fair, democratic and equal and that responds to the calls for peace of the peoples of the United Nations. We reiterate Cuba's commitment to upholding multilateralism and the maintenance of international peace and security on the basis of unhindered respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Romania.

**Ms. Mocanu** (Romania): My delegation echoes previous speakers in thanking you, Sir, for convening today's debate.

Romania aligns itself with the statement delivered by the delegation of the European Union.

We deem it necessary to comment in our national capacity, considering this debate to be most timely as we approach the end of 2022. Not long after we seemed to be on track to recover from the coronavirus disease pandemic, it is now high time to take stock of what needs to be reformed in the United Nations system, given the wide range of challenges around the world. We are witnessing a worsening security situation in the Sahel region; the triple planetary crisis of climate change, pollution and biodiversity loss; the shrinking of space for the exercise of human rights and the enjoyment of fundamental freedoms at the global level; the unresolved Middle East peace process; the energy, climate and financial crises; the increased use of new technologies and weapons in conflict; and Russia's unjustified and illegal war against Ukraine and its worldwide consequences.

The maintenance of international peace and security, the promotion of sustainable development and the promotion and defence of human rights and obligations to respect international treaties and mutually agreed commitments based on international law have been challenged throughout the entire year. More important, we have become increasingly aware of that fact and cannot walk away from the responsibility to support the pillars of multilateral action.

The Charter of the United Nations is the basis of our actions. The United Nations community has always taken a firm stance in defending the Charter and its principles whenever necessary. Unfortunately, there are States that do not see the value of lessons learned. Misusing the platform of the Security Council, the General Assembly or any United Nations forum in order to promote a false narrative is incompatible with the principles of multilateralism and the international rules-based order. We cannot allow impunity when Russia has persistently promoted its narrative over the past nine months with regard to its illegal brutal invasion of Ukraine. On the contrary, accountability should be in place.

In that vein, Romania supports an effective, transparent, democratically anchored, representative and accountable Security Council to respond to the current realities and challenges. For those reasons, Romania co-sponsored and strongly supported the so-called veto initiative resolution in the General Assembly in April (resolution 76/262).

Both the intergovernmental negotiations and *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982) provide us with the opportunity to act now. We cannot afford to give even an inch in our defence of the Charter of the United Nations and the democratic values and principles of multilateralism. Let me assure the Council that Romania will do its utmost to actively contribute to those debates.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Lithuania.

**Mr. Paulauskas** (Lithuania): I would like to thank India for convening this timely debate, as well as the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly for their briefings.

We subscribe to the statement delivered by the delegation of the European Union (EU) on behalf of the EU and its member States earlier today.

Meaningful multilateralism is the only credible answer to the multiple multifaceted and interconnected challenges of the contemporary world. It is also key to maintaining the integrity of the Charter of the United Nations — the backbone of the rules-based international order. Acting collectively, we are better equipped to work towards maintaining peace and security, preventing war and resolving conflicts, as well as promoting and protecting human rights. That is also true with regard to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals and providing development assistance and humanitarian aid. Collective decisions and coordinated actions are key in addressing new and emerging challenges, including climate change, health emergencies, food insecurity and hybrid threats such as instrumentalized migration or information manipulation and disinformation. In that light, Lithuania strongly supports the Secretary-General's report, *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982), including the New Agenda for Peace, which aims at reinvigorating multilateralism and enhancing the Organization's existing toolbox. We also welcome the ongoing work towards more effective and adept peacekeeping, which has been one of the concrete examples of successful collective action by the United Nations.

Many today mentioned the need for new and reformed multilateralism and multilateral institutions that reflect the changed geopolitical realities, are more transparent, legitimate and effective. Lithuania maintains its long-standing position that we must work, collectively, on Security Council reform in order to make it reflect modern global challenges, and we must act upon them more effectively, without further delay.

The unprovoked and brutal war against Ukraine waged by Russia, a permanent member of the Security Council, exposed clearly the structural and procedural weaknesses of this organ mandated to maintain international peace and security. With this war, Russia not only cynically disregards its duties as a permanent membership and flagrantly violates the United Nations Charter, but also continues to block the Security Council, as a whole, from implementing its responsibilities.

The Council's failure to live up to its own decisions and to act swiftly and firmly in response to illegal programmes of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles also raises concerns among many Member States.



The current structure of the Council must reflect today's geopolitical realities. Its membership must include underrepresented regions, in particular Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Eastern European regional group in permanent and non-permanent categories. We need more transparency and accountability. We need to put a stop to abuse of veto power, in particular, in cases of mass atrocities, as well as when a permanent member is a party to a conflict.

Lithuania remains a strong believer in the transformative power of collective action. We stand ready to continue working together and maintain our support and contributions towards more effective multilateralism based on the principles of democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Georgia.

**Mr. Abesadze (Georgia):** We thank the presidency of India for convening today's open debate.

The Security Council has the primary responsibility, under the Charter of the United Nations, for the maintenance of international peace and security. However, the dramatic developments of the current year have put in question the ability of the Security Council to effectively fulfil its primary purpose by failing in its attempts to pass Council resolutions to stop Russia's aggression against Ukraine, owing to the destructive actions by the Russian Federation.

Today, as never before, it has become obvious that there is a need for reinvigorated action to make sure that the Council lives up to its *raison d'être* — the maintenance of international peace and security. The discussion in the framework of the intergovernmental negotiations has run long, and Georgia has been actively engaged in it. Without going into details on the elements of Security Council reform, let me once again underline the necessity of upholding the principle enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations in general, and in Article 27 in particular, stating that in a series of specific important decisions "a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting".

Back in 2008, Georgia also experienced the inability of the Security Council to adequately address Russia's aggression against Georgia. In 2009, the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia was brazenly terminated by the veto cast by the permanent member of the Security Council and a party

to the conflict, the Russian Federation, thus creating a total vacuum of any international security presence in the Russia-occupied territories of Georgia when it was most needed. After years, Ukraine also fell victim to the very same aggressor.

These blatant violations of fundamental norms and principles of international law and this disregard for the territorial integrity of sovereign States have been a massive blow to European security and the entire international order. Now, almost 15 years after Russia's full-scale military aggression against Georgia, Russia is not fulfilling its international commitments and continues to violate the European Union-mediated 12 August 2008 ceasefire agreement. Russia's illegal occupation of the Abkhazia and Tskhinvali regions of Georgia continues to have a severe impact on the population living therein and in areas adjacent to the occupation line. Both regions remain heavily militarized, with full-fledged Russian military bases. Russia's ongoing steps towards the *de facto* annexation of those Georgian regions through gradually dragging them into its military, political, economic, social and legal system further aggravate the situation. Let me also underline that to this very day, even international human rights mechanisms are not allowed to enter the occupied regions.

Let me recall the decision of the European Court of Human Rights, which legally attested Russia's occupation and effective control over the Abkhazia and Tskhinvali regions of Georgia and found Russia responsible for violations on the grounds of the norms of international law, including a number of articles of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Multilateralism works when the members of the international community abide by common rules and principles. In our view, a new orientation for multilateralism means recommitting to ensuring a peaceful world based on international law, with the United Nations Charter at its core, better protection of human rights and the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Only by upholding the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law can we deliver on our pledge to maintain peace and security and pave the way for the realization of human rights and sustainable development.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Nigeria.

**Mr. Nze (Nigeria):** Allow me to thank you, Mr. President, for convening today's important open debate on the theme "New orientation for reformed multilateralism" and to thank His Excellency Mr. Jaishankar, India's Minister for External Affairs, for chairing the debate. We also thank Secretary-General António Guterres and the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Csaba Kőrösi, for their briefings.

Nigeria remains fully committed to a comprehensive reform of the United Nations system that upholds the principles, objectives and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations for a fairer world based on justice, equity and regional balance. It is pertinent to recall that, over four decades after the inclusion on the General Assembly agenda of equitable representation in the Security Council, no meaningful progress has been achieved, considering the current composition of the Council, which has yet to reflect the current geopolitical realities and emerging challenges, as well as the interests of all constituent regions.

Despite calls by world leaders at various forums for the urgent and comprehensive reform of the multilateral structure, including the Security Council, nothing has been done. During the high-level general debate at the seventy-seventh session of the General Assembly, more than 70 world leaders again reiterated the urgent need for Security Council reform.

Equitable regional representation is a desideratum for a more functional and representative Council that will reflect our current geopolitical realities. We therefore remain unequivocal in reiterating Africa's demand for reform that will ensure Africa's legitimate right to fair and equitable representation in the Security Council. African States offered a coherent, practical and persuasive Council reform blueprint, which asserts the right of our long-marginalized continent. We also support the legitimate aspirations of other regions to be fully represented in the Council.

Africa's demand is legitimate, as espoused in the Ezulwini Consensus and Sirte Declaration, which call for the expansion in both the permanent and non-permanent seats of the Security Council through the allocation of no fewer than two permanent seats, with all the concomitant privileges, including the right of veto and two additional non-permanent seats. Africa strongly believes that the veto should be abolished, but so long as it exists, it should be extended to all

members of the expanded permanent category of the Security Council.

We are hopeful that the current realities will propel Member States to review the process so as to rectify the historical injustice done to the African continent. I am persuaded that Member States wish to strengthen the voice of underrepresented regions and groups in order to ensure a fair, equitable and geographic distribution in the Council. It is important that developing countries, including African countries, be better represented on the Security Council, bearing in mind that almost three quarters of the Council's agenda is devoted to African issues. The African demand for full representation not only is legitimate, but will also instil much-needed values, restore confidence, enhance the legitimacy of the work of the Security Council and contribute to the promotion of international peace and security globally.

In conclusion, we would like to reiterate two key points. First, there is an urgent and growing need for the negotiation process to be open, inclusive and transparent, with webcasting, record-keeping and the application of the rules of procedure. Secondly, we advocate for a single consolidated text, preferably with attributions, for the launch of text-based negotiations. That is undoubtedly the best way to get to real negotiations and avoid the simple repetition of statements in every set of negotiations on the reform process.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Ukraine.

**Mr. Dvornyk (Ukraine):** Ukraine greatly appreciates the initiative by India's presidency to hold today's important debate, and we have taken note of the briefings.

As is rightly pointed out in the concept note for today's debate (see S/2022/880), the world is not the same as it was 77 years ago. It has changed dramatically, as has the nature of its threats and challenges. In that regard, we want to particularly underscore attempts to undermine the credibility and efficacy of key multilateral institutions from inside. I refer, first of all, to the Security Council. One can hardly disagree with another statement in the concept note, which is that the composition of the Security Council is far from reflecting the true diversity of the wider membership of the United Nations. We can go even further and say that the composition of the Council does not even reflect the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. The defunct entity of the Soviet Union is still

present in the Charter despite being a thing of the past. However, that does not mean that another entity can occupy the permanent Soviet seat by circumventing the necessary legal procedures. I would like to highlight several points in that regard.

First, 77 years ago, it was agreed to vest five Powers with a special status in return for their special responsibility in maintaining international peace and security. Events this year have made it crystal clear that a system with five mutually dependent permanent members does not work if one of the seats is occupied by a violator that disrespects norms and neglects its responsibility. Moreover, the aggression in question started even earlier, in July 2014, but eight years were not enough for the current multilateral system to prevent an escalation to the level of a full-fledged invasion. Many interesting ideas on the reform of multilateralism that we heard today are worthy of serious consideration. Special attention should be paid to reform of the Security Council, and that brings me to my second point.

A higher level of inclusivity should be coupled with a stronger perception of responsibility. We are very sympathetic to the aspirations of democratic and law-abiding nations for a specific position on a reformed Council. Regional underrepresentation must also be

overcome. At the same time, to cope with cases such as Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine, the factors that are immobilizing the Council must be removed. We should take every possible political and legal action to fix the situation whereby an aggressor misuses a permanent seat. We also expect all members to remain resolute in clearly differentiating between taking sides and defending the Charter.

Thirdly, there must be zero tolerance for violations and abuse. Let us call a spade a spade. Those who deliberately create problems for the global security order can never be part of the solution anywhere else. They use their presence among decent and responsible democratic nations only as an opportunity to legitimize their violations and introduce new kinds of conditionality as bargaining chips. That is why we are convinced that we need strong multilateral institutions more than ever. We need a strong and inclusive Security Council, where all members are legitimate and responsible and reliable contributors to safeguarding the rules- and values-based international order.

**The President:** There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. Before adjourning the meeting, I would especially like to thank the interpreters.

*The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.*